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Fiorella Allio

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# 臺南地區壬辰年 (2012) 遶境儀式香路圖 圖集

Atlas of the 2012 Religious Processions in the Tainan Region

中央研究院人文社會科學研究中心 地理資訊科學研究專題中心 製作

Center for Geographic Information Science, Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences, Academia Sinica

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- 2014 -

# 臺南地區壬辰年（2012）遶境儀式香路圖 圖集

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## 神祇的印記，人類的科技 — 宗教地圖，衛星圖像

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中文翻譯：郭昭澄

**本**地圖集呈現一系列紀錄宗教遊行路線的四十六幅地圖，針對台南地區的七場儀式活動，並聚焦於七個境域和神聖場域。此項使用地圖素材來探討宗教遊行活動的新研究方式，提供了解台灣文化空間、民間信仰和地方歷史的一種獨特的切入點。

本地圖集收錄的地圖自己會闡述，無需文字描述或評注，本身足以顯示宗教遊行活動的確是舉足輕重的現象。如我們所見，從當地居民日常生活的活動範圍來看，這些遶境涉及的地區幅員相當遼闊。也可以另一個角度看出其重要程度，因為如果要以此種方式進行，穿越這些遼闊空間，勢必得動員數千人力並調動大量資源才行。唯有過去長期累積的經驗與記憶，才能產生這種活動的形式。在另一個層面上，這些地圖將我們的注意力直接吸引到遶境儀式上，然而一般學者習慣於關注地方慶典的其他儀式，其他儀式主祭者則僅詮釋賦予慶典的宗教意義。事實上，對當地絕大多數居民而言，這些遊行活動不只是儀式慶典中可有可無的熱鬧附屬活動，或次級活動，而是他們的參與和信仰的主要焦點。最重要的是，拜高端科技的方法和工具之賜，此處的地理再現資料是以儀式上演時同步蒐集的科學數據為基礎，也是思考探索宗教遊行活動甚至台灣地方宗教活動此種主題的新方法。另一方面，地理資訊科學研究領域的高端科技運用於此種主題的研究方

法，本身就是一項創舉，且潛力無窮。

宗教信仰與活動對空間組織產生的影響，是台灣重要的社會文化因素。在所有的宗教活動中，遶境活動在空間建構上扮演最重要角色。這種援用科技方法來蒐集地理資料，讓我們能夠詳細記錄宗教遊行的路線，並且把這種人類和其信奉神祇之間的聯結，在全球規模上透過衛星圖像具體呈現出來，因此，使得此種表面看似微不足道但確實重要的民間活動在地球上佔有一席之地。

台灣是世界上少數擁有依然活躍且隨處可見的大規模宗教遊行活動的地方之一，同時也是地理資訊科學研究與科技發展臻達成熟的地區。援用高端科技來研究這些大量密集且活力十足的傳統文化活動，堪稱兩種人類創造力展現的完美結合，使得台灣在世界上成為相當獨特的案例。

多虧中央研究院人文社會科學研究中心 (RCHSS) 地理資訊科學研究專題中心 (GIS) 運作的地理資訊科學系統之協助，得以順利完成蒐集和處理這些現時資料。本書地圖只是 GIS 中心存檔的其中一部份數位資料。由於天時地利之便，我們將這些在台南舉行的七場宗教活動紀錄集結成單一地圖集，以方便比較研究工作。我個人在 2012 年以 GIS-RCHSS 訪問學者的身份，以及台灣民間宗教信仰領域，特別是宗教遊行活動研究的專長，參加了此項研究計畫。過去二十五年來我一直在台南地區進行廣泛的田野調查，在此僅盡棉薄之力協助聯繫廟宇負責人和當地居民，並促成廟方首肯參與計畫的決定。

### ■ 邁向真正理解宗教遊行活動意義之途

社會科學已經證明空間組織並非自然形成的，而是由各個社群建構其生活和



發展的空間。每個社群對圍繞其生活周遭的空間做出標記；反之，此建構的空間也納含了地方組織和文化的深層表現。境域概念的形成甚至比空間更複雜，因為此概念來自（世俗的或象徵的）權威機構對一個已界定空間與界限的認可，並確保其防衛，由此延伸產生歸屬感與認同感。

在前台江內海和倒風內海所在之處，當地社會選擇了一種令人驚訝且意義深遠的方式來標記其生活空間，並隨著時間的推移，建構了其地域基礎和文化認同；他們就是透過定期舉行遶境形式的集體宗教儀式來達成這一點。

絕大多數人認為宗教遊行活動的意義微不足道，僅注意隊伍的光耀炫目表象，認為這不過是熱鬧喧嘩和多彩多姿的活動。然而，把台灣傳統宗教遊行簡化成嘉年華遊行是嚴重的誤解；地方社群應該防止使這些宗教活動淪為只是招攬觀光客的方式、文化表演秀、商機，或政治人物爭取公開曝光的機會，因為這種操作方式可能會直接且急速傷害傳統宗教遊行的內在結構和功能（事實上傷害已經開始造成了）。諷刺的是，無論是觀光客、商業人士、顧客、政治人物、一般大眾或傳播媒體，這些局外人原本想要尋找的宗教遊行活動的真正特色，正因他們的出現而逐漸受損！這些局外人就這樣成為他們聲稱重視尊重的對象的無心破壞者。目前的當務之急，就是要把文化永續性的概念應用於傳統案例，因為台灣極大部份非物質傳統文化儘管看似愈來愈受肯定，其實已瀕臨消逝危險中。種種因素一致顯示，這些矛盾吊詭可能變成致命傷<sup>1</sup>。

<sup>1</sup> Fiorella Allio [艾茉莉] 2009. Capturing Intangible Culture and Ephemeral Manifestations: the Perpetuation of Taiwanese Traditions in Temple Processions [Xiequ wuxing wenhua he duanzan huodong xianxian: Taiwan miaoyu raojing chuantong wenhua zhi yongxu chuancheng; 擷取無形文化和短暫活動顯現：台灣廟宇遶境傳統文化之永續傳承]. 文物、文化遺產與文化認同 (*Wenwu, wenhua yichan yu wenhua rentong; Objects, Cultural Heritage and Cultural Identity*), 梅豪方、周樑楷、唐一安主編 [eds. Frank Muyard, Liang-kai Chou and Serge Dreyer], 239-282。南投，國史館台灣文獻館。

此外，又有一些人認為遶境本身不算是儀式，只是在其他一些更重要儀式舉行之同時上演，且必定附屬於主儀式，例如經常在同一場儀式慶典中同時舉行的醮、「王府科儀」或燒王船。有時遶境的確和其他儀式有關，例如在西港，尤其在蘇厝更是如此；反之，有時也可能是完備自足且唯一舉行的儀式，例如在麻豆。由此看來，遶境具備自己的功能，本身足以形成象徵暨社會組織框架。所以我們必須探索其內在的固有價值，光憑其本身意義就足以當作研究主題。

