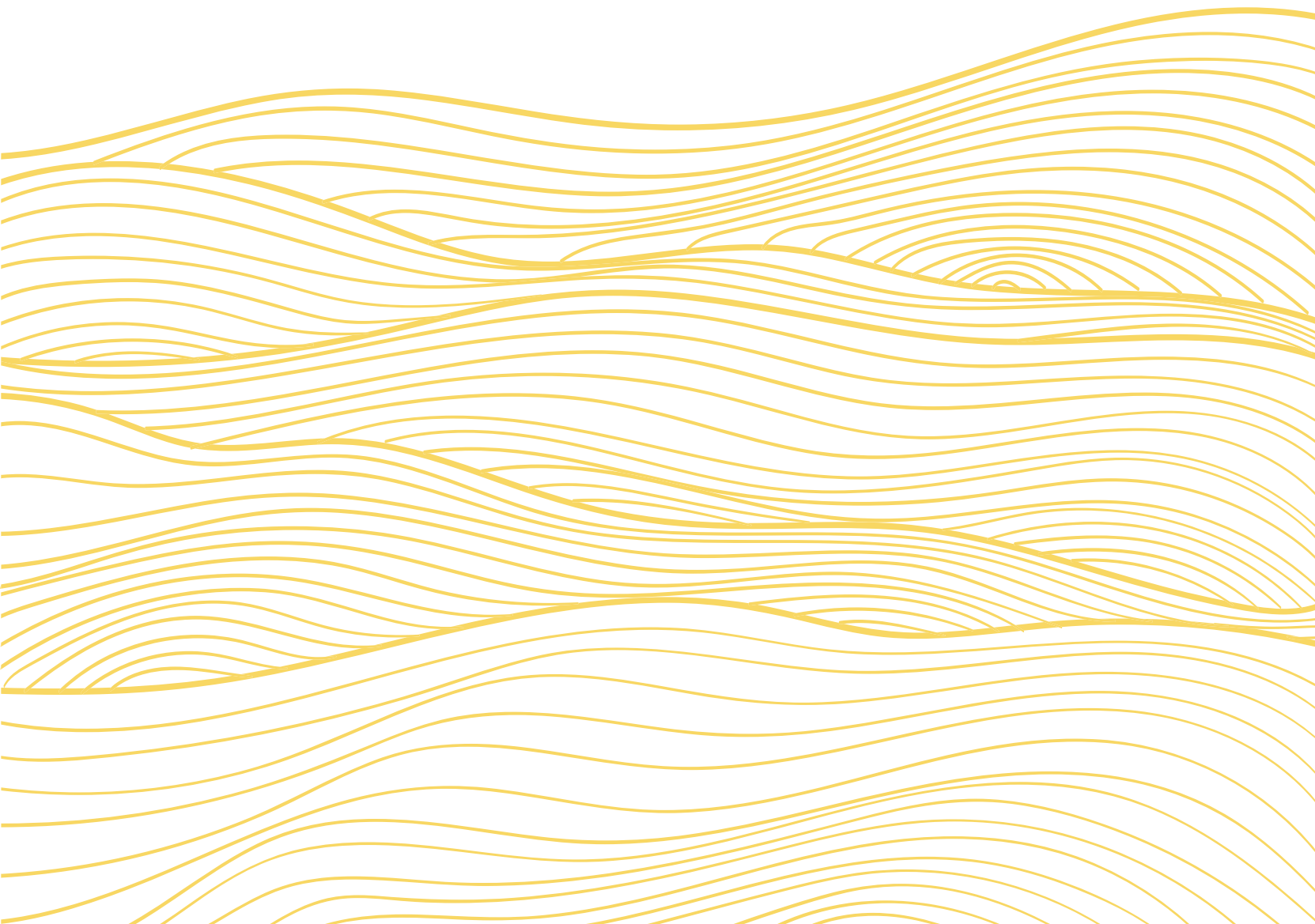




**The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore:
Heritage, Culture, and Community**

**新加坡九皇文化：
社群，信仰与传统**

Volume 2A



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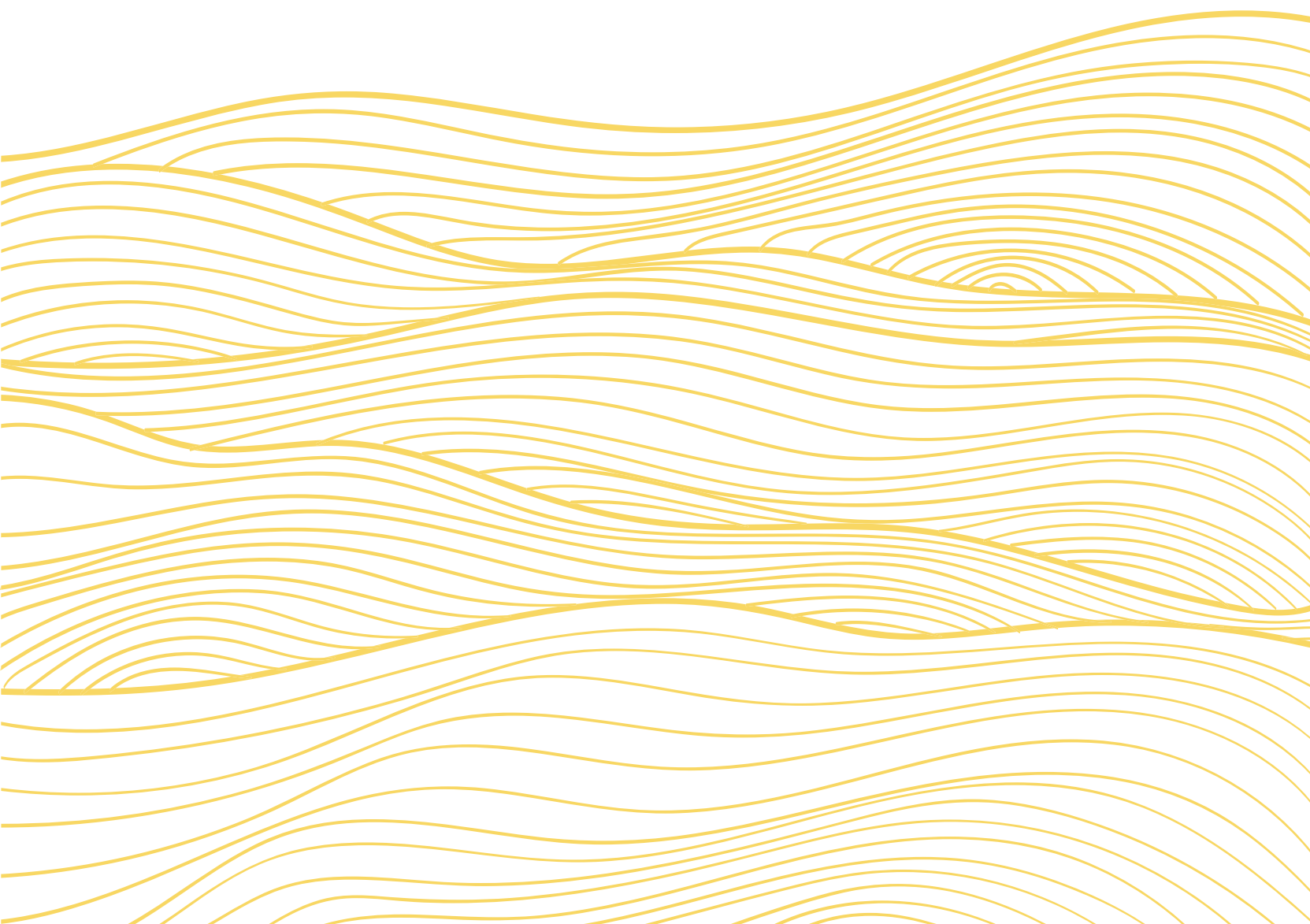
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第 1 章

Introduction 导言



Introduction

The usually quiet Nine Emperor Gods temples and their constituent communities across Singapore gradually come to life at the turn of the eighth lunar month with great excitement and anticipation. In fact, even the other celebrated major festive periods in these temples, such as Lunar New Year, Seventh Month, Thanksgiving rituals during the conclusion of the lunar calendar, and birthdays of other key deities, pale in comparison to the scale, intensity and fervour of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

Temple members and helpers working in close contact with the Inner Chambers of the Nine Emperor Gods temples, the censers, and other objects directly related to the Nine Emperor Gods, begin their diet and abstinence from alcohol, sexual relations and contact with potentially ritually polluting situations. Additionally, the Nine Emperor Gods temples are thoroughly cleaned during the said eighth month, with particular concentration on the kitchen. After cleaning, temples not only raise the sign for *zhai jie*, but also replace their usual red-themed decorations with yellow, for instance yellow lanterns and candles. Worshippers officially begin their vegetarian diet and abstinences thereafter to prepare themselves for the onset of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

At the end of the eighth lunar month, particularly during the evening of the final day, large crowds dressed in white, yellow or a combination of the two colours usually gather at water sources—the sea, rivers, or reservoirs—across Singapore, including East Coast Park, Changi Beach, Punggol Marina, Kranji, Tuas to receive the Nine Emperor Gods. Often, the devotees kneel in silence save for the chants of the Daoist priests and Buddhist ritual specialists, the rhythms of their bells and other musical or chanting instruments, and the crashing of the waves. Whilst some temples send their representatives into the sea to receive a sacred but secret object, or to “invite” water via incense censers or containers, others would receive confirmation through the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods through their mediums, or by casting divination blocks after the invitation rituals. Common across the temples is the recognition of the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods with the rocking and swaying of the palanquins carrying the censers and sacred objects en route to the temples and festival sites that are accompanied by elated shouts from the contingents and crowds present.

Officially, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is marked by the lighting and raising of the Nine Lamps at the temples or festival sites prior to or after the coastal inviting ceremony. Maintained lit throughout the nine festival days, the lamps are only taken down on the 10th day to signify the end of the festival. The nine days of the festival witness temples and festival sites receiving continuous streams of devotees seeking to pay respects and make offerings in addition to their attendance of special rituals for blessings, performances, special events and prayer sessions. In fact, special rituals scheduled in the early hours of the morning are attended by smaller groups of temple participants in certain temples. Medium consultations are also conducted in tandem with some of the special rituals for devotees. Common to the experiences of the attendees and devotees is the experience of being constantly enveloped by incense smoke from various incense, including those in the censers or coiled incense hung from the ceiling. Considering the corralling of devotees, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival must also be recognised as an occasion for “reunifications” of friends, families, and even neighbours and former residents, as well as an arena for socialising and the formation of camaraderie with new people amidst their devotions to the Nine Emperor Gods at a time of self-purification and abstinence.

Devotees are also met with a free flow of vegetarian food at temples and festival sites, with some even evolving into vegetarian food fairs in the past decade. Similarly, special vegetarian feasts are also hosted for the Nine Emperor Gods. Food aside, the Nine Emperor Gods and the other attending devotees are also treated to opera and singing performances during the festival.

导言

农历八月，全岛各地的九皇大帝庙渐渐活跃起来。在一年中的大部分时间里，除了重大的农历节日，如农历新年、中元节/盂兰盆节、岁末的答谢神恩/谢港、庙宇其他主要神明的诞辰外，这些供奉九皇大帝的庙宇通常都是相对安静的场所。即便如此，这些节日的活动规模、投入强度和民众激情都比不上农历九月的九皇大帝圣诞。

到了八月初，这些庙宇便开始活跃起来。随着不同的庙宇陆续为九皇大帝圣诞做准备，其社区活动和伴随而来的喧嚣逐渐达到了一个新的高潮。参与筹备活动的庙宇成员，特别是那些与内殿、香炉及其他与九皇大帝相关物品有密切接触的义工，会在农历八月或更早前开始茹素、戒酒、禁欲及避免遇到可能会“污染”仪式的情况。这些庙宇将进行彻底的清洗工作，尤其是厨房。清洗后，义工们将竖起“斋戒”的大字报，并以黄色蜡烛取代红灯笼和蜡烛。之后，茹素和禁欲便正式开始，以迎接大日子的到来。

农历八月最后几天，尤其是最后一天的傍晚，大批身穿白色、黄色或这两种颜色搭配的信众，将聚集在东海岸公园、樟宜海滩、榜鹅滨海湾、克兰芝、大士等海边、河边或蓄水池等地，迎接九皇大帝的到来。放眼望去，尽是一片白黄相间的人海，信众们都跪下默祷，只有道士在钟声的伴奏下诵经的声音，或佛教法师偶尔敲打金属器皿的声音。多数庙宇会有理事代表和炉主随着海浪阵阵来潮，到海中迎接神秘圣物或进行“请水”仪式，取水装入香炉或礼器内。在其他庙宇，九皇大帝驾到也通过乩童显示。另外有一些庙宇则是请主持仪式的道长，庙宇代表或乩童在主持恭迎仪式后，通过掷筊的方式，确认神明的到来。随着呼喝声划破原本的寂静，圣轿开始摇晃，宣告九皇大帝的到来，大队也开始返回寺庙和节庆场所。九皇大帝驾到！

九盏天灯在当天较早，或是在九皇大帝和大队返回到庙里之后被升起，标志着九皇大帝圣诞庆典正式开始。九皇大帝圣诞期间，天灯都必需亮着。在大多数地方，只有在节日的第十天，天灯才会被降下来以标志节庆的正式结束。天灯升起之后的九天多的时间里，可见香炉中的烟袅袅升起，某些地方的庙宇天花板垂挂着螺旋贡香也使周遭无时无刻都烟雾缭绕。这九天中，信众络绎不绝地涌到庙宇中敬拜，他们聚集在一起祈福、观看表演、参与特别活动和祝祷仪式。在一些庙宇中，小部分信众会在清晨参加特别的仪式。这个庆典除了是朋友、家人团聚之所，更多时候还是邻居和九皇大帝庙宇原址前居民再聚之地，热闹程度堪比过年。对一些信众来说，他们可以在此与人结识，通过供奉九皇大帝建立起友谊，同时也是净化、禁欲、节俭和修身养性的好时机。

庙宇与法会场地也有免费素食等待着信众，有些甚至在过去十年间演变成素食集市。庙宇除了问事，也为信徒们举行特别的祝福仪式。九皇大帝也有特别的素食宴款待。戏曲和歌台表演会为九皇大帝和其他莅临庆典仪式的神明而组织。

By and large, the largest devotee turnout occurs on the evening of the ninth day—the height of the festival—for the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods, with devotees decked in white or yellow depending on their respective temples' dress codes. The ceremony often involves the sending away of the censer or some other sacred object by the sea or river by the temples and devotees. In some temples, the ceremony involves the attendance of the mediums and/or statues of the Nine Emperor Gods or other deities in these temples, as the censers, sacred objects, and deity statues made the journey to the sea or river in their rocking and swaying palanquins for their sending-off accompanied by the devotees. Unlike the old days where the processions took place by foot, present-day ceremonies, instead, might involve the use of hired buses and lorries for transportation of the devotees and helpers, palanquins and mediums. Sombre silence usually descends over the locations for the respective sending-off ceremonies once the rituals commence, with happiness and relief only achieved with the successful sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods via their censers, and the burning of the Dragon Ships and other implements of the festival, including the white headscarves and yellow cloth belts. That said, most temples regard the conclusion of the sending-off ceremony as being indicated by the lowering of the Nine Lamps the next morning as aforementioned, rather than the sending-off ceremony. Most temples today hold feasts to thank their helpers and devotees, as well as sponsors, after the festival, prior to the return to quiet normality till the following year.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival is one of the largest Chinese religious festivals in Singapore, Malaysia, and southern Thailand today. It continues to grow in scale and stature. What is the history of this festival in Singapore? How did the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods make its way to Singapore and how has the landscape of Nine Emperor Gods temples and festivals in Singapore changed in the last century and more? How have rituals and practices evolved? How have the Nine Emperor Gods temples and festival communities changed or adapted to the transformations in the physical, cultural, social and economic environments in Singapore? What are the key features of the festival today? What is the future of the festival? These are the questions that this chapter shall address before we enter into a visual tour of the fifteen festival sites and temples covered in our study.

► Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng (Kew Huang Keng) receiving the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun at East Coast Park.

九皇宫庙宇成员在东海岸迎接九皇大帝与斗姆元君圣驾。



到了初九晚上，更多信众将聚集在一起。根据庙方的着装要求，许多人再次穿上白色或黄色的衣服恭送九皇大帝。这是庆典的高潮，九皇大帝将降乩到乩童身上，香炉及其金身也将被邀请到圣轿中，圣轿随即晃动起来，带领随行的信众前往海边或河边。信众在早期会徒步到海边或河边去。在水边，静寂再次降临，恭送九皇大帝的庄严仪式开始了。神明通过香炉及龙船被送往大海或河流后，纸船的焚毁预示着节庆的圆满成功，让人倍感幸福和宽慰。对多数庙宇来说，这个庆典要到隔天才会随着九盏灯的降下而结束。如今，多数寺庙都会举行晚宴来感谢信徒和义工。随着信徒们恢复日常生活和作息并承诺明年再见，庙宇也恢复了往日的平静。

九皇大帝千秋是当今新加坡、马来西亚和泰国南部最大的华人宗教节日之一。它的规模和地位都在不断扩大。这个节庆在新加坡有着怎么样的历史？九皇大帝崇拜是如何传入新加坡的？九皇大帝庙宇与九皇大帝千秋的宗教景观，在过去一个多世纪里，是如何改变的？该节庆的礼仪和习俗如何一步步嬗变？九皇大帝庙宇和社团又是如何作出调整以适应新加坡的物质、文化、社会和经济环境的转变？今天九皇大帝千秋的主要特色是什么？节庆的发展前景如何？在进入我们研究的15个法会场所和庙宇各自的发展概况之前，本章将讨论这些问题。



◀ Devotees crossing the Bridge of Blessing at Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong.

信众在龙山岩斗母宫过平安桥。



◀ Raising the Nine Lamps at Leong Nam Temple following their cleaning and refuelling.

龙南殿的九盏天灯在被清洗和添油后再升起。

▶ Daoist priest conducting special prayers for the Nine Emperor Gods at Hong San Temple in the early hours of the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

九月初六清晨在凤山宫进行的特别祈福仪式。



▶ Paying respects to the Nine Emperor Gods at Kim San Tze prior to the sending-off ceremony.

恭送仪式开始前，金山寺的信众在大殿敬礼。





▲ Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang's (Yu Hai Tang's) censer masters escorting the Nine Emperors' censer out into the open sea.

玉海棠的炉主将九皇菩萨香炉送入海中。

Field Sites of Study and the Festival Landscape

Our project concentrated on documenting and researching fifteen temples and festival sites in Singapore that have a history of hosting the festival for more than three years. They are (in alphabetical order): Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng (henceforth, “Kew Huang Keng”, Arumugam Road), Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng (Teck Whye Lane), Hong San Temple (Defu Lane 12), Hougang Tou Mu Kung (Upper Serangoon Road), Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong Feng Shan Si (hereafter, “Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong” in Yishun Ring Road), Kim San Tze (Jalan Ulu Siglap), Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong (Ang Mo Kio Avenue 1), Leong Nam Temple (in Fernvale Crescent), Long Nan Szye (in Bukit Batok), Nan Shan Hai Miao (Bedok Reservoir Road), Shin Sen Keng (Jurong West Street 42), Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan Qing Nang Lao Yu Lou Chun (henceforth, “Xuan Wu Shan”, Jurong East Street 21, Yu Feng Jiu Huang Dian (in Jurong East Avenue 1), Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang (henceforth, “Yu Hai Tang”, Bedok Reservoir Road), and Zhun Ti Tang (Sengkang West), respectively. Fieldwork was conducted by our student teams in these sites over two festival cycles between May 2016 and March 2018. While our research primarily centered around these temples and sites during the festival period and the preceding month of preparation, our teams also sought to cover, whenever possible, other religious events taking place at these temples. This approach allowed us to gain a comprehensive understanding of the context and environments of these institutions and how they relate to the Nine Emperor Gods.

Aside from these fifteen temples, we have also come across many other temples that observed the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Some preliminary fieldwork was also performed at the Tiong Ghee Temple (Stirling Road), where the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was observed under Quanzhen Daoist auspices, focusing on Dipper worship rituals by the priests and the preparation of different Dipper Lamps during the nine days. Black and white photographs that are contained within a commemorative volume and the titular plaque of an altar devoted to Doumu and a wide-rimmed censer on the second floor of the premises today suggest that an older Nine Emperor Gods temple by the name of Mu Xian Gong may have merged with the temple in the 1970s.¹

In 2016, a new organisation, Nan Bei Dou Mu Gong, held its first festival in an open field located in front of the Eunos Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) Station. Interestingly, this entity seems to have drawn on Xinghua temples from the Putian community in Singapore for manpower and support, as well as the vegetarian fare offered during the festival.² Likewise, the Singapore Yu Huang Gong (Telok Ayer Street) also began observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in 2018 under Quanzhen auspices.³ The Nine Emperor Gods Festival was also observed at Hoon Sian Keng Temple (Upper Changi Road) between 2016 and 2018. This temple shared an important historical relationship with Sam Siang Keng Temple in Johor Bahru, which has been hosting the Nine Emperor Gods Festival after 1949.⁴

Not every temple that observed the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, however, had withstood the test of time. Regrettably, aside from their names, we have little information about these institutions and their histories. One organisation which observed the Nine Emperor Gods Festival before 1945 was the Yuan Tian Gong located in the Lemongrass Village (c. 1937).⁵ There might have also been a temple or following that was devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods at Tan Chu Kang (present-day Sungai Mandai Kechil), where opera performances were organised in the deities’ honour on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month of 1934.⁶ Similarly, photographs in the collection of Leong Nam Temple suggest that a temple known as Lian Shan Dou Mu Gong may have operated in post-War Singapore, although little knowledge about the temple’s activities exists today. Other organisations such as the Hougang Hua Long Gong Yun De Tan Xuan Zhong Miao and Sheng Nan Tan Jiu Shi Tan also hosted the Nine Emperor Gods Festival within the Great World City complex in the 1950s.⁷ Interestingly, this trend was already evident in Shanghai during the 1920s, with the hosting of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Shanghai’s Great World City. Furthermore, Leong Nam Temple was also founded within the premises of the East World Complex during the 1960s.⁸

¹ 女皇镇忠义庙庆祝重建廿五周年银禧纪念特刊 (新加坡: 女皇镇忠义庙, 1995), 62-64. A spirit tablet to the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu can be found on page 70 of the same publication.

² 曾薪机, “九皇爷诞各庙供应斋菜祭厝港斗母宫供6万块自创豆干 南北斗母宫制原味莆田佳肴,” 新明日报, October 5, 2019, e-copy retrieved from Factiva.

³ For context, see 柯木林, ed., 受禄于天: 走进新加坡玉皇宫 (新加坡: 新加坡道教协会, 2019).

⁴ 钟菱好, 李丽琴 and 刘燕丽, 柔佛庙宇文化 (马来西亚: 生活出版公司, 2008), 79-81; and 苏泉铭, “柔佛新山的九皇盛会: 三善宫摄影论文 (2019),” Nine Emperor Gods Project, January 25, 2020, <https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng>.

⁵ “九皇爷诞辰 焚香酬愿者捐赙,” 南洋商报, October 14, 1937, 5.

⁶ “陈厝港坊众 昨演戏庆祝九皇诞,” 星洲日报, October 16, 1934, 9.

⁷ “庆贺九皇爷神诞大世界热闹三晚,” 南洋商报, October 30, 1957, 14. Interestingly, in all three cases, these temples and altars were founded near two other established Nine Emperor Gods Temples.

⁸ 谢燕燕, comp., 庙宇文化: 新加坡民俗第一本 (新加坡: 焦点出版有限公司的, 2005), 125

研究场地和节庆景观

我们的研究项目聚焦于研究与记录新加坡15座至少有三年多举办庆典历史的庙宇和法会场所。它们是（按英文字母次序排列）：阿鲁姆甘路口的葱茅园九皇宫（以下简称“九皇宫”）、德惠巷的蔡厝港斗母宫、德福12巷的风山宫、实龙岗路上段的后港斗母宫、义顺环路的洪水港斗母宫、惹兰乌鲁实乞纳的金山寺、宏茂桥1道的龙山岩斗母宫、芬薇弯的龙南殿、武吉巴督的龙南寺、勿洛蓄水池路的南山海庙、裕廊西42街的神仙宫、裕廊东21街的玄武山翰林院老玉楼春（以下简称“玄武山”）、裕廊东1道的玉封九皇殿、勿洛蓄水池路的玉皇殿玉海荣观音堂（以下简称“玉海荣”）、盛港西的准提堂。我们的学生团队在2016年5月至2018年3月期间，在横跨两个庆典周期的时间里在这些地点进行实地考察。虽然我们的研究主要集中在庆典期间及其前一个月的准备工作，但我们的团队也尽可能地涵盖了这些庙宇的其他宗教活动，以更好地了解这些庙宇的背景和环境，以及它们与九皇大帝之间的联系。

除了这15座庙宇，我们还遇到过许多其他庆祝九皇大帝千秋的庙宇。此外，我们也在位于史德林路的忠义庙进行了一些初步的实地考察。这里的九皇大帝千秋的庆祝活动是在全真道教信众的主持下举行，其重点在于道长的礼斗仪式，以及九天中所准备的不同的斗灯。该庙纪念特刊中的黑白照片，以及目前置于二楼祭坛上的神牌和宽边香炉，都揭示了一座名为“母仙宫”的九皇大帝庙宇可能已在上世纪70年代与其合并。¹

2016年，南北斗母宫在位于友诺士地铁站前的空地上举办了首届九皇大帝千秋庆典。有趣的是，南北斗母宫似乎是借助新加坡莆田社区兴化庙提供人力、物力，以及节庆期间的素食。这座庙宇似乎是从莆田内外的许多兴化庙宇抽调组成。这些影响也直接反映在庙宇所提供的素食特色菜肴中。² 同样的，直落亚逸街的玉皇宫也于2018年通过全真道教仪式，庆祝九皇大帝千秋。³ 2016年至2018年期间，樟宜路上段的云仙宫也举行了庆典。这座庙宇与1949年后主办庆典的柔佛新山三善宫有着重要的历史渊源。⁴

然而，并不是所有庆祝九皇大帝千秋的庙宇都经得起时间的考验。遗憾的是，除了庙宇的名称外，我们对这些庙宇及其历史知之甚少。1945年以前庆祝九皇大帝千秋的庙宇之一是位于葱茅园的圆天宫。⁵ 新加坡陈厝港或许也有一座供奉着九皇大帝的庙宇。这间庙宇在1934年农历九月九日为九皇大帝准备了歌仔戏表演。⁶ 此外，龙南殿珍藏的照片显示，一座名为“莲山斗母宫”的庙宇或许曾出现在战后的新加坡，但人们对该庙宇的活动所知甚少。其他庙宇，如后港花龙宫云德坛玄忠庙、圣南坛救世坛等，也曾于1950年代在大世界游乐园举办九皇大帝千秋。⁷ 有趣的是，早在1920年代九皇大帝千秋已在上海大世界举办过。此外，龙南殿也在1960年代，在东方世界创立。⁸

¹ 《女皇镇忠义庙庆祝重建廿五周年银禧纪念特刊》（新加坡：忠义庙，1995），页62-64。在同一出版物的第70页上可以找到供奉九皇大帝和斗母娘娘的神主牌。

² 曾薪机，“九皇爷诞各庙供应斋菜蔡厝港斗母宫供6万块自创豆干 南北斗母宫制原味莆田佳肴”，新明日报，October 5, 2019，从Factiva获取的电子副本。

³ 请参与 柯木林，ed.，《受禄于天：走进新加坡玉皇宫》（新加坡：新加坡道教协会，2019）。

⁴ 钟菱好，李丽琴与刘燕丽，《柔佛庙宇文化》（马来西亚：生活出版公司，2008），79-81；苏泉铭，“柔佛新山的九皇盛会：三善宫摄影论文（2019）”，Nine Emperor Gods Project，January 25, 2020，<https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng>。

⁵ “九皇爷诞辰 焚香酬愿者捐赈”，南洋商报，October 14, 1937，5。

⁶ “陈厝港坊众 昨演戏庆祝九皇诞”，星洲日报，October 16, 1934，9。

⁷ “庆祝九皇爷神诞大世界热闹三晚”，南洋商报，October 30, 1957，14。有趣的是，在这三个案例中，这些庙宇和祭坛都建在另外两座已经存在的九皇大帝庙宇附近。

⁸ 谢燕燕编辑，《庙宇文化：新加坡民俗第一本》（新加坡：焦点出版有限公司的，2005），125。

▶ Leong Nam Temple visiting what seems to be Lian Shan Dou Mu Gong as seen from the characters emblazoned on the back of the drummers' clothing, 1985. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1985年，龙南殿拜访莲山斗母宫（从1985年鼓手衣服背面庙名）。照片由龙南殿提供。



Today, there are at least twenty temples observing the festival on the island. Each year, the number of Nine Emperor Gods Festival sites continues to increase as new organizations or altars are established to organize them, or older Nine Emperor Gods altars or temples are revived. This is partly attributed to the popularity and significance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival among Chinese communities in Singapore. The festival has garnered attention across various media platforms, both traditional and modern, particularly in relation to the preservation of intangible cultural heritage. As new generations become more acquainted with the festival and its historical importance to Chinese communities and their cultural traditions in Singapore, its prominence continues to grow. This, in itself, was not new, as there was a similar surge in interest in the 1980s and 1990s from the Singapore Tourism Board's attempts to include the festival in the marketing of Singapore as a tourist destination. As we delve further into this chapter and volume, it becomes evident that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival has successfully adapted to the rapidly changing physical and socio-cultural landscapes in Singapore since 1965. In parallel, younger generations of Singaporeans have started to embrace traditional culture and festivals such as the Nine Emperor Gods Festival as a means of negotiating their heritage and identity within a globalized world.

The Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore: An Early History

Most of the earliest known Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore before 1942 were founded with incense ashes that devotees had brought with them from two of the oldest Nine Emperor Gods temples in Malaysia, the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong in Penang and the Nan Tian Gong in Ampang respectively. In 1902, Ong Choo Kee brought incense ashes from the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong, and originally enshrined them within his home.⁹ Later, as the shrine's popularity grew, Ong Chwee Tow (d. 1924), a tycoon from Zhao'an who made his fortune in the pineapple business, contributed a large sum of money to the shrine's relocation to its incumbent premises. At its new (and current) site in 1921, stelae with the names of the temple's sponsors indicated that Ong Chwee Tow was the foremost donor among them, having contributed three thousand dollars to the temple's construction.¹⁰ The temple even had the luxury of having a permanent opera stage built within its grounds, where actors performed in the direction of the temple's Inner Chamber located on the second storey of an octagonal tower. Hougang Tou Mu Kung is widely recognized as the oldest Nine Emperor Gods temple in Singapore.

⁹ Ong Choo Kee was of Nan'an ancestry.

¹⁰ 徐李颖，九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫(新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006)，4。

如今，新加坡至少有20座庙宇庆祝这个节日。不断有举办九皇大帝千秋的新组织或神坛成立，也有过去的九皇大帝神坛或庙宇复兴，举办九皇大帝千秋的场所数量每年都在增长。这在一定程度上是由于九皇大帝千秋在新加坡华人社区具有一定的知名度和重要性，它受到新旧媒体平台的关注，特别是对非物质文化遗产的关注。新一代越来越熟悉这个节日，它在新加坡华人社区历史和传统文化中的重要性日益凸显。这一现象本身并不新鲜，因为在20世纪80年代和90年代，新加坡旅游局试图将这个节日纳入新加坡旅游业发展的规划中，对这个节日的兴趣也已出现过类似的激增。正如我们将在本章和本卷的其余部分看到的那样，这个节日已经适应了1965年后新加坡快速变化的自然和社会文化环境，因为年轻一代的新加坡人也开始将传统文化和节日，如九皇大帝千秋，作为他们在全球化的世界中遗产和身份认同的一部分。



▲ The Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Tiong Ghee Beo involves the revering of Dou Mu and the Dipper Lamps.

忠义庙九皇大帝千秋庆典。

新加坡的九皇大帝庙：早期历史

1942年以前，新加坡已知最早的九皇大帝庙宇多数是由信众从马来西亚最古老的两座九皇大帝庙宇，即檳城的香港巷斗母宫和安邦的南天宫带来香火而创立。1902年，王珠玑从香港街带来香灰，并将香灰供奉在家中。⁹ 后来，随着神龛的香火日益旺盛，一位因黄梨生意发家的大亨王水斗捐献了一大笔钱，将神龛搬迁至现址。1921年，后港斗母宫新址（也即现址）的庙宇碑记列出了庙宇捐献者名单，其中以王水斗为首的捐献者，为庙宇的兴建捐献了3000元。¹⁰ 该庙宇更搭建了一个永久性的戏台，戏班成员会朝位于二楼八角楼的内殿的方向表演。后港斗母宫是被公认的新加坡历史最悠久的九皇大帝庙宇。

⁹ 王珠玑的祖籍是南安。

¹⁰ 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》（新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006），4。

Located in Upper Serangoon Road since 1921, the Hougang Tou Mu Kung building includes an octagonal tower behind the main hall.

后刚斗母宫1921年搬迁到实龙岗路上段。庙宇后殿有两层楼的八角形塔。



Several other early Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore derived their incense lineage from the Ampang Nan Tian Gong as well. In the northern part of Lemongrass Village, particularly around Tai Seng, incense ashes from the Ampang temple were brought to the community in 1906 by three men of Zhangzhou ancestry, who enshrined the incense in a makeshift altar in the village. It was only in 1928 that a new temple was built and consecrated as the Hong San Temple.¹¹ A similar trajectory is observed in the history of Shin Sen Keng. The founder of Shin Sen Keng, who was a medium, brought incense ashes from Nan Tian Gong when he migrated to Singapore from Malaya in 1920, along with his wife. They settled in a village around Alexandra Road, where the inhabitants later supported them by building a temple dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods. When the couple returned to China, the shrine was left in the care of the kampong inhabitants who then proceeded to select a new medium from among their youths. The incense in Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong is also believed to have come from Ampang.

Main altar within the Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong containing a pair of couplets of the characters “sun” and “moon”, undated, c. late 1970s and 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

洪水港斗母宫大殿的“日月”对联。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。日期不详，c. 70年代后期和80年代。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。



For Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng which started in Sungei Tengah village in 1920, the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods began when one of the villagers, a fisherman by trade, found an incense censer as he was out fishing. He had a dream that night informing him that the incense censer belonged to the Nine Emperor Gods. He had first worshipped the censer in his house and observed the festival with a few of his acquaintances, before building a temple in 1945. There are two stories concerning the origins of the incense at Tao Bu Keng temple, with one relating that Cai En had invited the incense from Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong after building the temple, while another remembered that the incense was brought from Penang by Cai En and the village chief, Mr. Wang Ke Wei, who had helped the former find a better plot of land to build a new temple.

¹¹ 凤山宫三庆大典 (新加坡: 凤山宫理事会, 2005), 28. Interestingly, Ong Chwee Tow was also a patron of this temple, and his name could still be found on the signboard in front of the organisation's main entrance up till today.



本地另外几座早期的九皇大帝庙宇的香火，也是从安邦南天宫传来的。1906年，福建省漳州市的三名男子将安邦南天宫的香灰带到了葱茅园北部大成村社区，并在村里的一个临时祭坛上供奉了香火。直到1928年，一座新的庙宇始落成，称为凤山宫。¹¹ 同样的发展轨迹，也见于神仙宫的历史。神仙宫的创办人是一位乩童，他与妻子在1902年从马来亚来到新加坡时，曾带过南天宫的香火。他们在亚历山大路附近的一个村子，双口鼎，安顿了下来，那里的居民后来修建了一座供奉九皇神明的庙宇来支持他们。夫妇俩回到中国后，神龛交由甘榜居民照顾，他们便在年轻的信众中另择选新的乩童。据称洪水港斗母宫的香火也来自安邦。

▲ Exterior and interior of Hong San Temple, 1954.
Photographs courtesy of Koh Lian What.

大成巷葱茅园凤山宫, 1954. 照片由郭连发提供



◀ Main altar within Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng decorated with a pair of couplets with the characters “sun” and “moon”, undated, c. late 1970s and 1980s.
Photograph courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

蔡厝港斗母宫大殿的“日月”对联。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。

对于 1920 年在双溪登加内东成村创建的蔡厝港斗母宫来说，九皇大帝崇拜始于其中一名村民捕鱼时偶得的一个香炉。那天晚上，他做了一个梦，告诉他香炉是九皇大帝的。在 1945 年建庙之前，他先是在家中祭拜香炉，并和几位信众一起庆祝了九皇大帝诞。关于斗母宫香火的起源有两种说法，一个说法是蔡恩在建庙后请来了洪水港斗母宫的香火，另一个说法则是蔡恩和村长王可味从檳城带来的香火，王可味帮蔡恩找了一块比较好的地，建了一座新庙。

¹¹ 《凤山宫三庆大典》（新加坡：凤山宫理事会，2005），页 28。有趣的是，王水斗也是这间庙宇的赞助人，至今仍能在该机构正门前的招牌上找到他的名字。

► Original location of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng in Sungei Tengah, undated (likely 1980s-1990s). Photographs courtesy Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

蔡厝港斗母宫原址，内东成（1980-1990年代）。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。



The early history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore, starting in the twentieth century, indicates that it was a southward expansion of the incense burning and worship of the Nine Emperor Gods from southern Siam and Penang to the peninsula during the nineteenth century. It followed the routes and networks of Chinese mobility and circulation between British Malaya (including Penang and Malacca) and Singapore strengthened through the second half of the nineteenth century via the development of the tin industry, Chinese migration to different parts of the peninsula, and the expanding circulation of Chinese capital, manpower and commerce between the Straits Settlements and the peninsular states, alongside the expansion of British control and infrastructure on the peninsula. Interesting questions remain as to why the incense and festival only began to be observed in Singapore after the turn of the twentieth century.

However, the historical journeys that were taken by the Nine Emperor Gods' worshippers do not always lend themselves to such neatly characterised relationships. For example, Hong Zhanzan brought the Nine Emperor Gods to worship with him from Bukit Ho Swee in Singapore into Batu Pahat via the port of Senggarang. Later, as a result of the Japanese Occupation, among other reasons, the Nine Emperor Gods worship relocated several times, before it finally settled in Rengit where it became the Long Yin Dou Mu Gong as we know it today.¹² Similarly, several individuals from the Hoon Sian Keng temple crossed the border to help in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Sam Siang Keng, Johor Bahru as well.¹³ Closer to the present day, Kim San Tze's worship of the Nine Emperor Gods was also introduced to the Yilan Wujie Sheng Qing Gong on Taiwan island in 2017, although the latter had situated their worship within traditions and practices very different from those in Singapore.

In the decades after 1945, we will see the continuation and expansion of these mobilities, connections, and the circulation of incense in peninsula Southeast Asia. In the case of Xuan Wu Shan, whose history was intimately connected to the Lau Jit Kee Hiang and Qing Nang Lao Yu Lou Chun opera troupes, the Chaozhou owner of the troupe was said to have brought the original incense of the temple from Xuan Wu Shan in Guangdong. He was also said to have travelled with his troupe through Thailand through the peninsula to Singapore. The naming of the Nine Emperor Gods as the Nine Emperor Buddhas, as depicted in the photos of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang palanquin from the 1970s and 1980s, indicates a significant association between the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and practices among the predominantly Chaozhou Chinese communities in Bangkok.¹⁴

¹² 龙引斗母宫 (@rengittowbookeng), "More info: Additional Information," Facebook profile, accessed July 1, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/rengittowbookeng/about/>.

¹³ Many of these individuals and their commemorative photographs have been featured in 柔佛新山三善宫五十周年金禧纪念特辑 1947-1997 (柔佛: 柔佛新山三善宫, 1997).

¹⁴ 康海玲, "泰国九皇斋节华语戏曲演出探析," 戏剧: 中央戏剧学院学报 4 (2013): 90-97; and 张长虹, "从泰国潮剧变迁看华人的文化适应," 华人研究国际学报 2:1 (2010): 51-67.

新加坡九皇大帝千秋的早期历史始于20世纪，19世纪从暹罗南部和槟榔屿南传至半岛的香火和祭祀活动的延续。它遵循了英属马来亚（包括檳城和马六甲）与新加坡之间华人迁徙和流动的路线和网络，这些路线和网络随着19世纪下半叶锡业的发展、华人迁徙以及伴随而来的半岛与海峡殖民地之间的资本扩展、人力流通和商业发展而得到强化。与此同时，英国扩大对半岛的控制和基础设施建设也有利于这一发展。有趣的问题仍有待探究，那即是为什么新加坡在二十世纪之交后才开始庆祝九皇大帝千秋。

然而，九皇大帝的信众所经历的迁徙不一定都能体现以上那样清晰的因果关系。例如，信徒洪占赞从新加坡河水山把九皇大帝圣驾经新加兰码头引至峇株巴辖设庙膜拜。由于日据等原因，九皇大帝供奉几经迁徙，最后落户于龙引，成为今天的龙引斗母宫。¹² 同样的，在新山三善宫的九皇大帝千秋庆典上，云仙宫也有好几位义工越过国境帮忙。¹³ 近期，金山寺对九皇诸神的崇拜，也在2017年被引入台湾岛内的宜兰五结圣清宫，尽管后者将他们的崇拜置于与新加坡迥然不同的传统和习俗之中。

在1945年之后的几十年里，我们将看到这些流动、联系和香火流通在东南亚半岛的延续和扩大。玄武山的历史与老一支香与青囊老玉楼春戏班有密切关系。据说，该戏班的潮州班主将庙里的香火从广东玄武山带来。他和他麾下戏班一路经过泰国、马来半岛来到新加坡。1970年代和80年代的九皇大帝和斗母娘娘圣轿的照片显示，九皇大帝被尊称为九皇佛祖，这与曼谷潮州人为主的社区富有特色的九皇大帝崇拜有着密切的联系。¹⁴

¹² 龙引斗母宫 (@rengittowbookeng), “More info: Additional Information,” Facebook, 访问日期: 2022年7月1日, <https://www.facebook.com/rengittowbookeng/about/>。

¹³ 这些领导和他们的纪念照片都被刊登在《柔佛新山三善宫五十周年金禧纪念特辑 1947-1997》(柔佛: 柔佛新山三善宫, 1997)。

¹⁴ 康海玲, <泰国九皇斋节华语戏曲演出探析>《戏剧: 中央戏剧学院学报》2013年4期, 页 90-97; 张长虹, <从泰国潮剧变迁看华人的文化适应>《华人研究国际学报》2010年第2期, 页51-67。

What was interesting in terms of the early Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore, as well as others founded before the 1970s, was their geographical distribution on the island. Before 1945, most of these temples were in the rural areas of Singapore. These included the three northern temples connected with the waterways in the region, such as Hougang, Chua Chu Kang, and the Jing Shui Gang (Jia Zhui Kang) and Hong San Temple in the Lemongrass Garden/Paya Lebar area.¹⁵ The exception was perhaps Shin Shen Keng, situated in the first decades of its existence in the kampongs of the Alexandra Road/Dawson Place and Henderson/Leng Kee area, along the upper reaches of the Singapore River (close to Bo Ber Gang).¹⁶ Xuan Wu Shan, which was based in the Kim Yam Road area in or around the office and living quarters of the owner and members of the Lau Jit Kee Hiang and later Qing Nang Lao Yu Lou Chun troupes. This was the closest a festival site came to the urban centre, which might be due to the fact that it was associated with the opera profession and trade.

► Main altar of the Xuan Wu Shan Nine Emperor Gods Festival in an opera stage-like structure near the Lau Chit Kee Hiang opera troupe office on Kim Yam Road, c. the late 1970s and early 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler collection, National Archives of Singapore.

玄武山九皇胜会道场。场地就在金炎路的老一支香戏班办事处与住宿附近。道场形式也与戏台相似。1970年代末1980年代初。照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，新加坡国家档案局Ronni Pinsler收藏。



¹⁵ For context, see Carl A. Trocki, "The Origins of the Kangchu System 1740-1860," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 49:2 (1976): 132-155.

¹⁶ Initially, the tradition involved receiving and sending off the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea beyond the oil stores in Pasir Panjang. However, over time, the locations for these rituals shifted to other areas. This included the river/canal near the old Fraser & Neave Building at Lower Delta/Havelock Road, and subsequently, the river/canal between Great World City and the old HDB estate of Covent Garden.

对于新加坡早期的九皇大帝庙宇以及其他建于上世纪70年代以前的庙宇而言，有趣的是它们在岛上的地理分布。在1945年以前，这些庙宇大部分都在新加坡的乡村地区。这包括与本区域水道相连的三座北方庙宇，如后港、蔡厝港、葱茅园/巴耶利峇一带的洪水港和凤山宫。¹⁵ 唯一的例外或许是位于新加坡河上游的亚历山大路和亨德申一带的甘榜（靠近无尾港）。¹⁶ 玄武山位于金炎路一带，是老一支香戏班（后为青囊老玉楼春）班主及其成员的办事处和住所。这是距离市中心最近的一个法会场地，这可能是因为它与戏曲行业有关。

¹⁵ 有关上下文，请参阅Carl A. Trocki, “The Origins of the Kangchu System 1740-1860,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 49:2 (1976): 132-155。

¹⁶ 最初他们在油库附近的巴西班让海边首先接送九皇大帝，后来又迁至其他地点，如下三路/夏碧路旧福佳大厦附近的运河，以及大世界城和科芬园旧公屋区之间的河流。

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Pre-War Singapore

The most detailed descriptions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival came from English journalists who were fascinated by the scale of the occasion and provided detail descriptions of the events they witnessed during the festival. This was in contrast to Chinese journalists who were either too familiar with the occasion, or more commonly, critical of the festivities as superstition and counter to the reformist and modernizing movements both in China and among the Chinese in Singapore, Malaya and other parts of Southeast Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁷

One of the earliest reports of the festival's scale in Singapore was about the events at Hougang Tou Mu Kung in 1935, where the reporter A.J. followed the procession from the temple's original location from "the third mile, Serangoon Road, to a Chinese temple in Upper Serangoon Road".¹⁸ The procession, he explained, was accompanied by "the beating of drums and cymbals" and was followed by "a throng of worshippers" in addition to the deities' rocking palanquins and dragon dances. Outside of Hougang Tou Mu Kung also saw the operation of various businesses, where "food hawkers do a thriving trade", where mock meat and fish made out of vegetables were sold.¹⁹



Two years later, in the *Nanyang Siang Pau*, there was a description of a Nine Emperor Gods temple procession, where a reporter bemusedly noted that there were several instances of "men dressed in women..., where their faces were covered in rouge". These individuals participated in the parade with smiles on their faces, and children also accompanied them. Interestingly, while many processions were only limited to the vicinity of the temple and surrounding kampong, the Hougang Tou Mu Kung's procession ventured to the urban areas, for the parade eventually travelled to North Bridge Road, where a contingent to receive the deity of approximately 500 people awaited its arrival.²⁰ Comparable scenes of gaiety and devotion were also described at Hougang Tou Mu Kung in 1939, where "hawkers were located in four directions" could be found, in addition to familiar sights of opera performances and the unceasing burning of incense and incense paper.²¹

The scale and grandeur of the festival and temple, and their extensive devotee base, also meant that they were often used for fund-raising for nationalist causes in China after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (7 July 1937-11 July 1937), with the start of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945.²² The Singapore Chinese Relief Fund, for example, gave speeches within the grounds of the Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Hong San Temple in 1938, for these temples were packed throughout the festival and thus an ideal opportunity for these organisations to publicise their cause and to appeal for donations.²³

¹⁷ One of the earliest reports regarding the Nine Emperor Gods Festival discovered thus far in a Chinese newspaper from Singapore can be traced back to the *Lat Pau* in 1907. In a section likely pertaining to the Guangdong region or authored by an individual from that region, the journalist described coming across a lavishly adorned Daoist temple (adorned with vibrant lamps and banners in white and green). This encounter served as the inspiration for the journalist to compose a satirical article about the festival.

¹⁸ This was likely a reference to the temple's original site at 4th milestone, Lim Loh Village.

¹⁹ A. J., "Moving a Chinese Deity at Serangoon," *The Straits Times*, September 30, 1935, 10. Curiously enough, the Nine Emperor Gods were referred to as a "datok" in this report. We do not know if this was a localised term of address for the Nine Emperor Gods, or if this was a simple case of reporting according to what the author was familiar with. The origin of the Hougang Tou Mu Kung that was offered in the report were also different from the account in Xu Liying's. The reason behind these discrepancies is still unknown, although we can safely conclude that the temple did have the tradition of organising a procession between its original and relocated premises between the 1920s and 1930s.

²⁰ "后港侨众抬九皇爷出巡," 南洋商报, October 13, 1937, 5.

²¹ "后港九皇大帝庙今年香火不如前," 星洲日报, October 21, 1939, 3. Similarly, see "一年一度的「九皇诞」后港盛会巡礼," 星洲日报, October 22, 1939, 5.

²² There are many other articles of largely repetitive content and nature that were published in the *Nanyang Siang Pau* between 1937 and 1944. Readers may consult back issues of these newspapers for more details.

²³ Quotation was from "星华筹赈会第八次通俗演讲会明晚在后港九皇爷官前戏台举行演讲员为侯秀西刘牡丹黄奔欢等," 南洋商报, October 28, 1938, 9; "后港葱茅园善男信女聚聆侨贤救亡理论薛鸿祺周献瑞劝侨胞捐赈," 南洋商报, October 30, 1938, 6.

战前新加坡的九皇大帝千秋庆典

对九皇大帝千秋庆典最详细的记录来自英国记者，他们对这个庆典的规模非常着迷，提供了他们在节庆期间所目睹事件的详细描述。这与中国记者形成鲜明对比，他们要么太熟悉这个场合，要么经常批评庆祝活动是迷信，且与十九世纪末二十世纪初中国以及新加坡、马来亚和东南亚其他地区的华人之间的改革和现代化运动背道而驰。¹⁷

1935年在后港斗母宫举行的庆典，是新加坡最早期有关这个节庆规模的报道之一。当时，记者A. J.跟随游行队伍从庙宇的原址出发“从实龙岗路三里走到实龙岗路上段的华人庙宇”。¹⁸ 他解释说，游行伴随着“敲锣打鼓”，其后是“一窝蜂的信徒”，以及神明的圣轿和舞龙大队。在后港斗母宫外，也有各式各样的生意正在营业，“小贩生意兴隆”忙碌兜售素肉和蔬菜制成的素鱼。¹⁹



两年后，在《南洋商报》上，有一篇关于九皇大帝出巡的描述，记者疑惑地指出，有好几次见到“有人”男扮女装，满脸胭脂”。这些人满脸笑容地参加了游行，孩子们也跟着他们。有趣的是，许多游行队伍只限于寺庙附近和周围的甘榜，而后港斗母宫的游行队伍却迈进了市区，因为游行队伍最终走到了北桥路小坡爪啡街，那里有一支大约500人的迎神队等待着他们的到来。²⁰ 1939年，在后港斗母宫也出现了欢乐和虔诚的景象，在那里可以看到“小贩四布”，还有大家熟悉的戏曲表演和不间断的焚香烧纸的景象。²¹

卢沟桥事件（1937年7月7日-1937年7月11日）后，1937-1945年中日战争期间，九皇大帝千秋的规模、庙宇的鼎盛及其广泛的信徒基础，意味着它们经常被用来为中国的民族主义事业筹集资金。²² 例如，星华筹赈会就曾在1938年于后港斗母宫和凤山宫内进行演讲，因为这些庙宇在整个九皇大帝千秋庆典期间都挤满了人，因此是这些组织宣传其事业（“乘时努力宣传”）和呼吁捐款的理想机会。²³

¹⁷ 迄今为止，可以在1907年新加坡的《叻报》中找到关于九皇大帝节的最早报道之一。在该报的一个可能是关于广东地区或由该地区的人撰写的部分中，记者写到他偶然发现了一座装饰华丽的道教庙宇（五彩灯笼和旗帜——白色和绿色？），这激发了他写一篇关于节日的讽刺文章。

¹⁸ 这可能是指庙宇最初位于林露村四英里碑的地点。

¹⁹ A. J., “Moving a Chinese Deity at Serangoon,” *The Straits Times*, September 30, 1935, 10. 有趣的是，在这份报道中，九皇大帝被称为“拿督”。我们不知道这是否是当地对九皇大帝的称呼，还是简单地根据作者所熟悉的称谓进行报道。在报道中提到的后港斗母宫的起源与徐李颖的记述也有所不同。这些差异的原因仍然不明，尽管我们可以安全地得出结论，该庙会在20世纪20年代至30年代之间有在原址和新址之间组织游行的传统。

Participants in Kew Huang Keng's procession, c. 1960s. The festival events involved most of the inhabitants of the lower Charn Mao Hng kampong. Hwa Nong Public School, which loaned its premises to the temple as temporary makeup rooms formed the background of the second photograph. Photographs courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

九皇宫游行队伍中参与者的场景。葱茅园下芭甘榜的村民每年都热烈参与九皇胜会。第二张照片的背景是华农公立学校。每年大日子，学校都会让参与者用为临时化妆室。照片由吕序奎先生提供。

²⁰ <后港侨众抬九皇爷出巡>，《南洋商报》，1937年10月13日，第5版。

²¹ <后港九皇大帝庙今年香火不如前>，《星洲日报》，1939年10月21日，第3版。也请看<一年一度的「九皇诞」后港盛会巡礼>，《星洲日报》，1939年10月22日，第5版。

²² 在1937年至1944年间，《南洋商报》上刊登了许多内容和性质大致相同的其他文章。读者可以查阅这些报纸的往期获取更多详细信息。

²³ <星华筹赈会第八次通俗演讲会明晚在后港九皇爷官前戏台举行演讲员为侯秀西刘牡丹黄奔欢等>，《南洋商报》，1938年10月28日，第9版；<后港葱茅园善男信女聚聆侨贤救亡理论薛鸿祺周献瑞劝侨胞捐赈>，《南洋商报》，1938年10月30日，第6版。

Hougang Tou Mu Kung was also the site of choice for the sale of flowers organised by two schools and the Overseas Chinese Athletic Association during the Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods of 1938. Students from the Dong Cheng Public School also took the opportunity to sell flowers to viewers of *Jiujia* opera shows organised during the festival in the same year at the Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.²⁴ In the Jia Zhui Kang kampong, because opera performances were the norm during the Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods, a group of ten led by Mr. Huang Nianfeng took the opportunity to organise an impromptu fundraiser by performing a play in the vernacular to raise money for their compatriots in China.²⁵

▶ Offering tables for the Nine Emperor Gods, Paya Lebar (Most likely Hougang Tou Mu Kung), 1950-1951. Photograph courtesy of the Alan J. A. Elliot's collection, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Cambridge

善信供桌等候九皇大帝，巴耶利峇（相比后港斗母宫），1950-1951年。照片由剑桥大学考古与人类学博物馆的Alan J. A. Elliot收藏提供。



²⁴ “九皇爷诞辰各校售花助赈。”南洋商报, 2 November 1938, Page 8. On the sale of flowers and flags to raise funds for the Chinese effort, see Stephen Leong, “The Malayan Overseas Chinese and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 10:2 (September 1979): 297.