到底應如何鑒賞宗教遊行活動而不予傷害？究竟應採何種研究途徑並凸顯其真正本質？本地圖集目的之一在於進一步理解宗教遊行活動，所建議的方法則提供了蒐集與分析資料的新觀點，此乃建構知識的關鍵階段。

## ■ 宗教遊行和空間建構

傳統遊行活動在本質上具宗教性，表現的方式熱鬧緊湊，組成的元素豐富且多元。不過，這些遊行同時也是包含很強空間意涵的宗教儀式，這正是本地圖集在此特別關注的原因。事實上，在所有儀式形式中，宗教遊行活動和領域的關係最為密切。在展開活動之際，儀式執行者踏上他們的土地，在實際範疇上感受到空間。他們抵達每個定點，穿越清楚界定的階段，而且，如同我們在本地圖集研究的遶境大多數案例，到尾聲結束時劃定了空間的範圍和境域的界限，並且象徵性地一再確認並防衛之，以免遭受超自然力量的傷害。

換言之，此種形式的儀式在期待儀式發揮影響力的地區內部到處不停移動。這代表什麼意義？這一切看似瑣碎，又為何如此特別？相較於其他一些國外的呈現與空間之關係並在其中產生影響的儀式方式（例如在某些儀式上邊踏碎步邊唸誦一串地名，或在物質媒介上畫出一個地點並令其神聖化，或在心中將一個依據

東西南北中方向基準的縮小版區圈投射至一個現存地區，或在世上再現一個宇宙隱喻)，此處論及的遊行活動進行的方式則不同。無論參與者是人類或超自然力量，這是透過他們即時直接且親身實踐的動作、透過在現場的實地移動，想像達成了他們的儀式目的，並影響其生活空間。舉行儀式之同時，這裡的境域即變成一個遼闊的神聖圈域，其中的居民扮演儀式執行者的角色。

在臺灣，我們發現有多元類型的宗教遊行活動，儘管從外界觀點看來，其外表和內容十分雷同，都會出現陣頭或藝閣、大旗、繡旗、執事牌、頭燈、鑼鼓隊、涼傘、神轎。然而這些組成元素並非隨意放在一起，而是以井然有序的方式排列，並根據內在基礎系統來架構。宗教遊行活動能夠動員成千上萬儀式執行者，他們是以團體而非個人的身分，參加所謂「香陣」(*hiu<sup>n</sup>-tin*)，由他們所屬的庄頭，即所屬的「信奉祭拜相同神明的社群」(*cult communities*)所派出的。很多地方社群和廟宇都是以這種方式代表參與，很多香陣是由地方人士執行。一個香陣由兩個主要單位組成，就遊行順序來看，首先是「陣頭」(*tin-thau*) (直譯：香陣的前導)，如其通稱所指<sup>2</sup>，排在前面，例如宋江陣、花鼓陣等 (藝閣，或棚車(例如蜈蚣陣)全都排在相同位置)；其次是「神轎」(*sin-kio*) 在後，內置神像和香爐。再來有一大群信眾、香客和許願民眾持香跟隨在後，他們僅代表個人或親友。有時會走在主神前面，一路清掃即將行經的街道。

每種宗教遊行活動的規模和功用目的可能大相逕庭，所以必須謹慎辨識並賦予其潛在模式的特徵<sup>3</sup>。有時一種遶境模式堅持自成一格，隨後擴及到四周鄰

<sup>2</sup> 在傳統上並沒有使用「藝陣」這個名詞的習慣，且遶境的執行者和主辦者也不使用。這是一個近期創造的新詞，此情況提醒我們，儘管地方俗稱包含固有意義和相關脈絡的重要資訊，卻經常遭蔑視或被視為格調不夠。

<sup>3</sup> Fiorella Allio [艾茉莉] 2004. Procession [Zongjiao youxing 宗教遊行], *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese*

近地區，成為一個大規模區域，這正是此處論及的台南地區刈香 (*koah-hiu<sup>n</sup>*) 案例。

## ■ 台灣的遶境大環境，特別聚焦台南

台南所稱的「刈香」(*koah-hiu<sup>n</sup>*)<sup>4</sup> (按字面意思：把香分割出去) 是台灣跟境域有關的宗教遊行中最引人入勝的例子。本地圖集收錄的七場遶境活動中有四場稱為刈香，包括學甲地區 (Hakkah)、土城仔地區 (Tho-sia<sup>n</sup>-a)、麻豆地區 (Moatau) 和西港地區 (Saikang)；依 2012 年舉行的時間順序，簡稱為「學甲香」(*Kakkah hiu<sup>n</sup>*)、「土城仔香」(*Tho-sia<sup>n</sup>-a hiu<sup>n</sup>*)、「麻豆香」(*Moatau hiu<sup>n</sup>*) 和「西港仔香」(*Saikang-a hiu<sup>n</sup>*)。環繞曾文溪流域四周地區有個驚人現象，即該區慶祝五項規模浩大的刈香活動。黃文博在台南縣立文化中心出版的一書中創造一個新詞，將之統稱為「南瀛五大香」<sup>5</sup>。爾後，此名稱一直被保留迄今，在各種不同情況中一再被沿用。本地圖集呈現其中四大刈香，因為都是在 2012 年春季同期舉行。五大香中僅欠缺蕭壠香 (*Siaulang hiu<sup>n</sup>*) (即現今的佳里活動)，因該區是在前一年 2011 年舉行，故未能納入地圖集<sup>6</sup>。

每項儀式各自獨立於其他儀式，皆吸引很多村庄和成千上萬村民參加。每場儀式界定各自的儀式邊界，圈劃各自的神聖境域。這些地理分區不同於行政劃區，

*Culture* [Dangdai Zhongguo wenhua baikequanshu; 當代中國文化百科全書], 485-487. London [倫敦]. Routledge 出版社。

<sup>4</sup> 當地人也不習慣使用此名詞的國語發音：“yixiang”。

<sup>5</sup> 黃文博 [Huang Wen-po] 1994. 南瀛刈香誌 [*Nanying Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> zhi; Monography of Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> Processions in the Tainan Region*]. 台南縣新營市：台南縣立文化中心。台南縣新營市：台南縣立文化中心 [Hsin-ying city, Tainan County, Tainan County Cultural Center].

<sup>6</sup> 儘管如此，多虧洪瑩發和他的多位友人努力不懈，GIS 中心已在 2011 年收集到同類資料。

而且是根據異於官方政府的劃區邏輯來區分。每個境域皆參照中心廟宇所在的地理中心點。隨著時間的推移，這個中心點和中心廟宇可能會改變，此情況很少發生，但也並非不可能<sup>7</sup>。這個地理中心點也是刈香的空間基準點，刈香隊伍每天清晨由該點出發，當晚重返之。有時以中心廟宇的廟名來指稱整場慶典和慶典舉行的地點，但是地方人士都知道，所有參加刈香的廟宇和社群，在此案例指所有的地方廟宇，對刈香的完成具同等重要性，是儀式不可或缺的一部份。沒有他們的參與，刈香就無法完成，完全只是另一回事。這是辨識刈香的一個最重要特徵，否則就無法了解台南地區的刈香形式儀式的基本意義。的確，刈香路線會經過所有的參與廟宇和社群，且整個隊伍幾乎完全由他們的香陣所組成。刈香的另一項特色是依照古禮定期舉行，一般是三年一科。有些情況是和請瘟王（又稱「千歲爺」Chhian-soe-ia）和王醮同時舉行。

另外兩場根據舉行時間先後來講的遊行，以蘇厝真護宮（So-chhu Chin-ho kiong）和蘇厝長興宮（So-chhu Tiong-heng kiong）為其中心，當地人並不稱為刈香，認為此種巡閱儀式只是從王府祭祀瘟王的較靜態的科儀所衍生。蘇厝有兩個中心廟宇是原初的祭祀社群一分為二的結果。相較於地圖集的其他遶境活動，此兩場在空間上有部份重疊的蘇厝活動，其規模、持續時間和範圍都較小，不過也包含一些內部空間建構的概念。此外，這兩場出巡也包括拜訪該領域外圍遠處的一些交陪廟宇，尤其是真護宮，其路線遠至柳營，據說為蘇厝接待首艘王船的來源地。

本書探討的最後一種宗教遊行類型是此套地圖中最特別的。這是由媽祖宮仔

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<sup>7</sup> 此情況在西港地區已經發生過，現今的刈香活動以慶安宮為地理中心點，共有九十個以上信奉祭拜共同神明的社群參加；不過兩百多年前，開始時僅有十三個庄頭參與，以懿德宮（現今的姑媽宮）為基準中心。

天后宮（Machō-keng-a Thian-hō kiong）主辦的非定期活動。其模式和前者所述案例完全不同，因為此處不是指狹義的「遶境」，而是「出巡」（*chhut-sun*），不過依然具有強烈的方向導向的概念。從位於靠近西部海邊的天后宮的觀點來看，此活動主要朝東方行進<sup>8</sup>。此種每天行進路線的時空階段是連續性的，即每個階段是由前一個階段結束的地方為出發點，最後重返原點遶了一趟；這裡的空間基準並非一個中心點。簡言之，主神媽祖到該地區進行為期三天的儀式性視察，在途中造訪友廟；即在外面駐駕兩夜。媽祖外出時有交陪廟宇的神轎和陣頭同行，但並不一定是祂一路上所拜訪的廟宇。這就是媽祖的神威和天后宮的主辦角色，帶動了其他廟宇的支持與參與。

上述論及的所有細微差異和所導致的社會宗教結果，其意義深遠，且對當地居民舉足重要。因此，在分析階段就必須清楚地將這些差異納入考量，它們本身足以證明宗教遊行活動現象的複雜性。

在台灣的其他地方，也有很多具有清楚境域意義暨影響的宗教遊行活動，雖然很少達到上述討論案例的規模，但或多或少具備相同的特徵。這些活動可能結合數個香陣單位且形成一種跨庄的遶境，或只在自己的領域內遶行的單一單位，有時交陪廟寺會來幫忙；有時社群夥伴輪流辦舉遶境，據信最後所有夥伴還是都會受到神明的保佑。這些遶境在臺語上根據各地風俗和慣用語有不同名稱，或只用通稱概括之，例如：遊境（*iu-keng*）（最常使用的名稱，無論活動的規模為何）、遊庄（*iu-chng*）、遶庄（*seh-chng*）、遶街（*seh-ke*）、(?)庄（*un-chng*）。「遶境」（*raojing*）也指同樣的概念，但這是中文在概念上對此種類型宗教活動的精確通稱，而非地

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<sup>8</sup> 不過，為期三天的朝東行進遊行儀式開始的前五天，先舉行一整天的朝南遊行活動，稱為「南巡」（*lam-sun*）。東西南北四個方向經常納入地方用語中，用來指稱導向性的遊行。再者，依照不同方向而有不同使用之動詞，如「南巡」、「北狩」（*pak-siu*）。

方用語。毫無疑問地，遶境包含且能夠顯現社會網絡。有些地方確實存在這種網絡，但並不會以彼此連絡協調、在同時同方位一起舉辦的活動來落實之，像遊行活動。這些社會網絡只是停留於各自獨立的儀式行動之總體，且僅具備基本的空間屬性。

## ■ 宗教遊行即社會部署機制

就結構而言，必須辨別遶境遊行 (*territorial processions*) 和進香遊行 (*pilgrimage processions*) 兩種類型的宗教活動，更精確地說，前者傳達境域的概念，後者沒有。遶境是遶出一個圈（每天從同一個中心點出發再返回該點），根據路線最後會顯現出整個領域的界線，尤有甚者，會區隔出境域的內、外部，即形成一個集體認同的共同空間。反之，進香則是線性的，來來回回，從一個地方朝向主要目標地行進（有時在中途停留數個點），然後返回到起點，而不圍繞任何空間或劃定任何邊界，也不會造訪組成隊伍的香陣所屬的廟宇。尤有甚者，這兩種遊行活動是根基於不同的社會宗教制度。廣泛而言，上述後者本身（這裡暫且不討論所有的細微差異，因為在此較關注兩種糾結錯綜的面向，即空間的建構和象徵權力的分配）乃依據「分香」（*hun-hiu*<sup>9</sup>）制度，即透過此種儀式由原始／較古老的信仰祭儀（*cult*）所建立的一個從屬的信仰祭儀。分香儀式是從祖廟的主香爐中取出香灰，放進從屬廟宇的香爐中（有時放在其他物質載體中）。在地方上此種儀式也可稱為「分靈」（*hun-leng*），在某種意義上，這是強調神明固有神力的功效的一種表現。此連結銘記於集體記憶之中持續發揮作用，透過定期回訪和持續重複原初最基本儀式，因此有了所謂進香活動<sup>9</sup>。

<sup>9</sup> 棘手的是，並非所有進香活動的停留點都具備象徵性的承襲連結，此情況經常發生。這個判斷標準在地方用語中界定了重要區別。如果隊伍所拜訪的廟宇是分靈的源頭，此遊行稱之為「謁祖」（*iat-cho*），

至於遶境的完成則絕對沒有上述類似儀式或再三重複儀式，其中最極至的例證就是刈香形式的遶境，其制度也無需任何隱喻的承襲關係。參與遶境的香陣比較是在平等參與和彼此交換的原則下集結一起，不一定要供奉相同神祇。他們的焦點主要在於劃定一個共同境域、執行象徵性防禦、推廣、繁榮發展、解決領域內發生的超自然問題，同時也在調節領域內部彼此的關係。此種境域不是造作的建構，而是透過遶境路線以及參與者長途跋涉期間實際顯現出來的。