²⁵ “洪水港华侨演剧卖花售物助赈成绩国币四千余元 经缴筹赈会。”南洋商报, November 24, 1938, 9.

²⁶ Wong Hiong Boon, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, National Archives of Singapore, Accession Number 003526, Reel 4.

²⁷ See 三年零八个月日军统治下的华人乡村（新加坡：南洋大学，历史系，1970），40 and 69; and Paul H. Kratoska, *The Japanese Occupation of Malaya and Singapore, 1941-45: A Social and Economic History* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2018), 59.

²⁸ 巴谷里峇荖茅园村史（新加坡：南洋大学，历史系，1969），19. The same story was still retold years later, such as in “传说九皇爷显灵 荖茅园免遭空袭。”新明日报, October 25, 1987, 7. Our student teams covering the temple during our project also heard versions of this story. In one, it was the pilot and his crew who came to visit the site to see for himself. For context, see Esmond Chuah Meng Soh, “Saved By the Chinese Deity, Bombed By the Japanese Devils: Memory and Chinese Temples in Singapore During the Second World War (1942-1945)” (paper presented at Asia DREAMS.inc, 4th COHASS Graduate Conference, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 2nd and 3rd March 2018).

The Japanese Occupation of Singapore (1942-1945) and its aftermath

There is very little information about the Nine Emperor Gods festival during the Japanese Occupation of Singapore (1942-1945). However, there is evidence that the festival continued to be held during this period. Wong Hiong Boon attended the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hougang Tou Mu Kung with his mother during these years. He observed that the temple continued the tradition of receiving and sending off the deities from the Serangoon River, with Daoist priests overseeing the rituals, and the festival was still observed in the same manner as before. He also noted that opera performances were also allowed during the festival.²⁶ Wong's observation broadly corroborated studies on the Japanese Occupation in East and Southeast Asia, where religious activities and festivals were tolerated in occupied regions to some extent.²⁷

A few kilometres east of Hougang Tou Mu Kung, many villagers of the Tai Seng part of Lemongrass village believed that they had been spared from Japanese bombs by divine intervention. When a study of the Lemongrass Village was performed by students from Nanyang University in the late 1960s, a story of the Nine Emperor Gods' power and efficacy in protecting the inhabitants of the village during the Japanese attack on Singapore was related by a former resident, Madam Chen. She recounted that when the Japanese were dropping bombs over Singapore, pilots who flew over the Lemongrass Village compound witnessed “a huge expanse of sea, and an old man who was waving red flags incessantly”. After the Japanese victory, they visited the area and discovered that what the pilots saw was ocean was in fact fertile farmland, and the old man's position was where the Hong San Temple stood. Realising that they had witnessed a miracle first hand, they entered the temple and paid their respects to the Nine Emperor Gods.²⁸ A similar story was related for Shin Shen Keng. During one of the Japanese bombing raids which hit the Henderson/Bukit Merah area, the side of the hill on which the Nine Emperor Gods temple was located was spared from the bombs, while the other side was hit.

在1938年的九皇大帝千秋期间，后港斗母宫也是两所学校和华侨体育会举办的卖花活动的首选地点。当年，公立东成小学的学生也利用这个机会在蔡厝港斗母宫九甲戏班演出期间向观众推销鲜花。²⁴ 在洪水港村，因为九皇大帝千秋期间一般伴随着戏曲表演，由黄年峇带领的十人小组“乘机举行临时筹款”，表演白话剧为中国同胞筹款。²⁵



◀ Crowds waiting for Nine Emperor Gods (with deity's name on banner in background), Paya Lebar (Most likely Hougang Tou Mu Kung), 1950-1951. Photograph courtesy of the Alan J. A. Elliot's collection, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Cambridge.

信众等候九皇大帝，背景由九皇大帝大彩。巴耶利峇（据推测后港斗母宫），1950年至1951年。照片由剑桥大学考古与人类学博物馆的Alan J. A. Elliot收藏提供。

日据时期的新加坡及其影响

在日据时期（1942-1945），关于九皇大帝千秋庆典的资料非常少。但是，有证据表明该庆典在此期间仍继续举行。黄相文在这些年里和他的母亲一起参加了后港斗母宫的九皇大帝千秋庆典。他注意到，该庙仍然在实龙岗河进行请神、送神仪式，由道士主持祭祀活动，庆典仍然像以前一样举行。他还指出，在庆典期间也允许进行戏曲表演。²⁶他的观察大体上证实了对日本占领下的东亚和东南亚的研究，在这些地区，宗教活动和节日在某种程度上获得包容。²⁷

在后港斗母宫以东几公里处，葱茅园大成巷的许多村民相信，由于神明显灵，他们才能免遭空袭。1960年代末，南洋大学的学生在对葱茅园进行研究时，一位前居民陈夫人讲述了日军进攻新加坡时，九皇大帝显现神迹保护了该村居民的故事。她回忆说，当日本人在新加坡上空投弹时，飞过香茅村的飞行员看到了“汪洋大海；有一个老人手持一红旗，不断摇晃着。”日军胜利后，他们访问了该地区，发现飞行员看到的海洋其实是肥沃的农田，而老人的位置就是凤山宫的所在地。他们意识到自己亲眼目睹了一个神迹，于是进入庙宇，向九皇大帝致敬。²⁸神仙宫也有一个类似的故事。在日军对亨德森/武吉美拉地区的一次轰炸中，九皇神庙宇所在山头的一侧幸免于难，而另一侧则被击中。

²⁴ <九皇爷诞辰各校售花助赈>，《南洋商报》，1938年11月2日，第8版。关于售卖花卉和旗帜以筹集中国援助资金的事项，请参阅 Stephen Leong, “The Malayan Overseas Chinese and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 10:2 (September 1979): 297。

²⁵ <洪水港华侨演剧卖花售物助赈成绩国币四千余元经缴筹赈会>，《南洋商报》，1938年11月24日，第9版。

²⁶ Wong Hiong Boon 黄相文, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, National Archives of Singapore, Accession Number 003526, Reel 4。

²⁷ <三年零八个月日军统治下的华人乡村>（新加坡：南洋大学，历史系，1970），40 and 69; Paul H. Kratoska, *The Japanese Occupation of Malaya and Singapore, 1941-45: A Social and Economic History* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2018), 59。

²⁸ <巴峇里葱茅园村史>（新加坡：南洋大学，历史系，1969），19。多年后，这个故事仍然被再次传颂，比如在<传说九皇爷显灵 葱茅园免遭空袭>，《新明日报》，1987年10月25日，第7版。我们的项目团队也听到了关于这个故事的几个不同版本。在其中一个版本中，是飞行员和他的机组人员自来参观这个地点。有关背景，请参阅 Esmond Chuah Meng Soh, “Saved By the Chinese Deity, Bombed By the Japanese Devils: Memory and Chinese Temples in Singapore During the Second World War (1942-1945)” (paper presented at Asia DREAMS inc, 4th COHASS Graduate Conference, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 2nd and 3rd March 2018)。

During the Japanese Occupation, a new Nine Emperor Gods temple was also established in the southern part of Lemongrass Village. The inhabitants in this kampong, which was commonly referred to as the lower village or the eastern village, was a predominantly Chaozhou community with its own headman.²⁹ The inhabitants decided to invite incense ashes from Hong San Temple to start their own Nine Emperor Gods temple. There were several explanations posited for this initiative. One of our informants explained that travelling to and from Hong San Temple during the festival was a logistical challenge in the past given the state of the roads connecting the two kampongs. For the receiving and sending off, they had first to go to the Hong San Temple, and make the long trek home after that on foot. During one festival, a heavy rainstorm transformed the area into a muddy field, and many devotees who were dressed in white for the receiving or sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods ended up with brown pants instead. Thus, the leaders of the community had decided to establish their own temple and festival.³⁰ It was a great convenience to the community, which had its own primary school, and its own distinct identity. The temple was named Kew Huang Keng after the Nine Emperor Gods.³¹

The political turbulence of the immediate post-1945 period, especially with the Malayan Emergency, had placed temporary restrictions on the processions that were an important part of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In 1948, the *Nanyang Siang Pau* announced that devotees were not allowed to “receive the gods,” although operas performed on the street could continue.³² This instruction was predictably unpopular and aroused much displeasure. In response, the authorities issued two similar clarifications on the issue in 1948 “for fear of causing misunderstanding among the Chinese community”. In these “troubled times”, the vice-superintendent of the police urged the Chinese to be patient in the face of this temporary inconvenience. He also stressed that the ban on processions was a blanket one that applied to all events, and processions were allowed to resume in the coming years once everything returned to normal.³³

In subsequent years, these restrictions seemed to have been gradually relaxed. In 1953, Ong Choo Kee’s daughter-in-law, when interviewed by journalists from *The Singapore Free Press*, lamented that “many colourful processions – with floats, decorated carriages, lion and dragon displays” in the years before the Emergency was nowhere to be seen.³⁴ In his documentation of the festival and Chinese religious life (especially mediumship), Alan J. Elliot’s photographs of the festival in Henderson and Paya Lebar showed the scale of the crowds gathered at the temples. They also indicated that processions for the festival were still held, albeit possibly not on the same scale as before. In the late 1990s, a senior figure in Shin Shen Keng recounted his memories of Elliot’s visit to Henderson in the early 1950s. They had not been allowed to initiate a procession through the kampong as there was a curfew in place. An Englishman had arrived in a car with a flag, with a camera in hand. When told of the situation, he told them to proceed, and they went ahead with the procession, without much trouble. When they were stopped by the police, they just referred them to the Englishman.

In general, between 1945 and 1965, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival seemed to be growing rapidly in popularity judging by the growing number of temples and sites hosting the festival. Two separate reports in 1951, for example, alleged that 20 and 28 temples observed the festival in Singapore.³⁵ Like in Malaya, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival’s growing scale in post-war Singapore can be inferred by the number of advisories that were published in the newspapers to warn worshippers of the increased traffic for the occasion. A police announcement in 1947, for example, announced the temporary imposition of one-way traffic to prevent congestion on Paya Lebar Road also included a list of locations where motorists were banned from parking their vehicles, as well as which roads were closed off for the temple’s processions.³⁶

²⁹ The northern/upper village in the Tai Seng area was predominantly Zhao’an, from southern Fujian, on the frontier with Chaozhou province.

³⁰ Other accounts we came across suggested that possible disagreements over procession routes or the opera performances might have led to the decision to invite the incense from Hong San Temple to start a new temple. Nevertheless, a strong bond remains between the temples to this day. The initial provision of incense to establish the new temple served as a testament to the strong bond between them. Prior to the invitation of incense, the Chaozhou Charn Mao Hern kampong was also believed to be one of the stations to receive the deity for the *yew keng* processions of the Hong San Temple Nine Emperor Gods during the festival.

³¹ The Nine Emperor Gods, Master Song Dafeng, and Gan Tian Da Di are the three main deities in Kew Huang Keng today, with the Nine Emperor Gods taking central place, and after whom the temple is named. According to an old informant who resided in the kampong at that time, the first deity invited into the kampong was Master Song Da Feng. He was invited during the Japanese attack on Singapore and housed first in a shrine, to oversee the work of clearing the corpses and conducting rituals for the dead in the region. Master Song is a particularly important deity for the Chaozhou community. He is the main deity in Benevolence Halls, whose memberships are predominantly Chaozhou, with many of which are under the aegis of the Blue Cross. During the Second World War, they played important roles burying the unclaimed war dead and performing funerary rites for them. They were allowed to operate during the Occupation years as they were allowed to coordinate relief efforts in Singapore. This might have been the main reason for the village inviting Master Song to the village and establishing a shrine for him. The Nine Emperor Gods were the second deity invited to the village, also during the Japanese Occupation. Later, a temple was built for these deities. The incense for Gan Tian Da Di, another important deity in the Chaozhou pantheon, was later invited into the village and temple, it was said, from another temple in Geylang. For more on Master Song, Benevolence Halls and the Blue Cross, see 李志贤, 蓝十春秋: 新加坡潮人善堂考 (新加坡: 中华蓝十字会, 2017).

³² “九皇爷不准游行,” 南洋商报, September 26, 1948, 5.

³³ “庆祝九皇爷诞游行被禁止警方再表明理由消除误会,” 南洋商报, 28 September 1948, 5; and an identical reprint subsequently on 南洋商报, 29 September 1948, 5.

³⁴ “For nine days they will eat no meat,” *The Singapore Free Press*, October 12, 1953, 3.

³⁵ See “Father of 9 gods now on ‘visit,’” *The Straits Times*, October 2, 1951, 5; and “28 Temples End Celebrations,” *The Straits Times*, October 10, 1951, 4.

³⁶ “新嘉坡警方昨发表九皇爷诞交通规则,” 南洋商报, October 18, 1947, 5. In several ways, these advisories still hold true in the present day.

在日据时期，在葱茅村的南部还建立了一座新的九皇大帝庙宇。这个甘榜通常被称为下芭或前芭，它是一个以潮州人为主的社区，有自己的领袖。²⁹ 居民们决定从凤山宫请来香火，建立他们自己的九皇大帝庙宇。对于这一举措，有几种解释。我们的一位知情者解释说，鉴于连接两个村落的道路状况，过去在九皇大帝千秋庆典期间往返凤山宫有着交通往返方面的挑战。在请神和送神时，他们必须先去凤山宫，然后再徒步长途跋涉回家。在一次庆典期间，一场暴雨将该地区变成了一片泥地，许多身着白衣的信徒在迎接或恭送九皇大帝时，裤子被染成了棕色。因此，社区的领袖决定建立自己的庙宇并自行组织九皇大帝千秋庆典。³⁰ 这对拥有自己的小学和独特场所特征的社区来说是一个极大的便利。这座庙宇以九皇大帝之名命名为“九皇宫”。³¹

1945年后不久的政治动荡，特别是马来亚紧急状态，暂时地限制了作为九皇大帝千秋庆典重要组成部分的游行活动。1948年，《南洋商报》宣布信众不得“迎神”，但在街上表演戏曲仍可继续。³² 可以预见的是，这条指令不受欢迎，引起了很多不满。因“恐华人方面引起误会”，当局在1948年就这一问题发布了两项澄清作为回应。在这个“动乱时期”，警察副总呼吁华人在面对这种暂时的不便时要保持耐心。他还强调，对游行的禁令只是该禁令的一部分，该禁令实际上适用于所有活动，一旦一切恢复正常，未来几年内就会允许恢复游行。³³

在随后的几年里，这些限制似乎被逐渐放宽了。1953年，王珠玑的儿媳在接受《新加坡自由报》记者采访时感叹，在紧急状态之前的几年里，“许多五颜六色的游行队伍——有花车、装饰的马车、舞狮和舞龙的表演”都不见踪影。³⁴在有关九皇大帝千秋庆典和中国宗教生活（特别是乩童）的记录中，Alan J. Elliot在亨德森和巴耶利巴庆典拍摄的照片显示了聚集在寺庙中的人群规模。这些照片还表明，当时仍然有为庆典举行游行，只是规模或许没有以前那么大。20世纪90年代末，神仙宫的一位长老讲述了他对Elliot在50年代初访问亨德森的回忆。由于当时实行宵禁，他们不被允许进行穿越甘榜的游行。一个英国人开着一辆插着国旗的车来了，手里拿着相机。当被告知情况后，他让他们继续前进，他们于是继续游行，没有遭遇太多麻烦。当他们被警察拦住时，他们将这个英国人介绍给警察。

总的来说，在1945年至1965年期间，从举办九皇大帝千秋庆典的庙宇和场所的数量不断增加来看，这个节庆似乎迅速流行起来。例如，1951年的两份独立报告分别称，新加坡有20座和28座庙宇举办九皇大帝千秋庆典。³⁵ 与马来亚一样，战后新加坡的九皇大帝千秋庆典规模也在不断扩大，这可以从报纸上刊登的警示信众九皇大帝千秋庆典期间交通拥堵情况将有所提高的公告数量来推断。例如，1947的一份公告宣布临时实施单向交通以防止巴耶利峇路拥堵，其中还包括一份禁止驾车者停放车辆的地点清单，以及哪些道路因庙宇游行而被关闭。³⁶

²⁹ 大成巷地区的北方/上村主要是来自福建南部的诏安人，位于与潮潮省接壤的边境地区。

³⁰ 我们遇到的其他记载表明，关于游路线或戏曲表演可能存在分歧，这可能导致决定邀请凤山宫的香火来建立新庙。然而，至今仍然存在着强烈的联系和纽带。最初分香火以建立新庙，是对他们之间良好关系的证明。在邀请凤山宫九皇大帝香火之前，潮州葱茅园村也被认为是凤山宫九皇大帝游境的迎神站之一。

³¹ 九皇大帝、宋大峰祖师和感天大帝是九皇宫今天的三位主要神明，其中九皇大帝在庙宇中占据中心位置，并以其命名。庙宇举行这三位神明的生日庆祝活动，其中九皇大帝庙会规模最大、范围最广的重要活动。根据一位曾居住在当时华人村落的老人提供的信息，宋大峰祖师是第一个被请到村落的神明。在日本进攻新加坡期间，他被请来主持清理尸体和为该地区的死者举行仪式的工作，并首先被安置在一个神龛中。宋大峰祖师对潮州社区来说是一个特别重要的神明。他是善堂的主要神明，善堂的成员主要是潮州人，其中许多善堂隶属于蓝十字会。在第二次世界大战期间，他们在埋葬无人认领的战争遗体和他们举行丧葬仪式方面发挥了重要作用。他们在占领时期被允许运作，并在新加坡协调救济工作。这可能是村落邀请宋大峰祖师进入村落并为他建立神龛的主要原因。九皇大帝是第二位被邀请进入村落的神明，也是在日本占领期间。之后为这些神明修建了一座庙宇。据说感天大帝的香火最初是从芽笼的另一座庙宇请来的。关于宋大峰祖师、善堂和蓝十字会的更多信息，请参阅李志贤的著作《蓝十春秋：新加坡潮人善堂考》（新加坡：中华蓝十字会，2017）。

³² <九皇爷不准通行>，《南洋商报》，1948年9月26日，第5版。

³³ <庆祝九皇爷诞游行被禁止警方再表明理由消除误会>，《南洋商报》，1948年9月28日，第5版；《南洋商报》，1948年9月29日，第5版。

³⁴ “For nine days they will eat no meat,” *The Singapore Free Press*, October 12, 1953, 3.

³⁵ 见“Father of 9 gods now on ‘visit,’” *The Straits Times*, October 2, 1951, 5; “28 Temples End Celebrations,” *The Straits Times*, October 10, 1951, 4.

³⁶ <新嘉坡警方昨发表九皇爷诞交通规则>，《南洋商报》，1947年10月18日，第5版。在许多方面，这些政策在当今仍然适用。

► Hawkers selling their wares outside of Hougang Dou Mu Gong temple, 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1980 年代，在后港斗母宫外卖食物商品的小贩。
照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。



Hougang Tou Mu Kung remained a popular site for the festival. M. T. Leong, who followed the procession, not only described the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods from the river Sungei Whampao (sic.), “two-and-a-half miles along Serangoon Road” but also explained that the temple would send a delegation “to the same spot on the river” on the sixth day of the sixth lunar month. The water is then used “for washing the affected parts of the bodies of those suffering from diseases and other ailments, and in some cases, it is even [drunk]”.³⁷ In the same year, it was reported that the temple saw “thousands of worshippers” during the festival, where “hawkers and vendors offered their goods of joss-sticks, crackers, fruits, lanterns etc. for sale”. The sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods involved a “procession which was several miles long, held up traffic along Serangoon and Upper Serangoon Roads and the entire area was enshrouded with lanterns and people in colourful garments”.³⁸

Newspaper reports from 1945 also noted the scale of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Tai Seng and documented the logistics and community process of organising the festival. In 1949, an article documented the thorough preparations undertaken by the leaders of the Hong San Temple and its members during a general meeting attended by numerous individuals. The purpose of the meeting was to apply for the necessary government paperwork to conduct public fundraising efforts for the upcoming festival. It noted how the proceeds from the ten days of opera performances for the festival each year was donated to the Feng Shan School in the kampong for its expenses.³⁹ A 1958 article detailed the extensive donations to the temple from the residents of Tai Seng village, both in cash and kind, not only by individuals but also by the various associations under the umbrella of the Hong San Temple for the festival. The cash donations that went towards the incense and oil each year were quite voluminous and they were often re-channelled by the temple into various charities and educational purposes. The harvest that year was exceptionally abundant, leading to even more enthusiastic donations in terms of money, incense, and various items required for the festival. Notably, contributions included a lorry, cigarettes (specifically Admiralty brand), soft drinks, and even a float shaped like a battleship, which cost several hundred dollars. Two donors also sponsored the performance by the Hokkien Sin Sai Hong opera troupe to perform during the festival.⁴⁰

³⁷ M. T. Leong, “Kew Ong Tai Tay,” *The Singapore Free Press*, October 22, 1947, 4. Today, this ceremony, known as the “Invitation of Water” is still performed at Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong on the same day annually.

³⁸ “End of Colourful Chinese Festival of ‘Kiu Ong Yah,’” *Malaya Tribune*, October 23, 1947, 2. Confusingly, the report noted that the temple was located in Paya Lebar, and may reflect historical designations of the Hougang, Tai Seng and Paya Lebar regions collectively as “Paya Lebar”. This is corroborated by maps that were digitised by the Department of Geography, National University of Singapore, “1966 (1:25,000) topographical,” *Historical Maps of Singapore*, last accessed July 1, 2022, <https://libmaps.nus.edu.sg/>, where the Hougang Tou Mu Kung is situated beside a post office as per the said-report and designated as “Paya Lebar”.

³⁹ “凤山宫演剧庆祝九皇圣诞,” *南洋商报*, 23 September 1949, Page 6.

⁴⁰ “大成村民今晚彩車游行庆祝九皇爷诞辰,” *星洲日报*, October 21, 1958, 8.



后港斗母宫仍然是一个受欢迎的法会地点。跟随游行队伍的M. T. Leong不仅描述了从双溪黄埔河边迎接九皇大帝圣驾的情况，队伍“沿着实龙岗路走了两英里半”。他还解释说寺庙会在农历六月的第六天派人“到河边的同一地点”请水。然后，这些水被用来“清洗那些患疾之人或其身体的患处，在某些情况下，水也会被喝掉”。³⁷ 同年，据报道，该庙宇在九皇大帝千秋庆典期间有“成千上万的信众”，“小贩和摊贩供应香烛、饼干、水果、灯笼等商品”。恭迎九皇大帝时，“游行队伍长达数英里，实龙岗路和实龙岗路上段的交通被阻断，整个地区被灯笼和穿着五颜六色衣服的人所笼罩”。³⁸

1945年的报章报道也注意到了大成村的九皇大帝千秋庆典规模，并记录了组织该庆典的物流和社区支援过程。1949年，一篇文章记载了凤山宫的理事和成员们在有几十人参加的大会上为向政府申请文书工作外出募捐进行广泛筹备的文章。该文章记录了每年庆典十天的戏曲演出收入是如何捐献给甘榜的风山学校作为其开支的。³⁹ 1958年的一篇文章也详细介绍了大成村居民对寺庙的大量捐赠，包括现金和实物，这其中不仅有个人捐赠，还有凤山宫旗下的各个社团为九皇大帝千秋庆典进行的捐赠。每年捐献给香油的现金相当可观，庙宇经常将它们转用于各种慈善和教育用途。那年的收成特别好，他们在金钱、香火和节日所需的各种物品方面的捐赠于是更加踊跃，比如一辆卡车、香烟（海军牌香烟）、汽水，甚至还有一艘价值几百元的战舰彩车。两位捐赠者还将赞助福建新赛凤歌舞团在庆典期间的演出。⁴⁰

³⁷ M. T. Leong, “Kew Ong Tai Tay,” *The Singapore Free Press*, October 22, 1947, 4. 如今，在每年的同一天，后港斗母宫和洪水港斗母宫仍会进行被称为“请水”的仪式。

³⁸ “End of Colourful Chinese Festival of ‘Kiu Ong Yah,’” *Malaya Tribune*, October 23, 1947, 2. 令人困惑的是，报道指出该庙宇位于巴耶利峇（Paya Lebar），这可能反映了将后港、太升和巴耶利峇地区统称为“巴耶利峇”的历史命名方式。这得到了由新加坡国立大学地理系数字化的地图的证实，《1966年（1:25,000）地形图》，《新加坡历史地图》，访问日期：2022年7月1日，<https://libmaps.nus.edu.sg/>。在该地图上，后港斗母宫与一家邮局相邻，与上述报道所述，并被指定为“巴耶利峇”。

³⁹ <凤山宫演剧庆祝九皇圣诞>，《南洋商报》，1949年9月23日，第6版。

⁴⁰ <大成村民今晚彩车游行庆祝九皇爷诞辰>，《星洲日报》，1958年10月21日，第8版。

The headman of Tai Seng village, Ong Chye Hock (who was also one of the donors), commended these generous contributions, hailing them as a testament to the cooperative spirit and unity of the kampong and its residents. He further highlighted the positive impact of these donations on the village economy and the overall quality of life in the community. He argued against representations of the festival as superstition because part of the donations for incense and oil would go to the village school after all. Furthermore, a procession was arranged for that evening to celebrate the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The float teams would first visit the Nine Emperor Gods temple at Hougang to pay respects from 4 to 5 pm. At 8 pm, the procession of floats would leave the Hougang temple for Geylang, Katong, and Bedok via Paya Lebar Road, and then go around Telok Kurau, Joo Chiat Road and back to Tai Seng village.⁴¹

In 1966, the newspapers reported another meeting of the management committee of the temple agreeing that the festival would be held in the same manner as in previous years, with *zhai jie* for twelve days, welcoming devotees from all over to visit the temple to pay their respects to the Nine Emperor Gods. From the first to the fourth days, the Joint Association of Green Vegetable Sellers and the Large Cannon Society would sponsor the opera performances by Lao Zheng Tian Xiang Teochew Opera Troupe. From the fifth to the tenth days, the Senior Vegetarian Friends Association and all the devotees in the kampong would hire the Zhi Yun Teochew Opera Troupe to join in the celebrations. The Association of Sincere and United Devotees, in turn, would contribute a grand and elaborate gateway for the festival. In accordance with the decree of the Nine Emperor Gods, to further enliven the atmosphere and proceedings, the temple had also written formal letters to invite the participation of various associations such as the Fengshan Mutual Aid Association, Shun Xing Society, United Friends Association, Nanyang Sun Clan Association, China United Friends Association, Silver Turtle Association, and Youth Advancement Society in the sending-off procession on the evening of the ninth and final day of the festival. That year, the procession departed from the temple in Tai Seng kampong, through Tai Seng Lane, Upper Paya Lebar Road, Macpherson Road, Aljunied Road, Geylang Road, Guillemard Road, Mountbatten Road until the Kallang Park Marina.⁴²

The early Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore had very strong ties with their respective rural or suburban communities. They were built with material and monetary support from their respective kampong communities, who also provided manpower during the festivals. They were also important focal points for the religious and socio-cultural, economic, and political life of the kampong communities. They also doubled up as community centres and were strongly affiliated with schools in their kampongs of origin. The Feng Shan Public School, for example, was constructed on the grounds of the then-defunct Peiqun School within Tai Seng with the support of the Hong San Temple's leadership. Whenever the temple experienced a surplus from donations, the funds will be channelled to upkeep the school, otherwise, any deficits incurred were expected to be made up by committee members. This arrangement continued until 1957 when an application for the school's expenses to be subsidised was approved.⁴³ Nevertheless, the proceeds from the sale of incense and oil in the Hong San temple each year continued to go the support of the school.

► Exterior of Feng Shan Primary School, between 1968 and 1970. Photograph courtesy of Hong San Temple.

凤山小学, 1968 年至 1970 年间。照片由凤山宫提供。



⁴¹ “大成村民今晚彩車游行庆祝九皇爷诞辰,” 星洲日报, October 21, 1958, 8.

⁴² “大成巷凤山宫决定盛大庆祝九皇大帝圣诞,” 南洋商报, October 11, 1966, 16.

⁴³ 凤山宫三庆大典, 88-89.

大成村的村长王才福（他本人也是捐赠者之一）对这些慷慨的捐助表示赞许，认为这表明了甘榜及其居民的合作与团结的精神，更不用说它对该村经济和生活质量的影响。他反对把这个节庆说成是迷信，因为部分的香油捐款会捐给村里的学校。此外，当晚还安排了一个游行，以庆祝九皇大帝千秋。彩车队伍首先在下午4点至5点到后港的九皇大帝庙祭拜。晚上8点，彩车队伍将离开后港斗母宫，经巴耶利峇路前往芽笼、加东和勿洛。然后绕过直落古楼、如切路，回到大成村。⁴¹

1966年，报章报道了该寺管理委员会的另一次会议，同意按照往年的方式举行斋戒，为期12天，欢迎各地信徒来寺庙致敬。从初一到初四，青菜联合会和大炮社将赞助老正天香潮剧团的戏曲表演。从初五到初十，老菜友会和全村弟子则会请织云潮剧团演出助兴。诚心联合会为九皇大帝千秋庆典贡献一个宏伟而精致的牌楼遵照九皇大帝的旨意，为进一步活跃气氛和活动，庙宇还正式去函礼邀凤山互助会等各团体参与。顺兴社、联友会、南洋孙氏公会、中华联友会、银龟会、青年促进社等各社团，会在初九，也就是最后一天的晚上，参加送驾队伍。今年的游行队伍将从大成村的庙宇出发，经过大成巷、巴耶利峇路上段、麦波申路、阿裕尼路、芽笼路、忌里玛路、蒙巴登路而到达劳动公园海滨。⁴²

新加坡早期的九皇大帝庙与其各自的农村或郊区社区有着非常紧密的联系。这些庙宇是在各自的甘榜社区的物质和金钱支持下建造的，他们也在节日期间提供人力。此外，这些庙宇也是甘榜社区的宗教和社会文化、经济和政治生活的重要协调中心。它们还兼作社区中心，并与原甘榜的学校有密切联系。例如，凤山公立学校是在凤山宫理事会的支持下，在大成村当时已停办的培群学堂的基础上建成的。每当庙宇的捐款有盈余时，这些资金就会用于资助学校，否则，任何赤字都要由理事会成员来弥补。这种安排一直持续到1957年，补贴学校费用的申请终于获得批准。⁴³尽管如此，凤山宫每年出售香油的收入仍然用于支持学校。

⁴¹ <大成村民今晚彩车游行庆祝九皇爷诞辰>。

⁴² <大成巷凤山宫决定盛大庆祝九皇大帝圣诞>，《南洋商报》，1966年10月11日，第16版。

⁴³ 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页 88-89。

References to temples that worshipped the Nine Emperor Gods also shed light on the social and communal functions of these organisations in pre-independence Singapore. As we have seen, the Hong San Temple's committee founded the Feng Shan Public School and was heavily involved with its management. The temple's close involvement with village life was not limited to the school but included the Hong San Mutual Aid Society that was first founded and located within a wooden building beside the temple in 1940 as well.⁴⁴ After flood waters in Geylang Serai had subsided, excess relief supplies (including biscuits, soap and milk) were distributed from a temple devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods in the area (likely Hong San Temple) by the Relief Association, again highlighting the importance of these landmarks as community centres.⁴⁵

Comparable dynamics could also be observed at Kew Huang Keng in the southern portion of the Lemongrass Village during the 1950s, where the temple has also used as a site for distributing relief to victims of floods.⁴⁶ The Hwa Nong Public School (1947-1979) in the village was not only a place of learning for residents there but was closely related to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kew Huang Keng. Aside from serving as a site for the Nine Emperor Gods procession from Kew Huang Keng to visit, the school also opened its "classrooms to serve as temporary makeup cubicles" for the event's participants.⁴⁷ Several elderly informants who were educated in Hwa Nong School in their youth noted that time off would be given to students to prepare for the sending-off procession.

► The Kew Huang Keng Nine Emperor Gods Festival procession in the southern portion of the Lemongrass Village. Photographs courtesy of Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

葱茅园九皇宫九皇胜会游行。照片由吕序奎先生提供。



Photographs from then testified to the scale and communal wide observation of the occasion, where children and teenagers were involved in carrying baskets of flowers, placards and embroidered banners alongside adults in their community. One of our informants explained that opera troupes who were engaged by the temple to perform for the festival were also requested to provide makeup for younger devotees who were involved in the sending-off ceremony as well. The effort that was channelled into the most minute of these details testified to the festival's significance for the Lemongrass Village's community and the proverbial kampong spirit to coalesce around.

⁴⁴ 凤山宫三庆大典, 91.

⁴⁵ “芽笼土礼村水灾善后剩余赈品分完完毕救济会特向各界表明谢忱,” 南洋商报, March 21, 1955, 6. The flood mentioned in this article likely referred to the Great Flood of Singapore in December 1954, whose impact on Geylang Serai was documented in Fiona Williamson, “The Politics of Disaster: The Great Singapore Flood of 1954,” *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space* 1:3 (2018): 326-332.

⁴⁶ Sunny Lian, Facebook post in “怀念的新加坡葱茅园 Born in Charn Mao Hern Village,” July 29, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/Charnmaohern/posts/2466856020216070/>.

⁴⁷ 情系华农: 纪念特刊, 华农同学会十八周年 (2002-2020) (新加坡: 华农同学会, 2020), 142-143. We would like to thank Madam Xia Jinghua for furnishing our project team with a hardcopy of the manuscript.

对九皇大帝庙宇的描述也揭示了这些组织在独立前新加坡的社会和公共功能。正如我们所见，凤山宫的理事会创办了凤山公立学校，并积极参与学校的管理。庙宇与乡村生活的密切联系不仅限于学校，还包括1940年在庙宇旁边的木屋內首次成立的凤山互助会。⁴⁴ 芽笼士礼村水灾退去后，救济会从该地区供奉九皇大帝的庙宇（可能是凤山宫）分发多余的救灾物资（包括饼干、肥皂和牛奶），这再次凸显了这些地标性建筑作为社区中心的重要性。⁴⁵

20世纪50年代，在葱茅村南部的九皇宫也有类似的功能，那里的庙宇也曾被用作发放水灾救济品的场所。⁴⁶ 村里的公立华农学校（1947-1979）不仅是当地居民的学习场所，与九皇宫的九皇大帝千秋庆典也有密切的联系。学校是九皇宫的游行队伍参观途经的地点之一，学校还为活动参与者开放了“课室当临时化妆间”。⁴⁷ 几位年轻时曾在公立华农学校接受教育的老人们指出，学校会给学生放假，为恭送圣驾游行做准备。



当时的照片证明了这一活动的规模和社区的广泛参与，儿童和青少年与社区的成年人一起抬着花篮、标语牌和绣花横幅。我们的一位知情者解释说，庙宇请来的戏班也被要求为参与恭送仪式的年轻信徒化妆。在这些最细微的细节上所付出的努力，证明了这个节庆对葱茅园社区的重要性，也体现了甘榜精神的凝聚力。

⁴⁴ 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页91。

⁴⁵ <芽笼士礼村水灾善后剩余赈品分发完毕救济会特向各界表明谢忱>，《南洋商报》，1955年3月21日，第6版。在这篇文章中提到的洪水可能指的是1954年12月的新加坡大洪水，其对Geylang Serai地区的影响详见Fiona Williamson, “The Politics of Disaster: The Great Singapore Flood of 1954,” *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space* 1:3 (2018): 326-332。

⁴⁶ Sunny Lian, Facebook, “怀念的新加坡葱茅园 Born in Charn Mao Hern Village,” July 29, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/Charnmaohern/posts/2466856020216070/>。

⁴⁷ 《情系华农：纪念特刊，华农同学会十八周年（2002-2020）》（新加坡：华农同学会，2020），页 142-143。我们要感谢夏静华女士提供给我们项目团队一份手稿的实体复印件。

The Spread of the Nine Emperor Gods' Worship in Singapore after 1945

The decades after 1945 witnessed a growing number of Nine Emperor Gods temples and festival sites (including the observation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in established temples), especially in the eastern part of Singapore. This was due partly to the growing popularity of the festival or divine revelations, which led to the establishment of new Nine Emperor Gods temples or the hosting of the festival in temples originally dedicated to other deities. The history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore reflected the importance of several temples in the expansion of this network through their incense, in the case of Hong San Temple, and through their networks and communities, as in the case of Leong Nam Temple.

In 1948, Kim San Tze began to host the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The committee members and devotees at this temple, then in Kampong Chai Chee, had been regular participants in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hong San Temple. Nevertheless, given the inconvenience of commuting between Chai Chee and Tai Seng, and the difficulty of returning home late at night after the receiving and sending-off ceremonies at Hong San Temple, the committee members had asked the founder and leader of the temple, Madam Zeng Deshun, for permission to invite incense ashes from Hong San temple to start worship the Nine Emperor Gods at their temple and host the festival there. She assented, and incense of the Nine Emperor Gods from Hong San Temple were later enshrined within the temple at its old location at 7th milestone at Changi Road. The temple leaders then asked for permission from the Nine Emperor Gods to name their Inner Chamber, but could not obtain their approval. It was only after they changed the name to Dipper Mountain Palace that the Nine Emperor Gods gave their blessings. Thus, the followers of the temple and the villagers in the vicinity no longer had to make a long and tiring commute to Hong San Temple for the annual event.⁴⁸

► The Nine Emperor Gods arriving at Kim San Tze after their receiving by the sea, c. 1981. Photographs courtesy of Kim San Tze.

迎接九皇大帝后回返金山寺（约1981年）。照片由金山寺提供。



⁴⁸ 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化（新加坡：金山寺，2013），5。

1945年后九皇大帝崇拜在新加坡的传播

1945年后的几十年里，九皇大帝庙宇和法会场所（包括在已建成的庙宇中举办九皇大帝千秋庆典）的数量越来越多，特别是在新加坡东部地区。造成这个现象的部分原因是节庆日益流行，另一原因则是信众得到神明的指示，促成新的九皇大帝庙宇的建立或在原来供奉其他神明的庙宇中举办庆典活动。新加坡九皇大帝千秋庆典的历史反映了几个庙宇通过其香火（如凤山宫）或其网络和社区（如龙南殿），在扩大这个网络方面所扮演的重要角色。

1948年，金山寺开始举办九皇大帝千秋庆典。这座当时位于甘榜菜市的庙宇理事成员和信众经常参加在凤山宫举行的庆典活动。然而，考虑到菜市和大成村之间的距离，两地之间的交通不便，以致在凤山宫举行迎驾和送驾仪式后造成深夜回家时的困难，理事会成员向该庙庙主及创始人曾德顺女士请求允许请香，以便凤山宫的信众在他们的庙宇祭祀九皇大帝，并在那里举办九皇大帝千秋庆典。她同意了。于是，凤山宫的九皇大帝香火就被供奉在樟宜路七里处的旧址上。庙宇理事曾向九皇诸神请示，将其内殿命名为斗母宫，但未能得到同意。直到他们更名为斗山宫后才获得允准。因此，信众和附近的村民不必再为每年的活动而长途跋涉到凤山宫了。⁴⁸



⁴⁸ 《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》（新加坡：金山寺，2013），5。

In 1957, Leong Nam Temple began worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods. It began in the 1950s first as a small Guan Di temple in Jalan Pasar Baru in Geylang Serai, which was then part of the premises of East World Amusement Park, and was later joined by the Guan Yin temple from Kampong Batta, near Jalan Ubi. In the early 1960s, then known as the Geylang Terminal Long Nan Dian, it started holding its first Nine Emperor Gods Festival.⁴⁹ In a newspaper announcement for its festival, the temple declared that it was hosting the festival on the direction and order of Guan Yin on one of her visits. They would receive the Nine Emperor Gods at Dong Hai Shan. From the sixth to the tenth day, there would be Fujian and Chaozhou opera performances over five days by the Shuang Fei Yan Min Ju and the Zhi Yun Tian Chao Ju. They would have a street procession on the second day (a tradition which continues until today), and they would conduct a *Qing Jiao* ritual to “pray for world peace”. They would then send off the Nine Emperor Gods on the night of the ninth day.⁵⁰ Under the leadership of Madam Shen Yuye, a widely recognized medium known as “aunty (Minnan: *Gor yi*),” the temple hosted the festival at Labour Park and experienced rapid growth, becoming a prominent hub for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. It garnered significant support from numerous Chinese businessmen and companies.⁵¹ There, rituals related to the receiving and sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods were performed facing the coast. The festival site again relocated to the space in front of Eunos MRT station when the temple had to relocate to temporary premises after it had to move out of its Geylang Serai building. In 2011, the temple moved to its new premises in the Jalan Kayu Combined Temple in Sengkang West, where it has been hosting the festival since.⁵²

▶ One of the earliest photographs of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Leong Nam Temple, likely between the 1960s and 1970s, with a banner describing the temple's former name “芽笼车头龙南殿” used at Geylang Serai. The Nine Heavenly Lamps can also be seen in the background. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

早期龙南殿九皇大二帝圣诞庆典照片，可能摄于1960年代和1970年代之间。背景有该庙旧称“芽笼车头龙南殿”的横幅。九皇天灯在左侧。照片由龙南殿提供。



The period between the 1960s and 2000s saw the establishment of several other important Nine Emperor Gods temples and Festival sites in Singapore. Long Nan Szye was established at Bukit Panjang by the 1970s by Master Chen as a temple for Buddhist chanting and learning, and dedicated to Guan Yin. It began observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival very soon after its foundation. Today, it remains as one of two Nine Emperor Gods Festival sites based on Buddhist rituals and traditions. It later moved to Bukit Gombak and then to Jalan Asas behind Rail Mall, although it hosts its festival annually in Bukit Batok.⁵³

In the 1970s and 1980s, there were several Nine Emperor Gods Festival sites and temples started through revelation and instruction through deities. In the case of Yu Hai Tang, it began in the late 1970s, when Guan Yin Da Shi instructed his medium, Master Chen Yibiao, to observe the festival in honour of the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas. With the help of his family and friends, he started observing the festival first in a temple at Rifle Range Road, in a predominantly Hainanese kampong. A few years later, they were the instructed by Guan Yin Da Shi to look for a temple in Hat Yai also hosting the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, from where they obtained the incense, and also an image of Dou Lao Yuan Jun. They moved to new premises in the region of Yio Chu Kang. Thereafter, it had combined with Chong Teck Siang Tng to build a combined temple on Bedok Reservoir Road.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ 谢, 庙宇文化, 125.

⁵⁰ “龙南殿庆祝九皇法会,” 南洋商报, September 20, 1962. 13. In 1966, the procession, which was also called a “cleansing of the streets 净街,” was held on the third day of the ninth lunar month, which was a Sunday, starting in the morning. “龙南殿九皇法会十六日迎驾游行,” 南洋商报, October 14, 1966. 7.

⁵¹ “龙南殿九皇法会今日庆祝九皇诞,” 星洲日报, October 16, 1966, 12; “龙南殿庆九皇大二帝胜会明日起一连十天 假劳动公园举行,” 星洲日报, October 21, 1968, 7. Madam Shen's obituary, which commemorated her religious life and contributions, can be found in 联合晚报, June 25, 1990, 17.

⁵² 秋菱 and 陈思源, “龙南殿9天庆神诞 筹募建庙基金 龙南殿庆祝地点: 友诺士地铁站旁空地,” 新明日报, September 24, 2008, e-copy retrieved by Factiva. On the relocation of Leong Nam Temple to Jalan Kayu, see 陈坤纲, “龙南殿庆九皇大二帝圣诞暨晋宫大典,” 新明日报, October 1, 2011, e-copy retrieved by Factiva.

⁵³ “龙南寺庆祝九皇法会启事,” 联合晚报, June 25, 1990, 17. The temple used to coordinate its sending-off ceremonies with Leong Nam Temple in 1970, as noted in “龙南殿建九皇法会假劳动公园举行广告,” 星洲日报, September 27, 1970, 6.

⁵⁴ “勿洛蓄水池路庆九皇爷神诞大龙香会喷水!” 新明日报, October 8, 1997, 10.

1957年，龙南殿开始供奉九皇大帝。在1950年代，该庙起始于芽笼士乃惹兰巴刹峇鲁的小型关帝庙，其当时是东方世界的一部分，后来来自惹兰加由甘榜巴达的白衣娘娘也加入。20世纪60年代初，该庙被称为芽笼车头龙南殿，并开始举办第一个九皇大帝千秋庆典。⁴⁹在一则报章公告中，该庙宇宣称它是“奉白衣观音大士救世令”而举办九皇大帝千秋庆典。他们将在东海山迎接九皇诸神。初六到初十，双飞燕闽剧和织云天潮剧将进行五天的福建和潮州戏曲表演。初二这天，他们会有一个街头游行（这个传统一直延续到今天），也会进行清醮仪式，以“祈祷世界和平”。然后，他们将在初九晚上恭送九皇诸神。⁵⁰该庙宇“在劳动公园设坛场”，并在沈玉叶女士的领导下，迅速发展成为九皇大帝崇拜的主要中心。沈玉叶女士也是一位通常被称为“姑娘”的乩童，获得了许多华人商人和公司的支持。⁵¹在那里，迎接和恭送九皇大帝圣驾有关的仪式都是面向海岸举行的。庙宇在搬离芽笼后，不得不迁往临时场所，于是法会地点再次迁往友诺士地铁站前的空地。2011年，该庙宇搬到了位于盛港西区惹兰加由联合庙的新址，直到今天仍在那里举办庆典。⁵²



Exterior of Long Nan Szye, undated. Photograph by Keith Stevens from The Ronni Pinsler Collection.

龙南寺的外观。日期不详。照片来自 Keith Stevens 收藏，由 Ronni Pinsler 提供。

在1960年代至2000年期间，新加坡还创建其他几座重要的九皇大帝庙宇和法会场所。1970年代，陈师父在武吉班让建立了大香山龙南寺，作为佛经诵读和学习的庙宇，并供奉观音或白衣娘娘。该庙在成立后不久就开始举行九皇大帝千秋庆典。今天，它仍然是以佛教仪式和传统为基础的九皇大帝千秋庆典的两个法会地点之一。后来，它搬迁到了武吉甘柏，接着再搬到了铁道广场后面的惹兰阿莎士，但它每年都在武吉巴督举办庆典活动。⁵³

在1970年代和80年代，有几个法会地点和庙宇是通过神明的启示和指导而创建的。就玉海棠而言，它开始于1970年代末，当时观音大士指示他的乩童，陈奕嫫，为九皇菩萨举办圣诞庆典。他在家人和朋友的帮助下，先在一个以海南人为主的、位于靶场路甘榜内的庙宇开始庆祝。几年后，他们在观音大士的指示下，在合艾找了一座同样举办九皇大帝千秋庆典的庙宇处获得了香火，也同时获得了斗姆元君的金身。此后，他们搬到了位于杨厝港地区的新址。接着，它又与崇德祥堂合并，在勿洛蓄水池路建立了一座联合庙。⁵⁴

⁴⁹ 谢燕燕，《庙宇文化》，页125。

⁵⁰ <龙南殿庆祝九皇法会>，《南洋商报》，1962年9月20日，第13页。在1966年，这场游行也被称为“净街”，于农历九月初三（星期天）上午开始举行。<龙南殿九皇法会十六日迎驾游行>，《南洋商报》，1966年10月14日，第7页。

⁵¹ <龙南殿九皇法会今日庆祝九皇诞>，《星洲日报》，1966年10月16日，页12；<龙南殿庆九皇大二帝胜会明日起一连十天，假劳动公园举行>，《星洲日报》，1968年10月21日，页7。沈女士的讣告，纪念她的宗教生活和贡献，可以在《联合晚报》，1990年6月25日，页17找到。

⁵² 秋菱与陈思源，<龙南殿9天庆神诞 筹募建庙基金龙南殿庆祝地点：友诺士地铁站旁空地>，《新明日报》，2008年9月24日，通过Factiva检索的电子副本。关于龙南殿迁至惹兰加由的事宜，请参阅陈坤纲，<龙南殿庆九皇大二帝圣诞暨晋宫大典>，《新明日报》，2011年10月1日，通过Factiva检索的电子副本。

⁵³ <龙南寺庆祝九皇法会启事>，《联合晚报》，1990年6月25日，第17版。1970年的时候，该寺曾与龙南殿协调送神仪式，如<龙南殿建九皇法会假劳动公园举行广告>，《星洲日报》，1970年9月27日，第6版。

⁵⁴ <勿洛蓄水池路庆九皇爷神诞大龙香会喷水！>，《新明日报》，1997年10月8日，第10版。

► Nan Shan Hai Miao at its original location in Jalan Ang Teng, undated (possibly late 1970s). Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

位于惹兰昂坪的南山海庙，没有注明日期（1970年代末）。照片由南山海庙提供。



In 1971, a young medium was instructed by the Great Uncle (Minnan: Dua Ah Pek) to start hosting the festival at Nan Shan Hai Miao in Jalan Ang Teng.⁵⁵ Following the instruction and guidance of the Great Uncle, the medium commenced the observance of the festival in 1972. Through him as the medium, the Nine Emperor Gods started visiting during the festival. Even after the temple relocated with him and his family to their new flat along Bedok Reservoir Road in 1980, he continued to organize the festival.



⁵⁵ For a brief period of time during the early 1970s, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was also observed by the leaders and followers of the Nan Shan Hai Miao at Xi Shan Si in Bukit Timah. See “西山寺庆九皇大二帝千秋贺仪捐树群中小学作基金,” 南洋商报, October 2, 1973, 16; “西山寺庆九皇大二帝千秋贺仪捐树群学校,” 星洲日报, October 4, 1973, 11; “捐中华留医院基金又一宗善款逾千元,” 南洋商报, October 11, 1973, 17; and “裕廊吉舌西山寺隆重庆祝九皇大二帝千秋捐树群中小学基金,” 南洋商报, October 18, 1973, 9.



1971年，一位年轻的乩童受大爷伯的指示，要在惹兰昂坪的南山海庙举办九皇大帝千秋庆典。⁵⁵ 这位乩童遵照大爷伯指示和指导，在1972年开始举办庆典，而九皇大帝也开始通过这个乩童在庆典期间降临。1980年，庙宇随着他和家人搬到勿洛蓄水池路的新址后，仍继续组织庆典活动。



Great and Second Uncle leading Nan Shan Hai temple and devotees in the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods in the late 1980s and 1991 respectively, with the censers prominent in the first photograph.