此種內部境域有一個特定的地方用語，名為「香境」（*hiu<sup>n</sup>-keng*），意指「儀式性的境域」（*ritual territory*）。遶境行進的路線稱為「香路」（*hiu<sup>n</sup>-lo*）。「香」一字具多元面向：由於在廟宇內和神轎內焚香，因此香會被帶至領域各處舉行驅邪、綏靖、賜福的地方。一般而言，香也可指「儀式的」、「宗教的」、「神聖的」。香路包括不同的「路關」（*lo-koan*），即停留點／階段／關（像是位於村庄中心的廟寺，或是特別的地方），或指兩個停留點之間的空間，無論是有形的或無形的，據信遶境效果同樣會影響這些空間。遶境隊伍由一個具宗教意義的象徵物當前導，稱為「路關牌」（*lo-koan-pai*），上面記載遶境路線的每個停留點和階段，有時也記載行進的指導說明和方向。每天會為遶境將經過領域的區段準備一塊新的路關牌。

跨村聯庄的遶境不僅在象徵程度上也在社會宗教程度上，將信仰祭儀的社群具體地連結起來，將同一地區內毗鄰而居的實體聯繫一起。否則這些村庄就只是同一地區的自有內部組織、彼此分離未連絡往來的鄰居而已。此處，他們透過共同完成一項大規模儀式、建構共同的「地方」，形成一個跨庄的地方組織、一種

否則還稱之為「進香」（*chin-hiu<sup>n</sup>*）；進香是較一般的通稱且可包含很多現象。此外，即使此種承襲連結確實存在，有時也可能遭到質疑，並脫離原初目的地。

社會宗教形類型的聯盟<sup>10</sup>。再者，相較於其他任何儀式，聯庄遶境更能凸顯整個地區的社會暨象徵性組織：此類遶境是驅動力也是啟示力。它們不僅包含宗教面向(同時完成驅邪、綏靖和賜福，為整個境域除煞保境，促進地方繁榮) 同時也包含社會政治維度，形成地方社會的再現暨組織的整體系統<sup>11</sup>。在另一個層次上，遶境是地方集體認同的承載者，驅動地方社群在他們的領域上更深層紮根，深化從過去沿續迄今的集體歸屬感，儘管有時面對環境劇烈變遷也絲毫未受影響<sup>12</sup>。此情勢使得這些在前台江和倒風內海地區舉行、有時超過兩百年之久的遶境活動，甚至顯得更為重要。

## ■ 如何閱覽本地圖集

本地圖集呈現大幅系列記錄遶境路線的地圖，乍看一眼首頁目錄即可盡覽全

<sup>10</sup> Fiorella Allio [艾茉莉] 2003. *Spatial Organization in a Ritual Context. A Preliminary Analysis of the koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> Processional System of the Tainan Region and Its Social Significance* [Yishi mailuo zhong de kongjian zuzhi. Tainan diqu Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> raojing xitong zhi chubu fenxi ji qi shehui yiyi; 儀式脈絡中的空間組織。台南地區刈香遶境系統之初步分析暨其社會意義]. 信仰、儀式與社會 (*Xinyang, yishi yu shehui; Beliefs, Ritual and Society*), 林美容主編 [ed. Lin Mei-jung], 131-177. 台北 [Taipei]: 中央研究院民族研究所 [Academia Sinica, Institute of Ethnology].

<sup>11</sup> Fiorella Allio [艾茉莉] 1996. *Ritual, Territory and Local Power: the Procession of the Saikang Region (Tainan, Taiwan)* [in French] [Yishi, jingyu he difang shili: Taiwan Tainan Saikang diqu zhi Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> huodong; 儀式、境域和地方實力：台灣台南西港地區之刈香活動 [法文版]]. Ph.D. dissertation, Nanterre-Paris 10th University, Department of Ethnology and Comparative Sociology [法國隆特爾/巴黎第十大學, 人類學暨比較社會學系博士論文].

<sup>12</sup> 艾茉莉 [Fiorella Allio] 2002. 遶境與地方身份認同：地方歷史的儀式上演 [Raojing yu difang shenfen rentong; difang lishi de yishi shangyan; Processions and Identity: The Ritual Staging of Local History]. 法國漢學叢書 [Faguo hanxue congshu; Sinologie française] 7: 376-396. 宗教史專號 [Zongjiaoshi zhuanhao; Special issue on religious history], 中華書局/法國東方學院 [Zhonghua shuju/Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient]. 北京; 方淑美 [Fang Shu-mei] 1992. 台南西港仔刈香的空間性 [Tainan Saikang-a Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> de kongjian xing; Spatiality in the Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> of Saikang (Tainan)]. 國立臺灣師大地理研究所碩士論文 [Master Thesis, Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University].

部地圖。如上文所述，隨後的頁數是依照遊行上演的時間順序分類，一個案例接著一個案例，日復一日。在七場儀式慶典中，每場的第一幅地圖彙集該案例的所有時空階段，換言之，此幅地圖呈現隊五行進數天後所覆蓋的全部表面積。在有些日子中，在所論及的台南地區有兩場不同的遊行活動同時舉行，見證了台南密集活躍的社會宗教生活，但這也提高資料蒐集的技術難度！

所謂「刈香」(*koah-hiu<sup>n</sup>*)形式的遶境本身就隱含地形成一個完整部份，因為這是最後的四場活動，也是本地圖集最後且頁數最多的一套地圖。至於四場刈香案例，每一天遶境有兩張分開的地圖。這些文件概述不同的 GPS 設備在兩個不同類型的遶境單位上所蒐集的資料：一個裝置在神轎上 (在本案例上，幾乎都裝置在隊伍後面的主神神轎中)；另一個裝置在蜈蚣陣 (*gia-kang-tin*)上。之所以蒐集雙重資料是考量到蜈蚣陣不一定和隊伍中其他組成元素走相同的路線，儀式的原因是，蜈蚣陣本身必須執行特別的儀式；現實原因則是，蜈蚣陣是一種連結數塊長板和輪架的加長型棚車，相當難駕馭。同時，此點也更加凸顯台南地區刈香形式遶境的特色：每場遶境隊伍中都有這種華麗的、神秘的，生動有力的蜈蚣陣共襄盛舉。

在進行這些遶境的田野調查研究時，我們也可發現有其他形式遊行被納入較大規模遶境活動之中，或在同一場慶典中舉行。有些是在儀式慶典準備期間完成的，例如蜈蚣陣的「架棚」(*ka-pe<sup>n</sup>*)，有些則是利用民眾大動員之際，順便納入慶典的整體框架中，例如西港慶安宮的「南巡」(*lam-sun*)。有時可能在遶境途中某特別地點舉行儀式，如此一來可能影響遶境時間，最重要的是會影響我們在此最關注的遶境路線，例如學甲香的「上白礁」(*Siong Peh-ta*)，或西港香的「請媽祖」(*Chhia<sup>n</sup>-Ma-cho*)。後面這兩種宗教儀式都收錄在本地圖集中，因為都包含遊行形

式的移動，總歸都是慶典的其中一環，有時甚至與其糾結交錯難以分開。此外，這些儀式也透露一些有關空間的概念和宗教遊行的特色。

這裡唯一遺珠之憾是蘇厝和西港的請王和上舟送王的遊行儀式。燒王船代表瘟神們重返天上的象徵性旅程，此最後儀式別具特色，不僅是線性的，也是一條「不歸路」：遊行隊伍在回程之前已經全部解散、參與者也各自返回出發點。整體資料蒐集及整理工作仍是一項進行中的過程，當基本資料內容更充實時，這種地圖就可修改、更細化、更精準。在更多田野調查工作之後，此部份不足可望在不久將來陸續補齊。最重要的是，最困難部份已告完成，這些稍縱即逝的短暫活動已被擷取，並呈現於地圖上。

希望大家已經了解到宗教遊行活動確實是人類活動的重要顯現，也是台灣深具影響力的民間制度。其生氣盎然和悠久歷史證明了宗教遊行的舉行承載著深遠意義、信仰和期望，至少對地方居民而言。台灣是華語傳統世界中碩果僅存的少數地方之一，在此地仍可看到這種呈現社會暨歷史深處所有分支脈絡的宗教活動形式。值此全球各地的傳統文化逐漸式微之際，此種現象在未來甚至更有價值。我們現在就必須確保這些傳統和所伴隨環繞的知識會傳承至下一代。

在我們的專業領域中仍具前所未有且龐大的工作尚待完成，尤其在台灣的每個地區還保存著具空間內涵的社會宗教組織系統，因此必須持續探索台灣這幅錯綜複雜卻又無比精彩的儀式性暨信仰性的地圖。今日我們仍然有機會去繪製此種真實的但銘刻於集體記憶和短暫且非物質活動中的地圖。只要跟隨本地圖集一小步一小步繼續往前邁進，這幅台灣社會宗教地圖的形像將會愈來愈清晰。

## Gods' Imprints, Humans' Technology – Religious maps, Satellite Imagery

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**T**his Atlas presents a series of forty-six maps recording processional routes. It deals with seven events and puts on view seven territories and sacred places in the region of Tainan. This new study of processions based on cartographic material constitutes an original entry into the understanding of Taiwan's cultural space, popular religion, as well as local history.

Beyond words and comments, the maps of this Atlas speak for themselves and show that processions are definitely important phenomena. As we can see, these religious events evolve into vast regions when we compare their scales to those of the everyday life activities of the local people. Their magnitude is also conveyed by the fact that, in order for them to take place in this manner, across this vast amount of space, they have to mobilize thousands of people and bring into play plenty of resources. Their form can only be the result of extended experiences and memories accumulated over time. On another level, these maps draw direct attention to processional rituals, whereas one is used to looking at either other rituals or other ritual officiants to find the religious meaning of local festivals.

Processions are, in fact, not just colorful adjunct to festivals, or subsidiary events but, instead, for the large majority of local people, their major focus in terms of participation and beliefs. Bringing into play a geographic representation, and most importantly here, a representation based on scientific data collected as the events take place (thanks to high-end technological methods and instruments), opens up a new way of considering the subject of processions and, even beyond, of local religious activities in Taiwan. The approach itself, applied to this type of object, is ground-breaking in the field of GIS and shows potential.

The influence of religious beliefs and activities on space organization is an important socio-cultural parameter in Taiwan. Among all religious activities, processions play a prominent role in constructing space. The current technological means of geographic data collection enables us to give detailed account of processional routes and to project this union of human beings and their gods on a planetary scale via satellite imagery, therefore providing a place on Earth for apparently tiny but surely great folk events.

Taiwan is one of the rare places around the world where the performance of religious processions of large dimension is still lively and overwhelming and, at the same time, where Geographic Informative Science system technology has been sophisticatedly developed. Using high-end technology to study intense traditions is a superb blend of two expressions of human creativity, making Taiwan a quite unique case in the world.

Thanks to the Geographic Informative Science system operated by the GIS Center, Research Center of Humanities and Social Sciences (RCHSS) of the Academia Sinica, the current documentation could be gathered and processed. The present maps are just one portion of the GIS Center archived digital data. Due to favorable timing and proximity, these seven Tainan events have been put together to form a unique body in order to facilitate comparative research. I, myself, took part in this project as a visiting scholar at the GIS-RCHSS in 2012 and by reason of my specialization on Taiwanese popular religion with a specific focus on processions. Tainan being the region where I have been conducting extensive fieldwork for the past twenty-five years, I could also facilitate contacts and decisions with temples' responsible persons and local people.

### ■ *Toward a real appreciation of processions*

Social sciences have demonstrated that the organization of space is not naturally given, and that each society constructs the space it occupies. Each society stamps its mark on the space around it and, in return, this constructed space epitomizes the profound expression of local organization and culture. The notion of territory is even more complex, since it results from an authority (be it worldly or symbolic) that applies over a space with borders and that ensures its defense; from it expands a sense of belonging and identity.

The local society of the region of Tainan, where the former Taichiang and Taofeng lagoons lay, has chosen a striking and significant way to imprint the space

it occupies and to construct, over time, both its territory and its cultural identity. It does so through the regular performances of collective rituals taking the form of processions.

A wide range of people believe that processions have little significance and only pay attention to the spectacular appearance of their corteges, thinking that those only amount to a noisy and colorful animation. To reduce Taiwanese traditional processions to a type of carnival parade would be a great mistake, and local communities should prevent their transformation into mere tourist attractions, cultural shows, commercial ventures, or else opportunities of public exposure for politicians, since this would cause —actually is already causing— direct and rapid damage to their inner structure and functions. The actual qualities of processions that outsiders —be they tourists, traders, patrons, politicians, the public, the media— are looking for in the first place are, ironically, gradually impaired by their very presence! These outsiders then become the unintended destroyers of what they claim to value. It is necessary to swiftly acknowledge that the notion of cultural sustainability also applies in the case of traditions and that a large section of traditional immaterial culture in Taiwan is already in jeopardy, despite its increasing recognition. Various parameters show that these paradoxes could become fatal<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fiorella Allio [艾茉莉] 2009. Capturing Intangible Culture and Ephemeral Manifestations: The Perpetuation of Taiwanese Traditions in Temple Processions [Xiequ wuxing wenhua he duanzan huodong xianxian: Taiwan miaoyu raojing chuantong wenhua zhi yongxu chuancheng; 擷取無形文化和短暫活動顯現：台灣廟宇遶境傳統文化之永續傳承]. In *Objects, Heritage and Cultural Identity* (Wenwu, wenhua yichan yu wenhua rentong; 文物、文化遺產與文化認同), eds. Frank Muyard, Liang-Kai Chou and Serge Dreyer [梅豪方、周樑楷、唐一安主編], 239-282. Nantou [南投]: Taiwan Historica [國史館臺灣文獻館].