大爷伯与二爷伯分别于1980年代末和1991年带领南山海理事与善信在海边主持九皇大帝迎驾仪式。第一张照片可看到海滩上的香炉。

⁵⁵ 在20世纪70年代初的一个短暂时期内，新加坡武吉知马区西山寺的南山海庙的领导者 and 追随者也观察了九皇千秋。〈西山寺庆九皇大帝千秋贺仪捐树群中小学作基金〉，《南洋商报》，1973年10月2日，第16版；〈西山寺庆九皇大帝千秋贺仪捐树群学校〉，《星洲日报》，1973年10月4日，第11版；〈捐中华留医院基金又一宗善款逾千元〉，《南洋商报》，1973年10月11日，第17版；〈裕廊吉舌西山寺隆重庆祝九皇大帝千秋捐树群中小学基金〉，《南洋商报》，1973年10月18日，第9版。

In the same year, a young man was chosen by the Fifth Emperor God to be his medium. He was instructed by the Fifth Emperor God to organise and host the festival. Then living at Jalan Membina, near Si Ka Teng, Master Chuan Xi had held the first festival at a temple nearby, the Kim Lan Beo. The festival moved with him to Bukit Batok when he moved there in the 1980s. It became well-known as the Bukit Batok Dou Mu Gong. After his passing, the new medium, Master Chew, moved the altar to the Leng San Giam complex in a combined temple at Ang Mo Kio Avenue 1, where it has come to be known as the Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong.⁵⁶

More recently, two different Nine Emperor Gods temples and festival venues had been established. They were started by relatively young leaders with their small followings, and founded on Daoist and Buddhist traditions. In 2008, the Yu Feng Jiu Huang Dian was established by a group of young devotees, and located in the home of the one of the founding members and ritual leader of the temple, who underwent training in Daoist traditions and rituals for his role. The temple was to move into its own premises in industrial estates in Mandai and Bukit Batok, while its festival is held annually at Jurong East Avenue 1. In the 2010s, a Buddhist temple dedicated to Zhun Ti, Zhun Ti Tang, began to observe a festival for the Nine Emperor Buddhas at Sengkang East, obtaining their incense from a Nine Emperor Buddhas temple in Bangkok.

The period between 1945 and 2010 thus saw the expansion of several Nine Emperor Gods Festival sites in Singapore. The motivations for the establishment of these new sites and temples, and the religious traditions they follow, are different, but they reflect the growing popularity and significance of the Nine Emperor Gods in the religious and cultural life of Chinese in Singapore over the last 50 years. In addition to new Nine Emperor Gods temples, the festival was also observed at various vegetarian halls and benevolence halls. Singapore has also provided the incense and initiative for the expansion of the Nine Emperor Gods worship to other parts of Southeast Asia, such as Johor, Senggarang in Bintan (opposite Tanjung Pinang) and also more recently to Taiwan.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival and the Chinese Religious Landscape in Singapore

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival is first and foremost a religious festival. It reflects the Chinese religious landscape on the island and beyond, especially with respect to its connections with Chinese popular religion, and the role of the community in the festival's organisation. While it draws on Daoism and Buddhism for rituals, scriptures, and meanings, and Daoist priests and Buddhist monks do play important ritual roles in the festival, local communities, rather than specialized formal religious institutions like Daoist and Buddhist temples, remain very much at the centre of the festival, its rituals and its organisations. This also includes folk religious and ritual specialists within the community, like mediums and masters (often respectfully referred to as *shi fu* like priests, monks and nuns). The religious orientation and ritual structure of each Nine Emperor Gods Festival is very much also shaped by the history of the temple, the communities behind it, its leadership and organisational structures, and their religious affiliations.

In terms of their religious orientation and organisation of the festival, Nine Emperor Gods temples can be loosely divided on the basis of their organisational structure and their denominational affiliations, as well as whether they have mediums and masters who are leaders or owners of the temple, with the temple oriented around them, or are more community-based and run, with formal hierarchies and organisational structures. In reality, most, if not all temples, will exhibit both features, but certain segments have greater authority and say in certain types of decision-making and areas of responsibility, and in certain facets of the festival.

⁵⁶ “中峇魯四脚亭斗母宮慶祝九皇五帝聖誕千秋。” 聯合早報, October 4, 1986, 32; and “武吉巴督區斗母宮慶祝九皇五帝千秋。” 新明日報, October 21, 1987, 17.

同年，一个年轻人被九皇五帝选中，成为他的乩童。他奉五帝之命组织和主持九皇大帝千秋庆典。当时住在四甲亭附近惹兰孟比那的传喜师父，曾在附近的金兰庙举办过第一届庆典。当传喜师父在1980年搬到武吉巴督后，庆典活动也随之迁到武吉巴督。它以“武吉巴督斗姆宫”而闻名。在他逝世后，新的乩童，周师傅，把神坛移到宏茂桥第一大道的龙山岩联合庙，在那里它被称为龙山岩斗姆宫。⁵⁶

最近，有两个不同的九皇大帝庙宇和法会场地建立了起来。它们都是由相对年轻的领导人和他们的追随者发起的，且建立在道教和佛教的传统之上。2008年，玉封九皇殿由一群年轻的信徒建立，位于该庙宇创始成员之一和仪式负责人的家中，为了更好地执行工作，他接受了道教传统和仪式的培训。这座庙宇将搬进万礼和武吉巴督的工业区，而其九皇大帝千秋庆典每年在裕廊东大道 1 号举行。2010年，一个专门供奉准提菩萨的佛教诵经团体——准提堂，开始在盛港东为九皇佛祖举办圣诞庆典，他们的香火来自曼谷一座九皇佛祖庙。

因此，在1945年至2010年期间，新加坡的九皇大帝千秋法会场地不断扩大。这些新地点和新庙宇的建立动机以及它们所遵循的宗教传统各不相同，但共同反映了在过去50年里，九皇大帝在新加坡华人的宗教和文化生活中日益流行和重要的地位。除了新的九皇大帝庙宇之外，在各个斋堂和善堂也都举行了庆典活动。新加坡的九皇大帝崇拜也扩展到东南亚其他地区，例如柔佛、民丹岛的盛加兰（丹绒檳榔对面），甚至在近期远至台湾。

九皇大帝千秋庆典与新加坡的华人宗教景观

九皇大帝千秋首先是一个宗教节庆。它反映了新加坡以及东南亚其他地区的华人宗教景观，特别是在其融入华人民间宗教方面，以及社区在组织该节庆中的作用。虽然它借鉴了道教和佛教的仪式、经文和意义，而且道长和佛教僧侣确实在节庆中发挥了重要的主持仪式的作用，但这个节庆、其仪式和组织的中心很大程度上是社区，而不是专门的、正式的宗教机构（如道教和佛教寺庙）中的道长和僧侣。这也包括社区内的民间宗教和仪式专家，如乩童和师父（通常像僧侣、尼姑和道士一样被尊称为师父）。每个九皇大帝千秋庆典的宗教取向和仪式结构在很大程度上也取决于庙宇的历史、其背后的社区、其领导和组织结构以及他们的宗教归属。

就庙宇和节庆的宗教取向和组织而言，九皇大帝庙宇可以根据其组织结构和宗教归属进行松散的划分，以及它们是否有乩童和师父、他们是否由庙宇理事或个人所领导等区别开来。庙宇有的以个人为导向，但更多的是以社区为基础而运行，具有正式的等级制度和组织结构。实际上，即使不是所有庙宇，大多数庙宇也会表现出这两种特征，但某些部分在一些决策和责任领域具有更大的权威和发言权。

⁵⁶ <中峇鲁四脚亭斗母宫庆祝九皇五帝圣诞千秋>，《联合早报》，1986年10月4日，第32版；<武吉巴督区斗母宫庆祝九皇五帝千秋>，《新明日报》，1987年10月21日，第17版。

For temples like Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, Leong Nam Temple, and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, where there is no resident ritual specialist at present, the temple community, particularly individuals or groups responsible for ritual matters, play a significant role in shaping the key rituals. They often consult with Daoist priests or, in some cases, Buddhist monks from the past. Most of these temples, which adopt a Daoist ritual structure, have a Daoist priest present during important ritual events such as the reception and departure of the Nine Emperor Gods, as well as various ceremonies during the festival like Dipper Worship and, in certain temples, the crossing of the Bridge of Blessing. Nevertheless, it is usually the religious and ritual specialists within the temple community, along with their designated assistants, who take the lead in crucial rituals that are central to the festival. This includes tasks like raising and lowering the Heavenly Lamps, physically receiving the Nine Emperor Gods at the sea, and sending them off. While the priests remain essential in these rituals, the leaders and ritual specialists within the community and temple organizations often assume a more significant and central role in the planning, organization, and execution of these rituals. They are positioned at the heart of these rituals, while the priests sometimes stand alongside the key participants or remain behind them.

This is evident in Hong San Temple and Kew Huang Keng, where designated individuals, groups and associations in the temple community will plan, prepare, and conduct ceremonies, especially the receiving and sending off rituals at the sea, as well as the preparation of related paraphernalia. At Kew Huang Keng, the temple's manager and his helpers hold the responsibility for these tasks, particularly concerning the Inner Chamber. They are in charge of preparing the censers that will be placed in the palanquins before they depart for the sea during the receiving ceremony. At the coast, he and his assistants will help guide the censer masters and *towkay* through the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun. They will also oversee the ferrying of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun censers from the Inner Chamber by the censer masters for *yew keng* processions, and also assist and guide them in the sending off rituals by the sea. They will prepare and maintain the Nine Lamps of the Northern and Southern Dipper daily. However, at the initial raising of the lamps, it will be the Daoist priest who leads the community in the prayer.

In Hong San Temple, members of the Senior Vegetarian Friends association and the temple's manager and his team will take an active role in ritual matters pertaining to the festival, especially at the receiving and sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods. At the receiving ritual, a senior member will be responsible for reading the petition inviting the Nine Emperor Gods as the Daoist priest chants behind, before temple representatives from these groups will accompany and guide the censer masters as they go into the sea for the actual ritual. On a daily basis, they are also responsible for maintaining and guarding the Inner Chamber, guiding and assisting the censer masters in their duties, the daily rituals of lowering the Heavenly Lamps and replenishing them, and leading the participation in the early morning chanting by the Daoist priest. The temple's censer masters will have to live in the temple during the festival, along with select members of the Senior Vegetarian Friends association.



对于今天没有乩童或常驻仪式专家的庙宇，如凤山宫、九皇宫、龙南殿和洪水港斗姆宫，庙宇社区，特别是指定负责仪式事务的团体或个人，在关键仪式的安排上有着重要的发言权。他们往往与道长协商，或在过去，请示佛教僧侣。大多数以道教为主导的庙宇，都会有一位道士出席他们的重要仪式，如迎接和恭送九皇大帝圣驾，以及庆典期间的各种仪式，如礼斗仪式，或是一些庙宇会举行的过平安桥仪式。然而，通常是庙宇社区自己的宗教和仪式专家以及那些被指定帮助他们的人，将在节庆的核心仪式中发挥主导作用，如天灯的升起和下降，九皇大帝在海中的请水及恭送仪式。虽然道长在这些仪式活动中仍然是必不可少的，但社区和庙宇组织中的领导人和仪式专家往往在这些仪式的计划、组织和进行中发挥更大、更核心的作用。他们处于这些仪式的中心，而道士有时会在他们的身边或背后进行协助。

这在凤山宫和九皇宫很明显，庙宇社区中指定的个人、团体和协会会计划、准备和进行庆祝活动和仪式，特别是在海上的迎驾和送驾仪式，以及祭祀用品的准备。在九皇宫，庙宇官务和他的助手们负责这些事务，特别是关于内殿的事务，如在迎驾时，准备好要放在轿子里的香炉，然后出发到海上去。在海上，他和他的助手们将帮助指导炉主、副炉主和头家完成祈祷、供奉和接待九皇大帝和斗姆元君。他们还将监督炉主将九皇大帝和斗姆元君的香炉从内殿请出以用于游境，并协助和指导他们进行海上的恭送仪式。他们将每天准备和维护南北斗九灯，不过在升灯时，将由道长带领社区信众进行祈祷。

在凤山宫，老菜友会的成员和该庙的官务和他的团队将在与节庆有关的仪式上发挥积极作用，特别是在迎接和恭送九皇大帝之时。在接驾仪式上，一名理事成员将负责宣读邀请九皇大帝的请愿书，而道长则在后面诵经，然后这两个小组的庙宇代表将陪同和指导炉主下海进行实际的恭迎圣驾仪式。在日常工作中，他们还负责维护和看守内殿，指导和协助炉主在庙宇和内殿的工作，每天进行降天灯和补充天灯的仪式，并带领信众参与道长的清晨诵经。庆典期间，炉主和老菜友会的部分成员会一起住在庙里。



◀ Hong San Temple receiving the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea, with a huge crowd of devotees in attendance. For the devotees, white attires (with white headscarves) were required for entry into the barricaded space (yellow cloth), undated (likely late 1980s or early 1990s). Photograph courtesy of Hong San Temple.

凤山宫在海边举行恭迎九皇大帝仪式，未标明日期（可能是1980年代末或1990年代初）。只有穿着白色衣服的信徒才被允许进入被黄布封锁的空间内。照片由凤山宫提供。

In some temples like Leong Nam Temple, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, Nan Shan Hai Miao, and Hougang Tou Mu Kung, there is a greater reliance on Daoist priests for the organisation of ritual events, including the receiving and sending-off ceremonies. However, it is still the representatives of the temple community who venture into the sea to perform the receiving rituals. Daoist priests also play a leading role in the receiving and sending off rituals and events at the sea in Kim San Tze, although it has mediums, including one for the Nine Emperor Gods. The Nine Emperor Gods will arrive through his medium only when the censer reaches the temple and Inner Chamber. He emerges from the Inner Chamber to oversee the raising of the Heavenly Lamps while the Daoist priest oversees the rituals for the consecration of the Bridge of Blessing. Hougang Tou Mu Kung, under the auspices of the Taoist Federation of Singapore, also relies on Daoist priests for the organising of the rituals of receiving, sending off, the Bridge of Blessing, as well as the special prayers on the early morning of the sixth day. Nan Shan Hai Miao, once a temple known for its resident medium, has experienced a shift in its dynamics. While the Daoist priest now assumes a prominent role in arranging, conducting, and leading the rituals for receiving and inviting the Nine Emperor Gods, a group of ritual specialists, who previously collaborated with the former medium and leader, now work alongside the Daoist priest. Together, they organize and carry out crucial ritual tasks, including entering the sea to receive and send off the Nine Emperor Gods, as well as preparing ritual and ceremonial events such as the Nine Emperor Gods feast throughout the nine days.

In the other temples, we see mediums and ritual specialists playing a much more important role in organising and conducting the key rituals during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, although they too, rely upon the services of the Daoist priest at the receiving and sending-off rituals, and also for other key rituals at the temple. Temples with mediums for the Nine Emperor Gods or other deities assisting them include Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, Kim San Tze, Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, Shin Shen Keng, Yu Feng Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang. Where there are mediums for the Nine Emperor Gods or other deities, they would invite these deities for consultation on matters relating to the festival. For example, for Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, the First Emperor God would visit on the ninth day of the eighth lunar month to consecrate the palanquins and other ritual and religious paraphernalia to be used during the festival, and for consultations on the proceedings of that year's festival, and things to look out for. The First Emperor God would also visit during the festival on selected days during the festival for consultations. Decisions such as whether to hold a major *yew keng* or a *yew kampong*, and in such event, which places to visit, and the logistics and ritual elements of the procession will be based on his instructions conveyed during his visits. All the Nine Emperor Gods will also oversee community rituals such as the banquet offering, while the Fifth Emperor God would conduct the rituals for the consecration of the festival site. In Kim San Tze, the Nine Emperor Gods will also be consulted on such matters in the Inner Chamber for these purposes and oversee the ritual preparations, and the key ritual of raising the Heavenly Lamps.

Similarly, in other temples that have medium traditions, and with mediums for the Nine Emperor Gods, Shin Shen Keng and Leng San Giam, the Nine Emperor God and Fifth Emperor Gods will be consulted respectively through their mediums, to give instructions on the ritual process and other matters for the year's festival. Other deities, such as the Marshal of the Central Altar, might arrive to oversee the consecration of the festival site and other matters. While these deities and mediums will oversee the receiving and sending off rituals and ceremonies, they will nevertheless, still engage a Daoist priests to do the chanting for these rituals.

在一些庙宇中，如龙南殿、洪水港斗母宫、南山海庙、后港斗母宫等，更多的是依靠道长来安排仪式和祭祀活动，包括迎驾和送驾仪式，而下海进行迎驾仪式的仍然是庙宇代表。道长在金山寺的迎驾、送驾仪式和活动中也起着主导作用，尽管该庙亦有乩童，包括九皇大帝的乩童。只有当香炉到达庙宇和内殿时，九皇大帝才会通过他的乩童到达。他将从内殿出来监督天灯的升起，而道长则主持平安桥的开光仪式。新加坡道教总会支持下运作的后港斗母宫也依托道长来组织迎接、恭送、平安桥仪式，以及第六天清晨的特别祈愿活动。对于南山海庙这个曾经的祭坛来说，虽然现在道长在选择、主持和引领迎驾、送驾仪式方面处于中心地位，但仍是由一批过去与老一辈乩童和理事合作的仪式专家（现与道长合作），组织并承担关键的仪式任务，如下海迎驾和恭送九皇大帝，并准备九天内的仪式和庆典活动，如九皇大帝的飧宴。

在其他庙宇中，我们看到乩童和仪式专家在组织和进行九皇大帝千秋庆典期间的关键仪式中发挥了更重要的作用，尽管他们也需要道长主持迎驾、送驾与庙宇其他关键仪式。有九皇大帝与其他助阵神明之乩童的庙宇包括蔡厝港斗母宫、金山寺、龙山岩斗母宫、神仙宫、玉封玉皇殿玉海堂等。凡有九皇大帝或其他神明的乩童，他们会邀请这些神明来咨询与节庆有关的问题。例如，在蔡厝港斗母宫，九皇大帝会在农历八月初九到访，为庆典期间使用的圣轿和其他仪式及宗教用品举行开光仪式，并商议该年的祭祀程序和需要注意的事项。庆典期间，九皇大帝会在特定日子来访，对相关事务进行商议。诸如是否举行大型的游境或游甘榜，以及在这种情况下，要访问哪些地方，以及游行的后勤和仪式内容等，都将根据在向其咨询时传达的指示来决定。九皇诸神也将监督社区仪式，如敬斋席桌，而九皇五帝将进行庆典场地的安营仪式。在金山寺，庙宇成员会在内殿就这些事项咨询九皇大帝。九皇大帝也将监督仪式的准备工作及升天灯仪式。

同样的，其他有乩童传统的庙宇中若驻有九皇大帝的乩童，例如神仙宫和龙山岩斗母宫，九皇大帝和九皇五帝会通过乩童对当年的仪式和其他事项作出指示。其他的神明，如中坛元帅，可能会到场监督仪式现场的开光和其他事宜。虽然这些神明和乩童会监督迎驾和送驾仪式，但他们仍然会请道长来为这些仪式诵经。



◀ The Fifth Emperor God deploying the armies within Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's compound ahead of the festival.

九皇五帝在蔡厝港斗母宫进行庆典前的安营仪式。



▲ Xuan Tian Shang Di (in headdress, seated) observing a pair of opera performers paying their respects to the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang at the Xuan Wu Shan altar (Kim Yam Road), c. the late 1970s and early 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler collection, National Archives of Singapore.

In other temples, such as Xuan Wu Shan, while no medium for the Nine Emperor Gods is present, a medium for the Emperor of the Dark Heavens was also at hand to oversee the receiving and sending-off ceremonies. Similarly, in the case of Yu Hai Tang, while the deities Dou Mu and Dou Lao, as well as the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas, do make their presence during the festival, Guan Yin Da Shi (in his male incarnation) also arrives before and during the festival to guide devotees as well. In addition, he will supervise the raising of the Heavenly Lamps on the evening preceding the receiving ceremony. He will also perform the blessing of the ritual paraphernalia to be utilized throughout the festival, as well as the consecration of the blessed items.

戏曲演员在玄武山九皇胜会坛前祭拜九皇大帝与斗母娘娘。照片左侧是坐在宝座的玄天上帝(戴着头饰)。照片摄于约1970年代末和1980年代初。照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，新加坡国家档案局Ronni Pinsler收藏。



在其他庙宇，如玄武山翰林院，虽然没有九皇大帝的乩童在场，但玄天上帝乩童也会到场监督迎驾、送驾仪式。同样的，在玉海棠，虽然斗母和斗姥以及九皇大帝在庆典期间降乩，但观音大士（以其男性化身）也在庆典之前和庆典期间到场以指导信众。他还将监督在迎驾前夜天灯的升起，并为庆典期间使用的祭祀用具和福物赐福。

▲ Xuan Tian Shang Di overseeing the sending-off ceremonies for the Nine Emperor Gods of the late 1970 and early 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler collection, National Archives of Singapore.

玄天上帝引导玄武山理事善信恭送九皇大帝回銮，1970年代末1980年代初。照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，新加坡国家档案局Ronni Pinsler收藏。

► Dou Mu Yuan Jun and Bai Yi Fo Zu at Yu Hai Tang.

玉海崇斗姆元君与白衣佛祖



In several Nine Emperor Gods temples, their ritual masters, and also the leaders of these temples, will organise and conduct key rituals such as receiving and sending off the Nine Emperor Gods, without the assistance of any Daoist priest or monks. This will include the Long Nan Szye temple and Zhun Ti Tang, although the receiving and sending off rituals will also be attended by Buddhist monks for the latter. The ritual and religious masters will also oversee the rituals and other events at the festival. The Master of Long Nan Szye will also lead the chanting at the temple with the help of his disciples during the nine days, and preside over rituals such as the worship of Confucius. In one year, he also held classes on Buddhism and traditional Chinese culture for the devotees. In Zhun Ti Tang, chanting groups from Buddhist halls will be invited to do chanting before the Nine Emperor Buddhas at the festival site. In Jiu Huang Dian, although there is a ritual or religious specialist in the temple, many of the rituals are still performed by a Daoist priest engaged for the purpose, especially in the chanting during the receiving and sending-off ritual, and in the Dipper Worship rituals. Other rituals for the consecration of the festival area, and the rewarding of the spirit-soldiers [Minnan: *Ko kun*] will be handled by the religious specialist and ritual leader, and the other helpers, especially those acting as the spiritual army vanguards.



◀ The Fifth Emperor God at Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

龙山岩斗母宫九皇五帝主持九皇胜会庆典。

在几座九皇大帝庙宇中，他们的仪式法师（也即这些庙宇的理事），将组织和进行关键的仪式如九皇大帝的迎驾和送驾，这些仪式并没有任何道长或僧侣的协助。这些庙宇包括龙南寺和准提堂，尽管后者的迎驾和送驾仪式也将由佛教僧侣参加。仪式和宗教法师也将监督庆典的仪式与其他活动。在这九天里，龙南寺法师还将在其弟子的帮助下在庙中主持诵经，并主持祭祀孔子等仪式。有一年，他还为信众开设了佛教和中华传统文化的课程。在准提堂，来自佛堂的诵经团会被邀请到法会场地的九皇佛祖前诵经。在九皇殿，虽然庙里有仪式或宗教法师，但很多仪式还是由专门聘请的道长来完成，特别是在迎驾、送驾及礼斗仪式中的诵经。法会场地的净化仪式，以及五营军将的犒军仪式，则由宗教专家和仪式负责人以及其他担任五营军将营脚的义工负责。

► The leaders of Zhun Ti Tang and Long Nan Szye leading their devotees and helpers in the sending-off and receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods respectively. Both are Buddhist ritual and religious specialists, and the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals in these temples are situated within Buddhist cosmology and rituals

准提堂和龙南寺主持各自引导他们的理事善信, 主持恭迎与恭送九皇大帝仪式。两间庙宇都以佛教经典和礼仪为根基。





◀ Led by their Daoist priest, the members of Jiu Huang Dian pay respects to the Nine Emperor Gods and other deities before the festival altar.

在道长的引导下，九皇殿理事一同向九皇大帝与其他神明敬礼。

Thus, the community plays a very important role in the festival, especially in terms of the key rituals that are a feature of the festival and an important part of its identity. This includes the receiving and sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods, and the raising of the Heavenly lamps. Nevertheless, Daoist priests and Buddhist monks continue to play an important role in these rituals, although their role and centralizing in organising and defining the ritual structure varies from temple to temple depending on the arrangements and the presence of such authority figures as the medium (especially that of the Nine Emperor Gods) and ritual/religious masters and specialists.

Many Nine Emperor Gods temples will also hire or invite other religious groups, whether Daoist, Buddhist or religious institutions such as Benevolence Halls to conduct rituals for the blessings of the larger community, as Kim San Tze and Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong both did in 2017.⁵⁷ On select days in the festival, especially the sixth day (or night of the fifth), in some other temples, the eighth or ninth day, or over several days, the Daoist priests engaged by various temples for the festival period might be invited to conduct special rituals to propitiate the Dipper.

► Hun Nam Siang Tng conducting Qing Gong rituals at Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong.

云南善堂在龙山岩斗母宫主持清供仪式。



⁵⁷ In Kim San Tze, the Cifo Shantang was present during the festival of 2017, whereas a chanting troupe from the Hun Nam Siang Tng was in attendance at Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong in the same year.

因此，社区在节庆中起着非常重要的角色，特别是在作为节庆特征和重要组成部分的关键仪式方面。这包括迎接和恭送九皇大帝及升天灯。但是，道长和佛教僧侣仍然在这些仪式中发挥着重要作用，尽管他们在组织和确定仪式结构方面的作用和中心地位因各庙宇的安排和乩童（特别是九皇大帝乩童）以及仪式/宗教法师和专家等权威人物的存在而不同。

许多九皇大帝庙宇也会聘请或邀请其他宗教团体，无论是道教、佛教还是诸如善堂之类的宗教机构为更大的社区进行祈福，如金山寺和龙山岩斗母宫在2017年进行的类似活动。⁵⁷ 在节庆的特定日子里，特别是初六（或初五晚上），在其他一些庙宇是初八或初九，或在连续的几天内，各庙宇在庆典期间聘请的道长可能会被邀请进行特殊的礼斗仪式祭祀北斗星。



◀ Ci Fo Shantang performing Qing Gong rituals during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kim San Tze.

慈佛善堂在金山寺九皇胜会主持清供仪式。

⁵⁷ 在2017年的九皇千秋活动中，慈佛善堂出席了金山寺的活动，而云南善堂的诵经队也在同一年参加了龙山岩斗母宫的活动。

At Leong Nam Temple, a notable tradition continues wherein Thai Buddhist monks are invited to the festival site to bestow blessings upon devotees. This practice originated from one of the temple's past leaders, who was a devout follower of Thai Buddhism. This practice is consistent with the temple's tradition and history. During her fieldwork, Ruth Inge-Heinze also noted the participation of Theravada Buddhist monks "who had been recruited from local Ceylonese and Thai temples" in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Leong Nam Temple during her fieldwork, where they performed "thirty minutes of chanted blessings from the Pali Canon" before a vegetarian banquet was served on the eighth day of the festival.⁵⁸ Commemorative and historical photographs in the temple's collection also show the presence of Thai Buddhist monks in the organisation's activities, together with the ritual master and medium for Guanyin and the Nine Emperor Gods highlight long-standing interactions between Daoism and Buddhism in the past as well. This exchange thus continues to this day, although the ritual structure of the festival at the temple is now predominantly informed by Daoist traditions.

▶ Theravada Buddhist monks in saffron robes at Leong Nam Temple's Nine Emperor Gods Festival, undated, 1982, and the present day respectively. First two photographs are courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

参加龙南殿九皇胜会的南传佛教僧人，未标明日期，1982年（壬戌年）与现今。前两张照片由梁南寺提供的。



Buddhist Hall chanting groups will be invited to the Zhun Ti Tang festival venue to chant before the Nine Emperor Buddhas. The leader and ritual master of Zhun Ti Tang will also hold rituals such as fire *pujas*, leading devotees and temple in Buddhist chanting and the circumambulation of the festival venue. Interestingly, some of the rituals and ceremonies organised during the festival, such as the Pure Offering rituals in the abovenamed temples seemed to include rituals for wandering spirits and the deceased. For instance, a Da Shi Ye will be consecrated for the festival at Kim San Tze. Like the Nine Emperor Gods Festival seen in some parts of China, praying and catering to the spirits seemed also to be part of the festival in some locations in Singapore.

These wider religious traditions of the temples also shaped the ritual traditions surrounding the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Besides formal Daoist and Buddhist traditions and rituals, there are also folk traditions unique to Singapore and Malaysia, commonly found in temples operated by mediums. The traditions of mediumship and spirit armies, believed by some observers and practitioners to have originated from the southern districts of Singapore, have influenced the practices of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Shin Shen Keng and Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng. These influences are particularly evident in the martial displays performed in these temples on selected occasions, which are part of a broader tradition seen in other festivals. Additionally, the chants used during the writing of talismans by the Nine Emperor Gods reflect these influences. In Shin Shen Keng, these influences can be observed in various processions, such as the receiving or sending off processions, as well as *yew keng* and *can bai* processions. They also play a role in the consecration of the festival area. In Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, this is usually performed every day when the spirit armies are rewarded (Minnan: *Ko Koon*), and also during the consecration of the festival area. For Shin Shen Keng, the helpers designated as the representatives of the spiritual armies will also have to bear these armies with them by piercing the skin of their forearms with the heads of the spiritual generals on skewers.

⁵⁸ Ruth-Inge Heinze, "The Nine Imperial Gods in Singapore," *Asian Folklore Studies* 40:2 (1981): 161.

龙南殿会邀请一位泰国佛教僧侣到法会场地为信众祈福，这是该庙的一位理事传承下来的老传统，他是一位虔诚的泰国佛教徒。这种做法符合该庙的传统和历史。Ruth Inge-Heinze在她的田野调查中还注意到，“从当地锡兰和泰国寺庙招募来的“南传上座部佛教僧侣参加了龙南殿的九皇大帝千秋庆典，他们在初八举行素食宴会之前，进行了“三十分钟的巴利文经的诵读祝福”。⁵⁸ 庙宇收藏的纪念和历史照片也显示了泰国佛教僧侣在该组织的活动中的存在，同时，白衣娘娘和九皇大帝的乩童也突出了过去长期存在的道教和佛教共融的传统。因此，虽然现在庙宇采取道教祭祀结构，但这种融合形式一直延续到今天。



佛堂诵经团将受邀到准提堂法会场地，在九皇大帝面前诵经。准提堂的主持和法师也会举行火供等仪式，带领庙宇信众诵经并绕行法会场地。有趣的是，在九皇大帝千秋庆典期间组织的一些仪式和典礼，如在以上所列庙宇中的清供，似乎包括对游魂和死者的祭祀仪式。例如，在金山寺会有一个大士爷在庆典中被祭祀。就像在中国一些地方看到九皇大帝千秋庆典一样，在新加坡的一些地方，祈祷和祭祀灵魂似乎也是节庆的一部分。

这些更广泛的庙宇宗教传统也塑造了围绕九皇大帝千秋庆典的仪式传统。除了正式的道教和佛教的传统和仪式，还有新加坡和马来西亚特有的民间传统，常见于有乩童的庙宇。因此，一些观察家和实践者认为起源于新加坡南部地区的乩童和五营军将的传统，影响了神仙宫和蔡厝港斗母宫的节庆习俗，特别是在这些庙宇中在特定场合进行的操营展示，是在其他节庆中看到的更广泛传统的一部分，此外其影响还包括了九皇大帝写符时使用的颂词。在神仙宫，操营展示首先用于游行，如迎驾或送驾，以及游境或参拜等游行，还有用于净化法会场地的安坛仪式。在蔡厝港斗母宫则是每日的犒军仪式及法会场所的净化仪式。对于神仙宫来说，被指定为五营军将代表的义工称为营脚，他们要为这些五营军将带营，带有五营将军的头的长针会刺穿他们的前臂皮肤。

⁵⁸ Ruth-Inge Heinze, "The Nine Imperial Gods in Singapore," *Asian Folklore Studies* 40:2 (1981): 161.

▶ Wearing (bringing) the spiritual armies for the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods at Shin Shen Keng.

神仙宫主持与理事为迎接九皇大帝仪式带营护驾。



▶ The Daoist priest deploying the five spiritual armies (Fang Jun 放军) at Shin Sen Keng.

道长 in 神仙宫主持放军仪式





◀ A Chao Ya ritual performed at Shin Sen Keng by the young vanguards c.1950. Photograph courtesy of the Alan J. A. Elliot's collection, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Cambridge.

神仙宫少年营脚主持操营仪式。1950年。照片由剑桥大学考古与人类学博物馆Alan J. A. Elliot收藏提供。



The ritual traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, as we can see, are embedded within the syncretic traditions in Chinese popular religion, drawing on Daoism, Buddhism, and other religious institutions and movements in the Chinese religious landscape. Nevertheless, the festival is very much grounded in the community rather than any particular Daoist temple or Buddhist temple, monastery or nunnery. All the temples involved in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore are organised and run by the community-at-large instead of ordained priests or monks. This seems to be a tradition of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival that mirrors the occasion in China in the Republican period. However, the festival in Singapore, and similar to Malaysia and Thailand, is also strongly influenced by folk ritual traditions, practices, and agencies like mediumship and ritual masters, both Daoist and Buddhist. In some temples, there are designated groups within the temple communities and organisations responsible for rituals. Certainly, these temples draw inspiration from Daoist traditions while also incorporating Buddhist scriptures and ritual traditions through Buddhist masters.

Redevelopment, Relocation and Reinvention

The expansion of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore between 1945 and the present also coincided with the rapid transformation of the landscape through industrialization, urban and rural redevelopment, and the rehousing of Singaporeans from kampongs into high-rise housing in Housing Development Board (HDB) flats.⁵⁹ These transformations had a profound impact on the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. This was not only a simple question of physical relocation, but also impacted the constituents of support and networks that were built by these temples in their original locations and communities. Nevertheless, they have remained important focal points for these older communities often dispersed across new housing estates, and some temples have also created new traditions and practices to maintain these ties.

At the same time, they have also become important new community centres in their new locales, building new communities and networks in these areas, and contributing to the social welfare, economy, and identity of these housing estates and constituencies. The new lifestyles and socio-economic life in the new nation-state and modernizing economy also created new opportunities and spaces for building new networks and communities. These temples have continued to maintain their traditions and identities while re-inventing and expressing themselves in different ways on these foundations. Moreover, the changing landscape and regulations regarding public use have had significant implications for the practices and traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. These changes have influenced various aspects, such as the materials used for the Heavenly Lamps, the locations and procedures for crucial ceremonies and events like the receiving and sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods, as well as the conduct of *yew keng* processions, which were once integral to the festival and its symbolic significance.

Relocation and adaptation have been an important part of the histories of Nine Emperor Gods temples and festivals. This can be seen in the different places where Hougang Tou Mu Kung had received and sent off the Nine Emperor Gods over the decades. Access to the sea or a river, canal or reservoir with access to the sea was an important requirement of the receiving and sending-off ceremonies for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival Singapore, as well as Malaysia and Thailand. During the Second World War (1942-1945), according to Wong Hiong Boon's testimony, the temple performed the receiving ritual by the Serangoon River. However, in 1947, the same ceremony was performed at Sungei Whampoa, which was located quite a distance away from the temple.⁶⁰ Four years later, the receiving and sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods were performed at the 7th milestone Tampines Road.⁶¹ Yet, this was also set to change again during the 1980s, when the rituals were conducted at Kangkar again, which corresponded roughly with the upper course of the Serangoon River.⁶² This remained the location of choice for the first decade of the twenty-first century⁶³ until it was again relocated to Punggol beach in recent years.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Thongchai Winachukul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Bangkok: Read Publications, 2013).

⁶⁰ Leong, "Kew Ong Tai Tay."

⁶¹ "Father of 9 gods now on 'visit';" "28 Temples End Celebrations;" and "Drizzle – and 9 Gods are Happy," *The Straits Times*, October 11, 1951, 4.

⁶² 黄建发, "最古老 神轿在九皇爷庙," 联合晚报, October 3, 1989, 18; and 邱新民, "香河脚九王爷," 联合早报, January 1, 1989, 62.

⁶³ 陈坤纳, "后港斗母宫上周五 '送驾回銮' 九皇大帝圣诞庆典圆满完成," 新明日报, October 22, 2007, e-copy retrieved via Factiva.

⁶⁴ 刘丽敏, "后港斗母宫 浮台龙船避鳄鱼恭送九皇爷回銮," 新明日报, October 15, 2021, e-copy retrieved via Factiva.

正如我们所见，九皇大帝千秋庆典的仪式传统植根于华人民间宗教传统中，借鉴了道教、佛教以及华人民间宗教中其他宗派宗教机构的传统。然而，这个节庆在很大程度上是以社区为基础，而不是以任何特定的道观或佛教寺庙或尼姑庵为基础。所有参与新加坡九皇大帝千秋庆典的庙宇都是由广大社区进行组织和管理的，而不是一个专职的宗教机构。这似乎是九皇大帝千秋庆典的一个传统，与中国民国时期的庆典相呼应。然而，新加坡的九皇大帝千秋庆典，与马来西亚和泰国类似，也深受民间祭祀传统、习俗和机构的影响，例如道教和佛教中的通灵仪式及协助主持仪式的师父。一些庙宇的社区和组织内有指定的团体负责祭祀活动。当然，这些庙宇会特别借鉴道教传统，同时也会通过佛教师父借鉴佛教的经文和仪式传统。

重建、迁移与重塑

从1945年至今，九皇大帝千秋庆典在新加坡的扩展，也恰恰是通过工业化、城乡重建和将新加坡人从甘榜安置到组屋而实现其宗教景观快速转型。⁵⁹ 这些转变对九皇大帝千秋庆典产生了深远的影响。这不仅是一个简单的实体搬迁问题，也影响了这些庙宇在原址和老社区建立起来的支持网络。尽管如此，这些旧有的支持网络仍然是这个老社区的重要焦点，只是其居民现已分散在新的住宅区。一些庙宇还创造了新的传统和做法来保持这些联系。

同时，它们也成为新地点的重要的新社区中心，在这些地区建立新的社区和网络，并为这些住宅区和选区的社会福利、经济和身份认同做出贡献。在新民族国家和现代化经济中，新的生活方式和社会经济生活也为建立新的网络和社区创造了新的机会和空间。这些庙宇继续保持着他们的传统和身份，同时在这些基础上以不同的方式重新塑造和表达自身。此外，景观和水路的改造以及公共使用规则也对九皇大帝千秋庆典的操办和传统产生了重要影响，从使用竹子制作天灯、到重要仪式和活动地点及过程，如九皇大帝的迎驾和送驾及游境的举行，都曾是九皇大帝千秋庆典重要的组成部分及意义。

迁移和适应是九皇大帝庙宇及其圣诞庆典历史的一个重要部分。这可以从数十年来后港斗母宫迎接和恭送九皇大帝的不同地方看出来。能接触大海、河流、运河或水库，是新加坡、马来西亚和泰国九皇大帝迎接和恭送仪式的重要要求。在第二次世界大战期间（1942-1945年），根据Wong Hiong Boon的叙述，该庙在实龙岗河边举行接驾仪式。然而，在1947年，同样的仪式却是在双溪黄埔进行的，那里离庙宇有一段距离。⁶⁰ 四年后，九皇大帝的接驾和送驾仪式在淡滨尼路的七里处进行。⁶¹ 然而，这种情况在20世纪80年代也将再次发生变化，当时的祭祀活动在港脚进行，这个地段位处实龙岗河上游。⁶² 在二十一世纪的前十年，这仍然是首选的地点，⁶³直到近年来再次搬迁到榜鹅海边。⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Thongchai Winachukul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Bangkok: Read Publications, 2013)。

⁶⁰ Leong, “Kew Ong Tai Tay。”

⁶¹ “Father of 9 gods now on ‘visit;’” “28 Temples End Celebrations;” and “Drizzle – and 9 Gods are Happy,” *The Straits Times*, October 11, 1951, 4。

⁶² 黄建发，〈最古老 神轿在九皇爷庙〉，《联合晚报》，1989年10月3日，第18版；邱新民，〈香河港脚九王爷〉，《联合早报》，1989年1月1日，第62版。

⁶³ 陈坤纲，〈后港斗母宫上周五‘送驾回銮’ 九皇大帝千秋庆典圆满完成〉，《新明日报》，2007年10月22日，从Factiva获取的电子副本。

⁶⁴ 刘丽敏，〈后港斗母宫 浮台龙船避鳄鱼恭送九皇爷回銮〉，《新明日报》，2021年10月15日，从Factiva获取的电子副本。

► The Daoist priest in golden yellow robes conducting the receiving ceremony at Hougang Tou Mu Kung. Yellow candles are used on the altar and the ceremony also has two deities presiding. 1990. Photograph from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年，身着金黄色道袍的道长在后港斗母宫主持恭迎九皇仪式。祭坛上有请两尊神明，也备有黄色蜡烛。照片来自新加坡旅游局，新加坡国家档案馆。



This mobility is also illustrated through the case of Shin Shen Keng. Their receiving and sending-off of the Nine Emperor God used to take place at the end of Pasir Panjang/Labrador (beyond the oil storage spaces that used to be there) in the 1930s until they could no longer use the place for security reasons. Between the 1950s and 1980s, they seem to have done their receiving and sending off at the canal or upper reaches of the Singapore River near the Lower Delta/River Valley junction (first near Seicline and then near Fraser & Neave, just across the road). When the water levels at these locations became too shallow, they had to look for an alternative location.

The Nine Emperor God later instructed Shin Sen Keng to move to the lower reaches of the Singapore River, next to the old Great World Amusement Park (later Great World City). The temple was originally reluctant to move there because of the proximity to the boatyards at the old Hong Lim market, and the stench from the old Singapore River. Nevertheless, the Nine Emperor God had insisted that they move there, and when they did, they found that the river had become much cleaner because of the campaign to clean up the Singapore River. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, however, they could no longer use the location due to impending development projects in the area, along the Singapore River and the mouth of the river around Marina Bay.⁶⁵ The temple had to find a new location again, and ultimately decided on a stretch of Changi Beach after surveying a few locations (including the West Coast Park area). They had chosen this area because the tides, the water level and the environment was deemed very suitable for the receiving and sending-off rituals in the water. They continue to use Changi Beach today, even after the temple and festival had moved to Jurong West in 2009, on the opposite end of the island.

The relocation of where the Nine Emperor Gods were received and sent off from also informed the history of the festival at Hong San Temple. According to the temple's recollection, the earliest site where the Nine Emperor Gods were received and sent off took place at Wuqiao Gang [Minnan: *Orh Kio Kang*] (Jalan Karim). This broadly corresponded with where Paya Lebar Airport is in the present day. By the 1960s, the deities were received from East Coast Park, and the Nine Emperor Gods were sent off at Labour Park in Kallang. An exceptional circumstance took place in 1964, where civil turmoil in Singapore prohibited a large turnout for the receiving and sending-off ceremonies. As such, for that year, the temple had to scale down its activities, and sent the Nine Emperor Gods from a pond as a symbolic substitute instead. From the 1970s and up till the present day, the Nine Emperor Gods were received and sent off from the coast at Marine Parade.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ For context, see Yugal Kishore Joshi, Cecilia Tortajada, and Asit K. Biswas, "Cleaning of the Singapore River and Kallang Basin in Singapore: Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions," *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 28:4 (2012): 647-658. One of the reasons was the impact of the development projects around the upper stretches of the Singapore River and around the Havelock Road area surrounding the site (the Covent Garden area which has been demolished since 2013-14).

⁶⁶ 凤山宫三庆大典, 104-105.

神仙宫的案例也说明了这种流动性。在1930年代，该庙迎接和恭送九皇大帝的工作曾在巴西班让/拉布拉多的尽头进行（在过去的储油空间之外），直到他们因安全理由不能再使用该地。在20世纪50年代至80年代期间，他们似乎是在下三角洲/河谷交界处附近的运河或新加坡河的上游进行迎驾和送驾仪式（先是在Seicline或旧洗衣厂附近，然后在马路对面的Fraser & Neave附近）。当这些地方的水位变得太浅时，他们不得不寻找一个替代地点。

后来，九皇大帝指示神仙宫搬到新加坡河的下游，在旧大世界游乐园（后来的大世界城）旁边。他们原本不愿意搬到那里，因为那里靠近芳林老巴刹的船坞，而且有旧新加坡河的臭味。尽管如此，九皇大帝还是坚持让他们搬到那里。当他们搬到那里时，发现由于开展了清理新加坡河的运动，河水变得干净多了。不过，在上世纪90年代末和21世纪初，由于该地区、新加坡河和滨海湾周边河口的发展项目迫在眉睫，他们无法再使用该地段。⁶⁵ 九皇大帝庙后来又得另寻新址，在勘察了几个地点（包括西海岸公园一带）后，最终决定在樟宜一带建庙。他们选择这个地区，是因为潮汐、水位和环境被认为非常适合在水中进行迎驾和送驾仪式。他们如今仍继续使用樟宜海滩（Changi Beach），即使庙宇和节庆于2009年已迁至位于该岛另一端的裕廊西。

九皇大帝迎驾与送驾地点的变更和迁移，也为凤山宫的九皇大帝千秋庆典的历史提供了参考。根据该庙的记录，最早接待九皇大帝的地点是在乌桥港，也就是在摩绵路（惹兰卡里姆）。这与巴耶利峇机场目前的情况大体相当。到了上世纪60年代，圣驾的迎接在东海岸公园进行，而其送驾则在加冷的劳工公园进行。1964年，新加坡发生了一场罕见的骚乱，大批民众无法出席圣驾恭送仪式。于是，当年的九皇大帝庙宇不得不缩小活动规模，在具有象征意义的小水塘进行九皇大帝迎接和恭送仪式。从上世纪70年代至今，九皇大帝的迎接和恭送仪式在马林百列区的海岸进行。⁶⁶

⁶⁵ 有关背景信息，请参阅Yugal Kishore Joshi, Cecilia Tortajada, and Asit K. Biswas, "Cleaning of the Singapore River and Kallang Basin in Singapore: Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions," *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 28:4 (2012): 647-658。其中一个原因是新加坡河上游和哈夫洛路地区周围的发展项目对该地区的影响（柯芬园区域已于2013-14年拆除）。

⁶⁶ 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页104-105。

► Permanent opera stage (now demolished) opposite Hougang Tou Mu Kung, 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

后港斗母宫往昔的永久戏台（现已拆除），1980年代。照片由Ronni Pinsler提供，新加坡国家档案馆收藏



Very few temples that were founded before the Second World War (1942-1945) remained at their original premises. Only two examples come to mind, namely the Hougang Tou Mu Kung and the Hong San Temple, and even then, they were not completely insulated from the geographical impact of redevelopment. For Hougang Tou Mu Kung, it had to give up its opera stage when Serangoon Road was widened.⁶⁷ As for Hong San Temple, the community where the temple drew its original bases of support and devotees since its founding, namely the northern-central portions of Lemongrass Village, had been physically relocated. Several elderly informants noted that many of their communities were rehoused within adjacent HDB complexes in the eastern portion of Singapore, such as the regions of Changi, Bedok and Eunos. Today, the Hong San Temple is surrounded by light industries and manufacturing. However, this arrangement also offered certain advantages. The temple benefited from the ability to secure additional land surrounding the temple premises to accommodate the expanded space required for their festival. Moreover, holding events and conducting the festival after 10 PM was comparatively easier for the temple, as opposed to temples situated in the heart of housing estates. Regardless, both temples continued to observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival annually, and remained very important and popular among the faithful.

Most other temples have had to move between several locations in their history. This was often due to the acquisition of land on which the temples (and usually the village or kampong) stood for the redevelopment projects, especially after the 1950s and 1960s. The histories of several Nine Emperor Gods temples illustrated the challenges faced in this respect. Kim San Tze was originally located at the 7th milestone, Changi Road, around Kampong Chai Chee. By the 1960s, the area was scheduled for redevelopment. As such, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kim San Tze was held for the final time at its original premises in 1967. Through the members of its temple committee and leadership, they were able to acquire land at Jalan Ulu Siglap to build a new temple. The temple was temporarily housed within a zinc-roofed hut at “East Coast Road” before moving into the new temple building in 1971, where it has remained ever since.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ 徐, 九皇圣迹, 40.

⁶⁸ These events are discussed in “金山寺九皇爷宫启事,” 南洋商报, October 27, 1968, 4; “金山寺九皇爷庙举行奠基典礼,” 南洋商报, July 7, 1971, 8; and “金山寺庆新庙宇落成暨九皇爷千秋,” 星洲日报, October 22, 1971, 14, respectively.

在第二次世界大战（1942-1945年）之前建立的庙宇，很少保留在原址。只有两个例子，一个是后港斗母宫，另一个是凤山宫。但即使在那个时候，它们也没有完全被排除在重建计划的地理影响之外。对于后港斗母宫来说，实龙岗路拓宽后，它不得不放弃戏曲舞台。⁶⁷至于凤山宫，自建庙以来，吸引信众和支持者的社区，也就是葱茅园的中北部地段，其实已经搬迁。几名提供消息的年长者指出，他们的许多社区被安置在毗邻的新加坡东部组屋区内，如樟宜、勿洛和友诺士等地区。如今，凤山宫周围都是轻工业和制造业。不过，这也提供了一定的优势，因为与位于组屋区中心的庙宇相比，该庙能确保周围的土地被用作节庆所需的空间，并能在晚上10时之后更容易举行活动和庆祝节日。无论如何，两座庙宇都继续每年庆祝九皇大帝千秋，并继续受到信众的重视和欢迎。

大多数其他寺庙都不得不在其历史上的几个地点之间迁移。这往往是因为庙宇（通常是乡村或甘榜）所在的土地被征用来进行重建计划，尤其是在1950年代和1960年代之后。几座九皇大帝庙宇的历史说明了这方面所面临的挑战。金山寺庙原本坐落在甘榜菜市附近的樟宜路（Changi Road）七里处。到了六十年代，该区已计划重新发展。因此，金山寺的九皇大帝千秋庆典于1967年最后一次在原址举行。在庙宇理事们的努力下，他们得以在惹兰乌鲁实乞纳（Jalan Ulu Siglap）兴建新庙宇。庙宇在1971年迁入新址之前，暂时坐落在位于依士哥士路的砂厘厝。⁶⁸



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kew Huang Keng in 1987 after the temple's relocation into the combined temple complex at Arumugam Road, next to Cheng Hong Siang Tng. Photograph courtesy of Mr Sunny Lian.

1987九皇宫九皇胜会就在阿鲁慕甘路新庙举行。九皇宫与众弘善堂在这新址相邻组合联合庙。照片由Sunny Lian先生提供。

⁶⁷ 徐李颖,《九皇圣迹》,页40。

⁶⁸ 这些事件在以下讨论中被提及: <金山寺九皇爷宫启事>,《南洋商报》,1968年10月27日,第4版; <金山寺九皇爷庙举行奠基典礼>,《南洋商报》,1971年7月7日,第8版; 与<金山寺庆新庙宇落成暨九皇爷千秋>,《星洲日报》,1971年10月22日,第14版。

Other Nine Emperor Gods Temples have had to join with other temples and religious organisations (such as Benevolence Halls, Zhenkongjiao temples) to build a combined temple complex in their respective neighbourhoods or beyond, while some joined existing combined temples.⁶⁹ Some would join existing temples in such complexes with space for them. This can be seen in the cases of Kew Huang Keng, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, as well as Yu Hai Tang between the 1980s and 2000s. Kew Huang Keng jointly developed a new temple building at Arumugam Road with a Chaozhou Benevolence Hall, the Cheng Hong Siang Tng, when it had to relocate from its old temple nearby in the 1980s, after the residents of the kampong had all already been moved to public housing in the surrounding area.

In most cases, constituent temples were usually from nearby, if not identical kampong communities where these Nine Emperor Gods Temples had hailed from. For example, the Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, which was originally located at Thomson Road 9th milestone, combined with two temples in the Mandai and Thomson Road areas, namely the Chongpang Tian Gong Tan and Hong San See to form a combined temple within the bigger combined temple complex at Chong Pang Combined Temple. They later incorporated the Jia Zhui Kang Da Bo Gong when it too had to move from its location near the original location of the other three temples.⁷⁰

In Sungei Tengah, the Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng was actually already part of a row of five temples. When they had to move in the early 1990s, the Tao Bu Keng temple joined one of the temples in this earlier complex, the Shui Gou Guan and several other temples to build the Chua Chu Kang Combined Temple (Chua Chu Kang Lian Sing Keng). More importantly, it joined with San Zhong Gong, a temple it had very close relations with through its overlapping community of helpers and mediums, to take up a single unit within this combined temple.⁷¹ Hence, we see the continuation of these old ties between the Nine Emperor Gods temples within the same vicinity or neighbourhood maintaining their ties within new institutional arrangements and the Chinese religious landscape in Singapore.