Furthermore, another group of people may think that processions are not rituals per se and are just performed in occasion of another ritual event of greater importance, to which they are necessarily subordinated, such as a Taoist service, *jiao* (醮), or a “Service celebrating the Royal Lords of Epidemics in a palace”, *wangfu keyi* (王府科儀), or the Burning of a Royal Boat, *shao wangchuan* (燒王船), often carried out during the same festival. Processions may be related to other rituals, indeed, like in Saikang, and even more so in So-chhu, but may be, on the contrary, self-contained and exclusive like in Moatau. Thus, processions hold their own functions and form a symbolic and social framework in themselves. They should be studied for their intrinsic value, as topics in their own right.

How should we appreciate them without damaging them? How should we approach them and reveal their true nature? One of the objectives of this Atlas is to contribute to a better understanding of processions, and the method proposed offers new perspectives for data collection and analysis, key stages for an elaboration of knowledge.

### ■ *Processions and space construction*

Traditional processions are religious in nature and their display is as intense as their components are rich. But at the same time, processions are rituals with strong spatial connotations and this is why they are specifically addressed here. Actually, of all the forms of rituals, processions are the most deeply connected to territory. During the performance of processions, ritual actors step on their land

and get a sense of the space on an actual scale. They reach various points and go through definite steps and, as in the case of the processions we are dealing with in this Atlas, eventually circumscribe the spatial sphere and mark the territorial boundaries that need to be symbolically reaffirmed, and protected from supernatural aggressions.

In other words, this type of ritual moves all along within the area that the ritual action is expected to impact. What does that mean? Why is that so special, though seemingly trivial? Compared with other ritualistic ways, in other cultures, of expressing a link with the space and influencing it, such as, for instance, reciting a list of place names during a rite and making the gesture of trampling, or drawing on a material medium a site and making it sacred, or projecting mentally a miniaturized oriented sphere over an existing territory, or representing a metaphor of the universe on earth, the performance of a procession, as for it, proceeds differently. It is through their *immediate* and *physical* action, their on-the-spot displacement, that the participants, be they human or supernatural, conceive achieving their ritual goal and influencing their living space. During the time of the performance, the actual territory becomes a large sacred sphere in which the inhabitants play the role of ritual actors.

In Taiwan, we can find various types of processions, even if, from the outside, their appearance and their content look quite similar, with processional troupes or floats, banners, flags, placards, lanterns, percussions, parasols, palanquins. These elements are not put together haphazardly, but are arranged in an orderly manner

and structured by an embedded system. Processions can mobilize thousands of ritual agents that act, not individually, but within a formation called “processional formation” (*hiu<sup>n</sup>-tin*, 香陣), sent by the villages, the cult communities they belong to. Dozens of local communities and temples are represented this way and dozens of cortege formations are operated by the locals. The two main units composing a formation are, in order of march, firstly, a processional troupe (*tin-thau* 陣頭, literally “ahead of the formation”), in the front as its generic name indicates<sup>2</sup>, such as a Songjiang Troupe, a Flowery Drum Troupe—floats or carriages, such as the Centipedes, occupy the same position—and, secondly, a palanquin (*sin-kio*, 神轎), at the rear, containing deities’ statues and an incense-burner. The crowd of worshipers, pilgrims, votaries, representing only themselves or close family members, follow the cortege with a stick of incense in their hands. Sometimes they precede the main deity of the cortege, sweeping and cleaning up the way.

The scope and functions of processions may vary a lot from one to another, calling in each case for a careful identification and characterization of underlying patterns.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes one model of procession asserts itself and spread out over an entire region, as is the case for the *koah-hiu<sup>n</sup>* in the Tainan region of concern here.

<sup>2</sup> Traditionally, *yizhen* (藝陣) is never used, never employed by the actors and organizers of processions. This term, which is relatively recent, reminds us that vernacular designations are often despised and considered not prestigious enough, regardless of their intrinsic meaning and the important information they purport about the context they belong to.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fiorella Allio [艾茉莉] 2004. Procession [Zongjiao youxing 宗教遊行]. In *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture* [Dangdai zhongguo wenhua baikequanshu; 當代中國文化百科全書], 485-487. London: Routledge.

## ■ *Processional landscape in Taiwan, with special focus on Tainan*

*Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup>* (刈香), as they are called in Tainan<sup>4</sup> (literally, “to share out incense”), constitute the most spectacular examples of Taiwanese territorial processions. Four of the seven events covered by the present Atlas are called *koah-hiu<sup>n</sup>*: those of the regions of Hakkah (學甲), Tho<sup>n</sup>-sia<sup>n</sup>-a (土城仔), Moatau (麻豆), Saikang (西港); events abbreviated as Hakkah *hiu<sup>n</sup>* (學甲香), Tho<sup>n</sup>-sia<sup>n</sup>-a *hiu<sup>n</sup>* (土城仔香), Moa-tau *hiu<sup>n</sup>* (麻豆香), Saikang-a *hiu<sup>n</sup>* (西港仔香), to list them according their chronological order in 2012. One striking fact regarding the region surrounding the Zengwen River is that it celebrates five huge *koah-hiu<sup>n</sup>*. Huang Wen-po has coined them as *Nanying wu daxiang* (南瀛五大香) in a book published by the Cultural Center of Tainan County<sup>5</sup>. This expression has been retained and used again and again, under different circumstances. This Atlas is showing four of them, since they took place in the same period of time, during the spring of 2012. Out of the five, only the *koah-hiu<sup>n</sup>* of Siaulong (蕭壠) (present-day Chiali (佳里)), which occurred one year earlier, is missing<sup>6</sup>.

Each festival is independent of the others and draws dozens of villages, thousands of residents together. Each one delimits its ritual boundaries and

<sup>4</sup> The Mandarin pronunciation of this term, which would be *yixiang*, is never used by the locals.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 黃文博 [Huang Wen-po] 1994. 南瀛刈香誌 [Nanying Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> zhi; *Monography of Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> Processions in the Tainan Region*]. 台南縣新營市 [Hsin-ying city, Tainan County]: 台南縣立文化中心 [Tainan County Cultural Center].

<sup>6</sup> However, the GIS Center had collected the same kind of data in 2011, thanks to the tireless endeavor of Hung Ying-fa (洪瑩發) and his many comrades.

circumscribes its own sacred territory. These divisions do not correspond to administrative ones and follow a different logic of distinction from that concerned by official government. Each territory is oriented toward a geographical center where a central temple is located. It is rare, although not impossible, that this location and the central temple would change over time<sup>7</sup>. This center is also the focal point from where the cortege departs every morning and goes back to every night. The name of the central temple is sometimes used for the denomination and localization of the whole festival but it is understood that all the participating temples and communities of the procession, in this case all the local temples, are equally important for its accomplishment. Without them, the performance of a *koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> would not be possible, and the event would simply be something else. This is an essential characteristic to be distinguished and one would not grasp the basic meaning of the *koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> type of rituals in the Tainan region otherwise. Indeed, the route of the procession leads to all of these temples and communities, and the cortege is made up almost exclusively of their formations. Another particularity of the *koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> type of procession is that it takes place on a regular basis, generally every three years, and in some cases is organized at the same time as the greeting of Royal Lords of Epidemics (*un-ong* (瘟王)), called Chhian-soe-ia (千歲爺), and a Taoist service for the Royal Lords (*ong-chio* (王醮)).