► Shui Gou Guan and Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng in their neighbouring premises in Sungei Tengah Village before their relocations in the early 1990s. Photograph courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

1990年代初，位于内东成未搬迁的水沟馆和蔡厝港斗母宫。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。



Other temples have had to move into residential units, and to host the festival in tentage spaces specially set up close by for the occasion. Nan Shan Hai Miao had to relocate after the Jalan Ang Teng kampong was designated for redevelopment. Along with the residents, the medium and owner of the temple, with his family, had to move into a new Housing Development Board (HDB) flat along Bedok Reservoir Road. Following the relocation of the temple to its new premises, the festival was initially held in the void deck for a few years. However, with the completion of a new basketball court adjacent to their block of flats, they were able to hold the festival there annually by setting up a tentage. As many of the original inhabitants of the Jalan Ang Teng and Tai Seng, as well as the supporters of the temple in these areas, had also relocated to the Bedok Reservoir and neighbouring areas, the temple was still able to continue to draw on the older community for its support.

⁶⁹ For context, see Hue Guan Thye, "The Evolution of the Singapore United Temple: The Transformation of Chinese Temples in the Chinese Southern Diaspora," *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 5 (2011): 157-174.

⁷⁰ These deities and temples are described in some detail by fieldworkers from Nanyang University in 义顺区与利芭 (新加坡: 南洋大学, 历史系, 1970), 13-14.

⁷¹ 蔡厝港东成村史调查 (新加坡: 南洋大学, 历史系, 1969), 4.

其他九皇大帝庙宇则须与其他庙宇和宗教组织（如善堂、真空教道堂等）合作，在各自的邻里或更远的地方兴建联合庙，有些则与现有的联合庙合并。⁶⁹有些人会把现有的庙宇和空间结合在一起。这可以从上1980年代至2000年代的九皇宫、洪水港、蔡厝港斗母宫和玉海棠等庙宇的案例中看出。1980年代，当甘榜居民都已搬入公共住屋，九皇宫搬离原址，与潮州善堂众弘善堂合并为新庙宇，位于阿鲁慕甘路。

在大多数情况下，组成联合庙的九皇大帝庙宇通常来自附近或相似的甘榜社区。例如，原本坐落在汤申路九里处的洪水港斗母宫，与万礼和汤申路一带的忠邦天公坛以及凤山寺结合，组成忠邦联合宫。后来，当洪水港大伯公庙也必须搬离原址时，洪水港大伯公庙也加入了这个联合宫。⁷⁰

在双溪登加，蔡厝港斗母宫其实已经是五座庙宇的其中一座。上世纪90年代初，当他们必须搬迁时，斗母宫与这座早期建筑群中的其中一座庙宇——水沟馆和其他几座庙宇，联合建造了蔡厝港联合庙，名为“蔡厝港联圣宫”。更重要的是，它与三中公——一个通过共享的义工和乩童而关系非常密切的寺庙——联合起来，在这个联合庙中占据了一个单元。⁷¹因此，我们看到，在新的制度安排和新加坡的华人宗教景观中，同一地区或邻近地区的九皇大帝庙之间继续保持这些旧有的联系。



◀ Tian Gong Tan and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong before their relocations to the Chong Pang Combined Temple in the 1990s. Photograph courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

1990年代，在旧址未迁往忠邦联合庙的天公坛和洪水港斗母宫。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。

⁶⁹ 有关上下文，请参阅Hue Guan Thye, “The Evolution of the Singapore United Temple: The Transformation of Chinese Temples in the Chinese Southern Diaspora,” *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 5 (2011): 157-174。

⁷⁰ 这些神祇和寺庙的详细描述可以在南洋大学的田野调查员的报告中找到。《义顺区与利芭》（新加坡：南洋大学，历史系，1970），页 13-14。

⁷¹ 《蔡厝港东成村村史调查》（新加坡：南洋大学，历史系，1969），页4。

A similar story can be seen in the history of Shin Shen Keng. The temple had to move from its premises on the top of a hill (since levelled) in the Sang Kao Dia area along Alexandra Road and Dawson Place (where Queenstown Secondary School stood in 2022), to Bun Soh Poh at Henderson Road when the kampong land was acquisitioned for redevelopment in the 1930s. A new location was selected by the Nine Emperor God on one of the *yew keng* processions one year that went beyond the kampong, and they built a temple there after securing permission from the headman of the area. The temple had to move again in the early 1950s when the inhabitants of the Henderson area were moved into new Singapore Improvement Trust (SIT) flats in the Havelock Road area. Subsequently, they moved once again to an unused section of the surname Gan cemetery located in the Redhill area along Tiong Bahru Road. In the 1970s, when the cemetery was acquisitioned, the temple also had to move once again, this time to a two-storey terrace house in Margaret Drive. It would, thereafter, host the festival in the open space just outside the terrace unit, until the scale of the festival grew too big, and they had to set up a tentage in nearby open fields for the festival. The temple has remained with the family of the ceremonial owner and moved with them. When they moved to Jurong West Street 42, the festival was held in a tentage in an open field nearby. They had continued to hold the festival there even after the temple and family have moved to Bukit Batok.

Other temples have also started in residential or office spaces and moved either to temples, such as Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong and Yu Hai Tang, or in the case of Xuan Wu Shan, Zhun Ti Tang, and Jiu Huang Dian, shifted from residential spaces to industrial spaces. Thus, the Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong had moved from its original location in a flat in Jalan Membina, where it hosted its first Nine Emperor Gods Festival in a nearby temple, to another flat in Bukit Batok, during which it became known as the Bukit Batok Dou Mu Gong, and finally through the intercession of its current Nine Emperor Gods medium, finding its place in the Leng San Giam unit within the combined temple complex in Ang Mo Kio Avenue 1. Yu Hai Tang had also begun as a medium temple in a village in Upper Bukit Timah (near Rifle Range Road) before moving to a temple building in Yio Chu Kang, and finally combining with Chong Teck Siang Tng to build a combined temple complex at Bedok Reservoir Road.⁷²

Thus, most Nine Emperor Gods temples have experienced one or multiple relocations, or had their neighbourhoods and immediate environments transformed through the relocation of the existing communities. Nevertheless, whether in their new locations, or ensconced in new residential communities created through new housing developments or industrial development, most of these temples had been able to continue to draw on its older communities and bases of manpower, material and monetary support. The temples continued to maintain these ties through various channel of communications or activities to draw the older devotees and helpers, and their family members to the temple, and in doing so, also maintained their identity. Thus, many of the new generation of helpers and supporters for these temples are the descendants of earlier ones. Advancements in transportation and communication infrastructure over the past three decades have greatly facilitated the preservation of these older communities and their networks to an extent that was not previously seen in earlier decades.

Nevertheless, they still have had to build new communities, with the passing of time and the older generation. This was also the case for temples which had to relocate to distant places, often far away from their original communities. Building on existing communities and networks (and for some temples, their associations), and through old and new social channels such as family, schools, membership of associations (including lion dance and musical associations), workplace, and neighbours, temples have been able to utilize their existing communities to mobilize new supporters, helpers, and financiers. New technologies, such as the internet, social media and video or photo sharing websites, have also helped to attract new helpers and members, often transcending older place, kin, and interpersonal ties. Another important means of community-building by the Nine Emperor Gods temples was to work with local grassroot leaders, organisations and charities, as well as more national ones, and to assist in local and national charity and welfare programmes, to raise their profile and obtain support for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

⁷² “勿洛蓄水池路庆九皇爷神诞大龙香会喷水!”

其他庙宇则必须迁入住宅单位，并在附近特别设置的帐篷内举办庆典活动。惹兰昂坪甘榜重新发展后，南山海庙必须搬迁。乩童和庙主一家人，与当地居民一同搬入位于勿洛蓄水池路的新组屋。庙宇迁入新址后，九皇大帝千秋庆典在组屋底层办了几年，后来组屋旁的新篮球场落成，他们每年都在那里搭起帐篷，举办节庆活动。惹兰昂坪和大成的许多原居民，以及这些地区的庙宇支持者，都已搬迁到勿洛蓄水池和附近一带，但庙宇仍继续吸引原甘榜居民的支持。

神仙宫的历史也有类似的故事。该庙地段在1930年代被征重新发展时，神仙宫不得不从沿着亚历山大路和杜生坊（2022年女皇镇中学所在地）的双口鼎外鼎区的山头搬到亨德申路的垃圾山。有一年，九皇大帝的游境超出了甘榜的范围，九皇大帝选择了一个新的地点，在获得该地区负责人的批准后，在那里建了一座庙宇。1950年代初，亨德申区的居民迁入位于合乐路（Havelock Road）新加坡改良信托局（Singapore Improvement Trust，简称SIT）的新组屋后，庙宇被迫重新搬迁。他们过后搬到位于红山一带（中峇鲁路一带）的颜姓坟场区。1970年代，当坟场被征用时，庙宇又不得不再次搬迁，这次搬迁到玛格烈通道一栋两层楼的排屋。之后，节庆便在排屋外的露天空地上举行，随着节庆的规模越来越大，他们必须在附近的空地搭建帐篷。庙宇一直保持在宫主家中，并随他们一起搬迁。当他们搬到裕廊西街42号时，庆典活动就在附近空地上的帐篷里举行。庙宇和家人搬到武吉巴督后，他们还是继续在那里办庆典活动。

其他庙宇也从住宅或办公空间开始，要么搬到其他庙宇，如龙山岩斗母宫和玉封玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂，要么在玄武山、准提堂和九皇殿的案例中，从住宅空间转到工业空间。于是，位于惹兰孟比那组屋的龙山岩斗母宫，从原本在附近庙宇办第一个九皇大帝千秋的地点，搬到武吉巴督的另一个组屋居住，期间改名为武吉巴督斗母宫，最后在现任九皇大帝乩童斡旋下，终于在宏茂桥1道的联合庙内找到了在龙山岩斗母宫的落脚处。玉封玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂也曾武吉知马上段（靠近靶场路）的一个村子里，以灵媒庙起家，后来搬到杨厝港的一个庙宇建筑，最后与崇德善堂结合，在勿洛蓄水池路建造一座联合庙。⁷²

因此，九皇大帝庙宇大多经历过一次或多次搬迁，或因现有社区搬迁而改变了邻里和周围环境。然而，无论是在新的地点，还是在通过新的住房开发或工业开发而建立的新的居住社区，这些庙宇大多数都能够继续从老社区获得人力、物力和财力的支持。这些庙宇继续通过各种沟通渠道或活动来保持这些联系，以吸引年长的信徒和义工，以及他们的家庭成员来到庙宇，这样做也是为了保持他们的身份认同。因此，这些庙宇的新一代义工和支持者当中，有不少是上一代的后人。在过去三十年里，不断改善的交通和通信基础设施使这些老社区及其网络的保留在很大程度上成为可能，其程度是过去几十年来从未见过的。

⁷² <勿洛蓄水池路庆九皇爷神诞大龙香会喷水!>

Many elements of the older community continue to be relevant in some Nine Emperor Gods temples today. In temples like Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, and Kim San Tze, the incense associations, most of which were founded during the kampong days, still provide the backbone for the festival's organisation today. Each association is responsible for a particular aspect of the festival, from rituals to the firecrackers that used to be lit during key events of the festival to the floats, opera, and musical troupes and ensemble performing and contribution of various services and material goods during the festival.⁷³ The Senior Vegetarian Friends at Hong San Temple was responsible for many of the key rituals during the festival, as well as the upkeep of the Inner Chamber. The Association of Sincere and United Devotees would contribute floats and gateways. The Incense Pavilion Society was in charge of the palanquins and other ritual matters. The Large Canon Association gained its namesake from the procurement of the firecrackers that were lit during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival before the ban on firecrackers in 1972.⁷⁴ It was originally made up of devotees who hailed from a specific occupation, namely sellers of vegetables who organised themselves as the Joint Association of Green Vegetable Sellers.⁷⁵ In 2018, the Ritual Ship Association was also founded to mobilise people to manage these ships which were introduced in the early 2000s and have become a fixture in many Nine Emperor Gods temples.

The dinners that each of the associations host after the festival is also an important way of raising the profile of these associations and of Hong San Temple. These associations and the kampong identity remain the main conduit for recruiting new members of the temple committee and temple community. Thus, many of the office holders in the temple are also members of the different associations. In Hong San temple, those who have no historical connection to the old Tai Seng kampong, either being a former resident or direct kin of one, would have to serve as a helper in the festival before they can join the temple as a member. When they do so, they often also join one of the associations.

► A banquet at Hong San temple hosted by the Old Vegetarian Friends Association. Each association affiliated to the temple, the temple management committee and the women's group will take turns to host a banquet on consecutive days after the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

凤山宫老菜友会举办的庆功宴。九皇胜会结束后，凤山宫理事会、妇女组与各香社都会轮流举办庆功宴。



It is perhaps no coincidence that Kew Huang Keng and Kim San Tze, which both began the Nine Emperor Gods Festival by inviting incense from Hong San Keng, also adopted such a general organisational structure, although not on the same elaborate basis, with a smaller number of associations, and with some changes to their names. In Kew Huang Keng, the Incense Friends Association had replaced the former Incense Pavilion Association in the care of the palanquins. The Music Association would be responsible for arranging the performing drum and gong troupes for the festival. True to their name, and as we shall see in this volume, each of these sub-organisations was historically responsible for certain aspects of the festival, such as firecrackers, opera performances and music, among others. In other temples, the festival may be coordinated via a smaller number of specialist institutions. Since 1985, in Kim San Tze, three associations are involved in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, namely the *Towkay* and Censer Master Association, Fraternal Association, and the Incense Pavilion Association.⁷⁶ In all, these different associations are central not only to the organisation and logistical functioning of the festival, but also to the identity of the temple.

⁷³ Inter alia, see the shopping list of decorated floats and contributions by each of these sub-organisations in “凤山宫九皇大帝 周日夜送驾游行。”

⁷⁴ 凤山宫三庆大典, 61-68.

⁷⁵ For example, see how their names were found alongside and used interchangeably with each other in “大成巷凤山宫决定盛大庆祝九皇大帝圣诞。”

⁷⁶ 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化, 40.

然而，随着时间的推移和老一辈人的逝世，庙宇仍然需要建立新的社区联系。对于那些不得不搬到远离老社区的地方的庙宇也是如此。在现有社区和网络的基础上（对一些庙宇来说，还有他们的香社），通过新旧社会渠道，如家庭、学校、协会成员（包括舞狮和音乐协会）、工作场所和邻居，庙宇能够利用他们现有的社区来动员新的支持者、义工和资助者。互联网、社交媒体、视频或照片分享网站等新技术也有助于吸引新的义工和成员，往往超越了旧的地方、亲戚和人际关系。九皇大帝庙宇的另一个重要的社区建设手段是与当地的基层领导、组织和慈善机构以及更多的全国性组织合作，并协助当地和全国性的慈善和福利项目，以提高其知名度，藉此获得对九皇大帝庙宇的支持。

旧社会的许多元素在今天的一些九皇大帝庙宇中仍有意义。在凤山宫、九皇宫、金山寺等庙宇，许多创建于甘榜时代的香社在今天仍是节庆组织的基本组成部分，并构成了每年节庆组织和运作的基础。每个香社负责节庆的一个特定方面，从仪式到节庆中点燃的鞭炮，到花车、戏剧、乐团和合奏演出，以及庆典期间各种服务和物质的贡献。⁷³ 老菜友负责庆典期间的许多重要仪式，以及内殿的维护工作。诚心联合会负责提供花车和门牌。香亭社负责圣轿和其他仪式事宜。大炮社得名于1972年禁止燃放鞭炮之前，负责采购庆典期间所燃放的鞭炮。⁷⁴ 它最初是由来自特定职业的信众组成的，即卖菜的人，他们把自己组织成青菜联合会。⁷⁵ 2018年，法船会也成立了，组织人员管理法船。庙宇在21世纪初引进法船，这些船只如今已成为许多九皇大帝庙宇的固定装备。

每个香社在庆典后举办的晚宴也是提高香社和凤山宫知名度的重要途径。这些香社和甘榜身份仍然是招募庙宇委员会和庙宇社区新成员的主要渠道。因此，庙宇中的许多任职者也是不同香社的成员。在凤山宫，那些与大成村没有任何历史联系的人，无论是前居民或直系亲戚，都必须在节庆活动中担任三年的义工，才有可能成为庙里的一员。他们通常也会同时加入其中一个香社。

也许并非偶然的是，九皇宫和金山寺都是从凤山宫请来香火庆祝九皇大帝千秋，并采用了相似的总体组织结构，但结构相对简单，协会的数量较少，名称也有一些变化。九皇宫的香友会取代了以前的香亭会，负责预备圣轿的工作。音乐会则负责安排庆典中锣鼓队的表演。正如其名，也如我们将在本卷中看到的那样，这些次级组织在历史上都负责节庆的某些方面，如鞭炮、戏曲表演和音乐等等。在其他庙宇中，庆典活动可能通过数量较少的专业机构来协调。自1985年以来，在金山寺，有三个协会参与了九皇大帝千秋庆典，即头家炉主会、联谊会 and 香亭会。⁷⁶ 总之，这些不同的社团不仅对庙会的组织与后勤运作至关重要，而且对于庙宇的认同也有举足轻重的作用。

⁷³ 此外，参考以下各个子组织在装饰花车和捐赠方面的购物清单：<凤山宫九皇大帝 周日夜送驾游行>。

⁷⁴ 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页 61-68。

⁷⁵ 例如，可以查看他们的名字是如何同时并可互换地使用在 <大成巷凤山宫决定盛大庆祝九皇大帝千秋>。

⁷⁶ 《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》，页 40。

While these older communities continue to play a significant role in the organization of the festival and contribute to the identity of the temples and their Nine Emperor Gods festivals, these identities and their socio-cultural composition have undergone changes in the past few decades. For instance, in Yu Hai Tang, there has been a notable shift in the dialect background of its members. Initially, the older Hainanese members and their families predominated, but over time, the subsequent members and leaders primarily speak Mandarin. This linguistic transformation reflects the changing environments resulting from the temple's relocations.⁷⁷ The same trend can be observed in temples such as Hong San Temple and Kew Huang Keng. In their former kampongs, the predominant language spoken was Zhao'an or Chaoshan dialect. However, in their new environments and locations after 1980, their communities have become more diverse in terms of linguistic and regional ancestry. This diversity is reflected in the languages spoken by the temple members, showcasing a shift in linguistic and regional backgrounds.

Interestingly, while relocation has been portrayed as a loss to a temple's familiar networks of support in once familiar areas, the above examples show how some temples have managed to maintain these old ties and communities, and even used on them to expand and diversify their followings and manpower base.⁷⁸ The success and growth of the Nine Emperor Gods temples in their new locations relied on their ability to establish connections and forge ties with the new communities surrounding them. Furthermore, they had to diversify their networks and expand their circles beyond geographical boundaries in order to thrive. To do so, they utilized both older traditional ties such as family, kampong associates, clan associations, and new relationships created through new forms and spaces of socialization (and education and work processes), technologies, as well as connecting to new grassroots organisations and community centres. The charismatic appeal of the leaders, office-holders, and religious specialists has also played a crucial role in fostering broader communities that extend beyond geographical boundaries. This is particularly significant in cases where place-based communities are no longer sustainable, and virtual connections become more prominent.

Temples have adopted various strategies to strengthen and expand their communities: 1) the holding of local community religious festivals and services, such as Seventh Month Festivals and even Mid-Autumn Festival events, 2) Holding large-scale feasts with auctions and sometimes *getai* in the bigger scale ones for devotees, supporters and their friends and family, 3) the use of newspaper advertisements and 4) increasing the use of new social media to share photos, videos, and news of events, have all become important means of maintaining community relations within the Nine Emperor Gods temples, and also a means of attracting new members. Some of these strategies have been evident even before the 1970s and 1980s, but have grown in scale in the past decades. The vegetarian feasts during the festival grew in scale until the 1990s, with some temples like Long Nan Sze even holding dinners with 1000 guests and more in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, many temples have moved these feasts to after the event, and made them even larger in scale. The management committee and each of the Hong San Temple associations would take turns host a feast with a large *getai* stage for eight (and now nine) nights in a row after the end of the festival. Such events, and new media, have allowed these temples to attract ever growing followings through their existing communities and networks.

To attract and coordinate a younger group of devotees to take the reins for these Nine Emperor Gods temples' leadership, and consequently, the organisation of the festival, several temples have tweaked or enacted new policies to grow their pool of members and leadership. In Hong San Temple, to gain membership in the temple, one could either claim affiliation to an inhabitant from the Tai Seng village of old or contribute three active years of service to the temple. These arrangements enable the temple to maintain a balance between welcoming committed individuals into its membership and preserving its essence as a community hub for the northern part of Tai Seng kampong.

⁷⁷ In the case of Nan Bei Dou Mu Gong, a temple not covered in our project, we also see the organisers turning to the Putian and Henghua community and temples in Singapore for support and assistance during the festival.

⁷⁸ Yeh Yun-Tsui, "The Change of Social Spaces within Chinese Settlements in Singapore under National Policies," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 8:1 (2012): 11-37.

然而，尽管旧社区在庆典运作与这些庙宇及节庆的认同上仍然举足轻重，这些认同及其社会文化构成在过去几十年里也在发生变化。在玉皇殿玉海堂观音堂，人们看到了以下方言背景的转变，从老一辈的海南成员和他们的家人，到后来的成员和理事主要讲华语，这反映了其搬迁后的环境变化。⁷⁷ 像凤山宫和九皇宫这样的庙宇也是如此，它们以前的甘榜主要是讲诏安话或潮汕话的，在1980年后的新环境和新地点，这些庙宇的成员的语言和祖籍背景也变得更加多样化。

有趣的是，虽然搬迁使庙宇失去了在曾经熟悉的地区建立起来的支持网络，但上述例子显示了一些庙宇如何设法保持这些旧的联系和社区，甚至利用它们来扩大和丰富其追随者和人力基础。⁷⁸ 九皇大帝庙宇在新的地点或改变的环境中的成功和扩张，取决于他们与周围新社区建立新的联系和纽带的能力，以及不限于当地的网络和圈子的扩展。为了做到这一点，他们既利用了旧有传统的关系，如家庭、甘榜伙伴、宗族协会，也通过新的社会化形式和空间（以及教育和工作过程）、技术以及与新的基层组织和社区中心的联系建立新的关系。理事以及宗教和仪式专家的号召力在建立不基于旧地的、更广泛的社区方面也发挥了重要作用。在基于地方的社区不再可行的情况下，她们建立了更广泛的虚拟联系。

庙宇采取了各种策略来加强和扩大其社区。这些庙宇举办当地社区宗教节日和仪式，如七月中元节，甚至中秋节活动，为信徒和支持者及其朋友和家人举办大规模的宴会，并在规模较大的宴会上进行拍卖，有时还举办歌台、利用报纸广告，并增加使用新的社交媒体来分享照片、视频和活动消息。这些都成为九皇大帝庙宇内部维持社区关系、吸引新成员的重要手段。其中一些策略甚至在70年代和80年代之前就已经很明显了，但在过去几十年中规模有所扩大。在90年代之前，节庆期间的素食宴规模不断扩大，一些庙宇如龙南寺在60年代和70年代甚至还会举办千人宴。今天，许多庙宇已经将这些宴席移至活动结束后，并且规模更大。理事会和每个凤山宫的香社都会在节庆结束后连续八天（现在是九天）轮流举办有大型舞台的宴席。这类活动的举办以及新媒体的运用，使得这些庙宇得以通过现有的社区和网络吸引越来越多的信徒。

为了吸引和协调一批年轻的信众，接掌这九皇大帝庙宇的领导权，也为了组织这个庆典，几座庙宇纷纷调整或制定新的政策，壮大自己的成员和领导层。在凤山宫，要成为庙宇成员，既可以是大成村的老居民，也可以是活跃于庙宇且服务了三年的人士。这样的安排使庙宇能够在接受有奉献精神的人成为其成员，并保持其作为大成村北部社区中心的传统之间取得平衡。

⁷⁷ 在南北斗母宫这个没有包含在我们的项目中的寺庙案例中，我们还看到组织者在节日期间寻求新加坡莆田和兴化社群以及寺庙的支持和帮助。

⁷⁸ Yeh Yun-Tsui, "The Change of Social Spaces within Chinese Settlements in Singapore under National Policies," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 8:1 (2012): 11-37.

In other instances, newer organisations have been set up by their respective temples to bring like-minded individuals together. For example, in Kew Huang Keng, there is a discussion about establishing a youth group to bring younger devotees in closer contact with one another. In recent years, given the growing reverence for Dou Mu, there are several informal groups and sub-organisations within these Nine Emperor Gods temples who are specifically devoted to ferrying Dou Mu around on her palanquin. We see such instances in the case of Shin Sen Keng and Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, where a troupe comprised entirely of women are mobilised during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival for this purpose. In some temples, there is also talk about establishing a Women's Group. In recent years, Kew Huang Keng established first a Women's Group, and also a Youth Group to formalize the association of the many women and youth volunteers in the festival, and to help attract more volunteers and members from these social categories.

The charitable function of these temples has not diminished in post-independence Singapore but has been channelled to new avenues for their respective constituents. For example, in Hong San Temple, the organisation also gives out bursary awards to students and also designated a day for the veneration of senior citizens annually.⁷⁹ Many other Nine Emperor Gods temples, such as Xuan Wu Shan and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong also would also host banquets during or right after the festival, where senior citizens from the constituency or neighbouring ones, regardless of ethnicity, language or religion, are invited to a banquet.

After moving its new premises in Jalan Kayu, Leong Nam Temple has also supported various community projects such as supplying less well-to-do families and households in the vicinity with necessities and food products from the temple's income and donations during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The temple has also achieved successful collaboration with local grassroots organizations to jointly establish a sports and recreation center. This center serves as a venue for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and other festivals organized by member temples within the joint temple complex. Additionally, plans to establish an outlet that provides essential supplies to the needy residents in the vicinity are nearing completion in 2022. Similarly, from the first to ninth days of the ninth lunar month at Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, the temple prepares 3000 goody bags of dried staples and food for the vicinity's senior citizens to redeem, regardless of ethnicity and religion. In 2018, these efforts also expanded to include a vegetarian dinner that was hosted by the temple on the eighth day of the ninth lunar month.⁸⁰ The social functions and the communal roles of these temples, as these examples suggest, mirrored their pre-independence counterparts, where these organisations doubled as community centres and provided practical assistance to the needy where necessary.

► Presentation of bursaries to students at Hong San Temple, graced by Dr. Ker Sin Tze, Member of Parliament (MP) for Aljunied GRC from 1991 to 2001. Photograph courtesy of Hong San Temple.

1991年至2001年阿裕尼地区国会议员柯新治博士在风山宫向学生颁发助学金。照片由风山宫提供。



⁷⁹ “风山宫开始接受申请中学助学金风山学校举行毕业叙别会,” 南洋商报, November 22, 1974, 9; and “风山宫设中学助学金开始接受申请,” 星洲日报, February 5, 1980, 36.

⁸⁰ Among others, see 薛方基, “洪水港斗母宫明早迎取‘九皇大帝圣水’,” 新明日报, October 12, 2010, e-copy retrieved via Factiva; “古庙洪水港斗母宫风山寺一连两天举行消灾解厄法会,” 联合晚报, September 28, 2011, e-copy retrieved via Factiva; 薛方基, “洪水港斗母宫今起12天庆九皇大帝圣诞,” 新明日报, September 24, 2014, e-copy retrieved via Factiva; and “洪水港斗母宫庆九皇大帝寿明晚恭迎圣驾晋宫,” 新明日报, October 7, 2018, e-copy retrieved via Factiva.



在另一些情况下，庙宇则成立较新的组织，把志同道合的人聚在一起。例如，在九皇宫，就有关于成立青年团的讨论，目的是要让年轻的信徒之间有更密切的联系。近年来，由于人们越来越崇敬斗母，在这些九皇大帝庙宇中，有几个非正式的团体和附属机构专门负责斗母圣轿的运载。我们在神仙宫和蔡厝港斗母宫就可以看到这样的例子：在九皇大帝千秋庆典期间，一个完全由妇女组成的轿队负责抬斗母圣轿。在一些庙宇里，也有关于建立妇女组的讨论。近年来，九皇宫首先成立了妇女组，同时也成立了青年组，使众多的妇女和青年志愿者在节庆中的联系更加正式，并协助吸引更多来自这些社会群体的志愿者和成员。

在独立后的新加坡，这些庙宇仍发挥着慈善功能，并为信众开辟了新的慈善途径。例如，凤山宫也会向学生发放助学金，并且每年指定一天为敬老日。⁷⁹其他许多九皇大帝庙宇，如玄武山翰林院和洪水港斗母宫也会在庆典期间或之后设宴款待来自本区或邻近地区的乐龄人士，不分种族、语言或宗教。

龙南殿在迁入惹兰加由的新址后，也组织了各种社区项目，例如在九皇大帝千秋庆典期间，利用庙内的收入和善款，为附近较不富裕的家庭和住户提供必需品和食品。它也成功与本地基层组织合作，联合发展一个体育与康乐中心，让联合庙内的各庙宇用作举办九皇大帝千秋和其他节日的场所。建立一个为附近有需要的居民提供必需品的商店的计划也将在2022年完成。同样的，从九月初一到初九，洪水港斗母宫为附近的乐龄人士，不分种族和宗教，准备了3000袋干粮和食物福袋。2018年，这些努力也进一步扩大到农历九月初八由庙宇主办的素食晚宴。这些庙宇所扮演的社会功能和社区角色，与独立前的庙宇如出一辙。⁸⁰在独立前，这些庙宇同时扮演民众联络所的角色，并在必要时为有需要的人士提供实际援助。



▲ Dou Mu sedan chairs at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng and Shin Sen Keng.

蔡厝港斗母宫与神仙宫斗母宝轿。

◀ Bursary award ceremony and the senior citizens' appreciation day at Hong San Temple in the present.

凤山宫助学金颁发仪式与敬老日。

⁷⁹ <凤山宫开始接受申请中学助学金凤山学校举行毕业叙别会>，《南洋商报》，1974年11月22日，第9版；and <凤山宫设中学助学金开始接受申请>，《星洲日报》，1980年2月5日，第36版。

⁸⁰ 请见薛方基，<洪水港斗母宫明早迎取‘九皇大帝圣水’>，《新明日报》，2010年10月12日，从Factiva获取的电子副本；<古庙洪水港斗母宫凤山寺一连两天举行消灾解厄法会>，《联合晚报》，2011年9月28日，从Factiva获取的电子副本；薛方基，<洪水港斗母宫今起12天庆九皇大帝千秋>，《新明日报》，2014年9月24日，从Factiva获取的电子副本；“洪水港斗母宫庆九皇大帝圣寿明晚恭迎圣驾晋宫”，《新明日报》，2018年10月7日，从Factiva获取的电子副本。

► Fundraising event for various charitable causes at the Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, 2009. Photographs courtesy of the Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

2009年，洪水港斗母宫为各种慈善事业举办筹款活动。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。



► Volunteers folding incense paper and preparing meals at a void deck adjoining the Xuan Wu Shan festival site.

义工们在与玄武山翰林院相邻的组屋底层协助折叠香纸和准备膳食。





◀ Banquets for senior citizens during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival of 2009 and 2017. First photograph courtesy of the Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

2009年和2017年九皇大帝千秋庆典期间的乐龄人士宴会。第一张照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。



◀ Volunteers preparing vegetables for food offerings in a void deck adjoining the Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong complex.

义工们在毗邻龙山岩斗母宫的组屋底层准备食物供品。



▲ The censer master and key organisers of the Nine Emperor Buddhas Festival at Zhun Ti Tang in 2017. Most of the temple's devotees hail from the north-eastern portion of Singapore.

2017年九皇胜会期间，准提堂的炉主和主要领导。该庙善信大半来自新加坡东北区。



▲ Xuan Wu Shan visiting Hong San Temple as a part of the *yew keng* on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

玄武山农历九月初九到访凤山宫。

Yew Kampong, Yew Keng and Can Bai: Processions and the Making of New Communities

► The Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hong San Temple, c. 1968 till 1970. Photographs courtesy of Hong San Temple.

1968至1970年间凤山宫九皇胜会的场景。照片由凤山宫提供。



⁸¹ For conciseness, the focus of this section's coverage of *yew kengs* and excursions associated with the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods is confined to Singapore. The scale of these processions is also extremely grand in Thailand and Malaysia. For example, confer with the long and multi-segment processions characteristic of the Taiping Doulaogong in Perak 太平古武庙斗姥宫 as described by 李桃李, “九皇出巡 – 谈本庙的出巡阵头,” in 九皇出巡-太平古武庙建造缸肇纪念特刊1993年 (太平: 太平古武庙斗姥宫, 1993年), 11-12.

⁸² Lee Kim Leong 李金龙, Traditional Chinese Medicine in Singapore, Accession Number 002460, Reel 5, 07:45-09:50. The medium attached to Hong San Temple, according to Lee Kim Leong, was “exclusively” devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods, and never offered consultations for the sick or performed exorcisms to his knowledge. Devotees who fell sick, however, would consume talismans issued by the Nine Emperor Gods. See Lee Kim Leong 李金龙, idem, Reel 11, 0:50-01:56. On fire-walking during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, see Cheu Hock Tong, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 252-266.

⁸³ 李, Reel 5, 10:00-11:13.

⁸⁴ 李, Reel 5, 13:30-14:38. In the same segment, Lee noted that Hong San Temple's *yew keng* also “passed by” Kew Huang Keng after the latter's establishment, and no conflict took place between the two organisations to his knowledge.

⁸⁵ Ong Chye Hock 王才福Chinese Dialect Groups, Accession Number 000168, Reel 7 11:00-11:38.

⁸⁶ 王, Reel 8, 03:14-04:38. In idem, Reel 7, 10:30-10:49, Ong mentioned that the medium of the Nine Emperor Gods in Hong San Temple would advise the temple on its rituals, and that the deity through his medium would medium would go on a *yew keng* through the Lemongrass district on the fourth day of the ninth lunar month. However, it is unclear if the medium also decided upon the route as well, or if his human assistants independently planned the *yew keng*'s itinerary.

Among the most noticeable transformations of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in post-1965 Singapore would be the transformation of the *yew keng* and its meanings and identities, especially after 1980. A *yew keng* refers to a tour by a deity and his or her entourage. These processions often went around the kampong or neighbourhood, but as the newspaper reports in the 1930s and 1960s show, they sometimes went far beyond, except for several temples. The entourage usually travelled on foot. Today, and especially in the last twenty years, due to various restrictions on foot processions, it has involved into a tour of Nine Emperor Gods temples on lorries, bringing new meanings and significance to this practice during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

Historically, for older Nine Emperor Gods temples that were located within villages and *kampongs*, it was customary for the Nine Emperor Gods and their palanquins to perform a tour of their village community during the festival to dispense blessings upon the inhabitants.⁸¹ In Hong San Temple, the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquin and medium (on a sedan chair of swords) would tour the village in an annual procession. Before ascending the sedan chair, the deity through the medium would cross a bed of burning hot coals with a few faithful devotees.⁸² Lee Kim Leong, who lived in the kampong as a child, fondly recounted the “gongs and drum beats” that characterised the occasion's exuberance in pre-independence Singapore. The entire village would volunteer and participate in the procession to make the occasion a success. Ladies, for example, would dress up and carry flower baskets as a part of the procession, which could easily last from four to six hours. Households and temples along the route would often put out tables with offerings and incense for the deity on tour, and there would be the exchange of incense as the procession passed by.⁸³

This practice was also seen in the southern region of Lemongrass Village, which was predominantly Chaoshan, and where a new Nine Emperor Gods temple, Kew Huang Keng was established with incense from the Hong San Temple between 1942 and 1945. Before the latter's founding, the “procession [from Hong San Temple] would tour the entire Lemongrass Village”.⁸⁴ In an interesting story about the founding of the new temple, Ong Chye Hock remembered that the southern community had wanted the procession to pass through “every single small lane during the tour” in their kampong. Families in the *kampong* – many of whom were involved in farming – believed that “if the procession passes by their houses, they will be granted peace and harmony...their agriproducts, such as their pigs and ducks would also be protected”, testifying to the importance of these processions in the eyes of the village inhabitants, who often paid much attention to the route of these religious processions.⁸⁵ However, this request was not acceded to “because too much time would be spent on the many small avenues”.⁸⁶

游甘榜，游境 与 参拜：游行与新社区的形成



新加坡在1965年后的九皇大帝千秋庆典最引人注目的转变之一，就是游境以及它的意义和认同的转变，尤其是在1980年之后。游境指的是神明及其随行人员的巡游。这些巡游队伍通常在甘榜/乡村或邻里进行，但正如1930年代和1960年代的报章所报道，巡游活动有时会超出所规划的范围，只有几座庙宇例外。随行人员通常步行跟随。如今，尤其是近二十年来，由于徒步游行的各种限制，它已经变成了用卡车巡游各处的九皇大帝庙宇，这种做法在九天庆典期间带来了新的含义。

历史上，位于乡村和甘榜内的九皇大帝庙宇，每逢庆典期间，都会有九皇大帝及其圣轿到村里的社区巡游，为居民赐福。⁸¹在风山宫，九皇大帝圣轿和乩童（坐在宝座上）每年都会举行巡游。在登上宝座之前，神明将通过灵媒与几位忠实的信徒一起过火炭。⁸²小时候住在甘榜的李金龙深情地回忆起独立前的新加坡“敲锣打鼓”的盛况。整个村子的人都会自愿参加游行，以使这一活动获得成功。例如，女士们会穿戴整齐，提着花篮参加游行，游行一般持续四到六个小时。沿途的家庭和庙宇通常会摆出桌子，为巡游的神灵供奉供品和香火，庙宇队伍经过时，会交换香火。⁸³

这种习俗也出现在葱茅园南部，那里主要是潮汕人聚集的地区。1942年至1945年期间，新的九皇大帝庙宇——九皇宫通过获得风山宫的香火而创建。在风山宫成立之前，“游行是经过了整个葱茅园”。⁸⁴关于新庙宇成立有一个有趣的故事，王才福回忆道，社区希望游境队伍“每条小路都要游行/坚持一定要跑过他们下芭的每一条小路”。甘榜中的许多家庭——其中许多人是务农的居民——认为“游境队伍经过他们的房子时，他们就会获得安宁与和谐，他们的农作物，他们的这些猪鸭会平平安安的”。因此，这反映了游境对当地社区的重要性。⁸⁵不过，这项要求并没有获得批准，因为“时间很长，那边的小路是很多的”。⁸⁶

⁸¹ 为简洁起见，本节对与九皇大帝崇拜有关的游行和旅行的报道重点限于新加坡。而在泰国和马来西亚，这些游行的规模也非常盛大。例如，可以参考霹雳州太平斗姥宫的长时间多段式游行，如下所述：李桃李，〈九皇出巡——谈本庙的出巡阵头〉，《九皇出巡——太平古武庙建造纪程特刊1993年》（太平：太平古武庙斗姥宫，1993年），页11-12。

⁸² Lee Kim Leong 李金龙, Traditional Chinese Medicine in Singapore, Accession Number 002460, Reel 5, 07:45-09:50。根据李金龙的说法，与风山宫有关的乩童专注于九皇大帝，从不提供病患咨询或进行驱邪仪式。然而，生病的信徒会食用九皇大帝发放的符咒。见 Lee Kim Leong, idem, Reel 11, 0:50-01:56。在九皇大帝节期间的走火路的仪式，请参阅 Cheu Hock Tong, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 252-266。

⁸³ 李金龙, Reel 5, 10:00-11:13。

⁸⁴ 李金龙, Reel 5, 13:30-14:38。在同一段中，李先生还提到，风山宫的游程也“经过”九皇宫，后者建立后，据他所知，两个组织之间没有发生冲突。

⁸⁵ Ong Chye Hock 王才福 Chinese Dialect Groups, Accession Number 000168, Reel 7 11:00-11:38。

⁸⁶ 王, Reel 8, 03:14-04:38。在 Reel 7, 10:30-10:49, 王先生提到，风山宫的九皇大帝乩童会就庙会仪式提供建议，并且神媒会在农历九月初四进行葱茅园区的游境路程。然而，目前尚不清楚乩童会是否也决定游程的路线，或者是他的人类助手独立计划游程的行程。

Thereafter, according to Ong, Chaoshan leaders of the southern regions of the village requested to invite incense from the Hong San Temple to establish a new temple so that they could organise tours by the Nine Emperor Gods in their districts. After the establishment of Kew Huang Keng, the palanquins of the new temple will tour the southern parts, which were predominantly Chaoshan, every year. This practice has continued into the present, even after the relocation of the inhabitants and of the temple to different housing estates in Bedok, Bendemeer, and Geylang Serai.

For Kew Huang Keng, the *yew keng* processions and processions as part of the sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun in the old temple were grand affairs that involved the whole community living around the temple, in the southern districts of Lemongrass village. For the latter, students from the Hwa Nong Public School would be given the day off to take part in the procession, with the school itself used as one of the staging points. Temple representatives will visit the homes of residents with an orange to invite daughters of a certain age in these families to carry banners, flower baskets and other items in the sending off procession. This was seen as a very prestigious duty. Boys would try to be selected as one of the flag bearers. Other villages will dress up as opera characters in traditional costumes, and some would paint their faces as comical figures. Older members of the Incense Friends Association remembered how difficult it was to be able to get to carry the palanquins during the procession as young boys, and of running over lit firecrackers in the dense smoke. It was a spectacle that involved the whole village as seen in old photographs of these festival events. For the villagers, taking part in the procession was an honour and act of devotion to the Nine Emperor Gods.

▶ Participants in the Kew Huang Keng Nine Emperor Gods Festival processions. Photographs courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

九皇宮九皇勝會游行参与信众。照片由吕序奎先生提供。



Most of the Nine Emperor Gods temples in the kampong or village would conduct processions by the Nine Emperor Gods and accompanying deities through the village to bless the residents. These were usually big events for the kampong and immediate neighbourhood, often attracting devotees with incense as well as curious onlookers who follow the procession. On these *yew kengs*, households and temples would lay out tables with offerings and incense outside their main door to wait for the deity and entourage, and to exchange incense when they pass by. In some temples, older members remembered how they would skip school as children to join the procession as flag bearers. Participating in the procession not only provided them with the opportunity to earn some pocket money but also allowed them to enjoy themselves and have a great time. Nan Shan Hai Miao, in its short history at the old site of Jalan Ang Teng in the 1970s before moving into the new premises in Bedok Reservoir Road, also conducted one or two *yew kengs*, as documented in photos from their collection.

据王才福介绍，村庄南部的潮汕领袖因此要求到凤山宫请香火，修建一座新庙，以便在本地区组织九皇大帝巡游。九皇宫建庙后，圣轿每年都会在以潮汕人为主的南部巡游。即使在勿洛、明地迷亚和芽笼士乃的居民和庙宇迁移到不同组屋区后，这种做法仍持续至今。

对九皇宫来说，游境与恭送九皇大帝与斗姆元君的游行，是葱茅园南区庙宇周遭居民共同参与的大事。华农学校会在这一天让学生放假，好让他们参加游行，而学校本身也是游行的站点之一。庙宇代表带着橘子到居民家中拜访，邀请这些家庭中达到一定年龄的女孩携带旗帜、花篮和其他物品加入送行队伍。这被看作是一项非常神圣的任务。男孩们会争取被选为旗手。其他村子的人则穿上传统服装打扮成戏曲人物，有些人会把自己的脸画花脸扮演滑稽人物。香友会的年长成员回忆道，当他们还是小男孩的时候，要在游行队伍中扛起圣轿，还要在浓浓烟雾中跑过燃放着的鞭炮，这是多么的困难。从这些节庆活动的老照片中可以看出，这是一个全村都会参与的盛大活动。对村民来说，参加游行是一种荣誉，也是对九皇大帝的虔诚之举。



甘榜或乡村里的九皇大帝庙宇，多数都会在九皇大帝和陪游神明的带领下，在村子里游行，为居民祈福。这通常是甘榜和附近邻里的大型活动，经常能吸引众多信徒和好奇的围观群众。游境期间，家家户户和庙宇会在大门口摆放摆满祭品和香火的桌子，等候神明和游行队伍，等他们路过时交换香火。在一些庙宇，年长的成员还记得他们小时候会逃学，作为旗手加入游行队伍。他们可以从中间赚取一些零用钱，同时也在参加游行的过程中获得极大的乐趣。南山海庙在1970年代迁入勿洛蓄水池路的新址前，曾于旧址举行过一两次游境活动，南山海庙收藏有当时的照片。

Ethnographic and photographic accounts by the British anthropologist Alan Elliot of Shin Sen Keng's Nine Emperor Gods Festival in 1950 show the Nine Emperor Gods through his medium sitting on a sedan chair lined with nails being carried through the surrounding area. Elliot also recounted how members of the temple were seen in the Si Ka Teng area, busily preparing bamboo spiritual army posts along the procession routes. Memories of an earlier procession, when the temple had to relocate from the outer region of Sankongding in the face of suburban redevelopment in the 1930s, described how during the festival *yew keng* one year, the Nine Emperor Gods "ventured beyond the village to look for a new temple site", in contrast to processions in previous years where the route would usually fall within the parameters of the village.⁸⁷ When they reached the Henderson area, he had thrown his sword into a thicket and had identified that as the location of the new temple.

► Nan Shan Hai Miao *yew keng* around the Jalan Ang Teng village area during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, undated (likely the 1970s). Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

南海海庙九皇胜会期间在惹兰昂坪举行的游境仪式活动中，无标明日期（可能是20世纪70年代）。照片由南海海寺提供。



⁸⁷ Koh Keng We, "The Deity Proposes, the State Disposes: The Vicissitudes of a Chinese Temple in post-1965 Singapore," in *Singapore: Negotiating State and Society, 1965-2015*, ed. Jason Lim and Terence Lee (New York: Routledge, 2016), 131.

英国学者Alan Elliot对1950年神仙宫的九皇大帝千秋庆典活动所做的民族学和摄影记录显示，九皇大帝乩童坐在一个镶有钉子的宝座上被抬过周围地区。Elliot还描述了庙宇成员在四角亭地区四处走动，沿着游行路线准备竹制的五营军队。在1930年代，由于郊区的重建，庙宇不得不从三口鼎外鼎搬迁。在对早期游行的回忆中，庙宇成员描述了在某年的庆典活动中，九皇大帝“冒险到村外寻找新的庙址”，这与往年的游行路线通常在村子的范围内不同。⁸⁷当他们到达亨德森地区时，他把他的剑扔进了一个灌木丛，并确定那是新庙的位置。



⁸⁷ Koh Keng We, “The Deity Proposes, the State Disposes: The Vicissitudes of a Chinese Temple in post-1965 Singapore,” in *Singapore: Negotiating State and Society, 1965-2015*, ed. Jason Lim and Terence Lee (New York: Routledge, 2016), 131。

► The Nine Emperor Gods on a nail sedan chair during Shin Shen Keng's kampong *yew keng* in 1950, as the Daoist priest consecrates a bamboo installation for spiritual armies. Photograph courtesy of the Alan J. A. Elliot's collection, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Cambridge.

1950年，神仙宫九皇大帝乘坐钉轿甘榜绕境。道长施法安竹军。照片由剑桥大学考古与人类学博物馆的Alan J. A. Elliot收藏提供。



Nevertheless, announcements by Hong San temple in the 1950s and 1960s about their upcoming festivals indicated that they would have processions outside the Tai Seng village area where the temple was situated. They went to Paya Lebar Road, Geylang, Katong, and Bedok via, Telok Kurau, and Joo Chiat Road, in 1958, and Tai Seng Lane, Upper Paya Lebar Road, Macpherson Road, Aljunied Road, Geylang Road, Guillemard Road, Mountbatten Road until the Kallang Park Marina in 1966.⁸⁸ These places were all in the eastern part of Singapore and outside of Tai Seng village.

⁸⁸ “大成村民今晚彩车游行庆祝九皇诞辰,” 星洲日报, October 21, 1958, 8; “大大成巷凤山宫决定盛大庆祝九皇大帝圣诞,” 南洋商报, October 11, 1966, 16.

然而，凤山宫在1950和1960年代发布的关于他们即将举行庆典公告显示，他们将在庙宇所在的大成村地区以外的地方举行游行，经由直落古楼和如切律（1958），以及大成巷、盒巴巴爷礼峇路、麦波申路、阿裕尼路、芽笼路、忌里玛路、蒙巴登路直到劳动公园海滨（1966），前往巴爷里峇律、芽笼、加东和勿洛。⁸⁸ 这些地方都在新加坡的东部，在大成村之外。



◀ Nine Emperor Gods Festival procession at Hougang Tou Mu Kung, 1951.

后港斗母宫九皇胜会庆典游行，1951年。

Photographs courtesy of the Alan J. A. Elliot's collection, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Cambridge.



⁸⁸ <大成村民今晚彩车游行庆祝九皇诞辰>，《星洲日报》，1958年10月21日，第8版；<大成巷凤山宫决定盛大庆祝九皇大帝千秋>，《南洋商报》，1966年10月11日，第16版。

Likewise, when Leong Nam Temple hosted the Nine Emperor Gods Festival within its Geylang Serai premises in 1961, the temple had “designated the sixth day (of the ninth lunar month) from 10 AM (as their *yew keng*), where they would invite the deities to tour every street and village”.⁸⁹ By the 1980s, the *yew keng* tradition had transformed into a new practice of visiting other Nine Emperor Gods temples within Singapore, instead of touring the surrounding region in the eastern part of the country. In the 1990s, this practice expanded to include visits to temples in the southwestern part of Singapore, and eventually extended to cover the entire island. It is this system of *yew keng* which has become the model for a full-scale *yew keng* by the other Nine Emperor Gods temples.

► Altars were erected by devotees to receive the touring *yew keng* contingent of Leong Nam Temple during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, 1985. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1985年九皇胜会，善信为迎接龙南殿的游境队伍而设立祭坛。照片由龙南殿提供。



The historical experiences of these temples suggest that these *yew keng* processions were initially focused on local and adjacent communities in which the Nine Emperor Gods temple were ensconced within, and largely carried out on foot. They were a very important part of community life and identity in these kampongs and their networks. Nevertheless, even in the 1950s and 1960s, certain temples in the east were already venturing further, beyond the confines of their kampong. This was done in a very elaborate fashion, but such processions would require connections to these neighbouring communities as well as the organisational and network capacity to muster the monetary, material and manpower support needed. They reflected the growing scale and scope of the temples, as well as their networks and identity. Only in instances of significant social change or pressed with extenuating circumstances that the Nine Emperor Gods, their mediums and palanquins modified their once-accustomed routes.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ “龙南殿将举行庆祝九皇诞会。” 星洲日报，October 7, 1961, 15.

⁹⁰ On these dynamics of continuity and change in post-independence Singapore, confer with the discussion on the vicissitudes of religious parades and processions, as discussed by Lily Kong, “Religious Processions: Urban Politics and Poetics,” *Temenos-Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion* 41:2 (2005): 225-249; and Vineeta Sinha, “Gods on the Move: Hindu Chariot Processions in Singapore,” *South Asian Religions on Display: Religious Processions in South Asia and in the Diaspora*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 159-177.