Two other processions which centers are, in chronological order, So-chhu

Chin-ho·kiong (蘇厝真護宮) and So-chhu Tiong-heng kiong (蘇厝長興宮), are not called *koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> by the locals. These tours of inspections are considered as ritual extensions of the more static ceremonies performed in the Royal Palace (*wangfu* 王府) for hosting the Royal Lords of Epidemics. The presence of two central temples in Sucuo results from a split of the original cult community. Thus, their processions —partially overlapping—, of a smaller size, duration and range, compared with the other ones in the Atlas, somehow imply a notion of inner space construction. In Addition, they also include processional visits to allied temples, outside their immediate territories, and especially for that of Chin-ho·kiong, to Liu-ia<sup>n</sup> (柳營), from where the first Royal Boat So-chhu ever hosted is supposed to originate.

The last type of procession dealt with is the most particular of this series. The event was organized at the initiative of Macho-keng-a Thian-ho·kiong (媽祖宮仔 天后宮) and is not performed on a regular basis. Its pattern is totally different since it is not a territorial procession in the strict sense but a *chhut-sun* (出巡), yet with strong orientation notions. In the present case, the movement is mainly oriented towards the east, from the point of view of Thian-ho·kiong, close to the western coastline.<sup>8</sup> The daily spatial sections of the route are continuous, that is, each one starts where the previous one ends, forming a loop only in the end; their spatial reference is not a center. To put it simply, the main deity, Matsu, goes on a ritual

<sup>7</sup> This has already happened in the region of Saikang. The *Koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> involves nowadays ninety-odd cult communities, with Qing'an gong (慶安宮) as a geographical center, but, more than two hundred years ago, it started with thirteen villages, with Yide gong (懿德宮) (today Guma gong (姑媽宮)) as a focal center.

<sup>8</sup> Yet, this three-day eastward procession is preceded, five days earlier, by a one-day long southward itinerary called *lam-sun* (南巡). Very often the directions north, south, east and west are included in the vernacular names designating these oriented processions. The verbs suggesting the march may vary according to cardinal directions, such as in *lam-sun*, *pak-siu* (北狩).

excursion in the region for three days and visits allied temples; she spends two nights outside. During her tour, she is accompanied by the palanquins and formations of allied temples —but not necessarily those she is visiting during her journey. It is the symbolic efficacy of the deity Matsu and the involvement of Thian-ho' kiong that generate such huge support and participation from temples.

All the nuances mentioned above and their socio-religious implications are very important and mean a lot to the locals. Consequently, they need to be clearly taken into consideration during the analytical stage. In themselves, they confirm the complexity of the religious processions phenomena.

Elsewhere in Taiwan, there exist many processions with a clear territorial scope too, detaining more or less the same characteristics as the ones described above, although rarely reaching their dimensions. They might involve several segments and form an inter-communal procession or be a single unit circulating on its own territory, sometimes assisted by allied temples; sometimes the partners rotate for its performance but the results are supposed to benefit to all. They might be designated by different names according to local customs and local idioms, or just by a generic term, such as, *iu-keng* (遊境) —the most usual, whatever the scope of the procession may be—, *iu-chng* (遊庄), *seh-chng* (迓庄), *seh-ke* (迓街), *un-chng* ((?)庄) in hok-lo language. *Raojing* (遶境) entails the same notion but is the generic designation of this category of events in mandarin, not in vernacular language. Processions unquestionably imply and reveal social networks. In some places, those networks do exist, but do not materialize into a coordinated spatial

and temporal event, such as a procession, and remain the sum of independent ritual acts, with only basic spatial attributes.

### ■ *Processions as social forms of organization*

Structurally speaking, *territorial processions* have to be distinguished from *pilgrimage processions*, precisely in regards to the notion of territory that the formers do convey and the latter do not. Rather than making a loop —departing every day from and returning to a central point— according to an itinerary that manifests in the end the limits of the entire territory and, above all, that distinguishes an exterior from an interior —a common space of identification—, a pilgrimage procession, instead, is linear. It goes back and forth: starting from one place, heading towards a main destination —sometimes making several stops in-between—, then, returning to its starting point, without encircling any space, delimiting any boundary, nor visiting the temples of the formations present in the cortege. Moreover, the two types of processional events are based on different socio-religious institutions. Broadly speaking, pilgrimages, without mentioning all nuances since my concern here only relates to the construction of space and the distribution of symbolic power —two aspects intricately interwoven—, are underpinned by the institution of "division of incense" (*hun-hiu* 分香), an act through which a subsidiary cult is established from an original/old one. This act consists of taking incense ashes from the main incense-burner of the ancestral temple and of placing the ashes into the incense-burner of the subsidiary temple

—sometimes into another material support. On the field, this type of rite can also be called "division of supernatural power" (*hun-leng* 分靈), which is an expression emphasizing, in some way, the manifestation of the inherent power of the divinity. Such a bond is held in collective memory, maintained through regular visits and renewals of the initial act, hence the performance of communal pilgrimages.<sup>9</sup>

Absolutely no similar ritual act or its renewal is performed for the fulfillment of a territorial procession and its most elaborate illustration, the *koah-hiu*" type of procession; neither any metaphorical descent is necessary for its institution. The partners of the procession rather unite on the principles of equal participation and reciprocal exchange and they do not necessarily worship the same deity. Their focus is principally on the delimitation of a common territory, its symbolic defense, its promotion, its prosperity, the resolution of supernatural problems taking place on it, and at the same time, on the regulation of their mutual relations within this territory. Such a territory is not just an abstract construct; it is physically highlighted through the itinerary of the procession, the march of the participants.

This inner territory has a specific vernacular name: *hiu*"-*keng* (香境), meaning "ritual territory". The route of the procession is called "incense road" (*hiu*"-*lo* 香路). The term "incense" is multifaceted: burned in temples and in each palanquin, incense is brought all over the territory where exorcism, pacification and

<sup>9</sup> The tricky thing is that, very often, not all stops on a pilgrimage tour are conditioned by a symbolic descent link. This criterion determines important distinctions in vernacular language. A pilgrimage procession in the situation where the visited temple is the original place of cult is called *iat-cho* (謁祖), otherwise it is called *chin-hiu*" (進香), which is more generic and can imply various phenomena. Moreover, an existing symbolic descent link may be contested over time, and an original destination may be discarded.

blessing are performed. It has also come to mean "ritual", "religious", "sacred" in general. The *hiu*"-*lo* includes different *lo-koan* (路關) (stops/steps/passes) —such as temples located in the heart of villages, or specific spots—, but also the space in-between the stops, natural and supernatural, which the procession is also meant to influence. The cortege of the procession is introduced by a symbolic object also charged with religious meaning called *lo-koan-pai* (路關牌), "passes placard", consisting of a board on which are written the different stops and stages of the itinerary, sometimes orientations and directions. A new placard is prepared every day for the section of the territory that the procession has to visit.