同样的，1961年龙南殿在其位于芽笼士乃的庙宇内举办九皇大帝千秋庆典时，该庙“并订初六上午十时举行迎神出游各街道乡村”。⁸⁹ 到了1980年代，龙南殿访问新加坡的其他九皇大帝庙宇已经演变成一种新的出游形式，而不是仅在庙宇附近的新加坡东部地区进行巡游。巡游甚至在1990年代访问了新加坡西南部的九皇大帝庙宇，后来覆盖整个岛屿。这一游境形式成为其他九皇大帝庙宇进行全面游境的典范。



这些庙宇的历史经验表明，游境最初集中在九皇大帝庙宇所处的当地和邻近社区，而且主要是步行进行的。它是这些甘榜及其人脉网络中社区生活和身份认同的一个非常重要的部分。然而，即使在1950年代和1960年代，东部地区某些庙宇的游行已经超越了他们的甘榜范围，并以非常盛大、全方位的方式进行游行，但这种游行需要与邻近社区进行联系，也需要庞大的组织及人脉以聚集所需的金钱、物质和人力支持。它们反映了庙宇的规模和范围不断扩大，也反映了它们的网络和身份认同。只有在社会发生重大变化的情况下，或者在情有可原的情况下，九皇诸神、他们的乩童和圣轿才会改变他们曾经习以为常的路线。⁹⁰

⁸⁹ <龙南殿将举行庆祝九皇诞会>，《星洲日报》，1961年10月7日，第15版。

⁹⁰ 在新加坡独立后的连续性和变革的动态方面，请参考有关宗教游行和巡游的变迁讨论，例如 Lily Kong, “Religious Processions: Urban Politics and Poetics,” *Temenos-Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion* 41:2 (2005): 225-249; and Vineeta Sinha, “Gods on the Move: Hindu Chariot Processions in Singapore,” *South Asian Religions on Display: Religious Processions in South Asia and in the Diaspora*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 159-177。

Post-Independence Transformations and Negotiations

Yew keng processions, as important ways of maintaining and also creating community ties and identities, and also conveying the blessings of the Nine Emperor Gods to the community at large, have been central the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The evolution of *yew keng* and processions in the last few decades, due both to the changing transport technologies and road infrastructure, the volume and intensity of vehicular traffic, new regulations on foot processions on major roads and thoroughfares, and the changing socio-cultural structures of the Nine Emperor Gods temple and festival communities have all contributed to the changing nature of *yew keng*. Rather than just processions in the vicinity and neighbourhood, Nine Emperor Gods temples began to organise more extensive and complex *yew keng* routes beyond the vicinity of the temples (for example eastern temples focusing on the east). Interpersonal ties across Nine Emperor Gods temples and the growing connections beyond place/kampong, dialect, and kinship identities (although they remain important), also give wider scope for such processions, and the exchange of such processions.

Thus, where the *yew kengs* of the past would focus on the ties between the Nine Emperor Gods temples and their surrounding communities, the *yew kengs* of the past twenty to thirty years have increasingly focused on the ties between Nine Emperor Gods temples, and the connections with other temples and supporters far beyond their immediate surroundings. Nevertheless, manpower, material, and money remain important considerations, and the difficulties of mustering manpower especially with contemporary work and lifestyle schedules, have also shaped the frequency and timing of these *yew keng* processions, and the . Nevertheless, even today, *yew keng* processions, or even the corollary, *can bai*, never fails to excite communities, whether the Nine Emperor Gods temples organising the procession, or the communities they are visiting or will pass through. Even with the relocation of temples and their associated village or neighbourhood communities to new housing estates, the temples were able to establish new communities. This was achieved not only by hosting the festival in these new locations but also through their processions or *yew keng* within the neighbourhoods. These processions, whether held as separate events or as part of the receiving and sending-off ceremonies, played a crucial role in creating a sense of community and fostering connections among the residents.

Thus, Kim San Tze temple, after its relocation to Jalan Ulu Siglap, would organise an entourage and foot procession to send off the Nine Emperor Gods at East Coast Park. Before the start of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in 1979, the *Sin Chew Jit Poh* issued a notice about the route that temple would take before the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods was performed on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. At 7:30 PM sharp, the contingent would leave the temple. The early departure was necessary to visit the following locations en route to the sending-off point in East Coast Park: “Gu Ka Lo Street, Jalan Tua Kong, East Coast Road, Siglap Road, the first half of New Changi Road, Bedok South Avenue 1 and East Coast Park Way” before proceeding to the beach itself.⁹¹ It was an important means of building a new community in its new locale, and also in maintaining and strengthening these ties.

Similarly, in the case of Shin Shen Keng, in their new location in Margaret Drive in the 1980s and 1990s, the *yew keng* in the traditional sense, of the neighbourhood and environs, still took place every year until 1999/2000. During the sending-off ceremony of the Jade Emperor in the afternoon, a procession will take place. Additionally, a larger procession is organized for the Queenstown/Strathmore area during the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods. While devotees would then take the hired buses or their own transport to go to the canal by Great World City for the sending off, and the palanquins making the journey by lorry, the Nine Emperor Gods medium and his entourage would make their way there on foot.

⁹¹ “金山寺九皇大帝订期游行送驾,” 星洲日报, October 17, 1979, 33; 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化, 41.

独立后的转型与协商

游境是维持和创造社区关系和身份的重要方式，也是向广大社区传达九皇大帝的祝福的重要方式，一直是九皇大帝千秋庆典的核心。在过去的几十年里，由于交通科技和道路基础设施的改变、车辆通行的数量和强度、对主要道路和大道徒步游行的新规定，以及九皇大帝庙宇和节庆社区的社会文化结构的改变，游境的性质也发生了变化。九皇大帝庙宇开始组织更广泛、更复杂的游境路线，而不仅仅是在附近和邻近地区的游行（例如东部的庙宇侧重于东区）。九皇大帝庙宇之间的人际纽带，以及超越地方/村落、方言和亲属身份（尽管它们仍然很重要）日益紧密的联系，也为这类游行和交流提供了更大的空间。

因此，过去的游境会注重九皇大帝庙宇与周边社区的联系，而过去二、三十年的游境则越来越注重九皇大帝庙宇之间的联系，以及与其他庙宇和支持者的联系，远远超出其周边地区。然而，人力、物力和财力仍然是重要的考虑因素，尤其是现代的工作与生活方式让召集人力方面出现困难，继而影响游境的频率和时间。然而，即使在今天，游境，甚至是随之而来的参拜，都能让民众兴奋不已，无论是组织游行的九皇大帝信众，还是他们正在访问或将要经过的社区。即使在庙宇和其各自的村庄或邻里社区搬迁到新的住宅区后，庙宇仍然能通过在这些地点主办庆典活动，或在邻里举行的游行或游境活动（作为独立活动，或作为接驾和送驾仪式的一部分），创造新的社区。

因此，金山寺搬到惹兰乌鲁实乞纳后，总会组织一支队伍和步行队伍，到东海岸公园恭送九皇大帝。1979年九皇大帝千秋庆典开始前，《星洲日报》发布了一则通告，说明该庙在农历九月初九恭送九皇大帝会走的路线。晚上7点30分整，游行队伍将离开庙宇。提前出发是为了在前往东海岸公园途中参观以下地点：“韭加罗街、大公路、东海岸路，实乞纳路，新章宜路上段，勿洛南第一道，东海岸公园大道”，然后再前往进行恭送仪式的海滩。⁹¹ 这是在新地点建立新社区，并维持和加强这些联系的重要方式。



Shin Shen Keng sending off the Jade Emperor in the afternoon of the ninth day before the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods, 1990. Photograph from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

神仙宫初九下午恭送玉皇大帝，傍晚恭送九皇大帝回銮，1990年。照片来自新加坡旅游局，新加坡国家档案馆。

同样的，就神仙宫而言，在80年代和90年代，当庙宇仍在玛格烈通道的新址时，他们每年都会进行传统意义上在邻里和周边地区的游境，一直持续到1999/2000年。庙宇成员会于下午时分组织游行队伍恭送玉皇大帝，他们在恭送九皇大帝时，会组织一支庞大的游行队伍巡游皇后镇/斯特拉摩尔地区。信徒们会乘坐租用的巴士或自己的交通工具前往大世界的运河参与恭送仪式，而圣轿则由货车运载，九皇大帝乩童及随行人员会步行前往。

⁹¹ <金山寺九皇大帝订期游行送驾>，《星洲日报》，1979年10月17日，第33版；《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》，页41。

These processions were very important in establishing and maintaining the local and regional identities of the Nine Emperor Gods temples and in maintaining their ties with the community, even as these constituencies have evolved. These processions also serve as a significant means of engaging the community, even as the composition of these communities evolves over time with changing membership. They are also important events that generate a sense of belonging, not only locally and regionally as in the past, but also today, within a growing sense of a Nine Emperor Gods community.

For many temples, the memory is largely of the localized *yew keng* focusing on the kampong or adjacent areas. It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that a new form of *yew keng* oriented toward visiting other Nine Emperor Gods temples became more prevalent. Some remember Leong Nam Temple as an important initiator of such visits. Their own *yew keng* originated from the need to return the visits by Leong Nam Temple, and gradually extended to other temples, which also began the practice of visiting other Nine Emperor Gods temples, beyond the usual tour of their immediate vicinity and adjacent areas. This has evolved to the present, where the term *yew keng* in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival has become synonymous with this model of holding processions.

▶ Leong Nam Temple visiting Kim San Tze during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, 1992. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1992年九皇千秋，龙南殿拜访金山寺。照片由龙南殿提供。



这些游行对确立和维持九皇大帝庙宇的地方和区域特色，以及对维持其与社区的联系，尤为重要，即使这些社区组成部分已经发生了变化。它们还涉及到社区，并成为社区参与的重要手段，尽管随着时间的推移，这些社区的成员可能也在发生变化。它们已不像过去那样仅在当地及邻里地区影响社区，发展到了今天，它们也是在一个日益增长的九皇大帝社区中产生社区集体情感的重要活动。

对于许多庙宇来说，人们的回忆主要是集中在甘榜或邻近地区的游境。直到上世纪七、八十年代，一种新的游境方式才逐渐盛行起来，那就是到其他九皇大帝庙宇参拜。有些人仍记得龙南殿是这个活动的重要发起者。他们自己的游境源于对龙南殿的回访需求，并逐渐扩展到其他庙宇，这些庙宇也开始到其他九皇大帝庙宇参拜，巡游范围超出了其附近和邻近地区。这种做法一直发展到今天，九皇大帝千秋中的“游境”一词，已经成为这种游行模式的代名词。



◀ Vanguards at Shin Sen Keng preparing to receive visitors from Leong Nam Temple, 1999. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1999年，神仙宫先锋迎接来访龙南寺团队。照片由龙南殿提供。



◀ Palanquins from Leong Nam Temple arriving at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng in 2017.

2017年，龙南殿绕境来访蔡厝港斗母宫。

There is also evidence that Hong San Temple had organised visits to Hougang Tou Mu Kung from the late-1950s onwards. On the ninth day of the ninth lunar month in 1958, it was reported that Hong San Temple's "procession of decorated floats" would first "proceed to the Nine Emperor Gods' Temple at Hougang to worship the deities" before proceeding to other locations in eastern Singapore.⁹² Three years later, a similar delegation was sent to Hougang Tou Mu Kung on the same day. However, instead of touring other parts of Singapore, the procession returned to Hong San Temple once they had finished their prayers to prepare for the sending-off at night.⁹³ These inter-organisational visits may have set the stage for lengthier and grander visits that culminated in the *yew keng* that we are familiar with today.

► Nan Shan Hai Miao visiting Kew Huang Keng, Leong Nam Temple and Kim San Tze during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival of 1998. Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

1998年，南山海庙绕境拜访九皇宫、龙南寺和金山寺。照片由南山海寺提供。



The evolution of this new form of *yew keng* focused on visiting other Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore rather than adjacent districts has also seen the emergence of a relatively strong Nine Emperor Gods temples community whose ties are annually reinforced through either *yew keng* processions or smaller scale *can bai* visits. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival and temples possess a unique characteristic in comparison to other deity festivals. While it was previously more common for temples to visit friendly temples dedicated to different deities, the emergence of the Shenggong Wenhua movement has recently aimed to foster a sense of community among various temples. Nevertheless, they will usually involve the invitation of a Guang Ze Zun Wang image from China to initiate such *yew keng* processions between Guang Ze Zun Wang temples.

⁹² “大成村民庆祝九皇爷诞今晚将有彩车音乐游行,” 南洋商报, October 21, 1958, 8.

⁹³ “大成村各团体明庆九皇爷诞,” 星洲日报, October 17, 1961, 8.

还有证据表明，从1950年代末开始，凤山宫就曾组织人员到后港斗母宫参观。1958年农历九月九日，据报道，凤山宫的“游行彩车队伍”先到后港斗母宫朝拜，然后前往新加坡东部的其他地方。⁹²三年后的同一天，一个类似的代表团也到后港斗母宫参拜。不过，游行队伍并没有到新加坡其他地方巡游，而是在结束敬拜后，回到凤山宫，为晚上的恭送仪式做准备。⁹³这些庙宇间的互访可能为更长时间和更大范围的访问奠定了基础，最终形成了我们今天所熟悉的游境。



这种拜访新加坡其他九皇大帝庙宇而非邻近地区的新式游境，也见证了一个相对强大的九皇大帝庙宇社区的出现，他们之间的联系通过每年的游境或较小规模参拜而得到加强。这也是九皇大帝千秋庆典及其庙宇独特的地方，因为在其他的神明节庆中，庙宇代表通常拜访的是供奉其他神明的友庙。最近圣公文化运动的出现正试图促进建立这样的社区。不过，他们通常会请到来自中国的广泽尊王神像，在广泽尊王庙之间发起这类游境。

⁹² <大成村民庆祝九皇爷诞今晚将有彩车音乐游行>，《南洋商报》，1958年10月21日，第8版。

⁹³ <大成村各团体明庆九皇爷诞>，《星洲日报》，1961年10月17日，第8版。

► Kim San Tze visiting Kew Huang Keng,. Photograph Courtesy of Kim San Tze.

金山寺绕境拜访九皇宫。照片由金山寺提供。



In the case of Kew Huang Keng, we see the juxtaposition of the two different forms of *yew keng* processions. The first would be the contemporary *yew keng* procession in which it would visit other Nine Emperor Gods temples in the eastern part of Singapore, including Hong San Temple, from which they had obtained their foundational incense. Therefore, this can be seen as a continuation of the older, more elaborate *yew keng* practice from the 1950s and 1960s, but with a difference. Instead of visiting districts and neighbourhoods, these processions are specifically intended to visit other temples that are also observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. This is held on the third day of the ninth lunar month. For this *yew keng*, sometimes one of two palanquins will accompany the entourage, carrying the incense censer of the Nine Emperor Gods. Till today, the final stop of Kew Huang Keng's *yew keng* contingent continues to conclude at the Hong San Temple in memory of their close historical and incense ties.⁹⁴

On the sixth day of the ninth lunar month, Kew Huang Keng have the *yew kampong* procession. This was built on two traditions. The first type of touring would involve visiting the local kampong where the temple is located and blessing the community members. The temple representatives would bring the blessings of the Nine Emperor Gods to the residents and offer prayers for their well-being. The second type of touring would take place in more distant areas where there are no existing Nine Emperor Gods temples. In these areas, the communities would prepare altar tables and decorate them elaborately to welcome the Nine Emperor Gods during their tours. This new form of *yew kampong* tradition started when the residents of the southern part of Lemongrass village who had hitherto constituted the major community and support for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and Kew Huang Keng were all relocated to new housing estates in Haig Road, Geylang Bahru, Bedok and Bedok North. To maintain ties with these communities, incense and censers were invited by representatives from the communities in each of these areas to set up an altar and station to welcome the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun from the in their respective palanquins and the entourage from the home temple. Thus, while the physical kampong is no more, the ties and identities associated with the old kampong have been maintained both by Kew Huang Keng, and the families from the old kampong and their descendants in their new estates after 1980.

⁹⁴ Teh Ka Kiong, "Changed and Unchanged: The Dynamics of a Nine Emperor Gods Temple in Post Independent Singapore" (Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, 2017), 40-41.

以九皇宫为例，我们可以看到两种不同形式的游行并存。首先是现代的游境，游行队伍将参观新加坡东部的其他九皇大帝庙宇，包括其香火发源地凤山宫。因此，这可以说是上世纪五、六十年代从甘榜范围走出来的老式“游境”的延伸，但不同的是，它是要到其他庙宇去敬拜，而不是访问周边其他地区。这是在农历九月初三举行。在这个游境中，有时两个圣轿中的其中一个会载着九皇大帝的香炉同行。直到今天，九皇宫的游境队伍还是会在凤山宫继续走完最后一站的路程，以纪念他们之间紧密的历史和香火渊源。⁹⁴



◀ The Kew Huang Keng contingent visiting Hong San Temple, the last and most important stop on their annual *yew keng* route.

九皇宫每年绕境终后即最重要的一站 --- 凤山宫。

在农历九月初六，九皇宫会举行游甘榜的仪式。这建立在两个传统上。首先是参观庙宇所在的甘榜，并为这个社区祈福。其次是到没有九皇大帝庙宇的较远地区巡游，由社区准备祭坛桌及精美装饰品，迎接九皇大帝的到来。这种新形式的游境传统是葱茅园南部居民迁入位于海格路、芽笼峇鲁、勿洛和勿洛北的新组屋区时开始的。此前，葱茅园是新加坡庆祝九皇大帝千秋、支持九皇宫的主要社区。为了保持与这些社区的联系，这些地区的社区代表分别请来了香火和香炉，设坛欢迎九皇大帝和斗姆元君圣轿以及庙宇的随行人员。因此，虽然实际的甘榜已不复存在，但与旧甘榜有关的联系和身份在1980年后却一直由九皇宫和来自旧甘榜的家族及其后代在新的住宅区和社区里维持着。

⁹⁴ Teh Ka Kiong, “Changed and Unchanged: The Dynamics of a Nine Emperor Gods Temple in Post Independent Singapore” (Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, 2017), 40-41。



▲ The Bedok North “deity receiving station” in the 1980s and the present. It was established by former inhabitants from Lemongrass village to receive the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun from Kew Huang Keng as part of the *kampong yew keng* each year. First two photographs are courtesy of Kew Huang Keng.

勿洛北1980年代与当今的“迎神站”。这迎神站是搬到勿洛北的旧葱茅园居民为九皇宫一年一度的甘榜绕境时迎接九皇大帝和斗姆元君而设立的。前两张照片是由九皇宫提供的。

Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng also has a tradition of organising a procession back to its original location in the Sungei Tengah area, near Lim Chu Kang road today, on the sixth day, which temple members also refer to as *yew kampong*. In some years, when instruction was given by the First Emperor God, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng will organise a procession to invite water from the pier there to be used for rituals at the temple. The pier was also the place where the temple used to receive the Nine Emperor Gods when the temple was still in the old location. They will be accompanied by the nine mediums of the Nine Emperor Gods as well as the palanquins and the Daoist priest. The Daoist priest will conduct the ritual for the invitation of water. The First Emperor God will walk towards the pier and fill a pail with water, which was then wrapped in yellow cloth. The pail of water would be carried back to the temple. In some years, the procession will make their way to the home of the descendants of Cai En, whose home has its own altar for the Nine Emperor Gods. In many ways, this return to the *kampong* is an important ritual and routine to remind the participants in the festival today, especially the helpers at the temple, many of whom grew up in the original village or had relatives who did, of their history and ties to this place. For new members who did not reside at the village before, it was also an important window into the history and identity of the temple.

The Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng visits affiliated temples like the old Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong, which has historical ties. The mediums from Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong also serve as mediums for several of the Nine Emperor Gods in Tao Bu Keng, and their members assist at the temple and Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In the old *kampong*, Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong used to be situated next to the location where the Tao Bu Keng entourage would receive the Nine Emperor Gods. Before the day of the receiving, a representative from the Tao Bu Keng would visit the temple to inform the deity and the keepers. The two temples thus enjoyed a very close relationship both in the past and present.



◀▲
1992 and present-day versions of the Haig Road “deity receiving station” which were erected by former Lemongrass Village inhabitants to receive the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun from Kew Huang Keng. The first two photographs are courtesy of Mr Sunny Lian.

1992年和当今的海格路“迎神站”，也是为了让搬到海格路的前葱茅园居民迎接九皇宫九皇大帝斗姆元君而成立。首两张照片由Sunny Lian先生提供。

蔡厝港斗母宫也有在初六组织游行到其旧址内东成（今靠近林厝港路）的传统，庙宇成员也称其为游甘榜。在某些年份，在九皇大帝的指示下，蔡厝港斗母宫会组织这个游甘榜队伍，到那里的码头清水，用于庙宇的祭祀活动。当庙宇还在旧址时，该码头也是庙宇迎接九皇大帝的地方。九皇诸神圣轿将由九位乩童及道士陪同。道士将主持请水的仪式。九皇大帝（乩童）会走向码头，将水桶装满水，然后用黄布包好。这桶水会被抬回庙里。在某些年份，游行队伍会来到蔡恩后人的家中，他们的家中有自己的九皇大帝祭坛。这种回到甘榜的方式在许多方面是一种重要的仪式和传统，提醒今天的节庆参与者庙宇历史及他们与这个地方的联系，特别是在庙里的义工，他们中的许多人是在原来的村庄长大的，或有亲戚在那里长大。对于以前没有在村里居住过的新成员来说，这也是了解庙宇历史和认同的重要窗口。

此外，蔡厝港斗母宫也将参观附属庙宇，如与该庙有重要历史渊源的慈悲妈祖宫，其乩童也曾斗母宫供奉数位九皇大帝，而其庙宇成员也会在该庙及九皇大帝千秋庆典帮忙。旧甘榜中，慈悲妈祖宫曾坐落在斗母宫随行人员迎接九皇大帝的地点旁边。在接驾日之前，斗母宫的代表会前往慈悲妈祖宫，告知神明和驻庙人员。因此，这两座庙宇在过去和现在都有着非常密切的关系。

► The Nine Emperor Gods exchanging incense at an altar erected by Cì Bei Ma Zu Gong.

蔡厝港斗母宫九皇大帝与慈悲妈祖宫换香。



This was not unique to the Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng. In many cases, Nine Emperor Gods temples would also visit affiliated temples as a part of the *yew keng*, as well as the homes of their censer masters and key sponsors of the festival. According to our informants, in the past, Leong Nam Temple's *yew keng* procession would visit censer masters, their *towkays*, as well as their respective factory outlets to bless them. In the present day, the temple's contingent would visit the company which provides construction equipment and workers who helped with the tentage that is set up at the festival site. Uniquely, at this location, all nine palanquins were present, and it was the only location where incense sticks were directly exchanged with the palanquins. Likewise, in Zhun Ti Tang, during the festival of 2017, the temple's *yew keng* made its way to the homes of the year's censer masters, although these detours were not undertaken in the previous year. During their visits, the deities are believed to confer blessings upon the faithful and their families who had contributed time, manpower and money to make the occasion a success.

► Zhun Ti Tang visiting the censer master's home during the festival in 2017 to confer blessings.

2017年，准提堂队伍九皇千秋期间到炉主家祈福。



这并不是蔡厝港斗母宫独有的情况。在很多时候，九皇大帝庙宇也会拜访附属庙宇，作为游境的一部分，以及其炉主和节庆主要赞助商的家。据知情人士披露，在过去，龙南殿的游境队伍会拜访炉主、他们头家以及他们各自的工厂为他们祈福。在今天，游行队伍会拜访提供建筑设备的公司和在法会现场搭建帐篷的工人。与众不同的是，在这个地方，九个圣轿都在场，这也是唯一一个直接与圣轿交换香火的地方。同样的，在准提堂，在2017年的九皇大帝千秋庆典，庙宇的游境来到了当年的炉主家，虽然前年并没有进行这样的绕路活动。在他们的拜访中，信徒相信神明会赐予他们与家人祝福，他们付出了时间、人力和金钱，使这个节日得以成功举行。



◀ Leong Nam Temple visiting the home of its censer master, 1979. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1979年，龙南殿出游拜访炉主住宿。照片由龙南殿提供。



With the relocation of communities and temples in post-independence Singapore, adapting to urban redevelopment and new regulations, temples have faced challenges in organizing processions due to traffic volume, speed, and spatial rules. Many temples can no longer travel from the temple to receiving and sending-off locations by foot. However, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, along with Thaipusam, has been given some leeway for foot processions. Permission is often granted for the entourage to travel by foot for a designated distance before reaching the main roads.

In Hong San Temple, the practice of carrying the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins on foot from the sea to the temple and vice versa has been limited. Now, only a part of the journey can be done on foot, while the rest is covered on lorries or buses.⁹⁵ However, devotees are still allowed to walk from the entrance of Defu Lane 12 to the temple after receiving the Nine Emperor Gods. Similarly, in Kew Huang Keng, the palanquins and participants can only travel on foot between the East Coast Park beach and the car park, and then from the car park to the temple. The palanquins greet other temples along Arumugam Road before entering Kew Huang Keng's main hall. During the sending off, the palanquins and devotees board lorries and buses from the road behind the temple, after a short distance on foot.⁹⁶ Other Nine Emperor Gods temples have also adapted to new spatial realities and work closely with official agencies to preserve traditions, ensure public safety, and provide convenience to their communities.

These adaptations that were undertaken to conform with state regulations since post-independence Singapore not only altered how the receiving and sending-off ceremonies are performed but also indirectly transformed the meaning of “*yew keng*”. It was no longer equivalent to “*yew kampong*” or the procession through the community and neighbouring areas en route to the sending-off location. The spatial dimensions have changed, in that the *keng* was no longer the *kampong* but has come to encompass the nation-state of Singapore.⁹⁷ Thus, instead of touring the neighbourhood, the palanquins and temple now visit other Nine Emperor Gods temples in a tour traversing either the whole island or parts of it. In the past, as we have seen, the processions' route was largely-limited to a village compound where the temple drew its bases of devotees, as well as logistical and financial support, from. In post-independence Singapore, after many of these *kampongs* were relocated and villagers scattered, *yew keng* assumed novel connotations, where they referred to inter-temple visits and exchanges of gifts and incense.

⁹⁵ 李, Reel 5, 13:03-13:30. This was probably because the convoy could not continue without interrupting the flow of traffic on key road arteries.

⁹⁶ On the ground-breaking ceremony for Kew Huang Keng's relocation in the mid-1980s, see “众弘善堂与九皇宫 联合兴建新庙堂,” 联合晚报, November 9, 1986, 2.

⁹⁷ Confer with Koh, “The Deity Proposes, the State Disposes,” 136.

独立后的新加坡，快速的市区重建过程中，一些社区和庙宇被迫搬迁，部分原因是交通流量和速度加快。过去几十年来，政府对这些主要道路上的宗教游行实施了新的规定，庙宇不得不适应这些新的空间规定。许多庙宇的圣轿和游行队伍不能再从庙宇步行到迎驾和送驾地点，除了受限于这些新规定，也可能是因为这些地点离庙宇太远，特别是坐落在西部但却必须在东部进行迎驾和送驾仪式的庙宇。不过，过去几十年来，观察者们都注意到，新规定对九皇大帝千秋和大宝森节的游行出现了一些宽松处理。在许多情况下，随行人员在指定的距离内（一般是到达主要道路之前）被允许步行。

在凤山宫，九皇大帝圣轿从海上接回后，游行队伍并不是全程徒步返回庙宇，而是徒步完成部分行程后由卡车完成余下的行程，信徒则乘搭巴士返回。⁹⁵ 尽管如此，他们在迎接九皇大帝后，还是获准从德福12巷入口处步行到庙里。在九皇宫，圣轿队伍与参与信众也只在允许在迎接九皇大帝的东海岸公园海滩和停放罗厘的停车场之间步行，再从阿鲁慕甘路的停车场前往庙宇。从那里，装有供奉九皇大帝和斗姆的香炉的圣轿将向阿鲁慕甘路沿线的所有庙宇致敬，然后两乘圣轿进入九皇宫的大殿。送驾时，圣轿在放置了九皇大帝神像宝座的陪同下步行至庙后的小路，然后在那里被抬上罗厘，信众则上巴士。⁹⁶ 同样的，其他九皇大帝庙宇也已适应新的空间和景观，继续与官方机构紧密合作，保留其传统和对社区的意义，并确保公众的安全和便利。

独立后的新加坡为符合国家法规而进行的这些调整，不仅改变了迎驾和送驾仪式的方式，也间接地改变了“游境”的含义。它不再等同于“游甘榜”或在前往送行地点的途中穿过社区和邻近地区的游行队伍。空间的尺度也发生了变化，“游境”中的“境”不再是甘榜，而是新加坡全国。⁹⁷ 因此，现在的圣轿和庙宇不是在附近巡游，而是穿越全岛或部分地区以拜访其他九皇大帝庙宇。正如我们所看到的，在过去，游行的路线主要局限于一个村落，庙宇在那里有其信众基础，也有后勤和财政上的支持。在独立后的新加坡，许多甘榜被迁移，村民四处流散。在这样的背景下，游境就有了新的内涵，指的是庙宇间的访问以及礼物及香火的交换。



◀ Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong visiting Hougang Tou Mu Kung.

龙山岩斗母宫到后港斗母宫参拜。

⁹⁵ 李金龙, Reel 5, 13:03-13:30。这可能是由于车队无法在关键道路上中断交通流动的情况下继续前进。

⁹⁶ 关于九皇宫在上世纪80年代中期的迁址奠基仪式，请参阅〈众弘善堂与九皇宫联合兴建新庙堂〉，《联合晚报》，1986年11月9日，第2版。

⁹⁷ Confer with Koh, “The Deity Proposes, the State Disposes,” 136。

► Hougang Tou Mu Kung visiting Kew Huang Keng during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

九皇大帝圣诞庆典期间，后港斗母宫到九皇宫参拜。



Ultimately, costs, manpower, and material and logistical constraints still matter. A *yew keng* procession could often need to muster a large number of people, depending on the number of palanquins and sedan chairs (and their sizes), flags, banners, and other ritual and parade paraphernalia, the number of mediums, the number of accompanying lion dance troupes, drum and percussion troupes, as well as other performers, and floats. Not counting accompanying devotees, operational staff alone could number from about a hundred for the smaller scale ones to more than six hundred for the larger temples.⁹⁸ The number of vehicles accompanying from the lorries for the palanquins to the buses for the devotees would present another interesting challenge. Thus, it is often the case that *yew kengs* would fall on a weekend, so that they could muster as many people as possible without disrupting their work schedules. Processions for the sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods, based on memories of older participants in temples such as Hong San temple, could stretch from one to two kilometres long. The popularity and significance of the festival vis-à-vis other deity festivals in Singapore is a major factor in its ability to attract participants and participant organisations and communities. Although the scale has diminished somewhat today in terms of the length of the procession and the scale, they remain very grand and impressive affairs which present logistical challenges to temples.

⁹⁸ Some of the larger palanquins might require larger teams of people, often rotating between shifts. In Leong Nam Temple, the palanquin for the Eighth Emperor God weighs about 200kg. The teams for such palanquins might range from 30-40 people. For temples like Leong Nam Temple, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng and Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, with nine palanquins and other sedan chairs, one would need 400 people for just these purposes alone. For Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, the nine mediums would require ten or more people to assist each medium, and when one factors in the drum troupe and the host of other helpers helping with different ritual paraphernalia, and helping with various tasks, one can imagine the size of the contingent for each full-scale *yew keng*. One adds to these figures and the mobilization of these people, the logistical challenge of transporting the whole entourage and the large number of devotees.





归根结底，成本、人力、物资和后勤方面的制约因素仍然很重要。根据圣轿和宝座的数量（以及它们的大小）、旗帜、横幅和其他礼仪和游行用具、乩童的数量、伴奏的醒狮队、锣鼓和打击乐队及其他表演者和花车的数量，一个游境队伍往往需要召集大量的人。若不包括随行的信徒，单是执行人员，即便是较小规模的庙宇也有约一百多人，较大规模的庙宇则可能有六百多人。⁹⁸从运送宝轿的罗厘到载送信众的巴士，随行车辆的数目将是另一个挑战。因此，一般的情况是，游境会在周末进行，以便在不影响工作时间的情况下，召集尽可能多的人。根据凤山宫等庙宇年长参加者的回忆，九皇大帝千秋庆典中恭送九皇大帝的游行队伍可能长达一至两公里。在新加坡，与其他神明的节庆相比，这个节庆的受欢迎程度和意义是吸引参与者及其组织与社区。虽然从游行的时间和规模来看，今天的规模已经缩小了一些，但它们仍然是一大盛事，给庙宇带来了后勤方面的挑战。



◀ Zhun Ti Tang visiting Leong Nam Temple and Hougang Tou Mu Kung in 2017.

2017年，准提堂绕境到后港斗母宫参拜。

⁹⁸ 一些较大的抬轿可能需要更多人的团队，通常会轮班换岗。在龙南殿，九皇八帝的抬轿重约200公斤。这类抬轿的团队人数可能在30至40人之间。对于像龙南殿、蔡厝港斗母宫和龙山岩斗母宫这样有九座抬轿和其他轿椅的庙宇来说，仅仅为了这些目的就需要400人。对于蔡厝港斗母宫来说，九位乩童每位都需要十名或更多的助手，再加上鼓队和其他帮助者协助进行不同的仪式装备和各种任务，可以想象每个完整的游境队伍的规模之大。除了这些人员的动员，还需要应对整个队伍和大量信众的物流挑战。

Thus, today, most temples, with the exception of Leong Nam Temple, Kew Huang Keng, and Hougang Tou Mu Kung, and Xuan Wu Shan, most temples would only organise a *yew keng* once every three years or more, sometimes depending on the instructions of the Nine Emperor Gods through their mediums. Xuan Wu Shan combines its *yew keng* with the sending off of the Nine Emperor God on the ninth day, stopping at selected temples on its way to Changi Beach from Jurong East. This seems to have been a tradition since the 1980s. However, in order to maintain connections with other Nine Emperor Gods temples, even if a temple did not perform a full *yew keng* procession for the year or could only visit certain temples during these processions, they would still send smaller delegations to other temples as part of *can bai* visits. These visits served the purpose of paying respects to the deities and exchanging gifts as a gesture of camaraderie and mutual support. This, in itself, is a testament to the importance attached to these smaller scale visits by the Nine Emperor Gods temples, and the festival community on a nation-wide level that has evolved since the 1980s.

► Jiu Huang Dian committee members welcoming a contingent of visitors from Kew Huang Keng.

九皇殿理事欢迎九皇宫参拜团。



因此，如今除了龙南殿、九皇宫、后港斗母宫以及玄武山外，大多数庙宇都是三年或更长时间才会组织一次游境，有时还要得靠九皇大帝通过乩童给予指示才会进行。玄武山在初九将游境与送驾联系起来，在从裕廊东前往樟宜海滩的途中，在特定庙宇停留。这似乎是1980年代以来的一个传统。然而，为了保持与其他九皇大帝庙宇的联系，那些在一年中未能做完整游境或只能对特定庙宇进行参拜者，仍然会派出较小的代表团去其他庙宇进行参拜，以表示敬意并交换礼物。这本身就证明了九皇大帝庙宇对这些小规模参拜的重视，也见证了自1980年代以来在全国范围内发展起来的节庆社区。



◀ Kim San Tze delegation visiting Shin Sen Keng to pay respects.

金山寺团队到神仙宫参拜。



◀ The Kim San Tze *yew keng* contingent visits Zhun Ti Tang (Sengkang) during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

金山寺绕境拜访准提堂。

► Xuan Wu Shan arriving at Leong Nam Temple with their tri-storeyed palanquin during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival of 1970.

1970年，玄武山绕境拜访龙南殿。



In recent years, there has been an extension of such exchanges and visits to Malaysia. Several temples in Singapore have started organising visits to temples in southern peninsular Malaysia, to temples such as Sam Siang Keng and Long Yin Dou Mu Gong. Every three years, in years where there was a leap month in the Chinese calendar, in a reiteration of their incense ties, temples like Hong San Temple and Kim San Tze, will send delegations to Nan Tian Gong in Ampang to invite incense again. Furthermore, the Malaysian Federation of Dou Mu Gong and Nine Emperor Gods Temples would invite delegations from Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore, such as Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, Hougang Tou Mu Kung, and Leong Nam Temple to their annual seal transfer ceremony. Hougang Tou Mu Kung had also invited Malaysian temples from this federation to its reconsecration ceremony after its renovations in 2019.

► Nan Shan Hai Miao visiting the Ampang Nan Tian Gong in 1995. Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

1995年，南山海庙参拜安邦南天宫】。照片由南山海寺提供。





近年来，这种交流和访问已经扩展到马来西亚。新加坡的一些庙宇已经开始组织访问马来西亚南部半岛的庙宇，如三善宫和龙引斗母宫。每隔三年，在中国历法中有闰月的年份，为了维系香火关系，像凤山宫、金山寺这样的庙宇都会派人到安邦南天官割香火。此外，马来西亚斗姆宫联合会将邀请新加坡的九皇大帝庙宇，如凤山宫、九皇宫、后港斗母宫和龙南殿的代表团参加他们的年度印章移交仪式，而后港斗母宫也曾邀请该联合会的马来西亚庙宇参加其2019年重修后的开光仪式。

▲ Xuan Wu Shan visiting Leong Nam Temple before the sending-off ceremony on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

玄武山在送驾仪式前到龙南殿参拜九皇大二帝。



▶ Visitors from Kim San Tze, Singapore, posing for a photograph outside of the Inner Chamber at the Nan Tian Gong Temple in Ampang, Kuala Lumpur, 2017.

2017年，新加坡金山寺代表在吉隆坡安邦南天宫院外合影。



The Nine Emperor Gods Festival readily embraces Singapore's multicultural background, which is evident in the locations visited by the festival's processions. For example, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong would always visit the Veeramuthu Muneeswarar in Hock Huat Keng Temple complex in Yishun industrial park and Sree Maha Mariamman Temple as part of their *yew keng*. During the procession, the temple's committee would enter the sanctuary and receive a pottu from their hosts. Similar sentiments were also expressed by Hougang Tou Mu Kung in 2009, where other religious landmarks were visited as a part of the temple's procession. These places spanned throughout the island, such as the Catholic Church of The Immaculate Heart of Mary, Masjid Ba'alwi, Buddhist Lodge and the Hindu Endowments Board.⁹⁹ The incorporation of these sites into the *yew keng* circuits of the Nine Emperor Gods temples and the festival itself highlights their integration within Singapore's broader religious landscape. This integration is particularly significant in terms of promoting interfaith dialogue and exchanges. The Nine Emperor Gods temples now view themselves as well as being perceived as potential platforms for fostering meaningful interactions among diverse ethnic and religious communities in Singapore.

⁹⁹ 温伟中，“展现宗教和谐精神 龙狮团出现 天主教堂，联合晚报，October 22, 2009, e-copy retrieved via Factiva.



◀ Hong San Temple visited the Gu Wu Temple alias Taiping Dou Lao Gong and presented a congratulatory banner to them in commemoration of the occasion in 1991. Photograph courtesy of the Hong San Temple.

1991年，凤山宫拜访了古武庙（别名太平斗姥宫），并赠送黄色横幅为纪念。照片由凤山宫提供。

在九皇大帝千秋期间，游行队伍所到之处，都可以看到九皇大帝千秋对新加坡多元文化背景的接纳。例如，洪水港斗母宫每年在游境途中都会到位于义顺工业园的福发宫的Veeramuthu Muneeswarar和Sree Maha Mariamman Temple印度庙参拜。在游行过程中，庙宇的委员会将进入圣殿，并接受主人在额上点红的赐福。2009年，后港斗母宫于2009年也有类似做法，其游行队伍也参观了其他宗教地标。这些地点遍布全岛，如天主教的圣母无玷圣心堂、巴阿维回、佛教居士林、兴都教基金会等。⁹⁹这些地点被纳入九皇大帝庙宇和节庆的游境路线，凸显了它们在新加坡更广泛的宗教景观中的融合，特别是强调宗教间的对话和交流。在这种对话和交流中，如今的九皇大帝庙宇视自身为潜在的平台，在新加坡协助推动有意义的多种族和多宗教的互动。



◀ A priest from the Sree Maha Mariamman Temple in Yishun presented a leader of the Jia Zhui Gang Dou Mu Gong with a garland of flowers during a visit to its premises in 2007 and greeted the Nine Emperor Gods palanquin with a fire offering. Photographs courtesy of the Jia Zhui Gang Dou Mu Gong.

2007年，洪水港斗母宫拜访Sree Maha Mariamman 印度庙。印度庙的神职人员洪水港斗母宫的宫庙领导献上花环，并用香火向九皇大帝致敬。向照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。

⁹⁹ 温伟中，〈展现宗教和谐精神 龙狮团出现 天主教堂〉，《联合晚报》，2009年10月22日，从Factiva获取的电子副本。

Performance, Propitiation and Community

Cultural performances are an integral part of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The offerings presented to the Nine Emperor Gods during their sojourn in the human world serve as both a religious gesture and a means of satisfying the crowds and devotees at the temples or festivals. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival showcases a diverse range of traditional Chinese arts and cultural performances, including lion and dragon dance troupes, stilt walkers, drum and gong ensembles, traditional Chinese opera, traditional Chinese puppetry, classical Chinese singing, Taiwanese general troupes, Taiwanese Techno-Third Prince, *getai* performances, and even military bands. In recent years, the festival has also incorporated performances by Malay *kompang* troupes, traditional Indian dance troupes, and traditional Thai dance groups. This cultural showcase not only celebrates Chinese traditions but also reflects Singapore's multi-ethnic, cosmopolitan, and regional diversity. These performances are often sponsored by different social groupings as offerings for the Nine Emperor Gods, or as part of the processions and key ceremonies such as the receiving or sending off.¹⁰⁰

▶ Chaozhou Opera troupes performing at Kew Huang Keng and several of its *yew kampong* stations during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

九皇大帝圣诞期间，潮剧班会在九皇宫和属下迎神站演出。



During the festival, opera performances are often sponsored by supporters of the temple, by the temple, or by different associations under the umbrella of the temple. Different supporters or the supporters, temples or temple associations might sponsor the performances on certain days. In Hong San temple, for example, they would fly in a Chaozhou opera troupe from Fujian, China, to perform for the duration of the festival, from their receiving, which is usually a week or a few days earlier than the other temples at the end of the month. A huge airconditioned stage would be erected. The male members of the opera troupe would sleep in the temple, while female members would sleep in a container erected next to the stage. Tickets would be sold or sponsored for various old folks with buses bringing them in to watch the opera.¹⁰¹ In the past, they would have sponsors for both Fujianese and Chaozhou opera performances during the festival. Every day, before the start of the opera performance, there will be a *Ban Xian* performance in front of the Nine Emperor Gods opera sponsored by one of the associations under the temple umbrella as well as the temple management committee.

Opera performances are very much a staple for the festival, both past and present, although in some temples, they have converted the opera to a traditional figurine puppet performance, as at Nan Shan Hai Miao. For some temples, the opera might be only over part of the festival period, rather than the full nine days or more (depending on when they receive the deities). Leong Nam Temple also has the *Ban Xian* performance by the performing opera troupe every day sponsored by supporters or devotees. In some temples, such as Kew Huang Keng and Zhun Ti Tang, there are also *getai* performances alongside opera performances. Typically, opera performances at each temple during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival are managed by the same troupe throughout the duration of the festival. However, in certain cases, some temples may opt to hire two different troupes to perform for different segments of the opera performance over the festival.

¹⁰⁰ An introduction to the significance of the lion dance is provided by Cheu, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 138-145.

¹⁰¹ For example, see the commemorative volume 新加坡葱茅园凤山宫庆祝九皇大帝圣诞纪念特刊：中国福建省云霄潮剧团莅新演出助兴（新加坡：新加坡葱茅园凤山宫，2009）.

表演、供奉与社区

文化表演是九皇大帝千秋庆典不可或缺的一部分。它们是在九皇大帝逗留人间期间为他们献上的供品之一，也是为满足聚集在庙宇或节庆的人群和信徒而呈献的表演。从舞龙舞狮、高跷、鼓乐、锣鼓、传统戏曲、传统中国木偶戏（特别是甲礼戏）、经典歌曲清唱到最近的台湾歌舞团表演、台湾电音三太子、歌台表演，甚至军乐队、马来甘榜舞蹈团、传统印度舞蹈团和泰国传统舞蹈团，九皇大帝千秋庆典一直是展示中华传统艺术和文化的场所，且越来越能反映新加坡的多元种族、国际化和区域特色。这些表演通常由不同的社会团体赞助，作为供奉九皇大帝的祭品，或作为游行和送驾等关键仪式的一部分。¹⁰⁰



在九皇大帝千秋庆典期间，戏曲表演往往是由庙宇的支持者、庙宇或其附属的不同协会赞助的。不同的支持者、庙宇或庙宇协会可能会在某些日子赞助演出。以凤山宫为例，自恭迎仪式开始，他们便从中国福建请来潮剧团演出，通常比其他月底才请剧团的庙宇早一个星期或几天。巨大的带有空调的戏台被搭建起来。戏班的男性成员会睡在庙里，而女性成员则睡在舞台旁边竖起的集装箱里。演出戏票将被出售或赠予乐龄人士，还有巴士将他们带到庙宇观看表演。¹⁰¹ 在过去，人们会在节庆期间为福建和潮州的戏曲表演提供赞助。每日在戏曲表演开始之前，都会有一场由庙宇附属的社团之一及其理事会所赞助的“扮仙”表演在戏台呈献。

戏曲表演在过去和现在都是庆典的主要内容，虽然在一些庙宇中，他们把戏曲变成了传统的木偶表演，如在南山海庙。对一些庙宇来说，戏曲可能只在节庆期间的部分时间上演，而不是整整九天或更长时间（取决于他们何时迎接神明）。龙南殿也有歌仔戏团每天在支持者或信徒的赞助下进行扮仙表演。在一些庙宇，如九皇宫、准提堂等，除了戏曲表演，也有歌台表演。每座庙宇的戏曲表演通常在节庆期间由同一组人负责，但一些庙宇可能会在庆典期间聘请两个不同的戏班，在不同的时段演出。

¹⁰⁰ 关于狮舞意义的介绍，可以参考 Cheu “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 138-145。

¹⁰¹ 例如，参阅《新加坡葱茅园凤山宫庆祝九皇大帝千秋纪念特刊：中国福建省云霄潮剧团莅新演出助兴》（新加坡：新加坡葱茅园凤山宫，2009）。

► The White Crane Martial Arts Society at Leong Nam Temple, c. the 1960s. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

白鹤武术健身社狮团在龙南殿，1960年代。照片由龙南殿提供。



Lion and dragon dances are also an important part of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. They are present at the receiving and sending off ceremonies, as well as *yew keng* processions, often leading and preceding the entourage into the respective festival venues. While temples like Xuan Wu Shan would have their own lion and dragon dance troupes, other temples would often hire their own or invite troupes affiliated with their supporters, members or leaders, with associations under their umbrella or with various Chinese associations outside the temple but nevertheless connected to them. While Hong San Temple did not have its own lion dance troupe, one of its associations, the Association of Sincere and United Devotees, had its own troupe of carp dancers, which was the first of its kind in Singapore. During the association's halcyon days, the troupe's renown was heard far and wide. Its members not only featured as a part of Hong San Temple's processions during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, but also made their way into the 1968 National Day Celebrations at Paya Lebar.¹⁰²

The *yew keng* processions and receiving and sending-off ceremonies also involved these performing groups often contributed or organised by various sponsors and affiliates of the Nine Emperor Gods temples. Several newspaper articles from post-independence Singapore indicated that it was also common for other Chinese associations, such as place-of-origin and clan associations, among others, to volunteer their in-house performing artists and troupes at these festival events and temples.¹⁰³ Leong Nam Temple's Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Labour Park in 1969 involved a lengthy procession of twelve different organisations. Led by the temple's "vanguard team", lion dance troupes from the White Crane Martial Arts Society and the Longyi Martial Arts Society were also scheduled to join the procession. Likewise, the drum ensembles from the Nine Dragons Hall (Lin Clan Association) and the Nanyang Shen Surname Association also joined the occasion.¹⁰⁴ In such processions, one's position in the line-up was often regarded as an important matter. Similarly, the sending-off procession and ceremonies at Shin Sen Keng in 1977 also involved the Hualian Mutual Aid Association and the Yunhai Martial Arts Association who "despatched their troupes to assist in the occasion."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² 凤山宫三庆大典, 65.

¹⁰³ Also see "大成巷凤山宫庆祝九皇大帝圣诞游行," 星洲日报, October 23, 1963, 8.

¹⁰⁴ "龙南殿九皇圣驾回府仪式今晚举行," 星洲日报, October 20, 1969, 7. Also see references to Leong Nam Temple in "白鹤武术健身院选出明年度职员," 南洋商报, October 15, 1966, 22.

¹⁰⁵ "立达区神仙宫本周四将举行成立典礼 庆九皇大帝宝诞," 新明日报, October 4, 1977, 3.

舞狮和舞龙也是九皇大帝千秋庆典的一个重要组成部分。它们出现在迎驾和送驾的仪式上，也出现在游境的游行队伍中，经常引领随行人员进入各法会场所。有的庙宇例如玄武山会有自己的舞龙舞狮团，但其他庙宇往往会雇用舞龙舞狮团，或邀请与他们的支持者、成员或理事有关的舞龙舞狮团，或与庙宇以外但与他们有关的各种华人社团合作。虽然凤山宫没有自己的舞狮队，但它旗下的一个香社，诚心联合会，却有自己的鲤鱼舞队，这在新加坡首例。在该社团的辉煌时期，鲤鱼舞队的名声远扬。它的成员不仅在九皇千秋庆典期间成为凤山宫游行队伍的一部分，而且还参加了1968年在巴耶利峇举行的国庆节庆典。¹⁰²

这些由九皇庙的赞助人和附属机构提供或组织的表演团体一般也会参与游境和送驾仪式。独立后新加坡的几篇报纸文章指出，其他华人社团如宗亲会馆等，也经常在这些节庆活动为庙宇义务提供内部的表演者和团体。¹⁰³ 1969年，龙南殿在劳动公园举行的九皇大帝千秋庆典，就有十二个不同的游行队伍，由该庙的先锋队带领。白鹤武术健身社狮团和龙艺国术体育会狮团的舞狮队也被安排参加游行。同样的，来自九龙堂林氏大宗祠鼓乐队和南洋沈氏公会鼓乐队也参加了此次活动。¹⁰⁴ 在这样的游行中，一个队伍在队列中占有一席之地往往是一件重要的事。同样，1977年神仙宫的送驾队伍和仪式也有华联互助社和云海国术体育会“派队助兴”。¹⁰⁵



◀ Dragon dance troupes from Seow Lim Teck Eng Tong performing at Kew Huang Keng during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, c. 1970s, 1980s and 1987. Photographs courtesy of Ler Su Kuee, Kew Huang Keng and Mr Sunny Lian.

少林得英团舞龙队九皇圣诞期间在九皇宫表演，大约1970年代、1980年代和1987年。照片由吕序奎先生，九皇宫和Sunny Lian先生提供。

¹⁰² 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页 65。

¹⁰³ 也看〈大成巷凤山宫庆祝九皇大帝圣诞游行〉，《星洲日报》，1963年10月23日，第8版。

¹⁰⁴ 〈龙南殿九皇圣驾回府仪式今晚举行〉，《星洲日报》，1969年10月20日，第7版。也参考〈白鹤武术健身院选出明年度职员〉，《南洋商报》，1966年10月15日，第22版。

¹⁰⁵ 〈立达区神仙宫本周四将举行成立典礼 庆九皇大帝圣诞〉，《新明日报》，1977年10月4日，第3版。

► Today, Seow Lim Teck Eng Tong has become one of the altar stations receiving the *yew kampong* contingent from Kew Huang Keng each year.

少林得英堂已成为九皇宫的迎神站之一，每年在九皇胜会期间接待来自九皇宫的游甘榜队伍。



The presence of these performing troupes at the festival is thus a reflection of the networks and community ties of the respective Nine Emperor Gods temples, their members, and their devotees and supporters. Some of these relationships have withstood the test of time. The clearest instance would be the martial arts association known as the Seow Lim Teck Eng Tong Physical Association (henceforth “Teck Eng Tong”) (128 Bedok North Street 2), whose founder Wang Rongmei (d. 1974) maintained extremely close ties with both the Hong San Temple and Kew Huang Keng during his lifetime.¹⁰⁶ He was also a highly respected member of Old Vegetarian Friends Association in Hong San Temple, and these affiliations almost certainly accounted for the participation of Teck Eng Tong’s dragon dance troupes in the temple’s processions in 1969.¹⁰⁷

Black and white photographs in the collection of Kew Huang Keng’s devotees also show that Teck Eng Tong’s dragon and lion dance troupes had been performing at the temple during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the past. The Teck Eng Tong office also took over the duties of one of the stations for receiving the Nine Emperor Gods during the *kampong yew keng* after the organiser, who lived nearby, passed away. In addition, lion dance troupes from other associations, such as the Singapore Cheng Jing Hui Dragon and Lion Dance Sports Club, were also involved in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kew Huang Keng as well.

Another important feature at the Nine Emperor Gods Festival would be the drum and gong ensembles. An ensemble often seen would be the Chaozhou Drum and Cymbal Orchestra (Chaoshan: *lor kor*). Among the responsibilities of the Music Association at Kew Huang Keng was the organization of drum and gong ensembles to perform during the receiving and sending off ceremonies, as well as throughout the festival. Additionally, they were in charge of coordinating the participation of ladies carrying flower baskets and banners, each with their respective roles. In other temples, these ensembles would be provided by various clubs and friendship societies, or even temples, who would send their own *gong guan* groups to join the processions and ceremony. These include not only the ensembles but also banners and flags as well as young girls carrying flower baskets. In some cases, these ensembles or troupes would even compete for positions within the procession queue. In the case of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, the drum and gong troupe belonging to its neighbour in the combined temple complex, Hwa Poh Siang Tng, would also perform during the festival.

¹⁰⁶ “少林得英堂国术健身社王荣梅逝世,” 星洲日报, April 25, 1974, 7.

¹⁰⁷ “凤山宫今庆九皇爷诞,” 南洋商报, October 30, 1968, 15; and “凤山宫九皇大帝 周日夜送驾游行,” 星洲日报, October 17, 1969, 15. Up till today, individuals from the Hong San Temple and Kew Huang Keng are still involved in the Teck Eng Tong’s activities.

因此，节日期间的表演团体反映了九皇大帝庙宇、成员及信徒和支持者之间的网络和社区关系。其中一些关系经受住了时间的考验。最明显的例子是武术团体少林得英堂国术健身社（位于勿洛北2街128号）。创始人王荣梅（卒于1974年）生前与凤山宫和九皇宫都保持着极为密切的联系。¹⁰⁶ 他也是凤山宫老莱友会备受尊敬的成员，这些关系或许是得英堂的舞龙团在1969年参与凤山宫游行的原因。¹⁰⁷



During the early 1990s, the Jin Long Shi Yi Wu Shu Yuan performed at many key events during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, such as the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods, and the construction of tall incense sticks as offerings in the temple's courtyard. Photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

1990年代初，金龙狮艺武术院有参与在洪水港斗母宫九皇胜会期间的许多重要活动中表演，例如恭请仪式以及在庙宇院子里建造高大的香柱作为供品时。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。

九皇宫信徒收藏的黑白照片也显示，得英堂的舞龙舞狮团过去曾在九皇大帝千秋庆典期间进行表演。在住在附近的组织者去世后，得英堂也成为九皇大帝千秋庆典间迎神站之一。此外，其他协会的舞狮团，如新加坡诚敬会龙狮体育会，也参与了九皇宫的九皇大帝千秋庆典。

锣鼓队是九皇大帝千秋庆典的另一个重要特征。通常是潮州锣鼓。九皇宫音乐会的职责之一就是安排这些锣鼓队在迎接、恭送、祭祀时表演，以及安排女士们在队伍中提着花篮和旗帜。在其他庙宇，这些鼓队由各种社团和联谊会提供，庙宇甚至会派出自己的公馆参加游行和仪式。这些队伍不仅有鼓队，还有举起横幅和旗帜的旗手，以及携带花篮的年轻女孩。在某些情况下，这些鼓队或团体甚至会在游行队伍中争夺位置。洪水港斗母宫在联合庙宇中的邻居——华报善堂也会派出锣鼓队在庆典期间表演。

¹⁰⁶ <少林得英堂国术健身社王荣梅逝世>，《星洲日报》，1974年4月25日，第7版。

¹⁰⁷ <凤山宫今庆九皇爷诞>，《南洋商报》，1968年10月30日，第15版；<凤山宫九皇大帝 周日夜送驾游行>，《星洲日报》，1969年10月17日，第15版。直到今天，凤山宫和九皇宫的人仍然参与着得英堂的活动。

Some temples would have their own drum and gong group. One of the most famous ritual performance groups would be Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng Golden Drums Troupe (Minnan: *Kim Gor Dui*). The group can number up to 20 or 30 players, and consist mainly of young men and boys, led by the more senior members in their 40s and 50s. They perform at important rituals and events during the occasion, and they have also performed at events and processions by other temples, even during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. This included the Fa Zhu Gong Festival celebrations at Leng San Giam temple in 2016, Zhun Ti Tang's consecration of their new premises in 2019, and Long Yin Dou Mu Gong in Johor.¹⁰⁸ Temples like Shin Shen Keng will draw on affiliated temples for such drum and gong groups. During the receiving and sending-off ceremonies, as well as *yew keng* and *can bai* processions, members of the Pak Lian Tua will play the drums, gongs, and seal blocks to accompany the main entourage. They will also play and sing in accompaniment when the temple invites the vanguard deities such as the Marshal of the Central Altar to follow the procession.

► The Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng Golden Drum Troupe, past and present.

蔡厝港斗母宫金鼓队, 过去与现在。



¹⁰⁸ Some videos of the visit were circulated online. For example, see 龙引斗母宫 (@rengittowbookeng), “蔡厝港斗母宫金鼓队,” Facebook video, October 7, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2458460267809509>.

有些庙宇也会有自己的锣鼓队。最著名的表演团体之一是蔡厝港斗母宫的金鼓队。这支队伍的人数达20或30人，主要由年轻男子和男孩组成，由40和50多岁的资深成员领导。他们在节庆的重要仪式和活动中表演，也曾其他庙宇的活动和游行中表演。这包括2016年在龙山岩斗母宫举行的法主公庆祝活动，2019年准提堂新庙落成典礼，柔佛州的龙引斗母宫的活动等。¹⁰⁸ 神仙宫等庙宇则是借助附属庙宇的力量举办这类鼓乐和锣活动。在迎驾、送驾以及游境和参拜仪式上，北莲坛的成员将负责为主要随行人员伴奏。当庙宇邀请中坛元帅等先锋神灵跟随队伍时，他们也会其进行伴奏和歌唱。



¹⁰⁸ 一些拜访的视频在网上流传。例如，可以参考以下链接：龙引斗母宫 (@rengittowbookeng), “蔡厝港斗母宫金鼓队,” Facebook, October 7, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2458460267809509>。

▶ Performances by Kew Huang Keng's music troupe during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in different eras, c. the 1970s, 1985, 1992 and the present day respectively. First five photographs courtesy of Ler Su Kuee and Mr Sunny Lian.

九皇宫音乐队在不同时代的九皇胜的相貌与演出，照片分别摄于1970年代、1985年、1992年和现在。前五张照片由吕序奎先生和Sunny Lian先生提供。





► The Hwa Poh Siang Tng Percussion Ensemble participating in Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong's receiving ceremony for the Nine Emperor Gods in the early 1990s. Photograph courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

20世纪90年代初，华报善堂的锣鼓队团在恭迎九皇大帝地点替洪水港斗母宫助阵。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。



Other traditional performance groups have also participated in the ceremonies and events of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in different temples. During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival of 2016, the Singapore Fire Dragon Association (headquartered in the Sar Kong Mun San Fook Tuck Chee, Sims Drive) also performed at several festival sites, such as Hong San Temple, Leong Nam Temple and Hougang Tou Mu Kung.¹⁰⁹ Closer to the present day, the Hougang Tou Mu Kung's procession in 2017 also included a percussion band which hailed from the Pontian Hainan Association, Johor Bahru, Malaysia as well.¹¹⁰

► A Fire Dragon performance at Hong San Temple during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

凤山宫九皇大帝千秋庆典的火龙表演。



¹⁰⁹ A few snapshots have been captured by the 新加坡稻草火龙。 “九皇圣诞终于告一段落。非常感谢所有师兄姐妹这十天的汗水和抽出宝贵的时间来帮忙演出。也谢谢邀请我们表演的各个庙宇，让我们有个表演的平台。” Facebook post, October 10, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=885540088213312>. This was also the subject of a write-up by 陈爱薇, “舞火龙本地难以传承的民间技艺,” 联合早报, January 31, 2021, e-copy retrieved via Factiva. Two excellent books have been written about the history, institutions and activities of the Mun San Fook Tuck Chee 沙冈万山福德祠, namely 吕世聪 and 洪毅瀚, 投桃之报: 万山港福德祠历史溯源 (新加坡: 石叻学会, 2008); and 洪毅瀚 Ang Yik Han, 乡情祠韵: 沙冈村和万山福德祠的流变与传承 (新加坡: 万山福德祠, 2016).

¹¹⁰ 王征扬, “九皇大帝出巡 10小时访8庙 现场与追看直播人数破万,” 新明日报, October 24, 2017, e-copy retrieved from Factiva.



其他传统表演团体也参与了不同庙宇的九皇大帝千秋庆典仪式和活动。在2016年的九皇大帝千秋庆典期间，新加坡稻草火龙（总部设在沙冈万山福德祠）也在几个法会场地表演，如凤山宫、龙南殿和后港斗母宫。¹⁰⁹ 近来，2017年后港斗母宫的游行队伍中还包括一支来自马来西亚新山笨珍海南会馆的铜乐队。¹¹⁰

▲ Hwa Poh Siang Tng Percussion Ensemble performing at Jia Zhui Gang Dou Mu Gong. 华报善堂锣鼓队在洪水港斗母宫演出。

¹⁰⁹ 新加坡稻草火龙，“九皇圣诞终于告一段落。非常感谢所有师兄弟姐妹这十天的汗水和抽出宝贵的时间来帮忙演出。也谢谢邀请我们表演的各个庙宇，让我们有个表演的平台。” Facebook, October 10, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=885540088213312>。这也成为了某位撰写的文章的主题，请参考陈爱微，〈舞火龙本地难以传承的民间技艺〉，《联合早报》，2021年1月31日，从Factiva获取的电子副本。有关沙冈万山福德祠的历史、机构和活动，已经出版了两本优秀的书籍。吕世聪与洪毅瀚，〈投桃之报：万山港福德祠历史溯源〉（新加坡：石叻学会，2008）；洪毅瀚 Ang Yik Han，〈乡情祠韵：沙冈村和万山福德祠的流变与传承〉（新加坡：万山福德祠，2016）。

¹¹⁰ 王钰扬，〈九皇大帝出巡 10小时访8庙 现场与追看直播人数破万〉，《新明日报》，2017年10月24日，从Factiva获取的电子副本。

Furthermore, performing organisations, devotees and participants of non-ethnic Chinese backgrounds have also played an important role in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. This is especially true in Hougang Tou Mu Kung, where orchestras that are predominantly staffed by Malay drummers and Indian musicians have accompanied the Nine Emperor Gods' sending-off at Punggol beach. Their participation reflects Singapore's multi-ethnic and multi-cultural social fabric, and their increasing prominence in the occasion mirrors analogous developments in the annual Chingay Parade.¹¹¹

Traditional Chinese performing arts have long held a significant role in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. They serve as a reflection of the broader Chinese cultural landscape, encompassing musical and visual traditions and the overall soundscape. These artistic expressions also demonstrate the interconnectedness within the community networks associated with the festival and the temples dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods. Furthermore, these performing arts contribute to the unique identity of these temples, underscoring the economic importance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival within the traditional Chinese performing arts sector and its continued sustenance.

▶ Traditional Indian and Malay music performers at the sending-off ceremony for the Nine Emperor Gods at Hougang Tou Mu Kung in 2017.

2017年，后港斗母宫的九皇大帝送驾仪式上有印度和马来表演者来助阵。



Interestingly, the multi-ethnic makeup of these processions during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is not novel to post-independence Singapore. When Mary Heathcott observed the procession that snaked out of Hougang Tou Mu Kung during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival of 1941, she explained that individuals who were charged with carrying “satin banners strung on long bamboo poles ornamented with flowers and fruit” were dressed in a variety of ways, where “there were men dressed as women, in Malay sarongs and kebayas, in Shanghai gowns. There was a Javanese youth, a Malay boy, a Tamil”. One of the bearers was also dressed in “black sideboards, tight black trousers scarlet cumberbund and a sombrero,” before being identified as “Mexican” by an onlooker.¹¹² In many ways, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival had also evolved its cultural programmes to fit the wider socio-cultural landscape and the emphasis on multiculturalism and interreligious and intercultural engagement to promote greater interethnic harmony in the fledgling cosmopolitan city-state of Singapore.

¹¹¹ Daniel P. S. Goh, “Multicultural Carnivals and the Politics of the Spectacle in Global Singapore,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 14:2 (2013): 228-251; and “State Carnivals and the Subvention of Multiculturalism in Singapore,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 62:1 (2011): 111-133. Also see 陈慧婷, “认同建构与传统再造: 新加坡妆艺大游行的性质与转变1973-1984” (Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, 2017).

¹¹² Mary Heathcott, “Chinese Procession,” *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, October 30, 1941, 6. We do not know if the participant was Mexican, or if he merely borrowed a Mexican attire.

此外，非华裔背景的表演团体、信徒和参与者也在九皇大帝千秋庆典中扮演了重要角色。以后港斗母宫为例，主要由马来鼓手和印度演奏家组成的管弦乐队也会在榜鹅海滩恭送九皇大帝。他们的参与反映了新加坡多民族和多文化的社会结构，而他们在这个场合中日益突出的地位也反映了一年一度的妆艺大游行的相关发展。¹¹¹

因此，传统华人表演艺术一直是九皇大帝千秋庆典的一个重要组成部分。它们反映了更广泛的中华文化景观，特别是声乐和视觉文化，以及参与庆典的庙宇和社区网络。它们也是构成这些庙宇得认同的重要一环，因为这也凸显了九皇大帝千秋在华族传统表演艺术领域的经济意义和传承。



有趣的是，九皇大帝千秋游行队伍的多元种族构成，对独立后的新加坡来说并不鲜见。1941年九皇大帝千秋期间，Mary Heathcott在实地考察中观察了从后港斗母宫出发的游行队伍。她指出负责携带“串在长竹竿上的缎面旗帜，上面装饰着鲜花和水果”的人穿着各种各样的衣服，“有的男扮女装，有的穿着马来人的纱笼和可峇雅或上海长袍”。（这些人当中）有一个爪哇青年、一个马来男孩、一个泰米尔人”。其中一名参与者拿着黑色侧板，身着“紧身黑裤，戴着一顶斗篷”，被围观者认为是墨西哥人。¹¹²在许多方面，九皇大帝千秋也改变了其文化节目，以适应更广泛的社会文化景观，强调多元文化和宗教间、文化间的接触，以促进新加坡这个新兴城市国家的种族和谐。

¹¹¹ Daniel P. S. Goh, “Multicultural Carnivals and the Politics of the Spectacle in Global Singapore,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 14:2 (2013): 228-251; and “State Carnivals and the Subvention of Multiculturalism in Singapore,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 62:1 (2011): 111-133. 也可以参考陈慧婷，“认同建构与传统再造：新加坡妆艺大游行的性质与转变1973-1984”（Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, 2017）。

¹¹² Mary Heathcott, “Chinese Procession,” *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, October 30, 1941, 6. 我们不知道参与者是否是墨西哥人，或者他只是借用了后者的服装。

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore: Ritual, Community, and History

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore is a historical extension of the festival in Malaysia and Thailand, especially in terms of its incense connections with the centres of Ampang and Penang, but also more recently with Nine Emperor Gods temples in Hat Yai and Bangkok. Chronologically, the establishment of the earliest centres that we know about so far, in the early 20th century, follows from the spread of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival southwards from Phuket to Penang, Taiping, and Ampang in the nineteenth century, and subsequently to Singapore, although certain centres in Johor seemed to have been founded by people or incense from Singapore. These histories reflect the Chinese migrations and exchanges between these regions, as well as between Southeast Asia and China during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This trend continues into the 21st century, with the expansion of Nine Emperor Gods worship and the use of incense from Singapore to other parts of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia and even Taiwan.

The festivals in Singapore share much with the festivals in Malaysia and Thailand, from the importance of the colour white in the apparel and, for many temples, the headdress of the festival communities, and the significance of water, especially in terms of the sea and rivers or reservoirs with connections to the sea in the receiving and sending-off rituals and ceremonies. In many ways, these also reflect the memories of the Nine Emperor Gods in Singapore, and the predominance of these themes encountered in other parts of Southeast Asia, especially those related to mourning and their maritime worlds. However, similar to the festivals in Malaysia and Thailand, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore retains significant similarities to its historical counterpart in China, particularly during the late Qing and Republican periods. These similarities include the observance of a strict vegetarian diet and adherence to *zhai jie* (fasting regimes) to emphasize purity. Additionally, the prominence of the color yellow, symbolizing the Nine Emperor Gods, aligns with the increasing number of temples following the tradition of Dipper Worship and honouring the Nine Emperor Gods as the deities of the Northern Dipper constellation.

Like the festivals in China, Malaysia and Thailand, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore also draws on both Daoist and Buddhist traditions, as well as the traditions of folk religion (especially the traditions of mediumship and spiritual armies), and also various religious movements like those of vegetarian halls and benevolence halls. The festival traditions in Singapore have also evolved in the last century, for example, in the last few decades with the growing importance of Dou Mu Yuan Jun images, and the growing prevalence of the Dragon or the Ritual Ship. It is a living tradition that encompasses the core principles of abstinence, purification, self-cultivation, and other fundamental values deeply rooted in Chinese cultural traditions. These values are particularly significant among the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, who express them through diverse religious traditions and identities. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival serves as a platform for these communities to reflect their unique experiences and memories associated with China and Chineseness.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore is embedded not only in the Chinese religious landscape on the island (and its connections to the wider Southeast Asian region), but also within the communities in the changing social and physical landscape of the city- and nation-state in the last fifty years, if not more. Thus, the early Nine Emperor Gods temples and festivals were closely tied to certain rural and suburban communities, the kampong or villages, drawing on them and their networks for manpower, material resources, and money needed for the festival. It was these communities who provided the motivation, initiative and organization for the festival, as seen in the examples of Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng and Shin Shen Keng. However, following the war and as part of national development programs, the relocation of these communities, along with the temples in many cases, posed several challenges for both the temples and the festivals. They had to navigate the task of maintaining connections with the older dispersed kampong communities while simultaneously fostering new communities within the emerging housing estates.

新加坡的九皇大帝千秋庆典：仪式、社区与历史

新加坡的九皇千秋庆典是马来西亚和泰国庆典的历史延伸，特别是与安邦和檳城庙宇的香火联系，但最近也与合艾和曼谷的九皇大帝庙宇开始建立联系。从时间上来说，我们所知最早的九皇大帝庙宇建于20世纪初，它于19世纪从普吉岛南下到檳城、太平和安邦，再到后来的新加坡，而柔佛的一些圣殿似乎是由新加坡的人或通过传承新加坡的香火设立的。这些历史反映了华人在这些地区之间的迁移和流通，以及在十九和二十世纪东南亚和中国之间的迁移和交流。进入二十一世纪，我们也看到九皇大帝的崇拜和香火从新加坡传播到东南亚的其他地区，如印度尼西亚，甚至台湾。

新加坡的节庆与马来西亚和泰国的节庆有很多共同之处，从服饰中白色的重要性，到一些庙宇团体的头饰，还有迎驾和送驾仪式中水域对节庆的重要性等皆可看出。在许多方面，这些也反映了新加坡对于九皇大帝信仰渊源的不同记忆，以及在东南亚其他地区相同渊源主题的主导地位，特别是那些与哀悼和海洋相关的。然而，与马来西亚和泰国的节庆一样，新加坡的节庆仍然与中国历史上的节庆有着重要的相似之处，特别是在清末和民国时期的节庆传统，尤其是严格茹素和遵循斋戒，强调纯洁性，以黄色作为九皇大帝的代表颜色，以及越来越多的庙宇遵循礼斗传统，将九皇大帝作为北斗神明来纪念。

与中国、马来西亚和泰国的九皇大帝千秋庆典一样，新加坡的庆典也借鉴了道教和佛教的传统，以及民间宗教的传统（尤其是乩童和五营军队的传统），还有各种宗教融合或宗派机构，如斋堂和善堂。新加坡的节庆传统在上个世纪也有所发展，例如，在过去的几十年里，斗姆元君的形象越来越重要，龙舟或祭祀船也越来越盛行。它是一个活的传统，但建立在禁欲、净化和自我修养的核心传统上，以及与中国文化传统和华人思想相关的其他核心价值观的基础上。这个活的传统在东南亚的华人中，可通过九皇大帝表达该地区这些社区的不同宗教传统和身份，以及这些社区对中国和华人性的独特体验和记忆。

新加坡的九皇大帝千秋不仅根植于岛上的华人宗教景观（及其与东南亚地区的联系），也根植于过去五十年来城市和民族国家不断变化的社会 and 物质景观中的社区。因此，早期的九皇大帝庙宇与其节庆与某些农村和郊区社区、甘榜或村庄紧密相连，依靠它们和紧密的网络获得节庆所需的人力、物力和资金。正是这些社群，为节庆提供了动力、主动性和组织性，凤山宫、九皇宫、洪水港斗母宫、蔡厝港斗母宫和神仙宫就是明证。然而，战后，作为国家发展方案的一部分，这些社区的搬迁以及在大多数情况下庙宇的搬迁，给庙宇和节庆带来了各种挑战，因为这些庙宇和节庆试图保持与现已分散的旧甘榜社区的联系，并在新住宅区创建的新社区。

The transformations and challenges faced by the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, along with its integration into Singapore's broader social, cultural, and religious landscapes, are evident in the evolution of the *yew keng* processes. Originally associated with the *yew kampong*, these processes have now evolved to include visits to other Nine Emperor Gods temples. However, efforts have also been made to extend the traditional concept of *yew kampong* to encompass the relocated and dispersed communities and their descendants. This tradition is still observed today in Kew Huang Keng. It is also seen in the importance of various traditional performance groups in the festival, from the lion and dragon dance troupes to the drum and gong ensembles and Chinese opera and puppet troupes. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival is also very important in the survival of these art forms.

New temples were also being established with rather different types of community, even as the older temples sought to extend their communities beyond place and locality. Both groups took advantage of the rapid advancements in transportation and communication infrastructure. They utilized newspapers, mass media, and, with the emergence of the internet, new social media platforms and formats. Additionally, they leveraged existing interpersonal channels, such as kampong ties, kinship networks, traditional associations based on surnames, ancestral origins, provincial affiliations, clubs, and friendly societies, as well as lion and dragon dance troupes, musical ensembles, and martial arts associations. The newer spaces for socialization and contact, such as schools, urban and industrial workplaces, and grassroots organizations, also played a role in fostering community connections. The attraction of younger members and youth became increasingly important to ensure a smooth intergenerational transfer of the traditions and of the work of organisation of the festival itself. In addition to new media, Nine Emperor Gods temples also began to experiment with new ways of engagement to attract younger members, from social and cultural events outside of the festival, as well as broadening their charity activities and collaborations with grassroots organisations and various Chinese traditional and arts associations.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival is an important part of the intangible cultural heritage landscape of Singapore, especially for the Chinese community, due to its scale and popularity. The documentation of the history, cultural traditions, and the community connections of the festival is an important step towards not only understanding the festival in context, but also in preserving the festival and its traditions for the future.

We express our heartfelt gratitude to the fifteen temples with whom we have closely collaborated over the past five to six years. Their invaluable cooperation has provided us with the opportunity to learn from them and document their rich history and cultural heritage. We are also grateful to the other temples we have visited, although we could not undertake an extensive documentation process with them. The warm hospitality, openness, and willingness to share exhibited by these temples have not only enabled us to successfully complete our project but have also contributed to the development of a new generation of researchers, artists, heritage specialists, and volunteers in the field of intangible cultural heritage. Their involvement in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and their exposure to the temples' reception and our project have expanded their understanding and deepened their engagement with the festival, surpassing their previous limited interactions.

This publication, particularly this volume, is a dedication to the Nine Emperor Gods temples and all who have made the project possible. We also hope that the publication will be a step towards the preservation and transmission of the traditions and knowledge of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival for generations to come.

这些转变和挑战，以及九皇大帝千秋庆典在新加坡更广泛的社会、文化和宗教景观中的紧密联系，可以从俗称为游境的过程中看到。从游甘榜到参拜其他九皇大帝庙宇的过程中，我们也看到试图扩大游甘榜旧观念的努力，以联系已搬迁和分散的社区及其后裔，正如今天在九皇宫延续的传统一样。这也反映在庆典中各种传统表演团体的重要性，从舞龙舞狮团到锣鼓队和中国戏曲和木偶团。九皇大帝千秋庆典对于这些艺术形式的生存也非常重要。

新的庙宇也正在建立，而其社区类型相当不同；旧的庙宇也在寻求将其社区扩展到地方和区域之外。两者都得益于交通和通信基础设施的迅速改善，转向报纸和大众媒体，并随着互联网的出现，转向新媒体，同时利用旧的人际关系渠道扩大其社区，保持旧的甘榜关系、亲属关系、传统协会（从姓氏、祖籍地、省级协会、俱乐部或联谊会到舞龙舞狮团、音乐团和武术协会）以及新的社交和社会接触空间，即学校、城市和工业工作场所和基层组织。为了确保传统和节庆本身组织工作顺利代代相传，吸引年轻成员和青年变得越来越重要。除了新媒体之外，九皇大帝庙宇也开始尝试新的参与方式来吸引年轻成员，从九皇大帝千秋庆典外的社交和文化活动中吸引年轻会员，并扩大慈善活动和与基层组织及华族传统艺术团体的合作。



◀ New technologies and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, 2017.

2017年，新科技与九皇胜会。

考虑到九皇大帝千秋庆典的规模和受欢迎程度，它是新加坡非物质文化遗产景观的一个重要组成部分，特别是对新加坡的华人社区而言。记录该节庆的历史、文化传统和社区联系，不仅是了解该节庆背景的重要一步，对保存该节庆和其传统也有其价值。

我们感谢在过去五、六年中与我们密切合作的十五座庙宇，感谢他们给我们机会向他们学习、记录他们的历史和遗产。我们也感谢其他我们访问过但没有机会做深入记录的庙宇。这些庙宇以及它们的好客、开放和乐于分享的精神，不仅帮助我们完成了这个项目，也促进更多年轻人成为新一代的研究人员、艺术家、文化遗产专家和涉及九皇大帝千秋庆典的非物质文化遗产志愿者。如果没有这些庙宇的接待，他们可能永远不会有参与或超越他们对这个节日的有限参与。

这本出版物，特别是第二卷，是献给庙宇和所有促成这个项目顺利完成的人的。我们也希望，这本书的出版能为新生代保存和传承九皇大帝千秋的传统与知识。

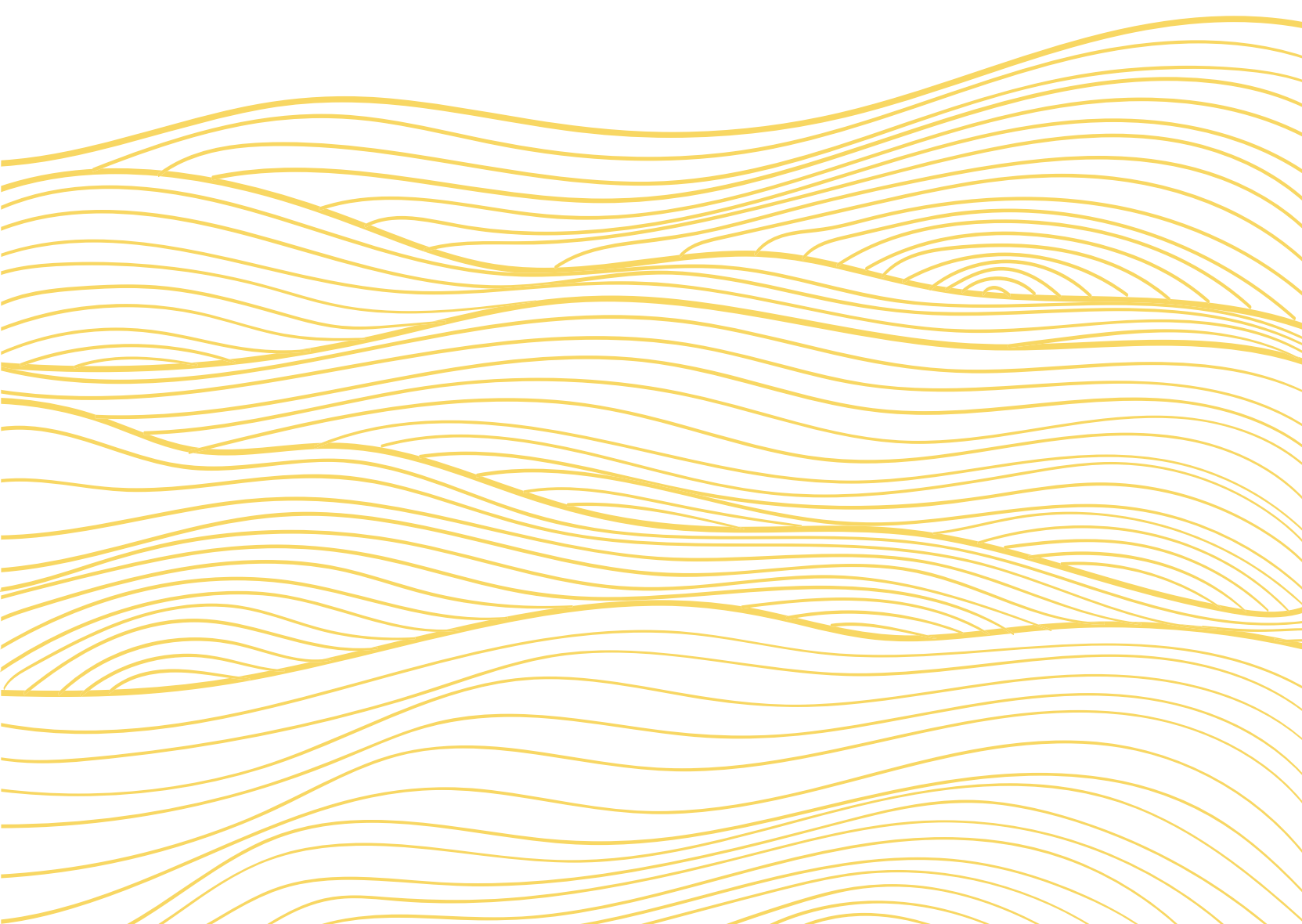


The present-day exterior of Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng.

葱茅園九皇宮當今外貌。

第 2 章

Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng
葱茅园九皇宫



History

In the 1940s, Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng was originally located in a kampong in the larger Lemongrass Garden Kampong (also known as Charn Mao Hern) area in eastern Singapore, near Geylang Serai (with Serai being Lemongrass in Malay). This sizeable region was divided into two largely distinct areas by Airport Road—the north (Shang Ba), where inhabitants were predominantly Zhao'an, and the south (Xinba), where residents were mostly Chaozhou and Malay. Specifically, the original Kew Huang Keng site stood near Jalan Alsagoff, around present-day Paya Ubi Industrial Park in the eastern region of Singapore.

The main deity worshipped by Kew Huang Keng are the Nine Emperor Gods. Two other important deities in the Teochew community are also venerated in the temple, namely Song Da Feng Zu Shi and Gan Tian Da Di. According to a temple elder, the temple began as a shrine to Song Da Feng when the villagers in the southern district invited the deity to oversee the rites for the many dead in the immediate aftermath of the Japanese siege of Singapore and the beginning of the Japanese Occupation. The villagers later invited the Nine Emperor Gods' incense from Hong San Temple, and the Nine Emperor Gods became the main deity of the temple. Of the mentioned deities, Gan Tian Da Di was the last to be invited to join this pantheon of deities in Kew Huang Keng that is observed today.

Before the establishment of Kew Huang Keng, Hong San Temple, located in the Fujianese part of Lemongrass Garden, stood as the sole Nine Emperor Gods temple for devotees from southern Charn Mao Hern. Some believe that Kew Huang Keng's journey to becoming a Nine Emperor Gods temple began with it being one of the *yew keng* stations in the southern district established by the villagers there to welcome the *kampong yew keng* tours by Hong San Temple during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

The 1940s saw the growing desire of devotees from southern Lemongrass Garden to establish a temple in the southern region of the kampong for greater convenience as opposed to constantly travelling to the north. Differing recollections exist regarding the time that this happened. Whilst some elders recalled that this took place was during the Japanese Occupation, which had greatly affected accessibility and travel, others believed that this occurred only after 1945. Regardless, it was this desire which propelled pioneers of Kew Huang Keng to invite the sacred ashes from Hong San Temple to a new compound in the southern district to establish the Kew Huang Keng temple. As Kew Huang Keng was in southern Charn Mao Hern, many temple devotees today are still predominately Chaozhou-speaking. Another interesting feature of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kew Huang Keng was that the welcoming and sending-off processions during the festival are in the afternoon instead of the evening. This tradition has roots in history. At that time, there was only one Daoist priest who served the whole village of Charn Mao Hern. He was also the priest for Hong San Temple. Hence, to secure his services, Kew Huang Keng would hold its receiving and sending-off in the afternoon. This schedule has continued into the present. Noteworthy is that the priests officiating the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the two temples presently, are brothers from the same Yongchun Daoist tradition, and sons of the original priest who served the whole village.

历史

在1940年代成立的葱茅园九皇宫，原本坐落于名为“葱茅园”的甘榜里。葱茅园位于新加坡东部，靠近芽笼士乃（Geylang Serai）地区。这个区域幅员广阔，可细分为北部与南部。北部称为“上芭”区，居民以诏安人占多数。南部则称为“下芭”区（也称为“新芭”区）、人口大部分潮州人和马来人。机场路将“上芭”和“新芭社”隔开。庙的旧址就在靠近阿萨哥夫路（Jalan Alsagoff）的甘榜。甘榜坐落在新加坡东部的巴耶乌美工业园。

葱茅园九皇宫以九皇大帝为主神，同时以宋大峰祖师和感天大帝这两个潮州社区的重要神灵作为主祭坛上的另外两尊神明。据一位庙宇长老叙述，这座庙宇最初是作为宋大峰祖师的神社。当时，新芭社村民信众们在日本攻占新加坡后，将宋大峰祖师请来为许多死者主持超度仪式。后来，他们又从凤山宫割香，请来九皇大帝奉为主神。感天大帝也在稍后被请来安在主祭坛上直至今天。



◀ Nine Emperor Gods altar in Kew Huang Keng, c. 1985. Photograph courtesy of Mr Ler Lee Mong.

葱茅园九皇宫九皇大帝神龛, 1985 左右。照片由吕礼茂先生提供。

葱茅园九皇宫成立之前，葱茅园的九皇大帝信徒会拜访大成巷葱茅园凤山宫。当时，大成巷葱茅园凤山宫是葱茅园“上芭”区的唯一一间九皇大帝庙宇。葱茅园九皇宫的历史可追溯到当时村民为了迎接大成巷葱茅园凤山宫于九皇大帝千秋期间九皇大帝游境游甘榜而成立的迎神站。

1940年代，葱茅园南部的信徒们希望在甘榜南部成立一间庙宇，以免去信众们祭拜九皇大帝时往返北部的不便。有些长老仍记得，这种情况在出行不便的日治时期，约1945年之后尤为堪忧。因此，葱茅园九皇宫的先驱们便到大成巷葱茅园凤山宫请香火带回新芭社正式成立新庙。因为新芭社华人以潮州人为多，现今葱茅园九皇宫的信徒多数会说潮州话。九皇宫九皇千秋也有比较独特的传统，跟其他九皇庙不一样，就是恭迎圣驾与恭送圣驾仪式都是下午举行。这也有历史因故。早期整个葱茅园甘榜只有一名道长，九皇宫迎接与恭送九皇大帝的仪式都在下午而非晚上举行的，因为这位道长也须主持葱茅园凤山宫的九皇胜会仪式。时至今日，这一传统仍在延续，值得一提的是，当今在两座庙宇中主持九皇胜会仪式的两位道长是兄弟，都是这位前任道长的儿子。

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival of Charn Mao Heng Kew Huang Keng from post-war to 1970s

Before its relocation to its present location along Arumugam Road, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was a communal event involving the participation and mobilisation of the entire kampong. Devotees recount how the entire community would come together to partake in the preparations and celebrations of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Devotees from Kew Huang Keng would start their vegetarian diet with residents taking turns cooking meals for each other.

▶ Performers outside the old Kew Huang Keng temple, undated. Photograph courtesy of Ler Lee Mong.

在“下芭”葱茅园九皇宫外的表演者。照片日期未注明。照片由吕礼茂先生提供。



Men often partake in more strenuous activities during the festival, such as carrying the palanquins. In contrast, during the procession, women and children would take on less labour-intensive roles, such as being flower-bearers or flag-bearers. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival was often celebrated on the same scale as major events, for instance, Chinese New Year, where the local school Hwa Nong School would suspend classes to accommodate the festive celebrations as most of the students were involved in this festival.

葱茅园九皇宫从战后到七十年代的九皇大帝胜会

在庙宇搬迁到现今的地点（阿鲁慕甘路一带）之前，九皇大帝胜会是一个社区活动。整个甘榜居民都会参加胜会。根据信徒的回忆，节日一到，整个社群会聚集在一起，参与九皇大帝胜会的筹备与庆典。来自葱茅园的信众会一起开始吃斋，而居民们会轮流给大家下厨。



▲ The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the Southern Portion of Lemongrass Kampong, undated (likely 1960s). Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

在“下芭”葱茅园九皇宫的九皇千秋。照片未注明日期，可能是 1960 年代。照片由吕序奎提供。

胜会期间，男士通常会参与比较繁重的工作如抬轿子，而女士与儿童则负责比较不费劲的工作，如在游行担任花旗手。九皇胜会的庆祝活动往往与重大节庆，如农历新年一样规模庞大。当地的公立华农学校由于大多数学生都参与了庆祝活动，会停课以迎接胜会。

► Sending off the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu, c. 1970. Photographs courtesy of Mr. Ler Lee Mong.

1970年左右在海边恭送九皇大帝和斗母元君。照片由吕礼茂提供。



In the late 1970s, Kew Huang Keng and Charn Mao Hern residents had to relocate because of Singapore's urban redevelopment plans. The latter were mostly relocated to various Housing Development Board (HDB) estate clusters (Eunos Crescent, Haig Road, Sims Drive, Bedok North). The temple shifted to a temporary holding site off Arumugam Road in 1986. Kew Huang Keng was able to reach an agreement with another Chaozhou temple, the Cheng Hong Siang Tang, to establish a joint temple. Accordingly, a combined temple, Cheng Hong Siang Tng Kew Huang Keng, was officially completed and inaugurated at its present location along Arumugam Road on 27th October 1990.

► Sending-off the Nine Emperor Gods at the old Kew Huang Keng Temple, 1986. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

在旧址恭送九皇大帝回銮，1986年。照片由梁有生提供。





1970年代末新加坡推行市区重建计划，葱茅园九皇宫必须搬迁，许多葱茅园的居民也移居到各个附近的建屋发展局住宅区（如友诺士湾、海格路、沈氏通道和勿洛北）。1986年，庙宇搬迁到阿鲁慕甘路。在这段期间，葱茅园九皇宫和潮州庙宇众弘善堂商量同意，共同成立一间联合庙。因此，在1990年10月27日，名为众弘善堂九皇宫的联合庙正式完工，在阿鲁慕甘路的现址举行开幕仪式。

Organisational Structure of Kew Huang Keng

► Kew Huang Keng Music Association.

九皇宫音乐会。



In 2017, the temple organisation consisted of the temple committee 理事会 and six other committees or associations. Each of the latter is responsible for organising a certain facet of the Nine Emperor Gods festival, namely the 1) Xiang You Hui 香友会, in charge of the rituals and the carrying of the palanquins, 2) Cheng Jing Hui 诚敬会, managing the temple's lion dance troupe, 3) Cheng Xin Hui 诚心会, responsible for liaising with festival patrons and helpers, and, in the past, coordinating with dancers and actors to entertain the crowd in the kampong, 4) the Yin Yue Hui 音乐会, tasked with arranging the Chaozhou music ensembles performances during the festival and the flower contingents, 5) the Ge Pao Hui 歌炮会, responsible for the Chaozhou opera troupes and, in the past, the igniting of firecrackers, and the recently formed 6) Fu Nü Zu 妇女组, which involves female temple helpers manning the incenses and offering stalls as well as the kitchen and food area. Vital are these committees and associations as the means through which the temple mobilises manpower, sponsorship, and services required during the festival. Moreover, they are a major indispensable component and building blocks of the Kew Huang Keng community.

九皇宫的组织架构



2017年，九皇宫的组织架构包括理事会与其六个香会。每个香会都有特定的工作，在节日里扮演不同的角色。主要的委员会为理事会。理事会由庙宇最资深的成员组成，对于庙宇、机构和节日事务有最终决定权。

其他六个附属委员会为：

1. 香友会 – 负责广泛的仪式筹备工作以及直接参与仪式和抬轿子的人员。
2. 诚敬会 – 专为庙宇表演的舞狮队
3. 诚心会 – 负责和庙宇其他香客联系的团队，也负责协调被聘请来娱乐甘榜居民的舞者和演员。
4. 音乐会 – 在节日期间以鲜明的潮州风格表演的音乐队。
5. 歌炮会 – 成语“一炮而红”启发此会的名字。歌炮会负责和潮州戏曲团配合，在节日期间表演。歌炮会也曾负责燃放炮竹。
6. 妇女组 – 庙宇的女性成员，负责管理在节日期间售卖供品的摊位，以及筹备食物给节日的参与者与信众。

Preparations for The Nine Emperor Gods Festival—Making of Decorative Yellow Flower Balls

Nine Emperor Gods Festival preparations usually begin in Kew Huang Keng a month prior, from the beginning of the eighth lunar month. Sometimes, when more elaborate preparations are needed, especially in terms of repair or refurbishment of equipment, preparations begin even earlier. A key preparatory element is the weaving of decorative yellow balls. These flower balls, which are to be adorned on to the palanquins and statues of the temple's deities during the festival, are painstakingly handwoven using multiple strips of yellow cloth. These flower balls are representatives of the deities that are worshipped. They are unique to temples in eastern Singapore celebrating the Nine Emperor Gods as opposed to the temples in western Singapore.

Making a flower ball is a complicated, time-consuming and laborious process. Notably, only a select few male volunteers are allowed to make the yellow flower balls. A seasoned craftsman takes around an hour and a half to create one, and an inexperienced craftsman requires twice that duration. A technique passed down from previous generations, flower ball weaving, is a source of pride for the craftsmen. According to them, they are honoured to be able to preserve this tradition. Usually, these decorative pieces are completed over several days as the craftsmen are mostly volunteers from the Xiang You Hui who embark on the pieces after work. Furthermore, certain restrictions and strict requirements must be adhered to when making the yellow balls. Importantly, craftsmen must adopt a vegetarian diet before embarking on the flower balls.

To those involved, making the flower balls gives them a sense of satisfaction and demonstrates their devotion and, in turn, closeness to the Nine Emperor Gods. The process, which requires great concentration and patience, also builds character—all important facets of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Similarly, many of the other devotees of Kew Huang Keng also take pride in preparation for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, as performances of religious activities enhance their connections with the deities and facilitate the attainment of spiritual fulfilment.

▶ Measuring pieces of yellow cloth, 2017.

衡量黄布，2017年。



The flower balls on the top of the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins are larger and made separately on the palanquins. The flower ball placed on the Nine Emperor Gods statue on the day of the sending-off ceremony is prepared separately during the festival.

九皇千秋筹备工作——黄色花球的制作

葱茅园九皇宫的九皇胜会筹备工作大约在胜会开始的一个月前(农历八月初)就启动了。某些年份,因为需要修整主要用具或比较大型的工程,筹备工作也会更早开始。其中一个主要项目是制作黄色花球装饰。这些在胜会期间用来装饰轿子与神像的花球是用许多黄布精心手工编织而成。花球象征着神明的神圣本质。花球也是在新加坡东部庆祝九皇大帝节日的庙宇的特征,因为新加坡西部的多数庙宇都不会在为胜会准备花球。

花球的制作过程复杂,耗时又费力。一个有经验的工匠需要一个半小时完成一粒花球,而没有经验的工匠则需要双倍的时间。制作花球的技术一代代传承下来,工匠们因为能保留这个传统而感到荣幸。像工匠们一样,许多葱茅园九皇宫的其他信众也因为能够参与九皇胜会的筹备工作而感到自豪。信众从各种活动得到心灵上的成就感。这些活动也帮助他们接近神明。

制作花球的工匠们多数来自香友会,在下班后义务帮忙编制花球。工匠们往往需要耗费几天的时间,才可以完成这些花球。再说,制作花球时也需要遵循一些限制与要求。工匠们需要吃斋才能制作花球。制作花球是男士的专利。此外,通过编制花球,参与这份工作的理事们都能得到精神上的满足感。这项活动也让他们表达对九皇大帝的忠诚,也让他们更亲近九皇大帝。

九皇圣轿轿顶上的花球是单独制作的。这些花球的尺寸更大。送水当天九皇大帝金身佩戴的花球也是在胜会期间单独准备的。



◀ Making the special flower ball on the roof of a palanquin, 2017.

准备轿顶上的花球, 2017年。

Construction of the Bridge

Another key Nine Emperor Gods Festival preparatory activity unique to Kew Huang Keng is the construction of the wooden ramp, also known as the “Bridge”. This bridge is constructed three weeks before the festival and has functional and symbolic purposes. Functionally, the bridge extends the temple’s entrance for enhanced accessibility for palanquins, participants and devotees during the festival. The bridge symbolises the connection between the celestial and the human/natural world.

The construction of the bridge is tiresome work. To begin with, temple members first drag bulky wooden planks from the temple’s backyard to the front. Following this, red safety barriers at the front of the temple are removed for the members to wooden beams to form the skeletal body of the bridge. Next, members erect metal supports below the wooden beams to secure the bridge and the abovementioned wooden planks, then place them horizontally across.

▶ Constructing the Bridge, 2017.

搭桥，2017年。



Thinner wooden planks, which act as an additional footing for people to walk up the bridge, are placed upon the base and hammered in individually. Once completed, yellow metal railings are welded into the structure. In all, the entire process usually takes over four hours. Despite the backbreaking and laborious process under the sweltering heat, the temple’s continued insistence on manual bridge construction by its members rather than external contractors rests on retaining the temple’s longstanding kampong spirit, where individuals converge to help each other.

搭桥

茅园九皇宫九皇大帝节日另一的独特筹备工作之一是搭桥。所谓的桥，是一个木制斜坡。木桥在胜会前三个星期搭建，并且既有功能，也有象征意义。功能上，木桥延长了庙宇的入口处，以让圣轿、参与者与信众都能在胜会期间轻易地进出庙宇。木桥也象征天界与人间自然界的联系。

搭桥的工作是艰辛的，因为香友会的成员必须首先将笨重的木板从庙宇后院拖到庙宇入口处。接下来，成员们移除了庙宇入口处的红色安全围栏，才放置木梁，铺设成木桥的骨架。过后，为了固定与巩固木桥，他们在木梁下方竖立金属支架，将桥梁固定到位并加固桥梁，最后将木板水平排在木梁上。



完成后，较薄的木板被放在作为底座的木板上单独打钉。第二层的木板有助于人们稳健走上木桥。木板固定好后，成员们将黄色铁制栏杆固定在桥上。整个搭桥过程需要超过四个小时完成。搭桥的工作辛苦、费力，尤其在炎日当空下进行。虽然如此，香友会的成员们坚持亲手搭桥，不请外面的承包商，因为这项活动让他们保留甘榜精神，互相帮忙,发挥团队合作精神与毅力。

Spring Cleaning and the Assumption of *Zhai*

Temple members and devotees begin the strict vegetarian diet at least three days to even a month before the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In particular, festival participants, such as palanquin bearers, are mandated to adhere to a stricter version of the vegetarian diet and regime of abstinence.

For the Nine Emperor Gods devotees, adopting a vegetarian diet is a means to cleanse their bodies of impurities to prevent deities from avoiding them and the temple. After all, a common practice to keep the perceived impure entities and objects away from deities. Moreover, this serves as an act of penance where clean eating cleanses the year's wrongdoings. In addition, devotees also undertake a cleansing of the body, mind and soul by avoiding vulgarities and abstaining from any form of sexual acts and impure thoughts. Ultimately, devotees believe that blessings from the deities during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival would only be received with the attainment of a total purification of the body, mind and soul.



▲ Spring cleaning of temple premises.

清洗庙宇

In addition to the human aspect, cleansing extends to that of the temple's premises. Devotees gather on the weekend, one week prior to the commencement of the festival, to conduct a thorough spring cleaning of the temple's grounds. This ensures that contamination is removed from the temple grounds before the festival. After all, the same reason applies here as with the vegetarian diet requirement—central to the festival is the concept of purity. Observed throughout the compound during the spring cleaning is a flurry of activity as every nook and cranny of the temple, including the Inner Chamber, is thoroughly dusted, swept, and hosed down with soap and water scrubbed.

Task allocations relating to spring cleaning are gendered as the more inaccessible areas, such as the altar roof, are wiped out by younger and more agile males. The female members of the temple from the *Fu Nü Zu* diligently clean and wash the cooking utensils, cutleries and dining area. Other specialised tasks, completed in conjunction with the spring cleaning, include fixing electronic circuits under the palanquins, cleaning the kerosene lamps, and replacing the names on the donors' board. Usually completed in one day, post-spring cleaning sees the temple adorned with banners, flags, and other paraphernalia—most of which are in yellow to signify the impending arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods.

洁净内殿、斋戒

在九皇胜会前的一个月到至少三天前，庙宇成员与善信们会开始吃斋。参与仪式的人，如轿脚，则应遵守更严格的要求，开始茹素和斋戒。

对于九皇大帝的善信们，吃斋是净化身体的一个做法，因为神明会避开一切不纯净之物。除此之外，善信们会为了净化心灵避免说粗话、进行任何性行为 and 持有任何不纯净的想法。吃斋也是一种忏悔，为一整年所做的罪孽赎罪。因此，人们相信一个人需要有纯净的身躯与心灵才可以在胜会中得到神明的祝福。



◀ Cleaning and polishing of the nine lamps of the Northern and Southern Dipper Deities.

清洗和清理九盏南北斗星君灯。

同时，庙宇也需要彻底清洗一遍。在胜会一个星期前，信众会聚集起来，一起给庙宇进行洁净。和吃斋相似，大扫除确保庙宇在胜会前不受污染。九皇胜会的核心特征即是纯净。信徒们在庙宇四处忙得沸沸扬扬，把庙宇的每一个角落，包括内殿，里里外外都刷洗与打扫干净一番。

大殿神台屋顶由年轻敏捷的男士清理，而妇女组的善信们则清洗烹调用具、餐具、餐桌与餐椅等。大扫除期间进行的其他专门工作包括修轿子下的电线，清理油灯和更新金榜提知板上的名字。大扫除耗费一整天，而大扫除完毕后，庙宇挂满了横幅、旗帜和其他物品，且大部分都是黄色的，象征九皇大帝即将要降临。

Bamboo Cutting and Preparation

▶ Cutting bamboo in the landscape company garden.

园艺公司花园里砍竹



Another important component of the festival preparations is the bamboo-cutting ritual. A central feature in Chinese religious rituals, bamboo is regarded as a sacred object signifying purity and spirituality. In the case of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the bamboo is also used as its stalk serves as a ‘flag’ or a geographical indicator which informs the Nine Emperor Gods of the location to descend to. Bamboo selection, as a result, follows strict height, size and age requirements. During the festival, the bamboo stalk and Nine Lamps are attached to a metal pole. This resultant structure is a primary feature of the festival. Apart from the stalk, two bamboo trunks are also procured by temple members and brought to the temple’s compound for pruning and trimming after offerings of fruits and joss paper are conducted. Today, these are usually selected from the premises of a landscaping company which has granted the temple permission.

A tall and thin bamboo is selected and pruned from midway down before being placed inside the main temple hall near the entrance of the Inner Chamber. In addition, the small branches of bamboo leaves pruned off are gathered and used to make flags for devotees to bring home. This practice is based on the belief that these flags facilitate the process of inviting deities’ blessings into devotees’ homes.

Another procured bamboo is a mature bamboo that is usually sturdy and extremely long—about nine to ten meters. The selection of this bamboo is based not only on the thickness of its trunk but also on how straight it is. Once selected, the bamboo is similarly pruned from around midway down, with branches cut and sprouts trimmed. After which, the trimmed bamboo is decorated with customised festival lights—normal commercial lights are incompatible in this case, given the extreme length of the bamboo.

The said decorative lights are strung evenly around the bamboo leaves to the top of the bamboo and secured with cable ties. The attached wires and control boxes are also placed in waterproof plastics before being fastened with cable ties. The entire process spans half a day. Upon completion, the structure is hoisted up at the front of the temple.

Like the bridge’s construction, the bamboo structure and prior preparations are completed without professional help. Kew Huang Keng members believe in self-sufficiency and self-resilience. Hands-on work enhances ownership over the product and maintains the community spirit of temple members.

竹蒿的准备



Happy smiles after a job well done !