Inter-communal territorial processions operate the physical linkage, at a symbolic level but also at a socio-religious level, of cult communities. They bond together entities living in contiguity within the same region. Otherwise those villages would be just neighbors, organized internally but separately from one another. Here they form a supra-local institution, a socio-religious type of alliance, structured by the accomplishment of the same large-scale ritual, by the construction of a common place<sup>10</sup>. In return, inter-communal territorial processions, more than any other ritual, are able to make manifest the social and symbolic organization of an entire region: they are both driving forces and revelators. Not only do they entail religious facets —they accomplish

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Fiorella Allio [艾茉莉] 2003. Spatial organization in a ritual context. A preliminary analysis of the *Koah-hiu*" processional system of the Tainan region and its social significance [Yishi mailuo zhong de kongjian zuzhi. Tainan diqu *Koah-hiu*" raojing xitong zhi chubu fenxi ji qi shehui yiyi; 儀式脈絡中的空間組織。台南地區刈香遶境系統之初步分析暨其社會意義]. In *Beliefs, Ritual and Society* (Xinyang, yishi yu shehui; 信仰、儀式與社會), ed. Lin Mei-rong [林美容主編], 131-177. Taipei [臺北]: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica [中央研究院民族研究所].

simultaneously an exorcism, a propitiation and a blessing, in order to get rid of noxious elements and to attract prosperity all over the territory—, but they also contain socio-political dimensions, forming a holistic system of representation and organization of local society<sup>11</sup>. On another level, territorial processions are the engines of collective identity as they drive local communities into developing a profound rooting and collective sense of belonging that last over time, sometimes despite dramatic alterations of the environment<sup>12</sup>. This last aspect makes the case of the processions taking place where the former Taichiang and Taofeng lagoons lay, sometimes over two hundred years old, even more significant.

### ■ *How to scroll through the pages of this Atlas*

This Atlas presents a large series of maps recording processional routes. One can embrace all of them at a single glance looking at the summarized record on page one. On the following pages, as noted above, processions are sorted according to the date of their occurrences, one case after the other, day after day. For each of

the seven events, one map gathers in the first place all the spatiotemporal sections of the procession, that is to say, the entire surface area covered by the cortege after several days. On some of the days, two different processional events were unfolding at the same time in the region, attesting to the intensity of Tainan socio-religious life, but increasing the technical difficulty of data collection!

The territorial processions called *koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> implicitly form a whole section by themselves, as they are the four last events, and the last and larger set of maps in the Atlas. For the four *koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> cases, one will find two separate maps for a single day. These documents summarize the data collected by distinct GPS equipment placed on two different types of processional components: on a palanquin (*sin-kio* 神轎) —in almost all cases, that of the main deity seating at the rear of the cortege—, and on the Centipede (*gia-kang-tin* 蜈蚣陣). This dual data collection takes into account the fact that the Centipede does not necessarily follow the same route as that of the rest of the cortege, for ritual reasons —since it has to execute special rites on its side—, and practical reasons —since it is an extended carriage quite difficult to handle. At the same time, this sheds more light on one particularity of the *koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> type of processions in the Tainan region: all of them include magnificent, mysterious, powerful Centipedes in their corteges.

In doing fieldwork research on these processions, one can also notice that other types of processional events are embedded within bigger ones or are performed during the same festival. Some are accomplished in preparation, such as the *ka-pe*<sup>n</sup> (架棚) of the Centipede, other ones are included in the general

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Fiorella Allio [艾茉莉] 1996. *Ritual, Territory and Local Power: the Procession of the Saikang Region (Tainan, Taiwan)* [in French], [Yishi, jingyu he difang shili: Taiwan Tainan Saikang diqu Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> huodong; 儀式、境域和 地方實力：台灣台南西港地區之刈香活動 [法文版]]. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology and Comparative Sociology, Paris 10<sup>th</sup> University-Nanterre, France [法國隆特爾巴黎第十大學人類學暨比較社會 學系博士論文].

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 艾茉莉 [Fiorella Allio] 2002. 遶境與地方身份認同：地方歷史的儀式上演 [Raojing yu difang shenfen rentong: difang lishi de yishi shangyan; Processions and Identity: the Ritual Staging of Local History], 法國漢學叢書 [Faguo hanxue congshu; Sinologie française], 宗教史專號 [Zongjiaoshi zhuanhao; Special issue on religious history] 7: 376-396. 北京 [Peking]: 中華書局/法國東方學院 [Zhonghua shuju/Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient]; 方淑美 [Fang Shu-mei] 1992. 臺南西港仔刈香的空間性 [Tainan Saikang-a Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> de kongjian xing; Spatiality in the Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> of Saikang (Tainan)]. 臺北 [Taipei]: 國立臺灣師範大學地理研究所碩 士論文 [Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue dili yanjiu suo shuoshi lunwen; Master Thesis, Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University].

framework of the festival, mining on the mobilization of people, such as Saikang Keng-an kiong *lam-sun* (西港慶安宮南巡). Sometimes a rite would unfold on one particular site which would influence the timing and, most importantly for our concern here, the route of the procession, such as Siong Peh-ta (上白礁) during Hakkah hui<sup>n</sup>, or Chhia<sup>n</sup>- Ma-cho<sup>·</sup> (請媽祖) for Saikang-a hui<sup>n</sup>. They were included in the Atlas because they had a processional form and were parts of the festivals anyway, sometimes bound up inextricably. Besides, they told something about space conception and processions' characteristics.

The only missing pieces here are the processions for the invitation of the Gods of Epidemics, and those for their farewell aboard a sacred Boat burnt to signify their symbolic journey back to Heaven (in So-chhu and in Saikang). The last ones have the particularity not only of being linear but also with “no return”, in the sense that the cortege is totally dismantled prior to the return and the participants go back to the area of departure on their own. The whole endeavor of data collection and processing is an on-going process and these kinds of maps can be refined and corrected while the data can be expanded. Actually this will be done later, in the near future, with the conduct of more fieldwork enquiries. The most important thing is that the difficult part has already been accomplished and these ephemeral events have been seized and transcribed onto maps.

As one has hopefully already understood, processions are indeed important manifestations of human activity, as well as influential folk institutions in Taiwan. Their vivacity and longevity prove that their performance is loaded with

significance, faith and expectations, at least for the locals. Taiwan is one of the last rare places in the Chinese-speaking world where one can see this form of religious activities in all its social and historical depth. With the disappearance of traditional culture worldwide, this type of phenomena will acquire even more value in the future. We need to make sure now that they, as well as the knowledge attached to them, will be transmitted to the next generations.

In the field of our competence remains the immense and unprecedented task of tracing the intricate but fabulous ritual and spiritual map of Taiwan, where every region maintains their socio-religious organizational systems with spatial connotations. We still have an opportunity today to draw this type of map that is real, although inscribed in collective memories and in immaterial and ephemeral activities. This socio-religious representation of Taiwan may become more and more precise with the kind of small steps walked through this Atlas.

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