工程圓滿！

胜会筹备工作的另一个重要环节就是取竹仪式。在华族民间信仰仪式当中，竹子占据着核心地位，其不仅是神圣，也象征纯净和灵性。此外，九皇大帝诞里的长竹就像一面旗子，告知九皇大帝降临的地点。附在铁杆的竹蒿和九皇大帝神灯是所有九皇大帝诞的主要特色。庙宇成员从一家园林绿化公司采购了两条竹蒿。他们获得该公司允许，从他们的库存中挑选竹蒿，然后在供奉一些水果和纸香后将其切割，再带到寺庙大院进行修剪。竹蒿必须根据高度、大小和竹龄仔细选择。

庙宇人士选择一支高且瘦的竹子，修剪到一半，然后放在庙宇的大厅里面，靠近内殿的入口处。此外，竹子所剪下来的小竹枝可用来制作令旗，在庆典时让善信请回家，也意味着把神明的祝福带回家，祈求平安。



Securing a bamboo plant to a metal frame.

将竹子固定在金属框架上

采购回来的竹子是一种坚固且极长的成熟竹子，长约九到十米。这种竹子是根据竹干的厚度和它直立的程度进行选择的。一旦选好竹子，竹子就从中间修剪，剪掉竹枝和芽苗。完成后，庙宇人士用彩灯点缀竹子。由于竹子非常长，市面上的彩灯不够长，不能延伸到竹子的底部。因此，彩灯需要特别设计以满足庙宇的需要。

接下来，庙宇成员把彩灯尽可能均匀地在竹叶周围绕圈，然后用扎线带固定。完成后，庙宇人士把电线与控制盒用扎线带固定在竹子上。竹子被塑料包裹以防水。整个过程用大约半天完成。完成后，庙宇人士把竹子树立在庙前。

准备竹子的每个环节没有聘请专业人士帮忙，因为庙宇成员认为他们自己可以准备竹子，不用浪费钱请人，而且在准备迎接九皇大帝时，自己动手除了可以给予他们自力更生的感觉之外，也突出主办人的身份与强烈的社区精神。

Receiving the Nine Emperor Gods in Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng

The 2017 Nine Emperor Gods Festival celebrated by Kew Huang Keng was held from the twenty-eighth day of the eighth lunar month to the ninth day of the ninth Lunar month, which corresponded to 17th October and 28th October on the Gregorian calendar, respectively. On the day of the receiving, a flurry of activities could be observed in the temple as devotees and temple members prepared to welcome the Nine Emperor Gods at the given auspicious hour.

Kicking off the receiving ceremonies and the festival, on the whole, was the Yin Yue Hui, with the playing of drums and cymbals to alert deities and devotees of the commencement. Alongside the music were lion dance performances by the Cheng Jing Hui as a form of their payments of respect to the deities and Nine Emperor Gods and to facilitate signalling to devotees about the starting of the ceremonies.

Following the lion dance performance, the two palanquins were ‘cleansed’ with smoke from burning sandalwood. They were then brought into the main temple hall for prayers before the censers were invited from the Inner Chamber by the censer masters. Carefully placed into the palanquins, the said censers were covered from public view by yellow cloth covering the sides of the palanquin.



▲ Preparing to receive the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun 1992. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

九皇宮准备恭迎圣驾， 1992年。照片由梁有生提供。

葱茅园九皇宫迎接圣驾

在2017年，葱茅园九皇宫庆祝的九皇胜会从农历八月二十八日（阳历10月17日）到农历九月九日（阳历10月28日）举行。恭迎圣驾当天，庙宇内热闹非凡，信众和庙宇成员如火如荼地进行准备工作以便在吉时迎接九皇大帝。



Prayer by members of the palanquin teams before they depart for the beach.

香友会成员在出发前举行团拜仪式

音乐会敲锣打鼓，代表迎接圣驾仪式正式揭幕，也通知神明与信众迎接九皇大帝的仪式即将开始。这时，诚敬会的舞狮团也及时登场，向众神敬礼，通知众善信向九皇大帝祝寿。

舞狮表演完毕后，两个轿子用点燃的檀香木产生的烟净化。净化完毕后，轿子被抬到庙内的正殿并进行祈祷，同时内殿里的香炉也由炉主副炉主请出来，小心翼翼地安进圣轿里，再用一块包围圣轿的黄布遮住香炉。



The censer masters and ritual department leaving the temple for the beach to receive the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, 2017.

正副炉主和官务组成员从庙里出发到海边恭迎九皇大帝与斗姆元君, 2017年。

After securing the censers in the palanquins, the ceremonial party, led by the Daoist priest dressed in orange robes and wielding a bell, exited the temple grounds. In the ceremonial party, the main censer master was positioned in the middle of the said group carrying the sandalwood censer. Behind him were the assistant censer masters and other temple ritual committee members who held a different ceremonial item, including a basket containing sandalwood, yellow cloth wristbands, nine long incense sticks, and a large yellow rattan basket containing various offerings and the flag of the Kew Huang Keng. Tailing the ceremonial party were the palanquins that were carried by palanquin bearers.



▲ The yellow and red banners to be used in the receiving ceremony at the beach, undated. Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

恭迎圣驾用的红彩黄彩, 日期不详。照片由吕序奎提供。

Devotees followed the entourage from the temple grounds across a short distance before boarding chartered busses to the sea for the receiving ceremony while the main entourage boarded lorries. With the palanquins safely loaded onto the lorries and devotees aboard the buses, the motorcade, escorted by the police, left Arumugam Road to East Coast Park carpark C1 to rendezvous with the advance party of the temple, which had been tasked to cordon off a section of the beach for the ceremony.

Arriving at the said carpark at 3 pm, participants gathered around the pavement leading to the beach. After the necessary offloading of equipment and preparations, the procession ceremony commenced with gong bearers striking their instruments. At the head of the procession was the Cheng Jing Hui carrying banners and flags. This group was followed by the Yin Yue Hui and their musical ensemble, and the ceremonial party, palanquin bearers and devotees, respectively.

Whilst the preparation of the procession was ongoing, the lion dance troupe was observed to have positioned themselves in front of the procession in a straight row just before the pavement opened up to the beach. The arrival of the ceremonial party was met with a short lion dance performance. After the performance, the lion dancers dispersed to allow the said ceremonial party and the rest of the procession to proceed to the beach.

香炉被安放好后，仪式队伍便离开庙宇。炉主（主要持炉之人）在队伍中间持着檀香炉。副炉主同其他官务走在炉主后面，各持有不同的仪式用品，例如一个装有檀香的篮子、黄色腰带、长线香、一个装有各种供品的大型黄色藤制篮子，和一面九皇宫旗子。跟在仪式队伍后面的是圣轿队，抬轿者们稳稳抬着的圣轿前行。仪式队伍由身穿橙袍、手持铃铛的道师带领，浩浩且庄严的出发了。



◀ The large gongs, banners, lanterns and other ritual paraphernalia leading the receiving contingent to the beach, 1992. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

迎接团队到海边迎驾由码头锣，红彩黄彩，灯笼等礼器带头开路， 1992年。照片由梁有生提供。



◀ The receiving contingent walking towards the beach, 2017.

迎驾团队迈向海边恭迎九皇大帝与斗姆元君，2017年。

迎驾队伍和信众离开了庙宇游行到指定地点，大家各自乘坐罗厘和租赁巴士，前往海边迎接九皇大帝。圣轿被搬上罗厘，而信众登上了巴士后，车队离开了阿鲁慕甘路，前往东海岸公园的C1停车场。一路上，警员护送着车队，并且替车队开路。一组先锋队已预先抵达海边，并围封一个分区，供迎接九皇大帝使用。大队一到海边，就会和先锋队会合。

在下午3点左右，车队抵达东海岸公园C区停车场，信众陆续下车，在通往海边的人行道旁集合，等待请水仪式的开始。一旦准备就绪，锣鼓喧天，请水仪式也正式开始。走在游行队伍前的是手拿横幅和旗帜的诚敬会组员，音乐会的乐队、仪式团队、轿脚和信众尾随其后。

The Cheng Jing Hui members and the ritual department and other temple committee members had already set up the yellow and red banners close to the water to form a gateway. For the receiving, the red banner (with the characters “He Jing Pin An” – “blessings for the area”) will be in front, facing the sea, with the yellow banner (“Gong Ying Sheng Jia” – “respectfully welcoming the deities”) behind. Taking up a position behind the gateway after entering the designated beach area, the ceremonial party laid out the ceremonial items on the beach. These items included nine cups of tea, plates of tobacco, fresh flowers, oranges, betel nuts and leaves, a basket of sandalwood, a bunch of thin yellow cloth wristbands, a yellow coconut-husk bowl, incense sticks, joss paper, a large yellow censer (covered with yellow talismans filled with incense ash), two large yellow candles (partially buried in the sand on either side), and a golden triangular flag bearing the symbol of a dragon and the temple’s name. Behind the ceremonial party, palanquin bearers rested their palanquins as well. The next step involved pouring tea from the rightmost to the leftmost cups.

After igniting the sandalwood in the censer, the main censer master proceeded to the palanquins with his two assistant censer masters to invite the main yellow censer covered with yellow talismans. The main censer was carried into the ritual area and placed between the assembled offerings and the golden triangular flag.

► Offering tea during the receiving ceremony, undated.
Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

宫务在恭请九皇斗母仪式时敬茶, 未注明日期。照片由吕序奎提供。



The receiving ceremony began after the setting up of the ritual area. The censer masters were given three sticks of incense each as one of the ritual specialists announced that they were representing the temple in the inviting of Dou Mu Yuan Jun and the Nine Emperor Gods to Kew Huang Keng. The censer masters would have to say their names. The censer masters were instructed to bow three times, and the incense in their hands would be put into the middle of the large yellow talisman-covered censer. They would be given a new set of three sticks of incense each. The other temple members and devotees present all received one.

The Daoist priest would then start chanting as he rang his ritual bell continuously. At a certain point, the ritual department would hand the censer masters a stack of joss paper, and instructed them to bow three times towards the sea with the joss paper in their hands. As they do so, the Daoist priest interrupts his chanting to announce that they were inviting Dou Mu Yuan Jun and the Nine Emperor Gods to their seats, and that the censer masters would offer incense and tea. He repeats this three times each time with a rigorous ringing of the bell, and then proceeded to read the petition with the name of the temple and of the censer masters and the committee members of temple, the different associations, sponsors, and people related to the temple, seeking blessings for them from the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, before resuming his chanting. When he concluded his chanting, those present would proclaim, “*Huat ah! huat ah! huat ah!*” and the petition will be first offered with some joss paper in the direction of the sea by the censer masters, before they are burnt by the temple members.

与此同时，在通往海滩的通道上，舞狮团队已在游行队伍的前方准备就绪。一旦游行队伍抵达，舞狮团队即起落腾舞，迎接他们的到来。表演完毕后，舞狮团队让道给游行队伍迈向海滩。

靠近水边一处，诚敬组队员和官务理事已经用红黄彩设立一个小“门框”。在恭迎圣驾仪式中，会先排红彩面海，黄彩在后。红彩绣上“合境平安”，而黄彩上有绣“恭迎圣驾”。正副炉主、官务与仪式队伍一进入沙滩上的指定分区，就开始在关口后就位。庙宇成员也开始在沙滩上摆放仪式物品。轿脚们则在仪式队伍后就位，并将圣轿也放下。摆置在海滩上的仪式用品包括九杯茶、几盘香烟、鲜花、橘子、槟榔和槟榔叶、一篮檀香、一捆黄色腕带、一个黄色的椰壳碗、线香、金纸、一个黄色大炉（贴满了黄色符纸，里头装满沙子）、两支巨大的黄色蜡烛（分立两边，一部分插在泥沙里）以及一面印有龙图腾与庙宇名称的令旗。随后，一名庙宇人员将茶按右到左的方向倒入杯子中。



◀ The Daoist priest chanting and leading the entourage in prayer as they receive the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, 2017

道长诵经带领恭迎团队迎接九皇大帝斗姆元君，2017年。

接着，炉主将炉中的檀香点燃，并与两名副炉主到圣轿前取出贴满符纸的黄色正炉。黄色大炉取出后，就被拿到进行仪式的地点，放置在供品与金色令旗之间。

供品安置好后，恭迎圣驾仪式便正式开始。正副炉主各个手持三支香。官务代表宣布正副炉主代表葱茅园九皇宫恭请斗姆元君和九皇大帝晋宫。正副炉主需宣报他们的名字。官务引导他们先做三拜，再把他们手里的香放入黄色香炉的中央。官务会给他们新的一套（三支）香。然后，官庙代表会分给其他在场理事和善信，每人一支香。

The conclusion of the initial rituals gave way to the second part of the ceremony involving the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun,. To prepare for it, temple members' incense sticks were gathered and placed in two lines from the gateway, creating a pathway. Upon settling that, the gongs sounded again, marking the second portion's start. Picking up the coconut husk bowl, the main censer master and assistant censer masters carefully proceeded into the sea via the gateways. To prevent the waves from overpowering the men, ritual committee members accompanied and supported the censer masters. This procession in the sea continued till the waters reached the chest levels of the mini entourage, where they waited for the precise magic moment to invite the water into the coconut husk bowl. With that task accomplished, the mini entourage returned to the shore with the filled coconut husk bowl. Vital at this point, therefore, was the concentrated treatment of the coconut husk bowl with utmost care and respect to ensure its safe arrival onto the shore. Upon reaching the shore, the mini entourage poured the water into the large yellow talisman-covered censer. After this, a temple committee member brought a stick of incense from the censer in the palanquin and planted it into the incense in the large yellow censer, and quickly took it out again to return it to the censer in the palanquin.

► The censer masters inviting the Dou Mu Yuan Jun and the Nine Emperor Gods using a coconut husk, undated. Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

正副炉主用椰子壳在海中恭请斗姆元君与九皇大帝，未注明日期。照片由吕序奎提供。



After this, another round of water receiving was conducted—this time by two temple members from the ritual department instead. The second bowl of water was placed beside the censer for burning sandalwood. Following this, the main censer master made an offering to the deities. This process involved each censer master adding a spoonful of sandalwood shavings into the smaller censer for burning sandalwood. Three incense sticks were handed to the censer masters to pray three times towards the sea. A ritual assistant rounded up these incense sticks and placed them in the large yellow talisman-covered censer. Upon completion, the group made their way to the other palanquin for another three rounds of bowed prayers with incense sticks to the censer inside before the said incense sticks were transferred into the censer by a member of the palanquin team.

Then, the censer masters presented the different offerings in the direction of the sea by bowing three times and expressing their gratitude to the deities for each item before they were returned to the large yellow rattan basket. After this, the censer masters presented the flowers and betel nuts, which were then divided amongst the censer masters and kept in their shirt pockets. The censer masters then conducted the ritualised emptying of tea from the rightmost to the leftmost displayed cups in the wake of this process whilst the remaining items were stored back in the basket.

这时，道长开始响铃诵经。不久后，官务会让正副炉主每人手拿一叠金纸，向海鞠躬献供三次，然后将金纸焚化。道长这时也会恭请九皇大帝斗姆元君入座三次，每次吩咐正副炉主敬香敬茶。之后，道长开始诵念疏文替正副炉主头家、九皇宫理事、各个香社和支持庙宇的顾问和赞助人祈福。诵念结束后，庙宇成员大声呼喝“*Huat ah ! Huat ah ! Huat ah !*”。

迎接圣驾仪式的第二阶段便是到海里恭请九皇大帝和斗姆元君。几名庙宇成员从信众手中收集线香，并将这些线香插在海滩上，以黄彩红彩形成的“门框”为起点，排成两行，塑造一段“走道”。码头锣声一响，锣鼓也开始奏起，炉主与副炉主便拿起椰壳碗，立起身子，在官务的引导下，通过“门框”，小心翼翼地往海中央前进。几名主委在过程中确保炉主和副炉主不被海浪和暗流绊倒。一行人走到海水没过胸口处，等到恭迎斗姆元君与九皇大帝圣驾的时刻，将海水引入椰壳碗。椰壳碗一旦填满，官务会吩咐炉主把灵符在水里焚化。然后正副炉主和官务渐渐地转过身，官务和副炉主小心翼翼地护送握着椰壳碗的炉主回返海岸。炉主们和主委用双手小心搀扶着椰壳碗走回岸上，接近贴满符纸的黄色大炉时，齐齐将海水倒入大炉中。然后，有位理事从圣轿的香炉请了一支香，拿到黄色的大香炉，插进炉里，然后再抽出，请回圣轿里的香炉。



◀ The censer masters inviting the Dou Mu Yuan Jun and the Nine Emperor Gods using a coconut husk, 2017.

正副炉主用椰子壳在海中恭请斗姆元君与九皇大帝，2017年。

接着，庙宇成员又重复进行一次请水仪式。这次，两名庙宇成员取代了炉主和副炉主。他们小心翼翼地将装有海水的椰壳碗运上岸，并放置在用以燃烧檀香的炉旁。随后，炉主们为了答谢神恩，会往燃烧檀香的炉加入一汤匙的檀香屑。仪式完毕后，炉主们从庙宇成员手中各接三支香，面向大海，跪地祭拜三次。随即，他们起身往其他轿子走去，并在各个轿子前重复跪地祭拜三次的动作。动作完毕后，他们会将线香交给一名庙宇成员，安插在轿子里的炉中。

随后，炉主们捧着放置在海滩上的供品，面朝大海，跪地祭拜三次，以此感谢神明的保佑。这些供品随后会放入最初带来的黄色的藤篮中。在向神明献上鲜花和槟榔后，各个炉主分得一部分鲜花和槟榔，他们各自把这些供品装在衣服上的口袋里。这些仪式进行完毕后，炉主们从右到左，一一清空九个杯子里的茶。其他的物品则被收入篮子里。

► The censer masters inviting the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer back into the palanquin after the receiving. 1992. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

恭迎圣驾仪式结束以后，正副炉主将斗母香炉请回圣轿，1992年。照片由梁有生提供。



Each censer master then placed pieces of sandalwood into the sandalwood censer. The large yellow talisman-covered censer was returned to its palanquin by the censer masters and temple members. With that step completed, the ceremonial party returned to the shoreline to pay respects towards the sea whilst holding incense sticks and ceremonial items. This final payment of respects included another three rounds of bowing. The entourage then proceeded back to the carpark with the culmination of the rituals.

As the palanquins departed from the seashore, they could be seen shaking vigorously from side to side. To the devotees, this sign indicated the successful invitation and presence of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun in the held. The order of procession back to the carpark was similar to that seen earlier. The key difference was in the lion dance performance. The lions greeted the palanquins this time, paying respects to the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun. Upon reaching the carpark, the procession dispersed to the respective vehicles to return to the temple.

► The Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun palanquins returning to the temple from the beach, 2017.

九皇大帝与斗姆元君圣轿迎驾回宫，2017年。





◀ The censer masters inviting the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer to return to the palanquin from the ritual area after the receiving, undated. Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

恭迎圣驾仪式结束以后，正副炉主请斗母香炉回圣轿，未注明日期。照片由吕序奎提供。



◀ Xiang You Hui members and committee members helping to return the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer to the palanquin, 2017.

香友会成员恭请斗姆元君香炉入座圣轿，2017年。

敬茶仪式完毕后，炉主们又各拿起一小块檀香，放入燃烧檀香的炉中。随后，炉主们与庙宇成员合力将贴满符纸的正炉运回圣轿中。随后，香炉被黄布遮掩盖好使之隐蔽。过后，游行队伍在出发前往停车场前，手拿线香和仪式用品，向海面鞠躬三次，致上最后的敬意。

当迎接队伍出发前往停车场时，只见圣轿激烈地左右摇动，喻示着九皇大帝和斗姆元君的降临。游行队伍根据抵达海滩时的排列顺序再次站好位子，但是这次，舞狮团同时为游行队伍和两乘圣轿敬礼。抵达停车场后，游行队伍和轿脚登上罗厘，信众则登上巴士，回返庙宇。

At the temple, the returning motorcade procession was met by a waiting crowd of devotees. However, rather than stopping at the temple, the receiving contingent disembarked from their lorries a distance away to allow for a short procession to the temple. Led by the Daoist priest, the entourage's return to the temple was accompanied by the sounding of gongs and other percussion instruments by the Yin Yue Hui. In addition, two temple members holding pails of holy water steeped in pomelo leaves and a mixture of rice and salt cleared the way for the procession.



▲ The receiving contingent returning to the temple with the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, 2017.

迎驾团队护送九皇大帝与斗姆元君回宫，2017年。

The route to Kew Huang Keng necessitates passing by neighbouring temples. In 2017, as with other years, the ceremonial party paused at the entrances of each neighbouring temple encountered en route and bowed thrice. In a ritual similar to that at the beach, the returning procession was greeted by a lion dance performance at the entrance of Kew Huang Keng.

回到庙宇后，一群信众已经围在庙宇的大门，准备迎接游行队伍和圣轿的到来。车队抵达目的地后，游行队伍在阿鲁慕甘路附近下车，再次按照行进的顺序各就位，准备游行回庙宇。这一次，道师引导游行队伍，音乐会敲锣打鼓，两名庙宇成员各手拿一桶盐和水的混合液和浸泡着柚子叶的圣水，为迎接队伍开路。

迎接队伍回返九皇宫的路上会途经附近的庙宇。他们会聚集在每个庙宇的大门前鞠躬三拜这。抵达九皇宫后，舞狮团队会先展开一轮表演，迎接九皇大帝和斗姆元君，迎驾队伍才会进入九皇宫。



◀ Crowds receiving the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun at Kew Huang Keng. The Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun palanquins outside Lorong Koo Chye Sheng Hong temple, 1992. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

在九皇宫恭候九皇大帝与斗姆元君的善信。九皇斗母圣轿在城隍庙前，1992年。照片由梁有生提供。

► Kew Huang Keng receiving contingent and Nine Emperor Gods palanquin returning to the temple, 2017.

九皇宫迎驾团队与九皇圣轿回宫途中，2017年。



The palanquins waited at the foot of the bridge in the compound upon reaching Kew Huang Keng. The palanquins continued to swing violently as they circled the compound, leaving and re-entering several times. To devotees, this sight reinforced the Nine Emperor God's eagerness and excitement to return "home" to the temple. Forming a line at the base of the bridge in the direction of the temple's entrance, the ceremonial party, carrying ceremonial items and incense sticks, proceeded to pay their respects. What followed was the party's ascension up the bridge and turning to face outwards in front of the temple's entrance for payment of respects to the Jade Emperor through three bows. The same ritual was repeated when the party entered the temple's hall and approached the altar. After the ceremonial party enters the main hall, the palanquins will charge simultaneously up the bridge, entering the main hall one after the other, coming to rest in their respective corners.

After the conclusion of the initial announcement ritual was the consecutive inviting of the censers into the temple's Inner Chamber; noteworthy, here was the repeated ringing of the bell and accompanying roaring cheers of "*Kew Huang Dai Deh, huat ah! Kew Huang Dai Deh, huat ah!*" as each censer was removed and escorted into the Inner Chamber. What ensued with the storing of the censers was another round of lion dance performances—the enactment of a full and elaborate routine with the formations of a celebratory message and four lucky numbers using a plate of oranges on the ground and the offering of a scroll of good wishes to a temple member.

The final ritual witnessed on the first day involved hoisting the Nine Lamps on a yellow octagonal star, known as the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereign Lamps. Symbolic of the presence of the deities and the official commencement of the festival, the Nine Lamps are kept hoisted and burning for the entire duration of the festival. Only on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month are the lamps lowered and snuffed to indicate the departure of the Nine Emperor Gods from the mortal plane and, in turn, the official conclusion of the festival.

迎接队伍进行仪式时，轿脚依然在庙外激烈地摇晃着圣轿，暗示九皇大帝斗姆元君返家的兴奋和激动。此时，仪式团队手拿仪式用品与线香，在桥下排成一行，向庙宇的入口致敬。随后，他们走上木桥，背向神庙的入口，鞠躬三拜致敬。接着，他们进入庙宇。不久后，两乘圣轿也同时冲上木桥，先后进入大殿在不同角落停顿。



Inviting Dou Mu Yuan Jun into the temple's Inner Chamber, 2017.

恭迎斗姆元君入九皇宫的内殿，2017年。

一切进行完毕，炉主将香炉从圣轿请入内殿。在将香炉请出的过程，摇铃声未曾间断，“九皇大帝，发啊！九皇大帝，发啊！”的呐喊声贯穿整个庙宇，一直到炉运入内殿，呐喊声才消停。第二个炉取出时，同样的过程又上演一遍。两个炉安全送入内殿后，舞狮团队在庙宇入口表演了一场更为完整和精妙的演出，并用摆在地面上的橘子在排列出祝福语和四个幸运号码。最后，舞狮团队将一幅带有祝福语的卷轴献给庙宇成员。

Specifically, the lamp-raising ceremony first involved displaying a talisman-covered censer and offerings on the ceremonial table at the front of the temple. Following that was the meticulous inspection, filling and lighting of each of the nine kerosene lamps. The lamps were raised by the main censer master at 6 pm. Maintaining the position and structure of the yellow octagonal lamp fixture, the main censer master was assisted by other temple members who secured the lamps on the designated hooks. Following this, the yellow octagonal star fixture was slowly hoisted by two members on either side of the ceremonial table and tied to the ceremonial table. As aforementioned, the lamp-raising ceremony signified the start of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.



▲ The Daoist priest leads the devotees of Kew Huang Keng in raising the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereign Lamps, 2017.

道长引导九皇宫正副炉主理事善信升南北斗星君灯, 2017年

Temple members gathered in front of the raised Nine Lamps with incense sticks whilst the Daoist priest conducted more prayers. During the chanting, the censer masters were observed pouring tea into nine tea cups from right to left. After the offering of tea, the congregation knelt down to pay respects to the lamps. The temple members only arose upon receiving a cue from the Daoist priest. At the end of the chanting, individuals were tasked to place their incense sticks into the censer with its talismans removed.

Ensuring that the Nine Lamps are lit continuously throughout the festival is an important task. As such, the lamps are usually lowered daily at dawn and dusk (approximately 6 am and 6 pm) for cleaning and refilling. Given the sanctity associated with the lamps, the maintenance task is considered an extremely 'pure' affair. As such, even the table that the lamps are to rest on requires prior cleansing using holy water via pomelo leaves. Further cleaning of the interiors and exteriors of the lamps is conducted by the maintenance team with the aid of a yellow cloth. The addition of kerosene only occurs after the completion of the cleaning. Considering the associated sacredness of the lamps, the resultant imperativeness to prevent distractions, including bad thoughts, understandably necessitates the maintenance team to perpetuate silence and a solemn atmosphere during the entire process.

表演结束后，当天的最后一场仪式是升起一架八角星形的九灯，也被称为南北斗天灯。九灯喻示着神明的到来，也代表九皇大帝庆典的开始。在整个九皇大帝庆典中，九盏油灯必须时刻点燃，一直到庆典的最后一天，九灯才会被降下，油灯才可以熄灭。降九灯也喻示九皇大帝斗姆元君已回銮。

在升九灯仪式开始前，庙宇人士会在仪式桌上摆上一个贴满符纸的香炉和一系列供品。每个九灯会经过仔细检查后被注入灯油并点亮。六点左右，仪式开始，炉主被赋予升九灯的重任。炉主固定八角星形的灯架，而其他的庙宇成员小心翼翼地将油灯一盏一盏地挂在钩子上。当炉主将九灯的位置固定好后，站在供桌两边的庙宇成员便缓慢地将九灯升起，小心翼翼地维持九灯的平衡，以免其倾斜。升到顶点后，两名庙宇成员将系着九灯的绳子绑在供桌两边。至此，九皇胜会正式开始。

接着，道师引领庙宇主要人士，手拿线香，围聚在九灯前诵经。在诵经间隔，炉主和副炉主轮流把茶倒入炉前的九个茶杯，顺序为右到左。倒茶后，庙宇成员在九灯前跪拜。随后，在道师的提示下，庙宇成员纷纷站立。道师诵经完毕后，庙宇成员将线香插在移除了符纸的香炉中。



Cleaning the Southern and Northern Dipper Lamps and adding kerosene, 2017 .

官务与理事为南北斗灯清理与添油，2017年。

每个日出日落（大约早晨六点和傍晚六点），庙宇成员会将九灯降下，进行清理和添油。这一系列动作被视为极度神圣的。首先，摆放九灯的桌子必须先以浸泡着柚子叶的圣水洁净。之后，九灯的内部和外部必须用一条黄布擦拭。紧接着，庙宇成员会将灯油小心地倒入擦拭清洁的九灯中。整个过程的气氛是庄重静穆的，因为打理九灯的人不想在进行这一系列动作的时候被任何不好的想法分散注意力。

Yew Keng

A key feature of Singapore's Nine Emperor Gods Festivals is the grand formal *yew keng* by Nine Emperor Gods temples to other temples to show respect and solidarity. The *yew keng* conducted by Kew Huang Keng is usually scheduled on the evening of the third day of the ninth lunar month. The evening schedule was to allow more temple members and volunteers to join the tours, especially if the day fell on a working day. The Kew Huang Keng *yew keng* usually covers six temples, namely Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang, Nan Shan Hai Miao, Kim San Tze, Leong Nam Temple, Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Hong San Temple. The selection was based on proximity (mainly on the eastern side) as well as each temple's relationships and histories with Kew Huang Keng. The intent of visiting numerous temples necessitated meticulous scheduling and itinerary planning to ascertain the most efficient route. For Kew Huang Keng, these *yew keng* would involve the Nine Emperor Gods' censer and the Nine Emperor Gods palanquin. The contingents would consist of the censer master, the ritual department and other committee members and temple members, members of the Xiang You Hui responsible for escorting the palanquins, a lion dance troupe organized by the Cheng Jing Hui, a drum and gong percussion and musical group organized by the Yin Yue Hui, and a brightly coloured float leading the motorcade of vehicles brightly decorated with colourful lights.

The censer masters, committee members, members of the Xiang You Hui (the palanquin teams) and other temple members gathered in the temple's hall 10 to 15 minutes before the scheduled departure. The contingent paid respect as a group before the main censer master and two assistant censer masters invited the censer from the Inner Chamber, with the Xiang You Hui representative from the palanquin team helping to secure the censer into the palanquin. The contingent then departed for its first destination.

Upon their arrival at each temple, they would be greeted by the receiving contingent or the representatives of the host temple according to the traditions of the temple. They were welcomed into the temple, and the core contingent of the censer masters, ritual department and committee members, led by the master of ceremony, will proceed to pay their respects first at the Nine Lamps and then at the main altar of the Nine Emperor Gods. In some temples, the censer masters or representatives might be invited into the Inner Chamber to pay their respects. They were then followed by the palanquins which will pay respect at each of the aforementioned altars by charging three times, followed by an exchange of incense with the respective altar censer. Thereafter the palanquins will move around in the main compound of the temples as the palanquin team members take turns to carry the palanquin. Upon a signal from the leaders of the core contingent, the entourage will gather in front of the main altar, as herald and ceremony master will lead the paying of respects.

► Kew Huang Keng contingent paying respects at Leong Nam Temple.

九皇宫游境团队在龙南殿团拜



After the contingent has gathered, the ceremony master will lead the congregation in taking three bows before the main altar or Inner Chamber. He will then announce the successful conclusion of the ceremony and lead the contingent in shouting "*Kew Huang Dai Deh!*", to which the temple members will respond response "*Huat ah! Huat ah! Huat ah!*". The cheers will be returned by the contingent of the host temple. The incense of the visiting contingent are then collected and placed in the host temple's censers. Representatives from the two contingents will exchange sandalwood and incense again before departing.

游境

九皇大帝节日的主要特点之一是游境，也就是以隆重方式拜访其他九皇大帝庙宇以表示尊敬与团队精神。葱茅园九皇宫每年定在农历九月三日的傍晚进行游境。由于游境经常落在工作日，九皇宫便选择在傍晚进行拜访，以让庙宇成员、义工和信众可以参与。庙宇每年一般都会拜访六间庙宇，包括：玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂、南山海庙、金山寺、龙南殿、后港斗母宫与凤山宫。九皇宫根据庙宇和该庙的关系和历史渊源选择拜访的庙宇，并考量地址规划行程，确保最有效的路线。九皇宫游境都会恭请九皇香炉乘九皇圣轿一起出游。游境团队主要成员包括正副炉主和宫务部，庙宇理事，护送圣驾的香友会成员，诚敬会安排的舞狮队，音乐会安排的锣鼓音乐队，与其花车队。团队也有善信跟随。

在离开庙宇的十到十五分钟前，炉主、理事、香友会成员与其他庙宇成员都会聚集在大厅，开始进行恭请九皇大帝仪式。过后，炉主和副炉主进入内殿把香炉取出，而另一个庙宇成员跪在内殿外准备接炉。炉主和副炉主持着香炉出来后，将其安放在圣轿中。随后，游行队伍前往第一间要拜访的庙。

在游境的每一站，友庙会用各自的传统仪式欢迎九皇宫团队。但是参拜程序大体上都一致。炉主宫务会先入庙，在九皇天灯参拜，然后到总坛前参拜。有些友庙也会邀请炉主入内殿参拜。参拜后会与坛前换香。九皇圣轿随后也在各坛前敬礼，敬礼后也会与坛位换香。之后，九皇圣轿会在大殿前敬礼。香友会成员也会轮流抬轿，直到团队礼仪指示，让团队成员在总坛前集合，九皇圣轿也停滞安顿下来，准备团拜。



◀ Kew Huang Keng contingent group prayer before the Inner Chamber at Yu Hai Tang, 2017.

九皇宫在玉封玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂进行团拜，2017年。

接下来，先锋会叫大家进行三敬拜，以对友庙的九皇大帝回礼。然后，先锋会呼喝“九皇大帝！”，而庙宇成员则会回应“发啊！发啊！发啊！”。三敬拜完成后，有代表向来访理事善信收集手持的线香插入友庙的香炉里。两方代表也会在九皇宫团队离开前再次交换檀香。

► Kew Huang Keng paying respects at Hougang Tou Mu Kung, 2017.

九皇宫团队在后港斗母宫准备团拜，2017年。



While the procedure at each temple was largely similar, the ritual exchanges and behavior of the Nine Emperor Gods palanquin at Hong San Temple underlies the strong historical relationship between the temples, given that Kew Huang Keng had been established with incense from Hong San Temple, and given the close proximities of the two kampongs, as part of Charn Mao Hern village. Hong San temple was usually the last stop, not only because of its proximity to Kew Huang Keng, but also because of this special relationship. The palanquin, for example, would move around in a greater frenzy than in the earlier temples, and for a longer period of time. In particular, the offering of incense by Kew Huang Keng at Hong San Temple are comparatively more elaborate. After paying respects at the main altar, the Kew Huang Keng representatives holding the ceremonial yellow basket would remain kneeling, and make their way to the Inner Chamber to the right on their knees. They would bow three times each time they as they went forward on their knees with the basket of sandalwood until they reached the entrance, when they would hand it over ceremonially to the host temple representative on duty (often the censer master), who would then bring the basket inside the Inner Chamber to do the offering.

► Kew Huang Keng censer masters and ritual department offering incense to the Nine Emperor Gods in the Inner Chamber of Hong San Temple, 2017.

九皇宫正副炉主官务代向九皇大帝敬香，2017年。



After the exchange of sandalwood, the Kew Huang Keng censer masters and heralds moved back on their knees three times, followed by another three rounds of three bows before standing up. Concluding the exchange was yet another display of camaraderie and close ties with exchanges of handshakes and hearty laughter between the two sides. At the core of the close relationship and greater respect between the two temples is their shared history as “brother temples”.



◀ Offering sandalwood and incense to the Nine Emperor Gods at Nan Shan Hai Miao, 2017.

九皇宫副炉主与宫务在南山海庙向九皇大帝进香，2017年。

由于九皇宫和凤山宫的关系特别密切，九皇宫团队在凤山宫向九皇进贡 檀香的仪式比在其他庙宇隆重。正副炉主和宫务会一起拿着装有檀香的篮子，从大殿坛前跪行到庙宇内殿。在跪行的过程中，他们会多次停顿，鞠躬三次，直到抵达内殿的入口处，把篮子交给跪在内殿门外的凤山宫代表让他帮他们在内殿里敬香。



九皇宫庙宇成员接回装有檀香的篮子后，仍然跪在地上，但缓缓趺拉退后，进行三次鞠躬后才站起来。站起来后，他们愉悦地一边欢笑，一边互相握手。九皇宫和凤山宫的密切关系可能是因为两庙曾经是“兄弟庙”，因此与其他寺庙相比，他们表现出更多的尊重。

Yew Kampong

Kampong yew keng or *yew kampong* is an indispensable and rather unique feature of the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals at Kew Huang Keng. It has evolved from an older tradition. In the past, when Kew Huang Keng was still in the old Charn Mao Hern kampong, this involved the tours of the southern districts of Charn Mao Hern or Lemongrass Garden by the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun in their palanquins to bless the residents in these districts. It originated back in the mid-1960s when the temple was in old location.

Though an integral feature of the festival in the kampong, the tradition ended in late 1979, when most of the residents moved out to new public housing estates nearby due to the government's redevelopment plans and rehousing programme. Only the temple was left in Jalan Alsagoff. In 1984, the temple began to organize *yew keng* tours to other Nine Emperor Gods temples. In 1985, Kew Huang Keng revived its tradition of *kampong yew keng*, with the temple visiting the HDB estates that the majority of the former kampong residents had been resettled into. The former residents erected a station in the area to welcome the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, as well as their entourage from Kew Huang Keng. The tradition continued after the temple's relocation to its present-day premises at Arumugam Road in July 1986.

► Haig Road *Yew Kampong* Station, 1992. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

海格路香友会香案站，1992年。照片由梁“生”提供。



To continue this tradition, a family from the community of former kampong residents in a housing estate would volunteer to assume the role of the steward or caretaker of the Nine Emperor God's censer for their community. This required the volunteer family to personally invite the Nine Emperor Gods to take up 'residence' in their community from Kew Huang Keng. Once permission had been granted, a portion of incense ash from the main altar's censer in Kew Huang Keng to a new censer that the volunteer family would bring home. The former kampong members in the respective housing estate would come together to construct a makeshift altar station in their estate during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival to receive the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun. The censer kept by the volunteer family is then brought to the station and enshrined there for the *yew kampong*. The continuation of this tradition is a testament to the preservation of the community spirit and identity of the former Charn Mao Hern kampong in the modern residential estates. Even where some volunteer families have not been able to maintain their roles, often with the passing of older family members or their relocation to places further away, other families or groups have stepped up to take over these roles. In some cases, the censer of the station is kept in the Inner Chamber of Kew Huang Keng and invited to the station only during the festival.

游甘榜

九皇宫九皇千秋的另一个特点是游甘榜（*Yew Kampong*），也称为甘榜绕境。往昔，当九皇宫还在葱茅园甘榜时，这指的是九皇大帝斗姆元君圣轿在九皇胜会时候游览葱茅园，为甘榜里居民赐福。这传统从六十年代开始。

1979年末，由于政府的市区与经济发展计划，收购了甘榜所在的土地并为居民提供新组屋，居民都陆续搬离葱茅园，游甘榜的传统也就结束了。当时，只有庙宇还矗立在阿萨哥夫路。葱茅园九皇宫在1984年开始进行游境，拜访其他庙宇。隔年，也就是1985年，葱茅园九皇宫恢复了游甘榜的传统。庙宇拜访了多数前甘榜居民移居的组屋区。为了迎接九皇大帝和斗姆元君与九皇宫的游行队伍，居民们搭建了临时的香案站。在1986年7月，庙宇搬迁到阿鲁慕甘路时，这一传统仍在继续。



为了保留与延续这项传统，之前住在甘榜，现居住在组屋的一户家庭自愿为他们的社区担任九皇大帝香炉看护人重责。他们必须前往九皇宫，请回九皇大帝的香火显示九皇大帝已经在这里暂住。

一旦得到批准，正炉的一部分香火会被装入一个新炉，新炉则由那户家庭带回住宅区。那户家庭会在家里照顾好香炉。九皇胜会期间，社群聚集在一起，在住宅区内搭建一个临时神台站以迎接九皇大帝，而香炉会被安放在神台站。通过游甘榜，葱茅园社群的传统得以在这些新住宅区内受到保留与维护。虽然有些家庭因为搬迁或其他因素不能继续担任责任，一般都会有其他家庭或组织继承这份重责。有些香案站的香炉也长期收藏在九皇宫内殿，到九皇千秋时才有主办家庭恭请到香案站。

► Seow Lim Teck Eng Tong Physical Association Altar Station at Bedok North, Block 128, 2017.

少林得英堂香案站，在勿洛北，大牌128号，2017年。



There are six altar stations in the neighbouring housing estates today. These stations are located in the following areas: Bedok North Blk 128 (premises of the Seow Lim Teck Eng Tong Physical Association), Bedok North 511, Bedok North 517, Eunos Crescent Blk 16, Blk 5/8 Haig Road Basketball Court and Geylang Bahru Blk 66. The stations would be erected before the start of the festival. After the receiving and the raising of the Dipper Lamps, the representatives from the stations can then invite the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun to their station by inviting nine long joss sticks and a yellow flag with the seal of the temple from the Inner Chamber of the temple. These will either be placed in the Nine Emperor Gods censer at the station or in the censer at the home of the custodian family if it has not been invited to the station. For those whose censers are kept at the temple, they will invite the censer with incense back to the station after the receiving of the deities. For Bedok North 517, for example, in 2017, they came to Kew Huang Keng in the morning of the fourth day of the ninth lunar month at about 9.30am to invite the censer with incense and the paintings of the three main deities of Kew Huang Keng back with them to the station on the fourth day of the ninth lunar month.

► Representatives from the Bedok North Deity Receiving Station invite the Nine Emperor Gods' censers to their station, 2017.

勿洛北迎神会代表邀请九皇大帝香炉，2017年。





现今搭建香案站的住宅区一共有六个：勿洛北大牌128（少林得英堂国术健身社）、勿洛北大牌511、勿洛北大牌517、友诺士大牌16、大牌5/8海格路篮球场、和芽笼巴鲁大牌66。迎接九皇大帝前，这些神台站在各个住宅区搭建；香案站代表在恭迎圣驾和升起南北斗灯后便可以恭请九皇大帝与斗姆元君回到香案站或负责家庭家里的九皇香炉。他们会从九皇宫内殿请回九支长香和盖有九皇宫圣印的黄色令旗，放进香案站的九皇香炉。香炉储藏在九皇宫的香案站一般也会恭迎圣驾之后到庙里请回香炉。例如，2017年，勿洛北517便在农历九月初四大概早上九点半来到九皇宫恭请香炉与其神明画像回到香案站。



► Deity Receiving Station at Bedok North, undated (likely 1980s). Photograph courtesy of Ler Lee Mong.

勿洛北迎神会, 未注明日期, 可能是 1980 年代。
照片由 吕礼茂 "提供。



Held on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month (usually a weekday), the *kampong yew keng* is again deliberately scheduled in the evening to accommodate the working schedules of devotees. Unlike the *yew keng*, Kew Huang Keng invites both the Nine Emperor Gods and the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censors and their palanquins for the *kampong yew keng*. The contingent consists of the censor masters, ritual department and other temple committee members, the Xiang You Hui members, a lion dance troupe organized by the Cheng Jing Hui, a percussion and musical troupe organized by the Yin Yue Hui, and brightly coloured floats.

The *kampong yew keng* begins with a group prayer and a ritual to invite both the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun censors into their palanquins. The two palanquins are carried into the temple's halls and placed on either side of the hall. The ceremonial party (censor masters, ritual department and several main committee members) and Xiang You Hui members pay respects before the main altar. This is followed by the inviting of the censors from the Inner Chamber to the palanquins, which is accompanied by the vigorous ringing of the temple bell. After the censors are secured in the palanquins, the congregation will began to cheer, "*Kew Huang Dai Deh, huat ah! Kew Huang Dai Deh, huat ah!*" as the drums and cymbals of the percussion ensemble began to play outside.



◀ Deity Receiving Station at Bedok North, 2017.

勿洛北香案站，2017年。



◀ Geylang Bahru Block 66 Station, 2017.

芽笼峇鲁街区 66 号香案站，2017年。

甘榜游境在农历九月初六傍晚举行。由于这个日子在平日进行，因此庙宇安排在傍晚进行游境，以让更多人可以参与其盛。车队规模与庙宇的游境有点不一样。九皇宫会恭请九皇大帝与斗姆元君出游，因此也会出动九皇大帝圣轿与斗姆元君宝轿。出游团队成员和游境相似，有正副炉主、官务部与其他理事、香友会成员、诚敬会组织的舞狮队、音乐会组织的锣鼓队，和亮丽花车。

出发之前，庙宇会仙恭请九皇大帝斗姆元君出游。香友会先将两尊神明的圣轿抬入庙内，放置在大殿的两端。然后，庙宇理事与炉主、副炉主、官务与香友会成员会集合团。礼成后，正副炉主和官务入内殿恭请九皇大帝和斗姆元君，请神明香炉入轿。同时，熟悉的钟声响彻会场。仪式团队将香炉安放在轿子里后，大伙儿大声呼喝“九皇大帝，发啊！九皇大帝发啊！”。宫殿前的乐队也开始奏起。

► Haig Road Block 5/8 Basketball Court was welcoming the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, 2017.

海格路香友会香案站恭迎九皇大帝，斗母元君圣驾，2017年。



The *kampong yew keng* contingent usually disembarks a distance away from the exact location of each altar station for the formation of the procession. The assembled entourage, accompanied by cascading percussion music, would go to the altar station on foot. Lion dance performances greet the arriving entourage at the entrance of each altar station. Following this, the individuals in charge of each altar station would greet the entourage standing or kneeling, depending on his age and space availability.

► Geylang Bahru Block 66 Station, 2017.

芽笼峇鲁街区 66 座香案站，2017年。



The flow of the *kampong yew keng* normally involves a round of prayers at the main altar by the ceremonial party consisting of the censer masters, the ritual department and temple committee members, before the exchange of sandalwood between the Kew Huang Keng censors and the respective censors at each altar station by the censer master. Indicative in this exchange of sandalwood is the exchange of respect between the two sides.



Altar Station at Bedok North, Block 511, welcoming the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, 2017.

勿洛北 511 座香案站恭迎九皇大帝，斗母元君圣驾，2017年。

车队在第一个神坛附近，让随行人员下车，随惯例组织成一列游行队伍。准备就绪后，乐器声响起，一行人浩浩荡荡地往神坛出发。在入口处，他们通常首先受到舞狮团的欢迎。表演完毕后，神坛的负责人或跪拜或站立，向庙宇成员致敬。负责人致敬的动作是由现场的空间和负责人的年龄所决定的。

接着，仪式团队的领导便前往主神坛致敬。经过一轮敬拜之后，炉主会代表九皇宫与香案站礼换檀香。礼换檀香的仪式象征庙宇神坛彼此间的致敬。

► The censer master offers sandalwood incense at a *yew kampong* station, 2017.

九皇宫炉主向香案站的檀香炉进香，2017年。



After the customary exchange of sandalwood, the palanquins pay their respects before the altar by charging three times towards the altar, followed by the exchange of incense between the palanquins and the altars. After this, the ceremonial party will gather once again to offer incense. Noteworthy at this ritual stage is the conscious creation of a circle formation via incense sticks inserted into the local censer of the altar station by representatives from Kew Huang Keng. In essence, this act symbolises the completion of a full circle. Then, the ceremonial party leads the palanquins and whole visiting entourage to pay respects by bowing three times before the main altar.

► Haig Road Block 5/8 Basketball Court, 2017.

海格路香友会香案站，2017年。



A typical conclusion of altar station visits involves the exchange of fruit baskets and handshakes, placing incense sticks gathered from the main entourage into the censer at each altar station and another round of palanquin performances. Depending on the availability of space, the palanquins will also circle the areas before the altars while swinging and rocking vigorously, to the accompaniment of drums and gong, to bless the altar station, before the entourage departs.

The *kampong yew keng* has played an important role in preserving the kampong identity, community, and spirit of Charn Mao Hern since the 1970s and 1980s. Crystallised in the annual *kampong yew keng* is an interplay of adaptability and tradition. After all, instead of completely discarding the traditional practice of parading through the kampong, the visiting practice was continued by former Charn Mao Hern residents who acknowledged and navigated through their new circumstances by constructing Nine Emperor Gods altar stations at the resettled HDB estates.

Despite the dispersal of the kampong inhabitants and temple community to multiple HDB estates, the adaption of the old *yew kampong* of the village allowed for the retaining of older community ties, which are also being transmitted to the new generation. Indeed, the annual establishment of the altar stations and the continuous attraction of community members are testaments to the prevailing community spirit of the old Charn Mao Hern area.



◀ A “Prospering Censer “ occurred at the Geylang Bahru Block 66 Station in 2017.

芽笼峇鲁街区 66 座香案站发炉, 2017 年。

换香礼仪结束后，九皇斗母圣轿也会向香案站总坛敬礼换香。仪式团队随后向神坛献上线香，并在一一插入炉子里，排列出一个圆圈的形状，象征着一圈圆满完成。过后，仪式队伍、圣轿与游境团队聚集在神坛前，鞠躬三次。

最后，双方握手，交换果篮，拜访程序也算完成了。以此同时，九皇宫代表会从信众手中收集线香，并安插在香案站的香炉中。同时，九皇斗母圣轿也在锣鼓声的陪伴下围绕香案站场地为香案站赐福。

尽管庙宇曾经迁移，葱茅园的甘榜精神通过现今的甘榜游境活动象征性地、实质地保留传承下来。过去的甘榜游境在甘榜内进行。在甘榜消失后，葱茅园不曾舍弃这个传统习俗，反而因地制宜，在大多数前居民曾居住的组屋区设立神坛站，让甘榜游境得以延续。

虽然现今的“甘榜”已逐步扩展到多个地点，社区的联系却通过甘榜游境保留下来，也传承到新一代。社区与神坛年复一年的游境见证了葱茅园强大的社群精神。

Selection of the censer masters

The selection of the censer masters for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival usually occurs in the evening of the prior year's festival, specifically on the eighth day of the ninth lunar month at around 8 pm, by the main temple committee members. The opportunities for consideration are foremost offered to active temple members as well as donors to the temple. The gathered pool of willing candidates would thereby form the basis for selection.

Considering the importance of the roles of the main and assistant censer masters, the selection is steeped in rituals as well. Offerings of incense sticks and payment of respects to the Nine Emperor Gods at the temple's altar are first made by the current year's main and assistant censer masters. Flanking the front and back of these individuals is a temple member holding a gong and a temple member holding the compiled name list, respectively. Whilst the temple secretary announces the list of names to the deities for approval, the main censer master tosses two crescent-shaped wooden blocks upwards.

Essential to this tossing practice is the significance of how the blocks land. A positive approval is indicated by the blocks landing on different sides—flat and curved surfaces, whilst a rejection indicates a similar landing position. A strike would only be noted on the list alongside the name when there was a positive response. Multiple tosses are enacted for each individual who received an initial positive approval until the blocks finally land in a similar position. The tallied consecutive approvals of each individual by temple members are matched by equivalent strikes on the gong.

The individual with the most strikes is chosen as the main censer-master. Assuming incidents of ties, the tossing process is restarted for the tied names. The individuals with the next highest strikes subordinate to the initial would take on the roles of the assistant censer-masters. If the selected person cannot commit to the festival, the position will be passed down to the person with the next higher number of strikes. The selection ceremony is concluded when all three positions are confirmed. The next twenty highest number of positive responses will be the *tou jia* (or towkay). The main and assistant censer masters and towkays have to be on duty in the temple on an everyday basis during the festival covering duties in the Inner Chamber and the raising and lowering of the Lamps. They also have to participate in the *Zai Qi* rituals conducted by the Daoist priest in the mornings (at 5.30am) of the 29th day of the eighth lunar month and the first, third, sixth and ninth days of the ninth lunar month with the ritual department and other temple members. They have special ceremonial roles in the key events of the temple, such as the receiving and sending off, and the *yew keng* and *kampong yew keng*. The main and assistant censer masters will usually lead the procession and are responsible for the main rituals. The towkays are responsible for other duties such as the vanguards handling the salt, rice, and talisman water at the head of the procession, for helping out at other tasks in these processions, and also in carrying the sedan for the Nine Emperor Gods image during the sending-off procession.

选炉主

农历九月初八，主要委员于晚上8点左右聚集在庙宇大殿，准备请九皇大帝选择明年九皇宝诞的头家炉主。进行这项仪式前，负责人会询问庙宇各会会员、理事与踊跃捐赠者是否有意参与明年节日炉主的甄拔，并收集自愿者的名字。一旦名字收集齐全，庙宇委员即会从这些自愿者中掷杯选出明年九皇大帝庆典的炉主。

聚集在庙宇大厅前，今年的炉主与副炉会向九皇大帝敬香、敬礼。随后，一名手拿小锣的庙宇成员会伫立在正副炉主的后方，而他们的前方则伫立着一名手拿自愿者名单的正文书。后者会向神明进行宣告，并征求神明出现，询问他们是否同意进行甄拔仪式。随后，文书会念出名单上的名字，而手拿一对筊杯的炉主则会投掷筊杯，并观察筊杯着地的结果。

倘若其中一个筊杯弧形面向下，另一块扁平面向下，即代表神明同意了甄拔。倘若两个木块扁平面向下或弧形面向下，那即表示神明不认同。倘若该名自愿者不为神明所接受，那庙宇人士将会念出下一名自愿者的名字；而一旦自愿者获得神明的认可，那炉主便会持续投掷筊杯，一直到神明反对为止。念名字的庙宇人士也会在名单上记录自愿者获得神明认可的次数。值得注意的是，自愿者一旦获得神明认可，庙宇成员即会敲响喷呐，以此表示该名自愿者受神明认可的次数。



◀ Determining the censer masters for the next year, 2017.

选明年炉主，2017年。

庙宇成员与今年的炉主和副炉主会给名单上的每个名字重复整个过程。名单上的名字念完后，庙宇成员会计算每名自愿者一共获得多少次认可。得神明认可最多次的自愿者，便会成为下一任炉主。倘若自愿者受神明认可的次数相等，庙宇成员就会重新投掷圣杯，一直到其中一名自愿者获得更多认可数，出任下一任炉主。委任炉主完毕后，接下来两个认可数最高的自愿者会出任下一任副炉主。倘若该名获选人士因私无法出任炉主，那炉主的位置将会传给名单上获得较多认可的自愿者。一旦下一任炉主与副炉主确认好后，甄选仪式也即结束。其他得到圣杯人选当中，会选二十位头家。正副炉主和头家在千秋期间都得扮演重要的角色。他们一般大日子期间都得在庙里，轮流负责内殿事物，升降南北斗灯，和其他千秋日常工务。他们也要和官务和理事们参与八月二十九，九月初一、初三、初六和初九早晨5.30道长主持的斋期诵经仪式。他们在恭迎圣驾，恭送圣驾回銮，游境，游甘榜和其他仪式也都扮演核心角色。比如，恭迎恭送主要仪式都由正副炉主担任。在这些出游活动，头家会担任某些任务，如盐米、符水游行开路先锋。在恭送圣驾仪式，他们和理事们负责九皇金身宝轿。

Sending Off the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun of Kew Huang Keng

The sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the most elaborate ritual event for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. It is held in the afternoon at the seaside of East Coast Park. Similar to the receiving ceremony, Kew Huang Keng usually sets abuzz with activities from dawn. Offerings and payments of respect aside, the busyness extends to the makeshift kitchen where the Fu Nü Zu usually churn out generous portions of vegetarian bee hoon, vegetable curry and deep-fried beancurd for the gathered crowd. This typical flurry of activities was also noted during the 2017 Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

► Providing food to devotees, 2017.

为信徒提供食物，2017年



Highly anticipated, the sending-off ceremony is generally attended by a large crowd of devotees, given that it is the final opportunity for them to pay their respects to the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival. Lion dance performances by the Cheng Jing Hui kick off the ceremony. The Kew Huang Keng lion dance troupe is unique compared to other temples, with the troupe possessing nine lions.

The conclusion of the lion dance performances is usually followed by the arrival of the Yin Yue Hui contingent at the temple to pay respects. The contingent consists of nine Big-headed dolls, nine flower ladies, nine banner bearers and eight opera performers dressed as the Eight Immortals. The Eight Immortals are the first to pay respects to the deities, followed by the troupe of flower ladies. Next are the big-headed dolls and they will start dancing to the music of the Yin Yue Hui's Chaozhou percussion ensemble. After their performance, the actors will remove their doll costumes and place them neatly at the base of the bridge. The percussion ensemble will then perform, with the doll costumes arranged neatly in front of them. After this performance, the whole contingent will pay their respects before the temple once again.

This was followed by a dragon dance performance. At the same time, the palanquins are cleansed with sandalwood before they were carried into the main hall of the temple. Inside the main hall of the temple, after the joint prayer by the ceremonial party and Xiang You Hui members, the censer masters and ritual department will invite the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun censers from the Inner Chamber into their palanquins. The emerging censer is usually greeted by the repeated ringing of the temple's bell and cheers of temple members till it is secured in the waiting palanquin. The palanquins then leave the main hall to the compound in front of the temple, where they began swaying vigorously as they proceeded to the neighbouring temple to pay respects.

葱茅园九皇宫恭送九皇大帝斗姆元君回銮

农历九月初九恭送九皇大帝斗姆元君仪式时九皇大帝千秋庆典中最隆重的仪式活动。恭送圣驾仪式在下午在东海岸公园举行。当天一早，如同恭请圣驾的情况一样，九皇宫的活动从早上就不曾间断，庙宇信众齐聚寺庙向神明供奉供品与致敬。妇女组的女士们在临时厨房内忙进忙出，为前来祭拜的大批信众准备了丰富的斋食米粉、蔬菜咖喱以及炸豆腐。



◀ Devotees enjoying a performance before the sending-off ceremony, 2017.

善信观赏恭送斗姆元君前的舞狮队音乐会表演，2017。

恭迎圣驾仪式是备受期待和参与度高的活动，因为这是信众在胜会期间祭拜九皇大帝的最后一次机会。诚敬会的舞狮团一共有九头舞狮，也是九皇大帝庆典中规模最大的舞狮团。舞狮团从阿鲁慕甘路前来，并向途经的其他临近寺庙致敬。

舞狮团表演完毕后，音乐会随即抵达寺庙敬礼。音乐会包括九名大头娃娃、九名花篮、九名标存，八名代表八仙贺寿的戏剧演员以及其他表演者。先由八仙向神明致敬的，九名花篮紧接其后。两队人敬了礼后，音乐会的潮州锣鼓队开始演奏乐器，而大头娃娃开始跟随音乐手舞足蹈。表演结束后，这些表演者将服饰除下，并将它们整齐地叠在桥下。音乐会成员则围着这些服饰，在入口处站成半圆圈，以手中的乐器进行了一段合奏。

随后的舞龙表演进行中，香友会成员开始用檀香净化九皇斗母圣轿，把圣轿抬进大殿。庙宇内，宫务引导正副炉主、理事与香友会成员，开始团拜敬香。团拜后，正副炉主在宫务的带领下到内殿恭请九皇大帝斗姆元君香炉上轿。香炉请出大厅时，庙宇钟声不断，一直到把香炉安在圣轿里面为止。接着，圣轿从大殿到庙前庭院时，激烈地左右摇晃。过后，九皇斗母圣轿会到邻近的寺庙敬礼。

► Sending off the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, undated. Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

恭送九皇大帝斗母元君回銮, 日期不详。照片由吕序奎提供。



Whilst the procession to the neighbouring temples is ongoing, the ceremonial party remains in the temple hall to invite the statue of the Nine Emperor Gods from the temple's altar to the sedan chair. To begin, the ceremonial party removes offerings from the Nine Emperor Gods' altar carefully and respectfully. Then, they pay respects to the Nine Emperor Gods again before ascending the altar whilst kneeling to hand the statue to the awaiting main censer master and other temple members.

The ringing of the temple bell marks the process of carrying the statue to the sedan chair. Generally, the statue is rested atop a stack of joss papers on the seat of the sedan chair. More stacks of joss papers are added around the statue to secure it further and to maintain distance from the sedan chair.

The emphasis on religious sanctity and respect renders avoiding physical contact with the statute imperative. Joss papers are instead used when adjustments to the statutes are necessary. The next steps include attaching a yellow flower ball to the centre of the secured statue, the delicate adjustment of the image's robe and combing and parting the statue's beard with joss paper.

Further parallels can be drawn between the receiving and sending-off ceremonies as the same ceremonial items are featured in both cases. After completing the statue preparations, participants are again arranged in a procession with the Nine Emperor God's statue and sedan chair behind the ceremonial party. The performance of a thrice charge by the two awaiting palanquins outside the temple is of interest here before the descent of the Nine Emperor Gods' sedan chair from the ramp. Yet again, akin to the receiving ceremony, the procession lineup is as follows: ceremonial party at the head, followed by the Nine Emperor Gods' sedan chair, the palanquins, and lastly, devotees.



与此同时，炉主、官务组与理事们留在庙宇大殿，准备请九皇大帝金身从神龛到圣轿宝座上。首先，几名官务理事先小心翼翼地将神坛上的供品清空，给接下来的仪式腾出空间。神坛清空后，他们向九皇大帝神像致敬，并登上神龛，跪着将九皇大帝神像转移到炉主与成员们的手中。

转移过程中，庙里的铃声不能间断，一直到九皇大帝金身完全安置在一杓放置在椅座上的金纸为止。随后，官务理事会在神像与椅座的靠背和扶手之间放置金纸。这是为了固定神像，并且避免神像在转移过程中碰触到椅座。

成员们避免与神像有任何肢体接触，因为这是不敬的行为。如必须触碰神像，他们会利用金纸调整神像位置。固定好神像的位置后，成员们会将一个黄花球系在神像的中间，并小心地整理神像的九皇玉袍。最后，仪式团队仔细地梳理了神像的胡子，以金纸分线。

为神像梳理完毕，官务引导正副炉主与理事们拿恭迎圣驾时所用的仪式礼器供品，走出寺庙，而九皇大帝宝座则紧随其后。当庙宇成员抬着九皇大帝金身宝座步下木桥时，九皇斗母圣轿会九皇大帝金身作三次敬礼。过后，恭送圣驾的游行队伍成员各就各位，以正副炉主官务组为先，九皇大帝金身宝座、九皇斗母圣轿与庙宇信众跟随其后。

▲ Securing the Nine Emperor God's image to a sedan chair, 2017.

请九皇大帝金身入座，2017年。



▲ The sending-off procession's departure from the temple, 2017.

恭送圣驾回銮队伍从九皇宫出发，2017年。

During the 2017 Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the procession of the sending-off ceremony for Kew Huang Keng was directed to the awaiting motorcade along Ubi Avenue 1 via the back of the temple. Mindfulness and respect towards the deities necessitated a temple member shielding the Nine Emperor Gods statue from the sun with a royal parasol. The Nine Emperor Gods statue and sedan chair is first carried mainly by the Tou Jia (towkays) of the temple, with the temple committee members assisting in the duty. Regardless of age, the people carrying the Nine Emperor Gods on his sedan chair are extremely cheerful and full of energy.

The procession attracted the attention of curious onlookers, and some pedestrians can be seen making a quick prayer as the procession passed by. The sending-off ceremony is the grandest and most elaborate ritual event during the festival. Like the arrangements for the receiving ceremony, the ceremonial party and devotees boarded the buses, while the palanquins and sedan chair with their respective teams boarded the lorries, and the entourage made its way to East Coast Park.

By 3 PM, a large number of devotees in white had already gathered at East Coast Park Zone C for the sending-off ceremony. Upon the motorcade's arrival from the temple, these awaiting devotees joined the other participants in the pre-determined processional arrangement. Traditional dictates the marking of the onset of the ceremony with the striking of gongs.

Spearheading the procession that year was the lion dance troupe of the Cheng Jing Hui, followed by the musical ensemble of the Yin Yue Hui. A lion dance sequence was performed at the entrance of East Coast Park for the ceremonial party, Nine Emperor God's sedan chair and palanquins each before they were allowed on the beach. A vital aspect of the sending-off ceremony, as with the receiving ceremony, is the need for prior demarcation of a section of the beach for the ceremony, with red and yellow banners forming the makeshift "gateway" at the shoreline. For the sending-off ceremony, the yellow banner, this time with the characters "Sheng Jia Hui Luan" ("deities returning to their abode") signifying the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods, will be in front of the red banner ("He Jin Ping An") facing the sea.

2017年，成员们并没有向阿鲁慕甘路前进，反而从庙宇后门出去，转道乌美一巷的停车场。在前往车队的途中，一名成员在九皇大帝宝座上方撑起宝盖替神像遮阳。一般只是庙宇的头家才可抬九皇大帝金身宝座。但是，庙宇理事也会帮忙重任。无论年龄，这些抬圣轿的头家理事都精神奕奕、精力饱满。



Temple members bearing the Nine Emperor Gods, 2017.

九皇宫理事护送九皇大帝，2017年。

恭送圣驾队伍经过时，许多好奇的民众皆驻足围观。当中，有一些善信赶紧敬拜。恭送九皇斗姆仪式是九皇大帝庆典中最隆重和繁琐的仪式。与恭迎仪式相似，庙宇信众乘搭巴士，而圣轿、九皇大帝宝座与他们的轿队则乘坐罗厘。车队就此往东海岸公园出发。

在下午3点左右，多数身穿全白的信众已经聚集在东海岸公园C区停车场，等待送水仪式的开始。同样地，车队抵达停车场后，在仪式开始之前，仪式队伍、轿脚与其他队伍便迅速各就各位。锣声响起，喻示着送水仪式揭开序幕。

诚敬会的舞狮团站在队伍前头，音乐会的演奏队则紧随其后。临近东海岸公园的入口处时，舞狮团排成一条直线，擂动大鼓地为游行队伍、九皇大帝圣轿上演一场热烈的演出。表演完毕后，舞狮团站到路的两旁，让游行队伍、九皇大帝圣轿进入海滩。与送水相似，提早抵达海滩的成员们已在海滩上圈出送水的区域，并以在队伍前方的红横幅与黄横幅，在海岸设立了通向大海的“门框”。在恭送圣驾回銮时，红黄彩面海的排列次序有分。绣有圣驾回銮的黄色横幅会在前面，而绣有合境平安的红彩在后。

黄彩红彩“门框”设立好后，游行队伍的主要人员纷纷进入送水区域。一进入区域，仪式团队开始在通关口后方的海滩上排列出各类供品，包括：九杯茶、一个茶壶、线香、几沓金纸、一篮檀香、一个燃烧檀香的小炉、以及几个盛着烟草、鲜花、橘子、槟榔与槟榔叶的盘子。供品左右有一对大支黄色蜡烛，而斗姆元君的香炉就安置在供品前面。在宫务理事为恭送斗姆元君作准备的同时，九皇大帝金身圣轿也安停在他们后面。

► The arrival of the sending-off contingent at the beach, 2017.

恭送圣驾团队抵达东海岸海边，2017年。



The ritual department and other committee members began to lay out the ceremonial items on the beach behind the gateway created. These included: nine cups of tea, a tea kettle, incense sticks, stacks of joss paper, a basket of sandalwood, a small censer for the burning of sandalwood, and plates of tobacco, fresh flowers, oranges, betel nuts and leaves. Additionally, two large yellow candles were placed each side of the offerings, with the large Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer in front of the offerings. During the preparations, the Nine Emperor Gods' sedan chair was placed behind the ceremonial party while the palanquins circled and swung behind.

► Palanquin charging into the sea, 2017.

朝海冲去的九皇圣轿，2017年。



Indeed, the palanquin bearers' routine included three rounds: a sudden charge towards the sea—crashing into the surf and circling the gateway before returning to the shore. After the offerings were laid out and tea was poured, the palanquins were rested behind the Nine Emperor Gods' sedan chair. This was to facilitate the invitation of the censer from the Dou Mu palanquin to the ritual area by the censer masters for placement behind the displayed offerings. Particularly striking was the entourage's ensued continuous cheers of "*Kew Huang Dai Deh, huat ah! Kew Huang Dai Deh, huat ah!*" while inviting the censer. Another marked round of respects followed the invitation, with the entourage's kneeling for the sending-off prayers.



◀ Sending off Dou Mu Yuan Jun, 2017.

恭送斗姆元君圣驾回銮，2017年。

九皇大帝斗姆元君炉轿则激烈地摇摆着转圈，面向大海，作了三次冲锋，后围着“通关口”饶了几圈才上岸。这活动重复了三次才结束。仪式团队摆好供品、倒好茶后，九皇大帝斗姆元君圣轿也安停在九皇大帝圣轿的后方。接着，正副炉主从圣轿中请出香炉，并将其安置在供品的后方。在恭请香炉的过程中，队伍开始呼喝“九皇大帝发啊！九皇大帝发啊！九皇大帝发啊！”。随后，他们集体双膝跪地，开始送水仪式。

道长开始念诵经文，诵读疏文。庙宇理事善信都双膝跪地，手持清香祭拜。过了大概十五分钟，道长指示正副炉主手拿金纸向海鞠躬供奉。进供后，理事帮忙拿到旁边焚化。诵经完毕后，正副炉主和公务理事互相帮忙取下黄色腕带，放入临时焚炉中焚化。过后，理事们向炉主庙宇成员和在场善信收集焚香，放在斗姆元君炉里，直到放满。理事们用其余的清香放在沙滩，制造一条“通道”直到黄彩红彩的“门框”和大海。

► Sending off Dou Mu Yuan Jun and the Nine Emperor Gods, 2017.

恭送斗姆元君九皇大帝圣驾回銮，2017年。



The Daoist priest would then begin his chanting and then read from the petition. This takes about 15 minutes. The ceremonial party and devotees would kneel and pray with joss sticks. Upon the instruction from the priest, the censer masters would be handed the joss paper for offering towards the sea by bowing with it in their hands, before it is handed over to other temple members who would burn it in nearby. As the chanting reached its climax, the censer masters and ritual department and committee members would help each other remove the yellow strips on their wrists, and burn them in the furnace nearby. After this, the joss sticks from the censer masters, temple committee members and other temple members would be collected and placed into the censer until it is full, with the other incense sticks placed into the sand to create a corridor towards the gateway as during the receiving.

Finally, the temple members and censer masters began to don their life vests. In the distance, a motor boat adorned with three young bamboos tied with yellow cloth and triangular banners with a red flag atop approaches the shoreline. With the aid of several temple members, the main censer master and assistant censer masters carried the censer and headed out into the sea to board the boat. Once onboard, the boat then departed outwards to the sea, where the censer masters would release the censer into the middle of the sea, signifying the sending off of the Dou Mu Yuan Jun and Nine Emperor Gods. Temple members aboard the boat would then toss joss papers into the air as the boat started to return to the shoreline. The sending-off of the censer signalled the culmination of the ceremony.

Nevertheless, the sending-off ceremony was not the conclusion of the festival. Rather, the end of the festival is denoted by the lowering of the Nine Lamps at 10 am the following day. Once accomplished, the temple resumes its original appearance—with all yellow objects, including fabrics, lanterns, and candles, replaced with red ones, and the temple being adorned with regular religious paraphernalia. It also marked the cessation of the *zhai* regulations.



最后，庙宇成员与炉主们纷纷穿上救生衣。与此同时，海面上，一艘用游艇由远而近，往岸线开来。游艇上有三支用黄布捆绑起来的幼竹，幼竹上插着一支红旗。在几名庙宇成员的协助下，正副炉主拿着炉，走入海里，登上了游艇。一切就绪，游艇便往海中央开动，以便炉主们将香炉浸入海中央，恭送斗姆元君和九皇大帝。游艇返回海岸时，船上的成员也会往空中投掷金纸。

恭送九皇斗母仪式到此正式结束。然而，只有在隔天早上10点降下九灯后，九皇大帝庆典才称得上真正完结。降了南北斗星君灯后，他们也会将庙内的黄色饰物取下（布条、灯笼、蜡烛），复原庙宇平时的红色装饰，斋食的禁戒也随之解除。

Conclusion



▲ Group photo of the committee members, palanquin bearers and devotees from Kew Huang Keng, 2016

九皇宮理事、香友會、其他香社會員與善信團體合照, 2016。

The Nine Emperor Gods festival at Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng highlights both the community relationships and the religious aspects of the festival. While Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng has faced many challenges over the past few decades with the rapid modernization of Singapore, it is heart-warming to learn that the community's strong relationships and bonds with each other continues to persevere till this day despite the various challenges. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival not only acts as a means of celebrating the deities' festival, it also serves the very important function of allowing the dispersed kampong community to maintain and rekindling relations with each other every year, and in attracting new members to the temple. At the same time, Kew Huang Keng has also managed to attract new members from different walks of life and of all ages, through new channels and old, and continued to grow alongside the social, spatial and economic transformations in Singapore over the past seventy years. The establishment of the Ladies Group and the very recent formation of the Kew Huang Keng Youth Group in 2021 are testaments to these efforts. The blending of old and new, the navigating of tradition and change, and the connecting of past, present and future, are all very important for charting what lies ahead for the temple.

Without community and tradition, the celebration of the festival would lose its meaning and significance. The values of abstinence, discipline and humility inculcated through the vegetarian diet and other restrictions required during the festival, together with the emphasis on purity, and proper behaviour, words and thoughts, still have strong resonance for the young today and in the future, especially in dealing with the challenges of modern-day living and modern society. The temple continues to make a commendable effort in preserving these traditional practices and values, and passing on their knowledge and traditions to the next generation, through their continuous efforts to attract new volunteers and members, who in working together with the older generations, will be able to preserve and promote the traditions, values and spirit of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and Kew Huang Keng temple.

结论

葱茅园九皇宫的九皇千秋既有宗教实践的一面，也是反映了社区关系的发展。在过去几十年中，随着新加坡的现代化进程不断推进，葱茅园九皇宫面临诸多挑战。令人欣慰的是，尽管经历了这些挑战，九皇宫与社区之间的联系至今仍然紧密。九皇宫的九皇千秋不仅是庆祝神明节日的场合，它也为分散在各地的旧葱茅园甘榜社区成员提供相聚的机会，增强彼此的联系。九皇千秋也为九皇宫吸引来自甘榜以外的新会员。与此同时，九皇宫也积极通过新旧渠道吸引来自各行各业和各个年龄段的新成员。在过去七十年间，随着新加坡社会、空间和经济的转型，九皇宫的队伍也不断发展壮大。新的妇女组与青年团都是这些努力的明证。新与旧的融合，传统与变迁的调适，以及过去、现在和未来的联系，对九皇宫的将来有着十分重要的意义。

脱离了社区和传统，九皇千秋的意义和重要性将无从谈起。节日期间，通过持斋和其他限制传达的禁欲、自制和谦卑的价值观，以及对纯洁和得体行为、言语和思想的强调，仍然在年轻一代中引发共鸣，对他们应对现代生活的挑战也提供了坚实的基础。而九皇宫继续致力于传承传统习俗，并将这些知识、传统和价值观传递给下一代。因此，庙宇努力吸引新生力量加入，与老一辈人携手合作，共同传承和推广九皇千秋与九皇宫的传统、价值及精神。

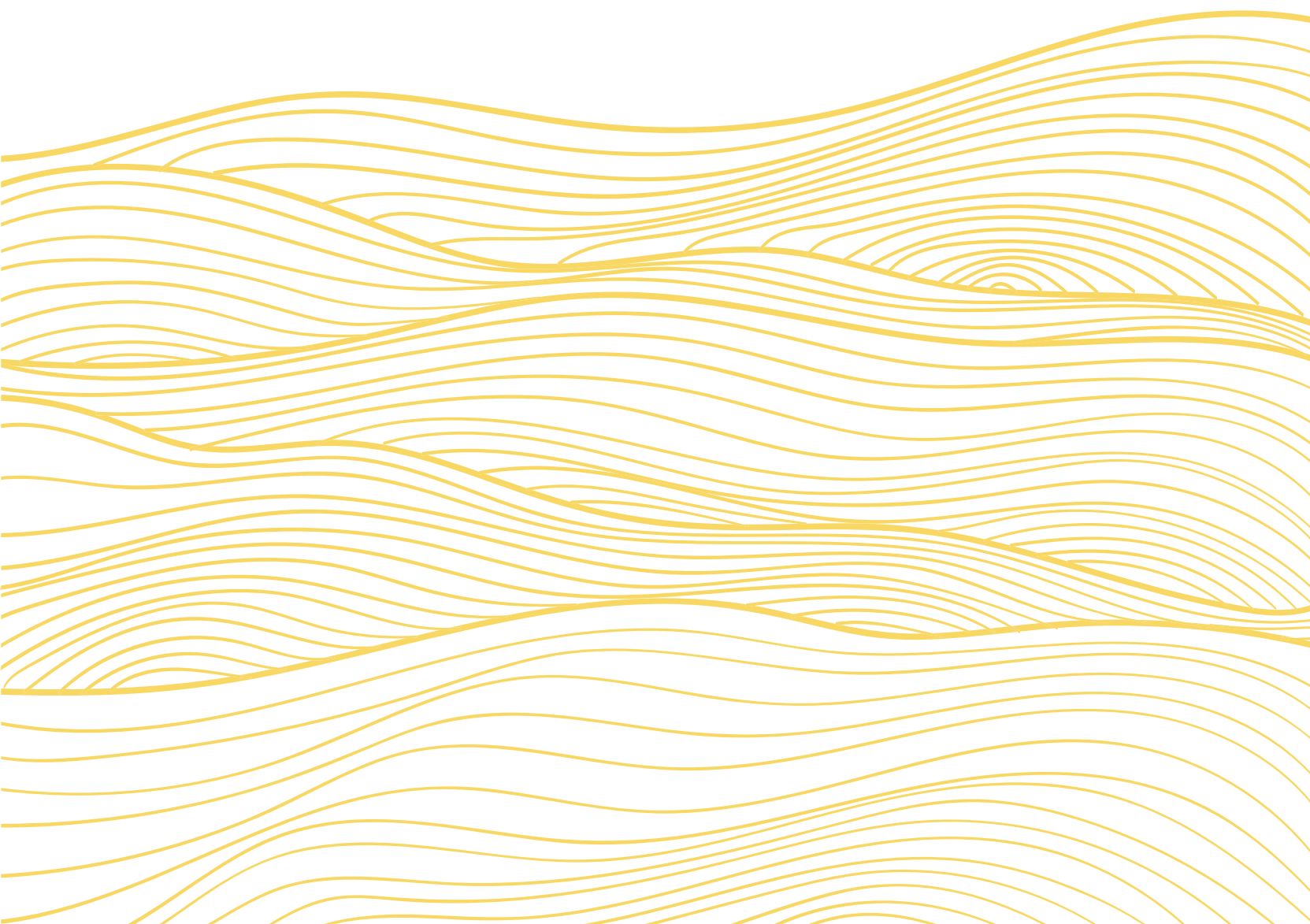


The entrance of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.
九皇大帝诞期间，蔡厝港斗母宫前门的模样。

第 3 章

Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng

蔡厝港斗母宮



► Nine Emperor Gods Festival at old Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng in Kampong Sungei Tengah, undated collection (likely 1980s). Photographs courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

蔡厝港斗母宫旧时在内东成村的九皇大帝千秋，未注明日期（可能是 1980 年代）。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。



Situated at No. 2, Teck Whye Lane is a historical temple that buzzes with life and excitement annually at the end of the eighth lunar month. Located within Chua Chu Kang Lian Sing Keng (Choa Chu Keng Combined Temple Complex), Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng attracts devotees from different walks of life every year to witness and participate in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The streets are lined with lights, and the air is filled with incense during each festive period.

► The environs of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng—Kampong Sungei Tengah, Choa Chu Kang Road, undated (likely 1980s). Photographs courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

甘榜双溪登雅内东成村和蔡厝港斗母宫早期的环境，未注明日期（可能是 1980 年代）。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。





每年农历八月底，位于德惠巷2号的蔡厝港斗母宫会渐渐热闹起来。这座历史悠久的庙宇自1996年起就坐落在蔡厝港联合宫内，吸引了来自全岛各地、各行各业的善信和助手前来见证和参与九皇大帝千秋。胜会期间，街道张灯结彩、香烟萦绕。百多年以来，蔡厝港斗母宫一直供奉着九皇大帝。



► Old Tao Bu Keng Temple Kampong Sungei Tengah (1990). Photographs courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

1990年东成村的斗母宫。

Photographs courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng
照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。



► Today's refurbished altar at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng at Teck Whye Road No. 2.

在德惠巷2号的蔡厝港斗母宫新神台。





◀ Interior of Tao Bu Keng temple during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the 1980s.

八十年代九皇千秋期间的斗母宫大殿。

Photographs courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.
照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。

Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's Nine Emperor Gods Festival has two main highlights. Firstly, the temple has nine mediums for each of the Nine Emperor Gods since the 1990s. Before that, there was only one medium for the First Emperor God. On top of this, one cannot overlook the intense community spirit displayed during all ten days of the annual festival. Stemming from the historical kampong spirit, old villagers and neighbours harness the festival as an opportunity for reminiscence over vegetarian food, such as curry bee hoon (vermicelli). The unique kampong history has been sustained into the present through the festival rituals passed on to the younger generation.

► Nine mediums for each of the Nine Emperor Gods.

九皇九位大帝乩童。



蔡厝港斗母宫的九皇大帝千秋有两大特色。首先，它是新加坡唯一一间有九位九皇乩童的庙宇。在1990年之前，该庙宇只有一位九皇大帝的乩童。在接下来的十年里，九皇大帝才逐渐委任另八位乩童。另一个显着的特色是九皇大帝千秋期间所展现的浓厚社区精神。植根于旧蔡厝港的甘榜社区，这种甘榜精神通过每年九皇大帝千秋得到了延续。这些社区的前居民借此机会与朋友和老邻居聚在一起，一起享用他们著名的炸豆干、咖喱与米粉，重温昔日甘榜生活。这个独特的甘榜历史与情怀，在九皇千秋的仪式和活动中也有所体现，并延续到年轻一代当中。



History

Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng is more than a hundred years old. Based on the oldest incense urn in the temple today, the history of Tao Bu Keng dates back to 1920. It was originally located in a villager's house in Kampong Sungei Tengah along Choa Chu Kang Road, 12½ milestone. The villager's name is Cai En. He lived in the innermost part of the kampong called Yi Chang Yuan. Cai En was a fisherman. While he was fishing, he picked up an incense censer. That night, he dreamt that the incense censer belonged to the Nine Emperor Gods. When he woke up, he decided to worship the incense censer. Every year, during the ninth lunar month, he would observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival with a few of his close acquaintances. The Nine Emperor Gods were invited and sent off by the seaside in front of his house. In 1945, Cai En decided to build a temple dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods. With the help of the village elder, Mr Wang Ke Wei, he acquired a piece of land that sits along Lorong Atong with Kampong Sungei Tengah. This area was commonly called Wai Dong Cheng [Minnan: *Wah Dang Seng*].

► The Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kampong Sungei Tengah. Photograph courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

在甘榜双溪登雅举办九皇大帝千秋庆典。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。



Since the temple's founding, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng has undergone several renovations and relocations. The simple attap house, built in 1945, was later upgraded to a zinc-and-tile temple. Subsequently, other temples were built alongside this temple, forming a row of five temples—Jin Shui Guan, the Shui Gou Guan, Ling Jin Tang, and Lai Sheng Gong. The row of five temples eventually became a prominent landmark in Kampong Sungei Tengah.

In 1992, Sungei Tengah was requisitioned by the Singapore government for redevelopment. Tao Bu Keng had to find a new location. The temple was allocated a piece of land at 2 Teck Whye Lane, within one of the earliest housing estates in Choa Chu Kang. As the new temple was being built, which took a few years, the temple moved to a temporary site in Teck Whye Lane. In 1996, with the donations and support of the temple committee, volunteers, and devotees (many of whom came from Sungei Tengah, the new temple was completed, and Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng moved into its new address, alongside Jiu Long Gong, Tian Yun Miao, San Zhong Gong and Shui Gou Guan Sheng De Tan to form a new combined temple complex. Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng sits in the centre of this new temple building.

庙宇历史

蔡厝港斗母宫的历史可追溯到1920年，已有超过一百年的历史。该庙原本坐落在蔡厝港路十二半英里旁，甘榜双溪登雅内东成的一个村民住家。根据流传的说法，这位村民叫蔡恩。他住在位于甘榜最深处的益昌园里。据说蔡恩是一名渔夫，捕鱼时找到一鼎香炉。当天晚上，他梦见香炉属于九皇大帝。醒来后，便决定把香炉安放在家中的神台上，供奉九皇大帝。每年的农历九月初，他都会和几位熟人一起庆祝九皇大帝诞。他们在他家门前的海边迎接与恭送九皇大帝。1945年，蔡恩决定为九皇大帝香炉建一座庙。在村长王可味先生的协助下，他买下了位于甘榜双溪登雅，Lorong Atong（巷名）路旁的土地。这个地区俗称外东成（福建话里称为Wah Dong Seng）。

自外东成建庙以来，蔡厝港斗母宫进行了多次翻新。1945年建造的简陋亚答屋后来改建为砖瓦搭建的庙宇。随后，斗母宫的两旁又陆续兴建了其他庙宇，形成并排的五座庙，其他四间庙分别为金水馆、水沟馆、灵晋堂和来圣宫。这并排的五座庙宇成为甘榜双溪登雅的著名地标。

1992年，甘榜双溪登雅的地段被新加坡政府征用来重新发展，蔡厝港斗母宫被迫乔迁。蔡厝港斗母宫分配到了德惠巷2号的一块地，位于蔡厝港其中一个最早的组屋区之内。庙宇的建造花了几年时间。盖庙期间，庙宇搬到德惠巷的临时场地。1996年，在庙理事、义工和善信们（其中有不少来自甘榜双溪登雅）的捐助和支持下，新庙宇落成。蔡厝港斗母宫迁入新址至今，与九龙宫、天云庙、三中宫和水沟馆圣德坛形成“五庙合一”的蔡厝港联圣宫。蔡厝港斗母宫就坐落在庙宇建筑的中央部分。

Setting the Stage

Festival preparations begin in earnest during the first weekend of the eighth lunar month with the cleaning and preparation of the palanquins and other ritual equipment brought back to the temple from various storage locations. The key event will be the arrival of the First Emperor God on the ninth day of the eighth lunar month to consecrate the sedan chairs and provide instructions and advice for the coming festival. The subsequent scheduled activity during the following weekend is the collection, cleaning, renewal and re-consecration of prosperity censers from the households of supporters.

► Prosperity censers and the censers of the lu zhu invited back to the temple waited to be cleaned, refurbished and reconsecrated.

从炉主善信家里请回庙宇的正副炉主炉与发财炉代清理、重装与换香。



筹备工作

通常在农历八月的第一个周末，庙宇便开始为神诞做准备。在准备阶段，助手们有几项关键性的事情要办。助手们从各储藏处将宝轿宝座与其他礼器搬回庙里清理及准备。农历八月九日，九皇大帝降临，圣化宝座、九皇宝轿和过山轿，也亲自指点神诞的筹备事宜。随后的几个周末，庙宇代表到善信处逐一将发财炉收齐，请回庙里清理、修缮和再度圣化。千秋结束后，他们才把发财炉请回善信家中。



Collection of palanquins and festival equipment from storage to be transported back to the temple.

到储藏处领取圣轿、宝座和其他千秋需要用到的工具。



Committee members cleaning the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquins.

庙宇理事清洗九皇圣轿。

► The First of the Nine Emperor Gods arrives to give instructions and advice for the festival.

八月初九，九皇大帝降临指点斗母宫理事，交代千秋筹备工作重点。



The spring cleaning of the temple's premises takes place on the 26th day of the eighth lunar month. Three days are further set aside for preparations within the temple's premises. These include the placement of yellow candles in front of the altar and the changing of the deities' robes. Such a dedicated cleaning of the temple ensures the purification of the religious space for the invitation of the Nine Emperor Gods. This is followed by the beginning of the strict vegetarian regime by the members of the temple and other volunteers.

► Premise spring cleaning ahead of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival by committee members.

各位理事义工为九皇大帝千秋清洗和清理庙宇 与庙中礼器。





Consecration of the palanquins and thrones of the Nine Emperor Gods by the First Emperor God.

九皇大帝为九皇圣轿与九皇宝座开光。

农历八月二十六日，庙宇会进行大扫除。事实上，庙宇的准备工作会持续三天，包括在祭坛上放置黄蜡烛和更换神明金身的神袍。这些专门的工作确保庙宇成为足够洁净的宗教空间，以便迎接九皇大帝。从当日起，理事义工都严格持斋，为即将来临的千秋庆典做好准备。



The temple invites the Fifth Emperor God to set up the Five Encampments of Spirit Generals and Soldiers for the blessings and protection of the festival site on the 27th of the eighth lunar month. The erection of the festival lamp pole occurs a day before the receiving ceremony. The raising of the lamp pole aims to inform both humans and spirits surrounding the temple of the upcoming major celebration. In particular, the lamp pole comprises of a long strip of bamboo with nine lamps hung on the top.

▶ Erecting of the lamp pole for the Nine Lamps by committee members.

理事们准备竖立天灯灯柱。



农历八月二十七日，九皇五帝降临安五营。五营兵将会在大日子期间保护神诞场地。迎驾仪式的前一天，斗母宫理事会竖起灯柱。这是为了知会庙宇四周的人们和鬼魂庙宇即将要办重大的庆典了。该灯柱是用一根长竹竿固定在一根长金属杆上，上面挂有九盏灯。



► The Fifth Emperor God consecrating the horses representing the armies guarding the festival site.

九皇五帝替代表五营军马的纸扎马只开光。



In the wake of the preparations is a visibly remarkable transformation within and around the temple. Overall, the temple evokes cleanliness and purification. Sensations aside, highly noticeable are the fittings of material adornments. The temple is enveloped by bright lanterns lining the streets. New banners, vibrant flags and long banners are also attached around the neighbourhood. In particular, the banners inform devotees and surrounding residents about the upcoming commemoration—to the extent of being physical guideposts leading devotees across Singapore to the temple site for the celebration.

One day before the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods, Tao Bu Keng members and volunteers will go to Tuas South Beach, to do the final preparations at the site for the receiving ceremony. They will install the flags, banners, boundary markers and ropes, to mark out the main ritual area. A representative from the temple will also make offerings to inform the earth deity that they were going to conduct the receiving ceremony there the next day.

The site of the receiving and sending-off ceremonies for Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng has changed over the years with its relocations as well as the suitability of the different locations over time. When it was at Kampong Sungei Tengah, the temple received and sent off the Nine Emperor Gods at the river before the temple. The river became increasingly unsuitable for the purpose, and they moved to Lim Chu Kang Jetty to conduct the ritual in 1978. Tuas South Beach has been the chosen site for the ceremonies as the Nine Emperor Gods instructed since the temple's move to Teck Whye Lane.

几天的准备工作改变了庙宇及其周围的环境，予人以纯净之感，已然能够恭迎九皇大帝。庙宇的前方和四周都挂满了黄灯笼。邻里处处可见长条幅和飘曳的旗帜。这些旗帜除了能向附近居民宣传大日子的来临之外，也帮助引导来自新加坡各地的善信们到庙宇参与庆典。



◀ Preparations at Tuas South Beach by committee members a day in advance of the Nine Emperor Gods' arrival.

庙宇理事们在大士南海滩筹备隔天的迎驾仪式。

恭迎圣驾的前一天，斗母宫理事和义工就前往迎驾的海滩，完成最后的准备工作。他们竖立旗帜、横幅、界桩和绳索，以划定主要的仪式场地。一名庙代表也会在现场祭祀土地公，告知即将举行的仪式。

蔡厝港斗母宫几次搬迁导致恭迎和恭送圣驾的场地也有所改变。庙宇坐落于甘榜双溪登雅时，迎驾仪式在庙宇前方的小港进行。1978年，河流不再适合进行仪式，仪式改成在林厝港码头进行。搬到德惠巷后，九皇大帝指示庙宇理事要在大士南海滩进行迎驾仪式。

Receiving the Nine Emperor Gods

The last day of the eighth lunar month is the much anticipated receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods by Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng. The steady influx of members of the temple and volunteers, all in complete white with yellow headbands, begins early in the morning and continues through the day as the temple prepares for the ceremonies and rituals in the evening. These include the preparation of vegetarian food for devotees, volunteers, and members of the temple, the readying of the floats, lorries and palanquins, the clearing of incense sticks at the altar placed by the successive flow of devotees, and crowd management.

▶ Altar for the worship of the Jade Emperor of Heaven.

玉皇大帝坛。



The day's preparations are usually completed by 7 pm. An announcement is made about transport departure details via a megaphone for the devotees wishing to follow the receiving contingent to the beach. Aside from the mediums, the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins and the sedan chairs of the other deities, as well as their respective teams, the majority of devotees would board buses to the beach. The entire contingent is large, comprising at least eight buses of devotees and 15 lorries. In the lorries are the nine palanquins for the Nine Emperor Gods, a sedan chair for Dou Mu Yuan Jun and the three vanguard chairs for Guan Di Sheng Jun, Emperor of the Five Grains and the Marshal of the Central Altar. The mediums of the Nine Emperor Gods will also board the lorries. Other participants involved in the ceremony include the lion and dragon dance troupes and the drums and cymbals troupes.

恭迎圣驾

农历八月的最后一天是万众期待的迎驾吉日。这一天从早上开始，理事和义工们一早就开始陆陆续续到斗母宫为晚上迎接九皇大帝做好准备。人潮从下午便逐渐增加，川流不息。到了傍晚时分，斗母宫内外人头攒动，烟雾缭绕。厨房义工纷纷为聚集在那里的善信和其他义工理事烹煮提供美味的斋菜。在前往海滩前的准备过程中，义工们再次展现他们的活力。现场可见义工引导着善信，清理枝香和贡品，确保人潮和贡品流通顺畅。其他义工则忙着准备花车、罗厘和宝轿，以及清理枝香和贡品，让神台前进香与上贡的过程络绎不绝。参与迎接九皇仪式的理事和义工都穿白衣白裤，系上黄色头带。

傍晚7点，迎驾队伍准备出发。义工们通过扬声器发出通告，让善信们上巴士前往迎驾仪式的场地。宝轿、宝座和进行仪式时需要用到的物品都随着九位九皇乩童、理事和义工们乘罗厘到大士南海滩。整个车队包括至少八辆巴士和十五辆罗厘。九位九皇大帝及斗姆元君的宝轿与其关圣帝君、五谷仙帝和中坛元帅的先锋宝轿都有各自的罗厘承载。九皇大帝的乩童也会乘坐罗厘前往。乘坐罗厘花车的还有龙狮团和锣鼓团。一切准备就绪后，



◀ The nine palanquins and thrones of the Nine Emperor Gods.

九皇宝轿与宝座。



◀ The sedan chairs of the vanguard deities, also referred to as the “mountain-crossing sedan chair”.

先锋宝轿，俗称过山轿。

▶ Moving of the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquin upon a float by palanquin bearers.

(轿队成员动力把九皇宝轿搬到花车到海边迎接九皇大帝。)



Given the scale of the ceremony, prior preparations are made—with a section of the beach cordoned off for use. When the receiving contingent arrives at Tuas South Beach, the site is already a sea of people dressed in white, with great expectancy in the air. At the heart of the ritual space lies the main altar table on which offerings and religious paraphernalia are laid out. The nine Dragon Chairs belonging to the Nine Emperor Gods—with a golden cape on each chair—are arranged behind the main altar table facing the beach in a semi-circle. A Daoist priest conducts the ceremony.

▶ Devotees were awaiting the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods.

善信们期待地恭候九皇大帝。





◀ The palanquins and their bearers travel to the beach aboard a pickup truck. 九皇宝轿与轿队成员乘坐罗厘准备出发。



◀ Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's Golden Drum Troupe proceeding to the beach to receive the Nine Emperor Gods.

蔡厝港斗母宫著名的锣鼓队-闽南语俗称金鼓队-跟随游行队伍出发迎接九皇大帝。

考虑到仪式规模的庞大，庙方得在迎驾场地做些筹备工作和安排，先用警戒线划出海滩的一部分作为仪式场地。迎驾队伍抵达大士南海边时，迎驾场地已是一片白衣白裤的人海。场地也充满了期待的气氛。主祭坛设在迎接场地正中央，上面摆放着贡品和仪式道具。九张龙椅宝座各铺上一个金色斗篷，其中有八张在面向沙滩的祭坛后摆成半圆形。仪式由道长主持进行。

Final preparations of the Nine Emperor Gods' thrones before the initiation of the receiving ceremony at the beach.

九皇爷的宝座在他们到来之前就已经准备好了。



The departure of the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins from the beach.

九皇圣轿离开大士海边回宫。



Marking the arrival of the receiving contingent are the lively drum and cymbal beats of the lion and dragon dance troupes. The palanquins are rested behind the dragon chairs as the Daoist priest begins his chanting. The Golden Drum Troupe begins to play at the same time, filling the air with their drum beats. The tense atmosphere is usually further heightened as the mediums begin to show the physical signs of the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods. To ensure purity, the mediums cleanse themselves with incense sticks after the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods, before changing into their respective robes and headscarves. They then pay their respects to Tian Gong (the Jade Emperor) and the Dou Mu Yuan Jun (Mother of the Dipper Star Deities). Then, paper talismans are burnt on the ground before the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins to consecrate them. After the consecration, the palanquin teams began to carry the palanquins, swaying from left to right. At the end of the ceremony, the Nine Emperor Gods and their entourage begin their journey back to Teck Whye Lane.



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods descend upon their mediums at the beach, 1998. Photographs courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

1998，九皇大帝在海滩上降乩。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。

龙狮团生气勃勃的鼓乐声宣告了主要迎驾队伍的到来。先锋轿队把三乘过山轿搬到海滩上，安放在龙椅后面。随着锣鼓队开始演奏，道长也开始诵经。在紧张的气氛下，各个乩童开始有起乩的迹象。当九皇九位大帝降到乩童身上时，一束一束的焚香被迅速地传递给他们以净化身体。接着，助理们会为他们穿上各自的长袍和头巾。准备就绪后，九皇九位大帝便向玉皇大帝和斗姆元君致敬。九皇宝轿通过轿前焚化灵符圣化。仪式结束后，队员们抬起宝轿，宝轿也开始左右摇晃。善信们、宝轿与神明随后一起离开海滩，返回德惠巷。



◀ Next, palanquins arrive at the temple to the background beating of drums and cymbals.

宝轿随着锣鼓队的演奏陆续抵达斗母宫。

At Teck Whye Lane, large crowds of devotees have already formed, lining the road on both sides, with many kneeling down, to receive the Nine Emperor Gods and seek their blessing. The Nine Emperor Gods will bless the devotees by waving their command flags over them. The Nine Emperor Gods then lead their entourage in paying their respects at the Jade Emperor altar and other altars in the combined temple complex, before returning to Tao Bu Keng. The receiving ceremony then officially concludes, and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival officially begins.

▶ The Nine Emperor Gods bless kneeling devotees by waving command flags over their heads.

九皇九位大帝各自挥令旗保佑跪着的善信。



Key Events for the Festive Period

During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, Tao Bu Keng is constantly abuzz with activity day and night. There is a continuous flow of devotees from the neighbourhood and from other parts of Singapore, and beyond, bringing fruits, incense and other offerings for the Nine Emperor Gods. The volunteers and committee members of the temple are busy around the clock serving the deities and helping the devotees. They have to take care of the main altar areas as well as the altars in the Inner Chamber. They also have to conduct daily rituals, provide services and organize special events. The volunteers and committee members are also assigned different tasks in the temple during the festival period, from manning the stations for selling incense, candles and joss paper, to helping devotees wishing to make donations and light lanterns for their loved ones. By the second day of the ninth lunar month, the ceiling of the Tao Bu Keng will be full of yellow lanterns offered by the devotees. During this period, the kitchen volunteers are also busy with the preparation of vegetarian food for the devotees and helpers. Many devotees and sponsors will also donate large quantities of ingredients, such as bee hoon, and drinks, for the festival.

There is a strong community spirit among the temple committee members and volunteers in Tao Bu Keng. Many of them are former inhabitants of Kampong Sungei Tengah and its environs. Tao Bu Keng now draws many of its devotees, helpers, and committee members from the new housing estates of Choa Chu Kang and Bukit Panjang, and beyond, as well as through new social channels and networks, such as schools and the workplace. Nevertheless, the old ties between the temple and the Sungei Tengah kampong continue to provide the foundations for the community, history, and identity of the temple and its Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In the old kampong, Tao Bu Keng was not just a religious place or space, but also a very important social one, and an important hub for community activities. It was an important meeting place where many villagers will meet for casual talk. Every year, they would work together to wash and clean the temple, and clear the pathways of stones for the festival procession, to prepare for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and the devotees who would come from the surrounding areas.

回到德惠巷时，街道两边已经挤满善信迎接九皇大帝。许多善信还跪在路边恭候圣驾。九皇九位大帝各自经过善信时都会在他们头上挥动令旗赐予他们祝福。九皇九位大帝和游行队伍进入联合宫后会先到蔡厝港斗母宫的玉皇大帝坛前致敬，再到联合宫里其他庙宇坛前致敬，最后回到斗母宫。由此，迎驾仪式结束了，九皇大帝千秋也正式开始了。



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods and their entourage paying respects before the Jade Emperor altar outside Tao Bu Keng.

九皇九位大帝与迎驾团队在斗母宫的玉皇大帝坛前致敬。

主要千秋活动

九皇胜会期间的斗母宫天天热闹非凡，人来人往，香客不绝。来自邻里和全岛各地的善信们朝夕不绝地带水果、香和其他贡品来祭拜九皇大帝。理事和义工们不分昼夜地服侍神明及接待善信们，也主持各类日常仪式、活动与服务。在这九天里，庙里随时都有义工和理事忙着打理坛前与内殿事务。他们也被分置到不同的柜台处销售香烛金纸，或为有意捐款及为亲人点灯的善信提供服务。到了初二，斗母宫的天花板就会挂满善信供奉的黄色灯笼。斗母官厨房义工也忙着在这九天里为善信和理事义工们准备斋食。大日子期间也有许多善信和赞助商为厨房捐献大量食材，如米粉和饮料。

从蔡厝港斗母宫的理事义工们身上，可以感受到浓厚的社区精神。他们当中有许多人都来自甘榜双溪登雅及其周边地区。虽然斗母宫现在也吸纳了蔡厝港和武吉班让组屋区一带的新社区与新人际关系的联结（如学校、工作关系等），但它与甘榜双溪登雅旧有的联系，对奠定这个社区历史和对庙宇及九皇胜会的认同上仍然扮演着非常重要的角色。在旧时的甘榜，蔡厝港斗母宫不仅是人们信仰和祭拜的宗教空间，也是一个重要的社交空间，是社区活动重要的枢纽与焦点所在。闲暇时，村民们经常聚集在庙里闲聊。九皇千秋一到，他们都会同心协力清理庙宇，扫除游行沿途的石块，以备大日子来临。此时的庙宇也会吸引周围甘榜和其他地方的善信前来。

Opera performances were a particularly important entertainment for the villagers, as many older devotees and former inhabitants would reminisce fondly about how they would buy snacks and eat them while watching the opera performances. For these villagers, Tao Bu Keng was central to their lives in the kampong. Many former inhabitants of Sungei Tengah kampong and their relatives continue to help out at the temple and participate in its activities. They saw this as a way to connect with their past and memories, and an opportunity to catch up with their former neighbours and old friends. Thus, today's festival continues to be an embodiment of kampong memories, old ties, and community spirit, which can be seen in its rituals, activities and events.

In the following nine days of the festival, the temple conducts various rituals and activities. There will be daily rituals to reward the Five Generals and their spiritual armies with special vegetarian feasts and military displays. On the first, third, and fifth day of the festival, there will be consultation sessions for the devotees to seek the advice and help of the Nine Emperor Gods. Three of the Nine Emperor Gods will arrive on each of the three days to bless and advice devotees wishing to consult them. To strengthen and maintain their ties with other temples, Tao Bu Keng will also arrange visits to other Nine Emperor Gods temples, and host visiting delegations from other such temples.

Tao Bu Keng also has several important rituals and events which has given the Nine Emperor Gods Festival there its unique identity. This includes the *yew kampong* (touring the old kampong), the vegetarian feast, crossing the Bridge of Blessing, and celebrating the Nine Emperor Gods' birthday.

▶ Leong Nam Temple visiting Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

龙南殿先锋手挥法索替游境团队开路。



戏曲表演是村民在胜会期间非常重要的娱乐节目。许多前村民在回忆起小时候如何买零食、坐在戏台下观赏表演的情景时仍满怀深情。对村民而言，斗母宫曾是他们生活的中心。如今，许多甘榜双溪登雅的前居民和他们的亲戚家属都仍继续前来庙里参拜和帮忙。他们把这视为缅怀过去，以及和老邻居、老朋友们叙旧的机会。在如今的胜会中，甘榜的回忆和昔日的情怀也在各种仪式与活动中体现出来。

在接下来的九天里，犒赏五营军将的仪式每天进行，庙内则在初一、初三和初五天进行九皇大帝的问事活动，每堂问事由三位九皇大帝轮流主持。此外，为了巩固和其他庙宇的友谊，斗母宫也安排到新加坡其他九皇大帝庙宇参拜，也接待其他九皇大帝庙宇代表的来访。

蔡厝港斗母宫也有几项独特的重要仪式和活动。这些活动包括游旧甘榜、斋宴、过平安桥和为九皇大帝庆生。



▶ Leong Nam Temple *yew keng* delegation paying respects at Tao Bu Keng.

(龙南殿在斗母宫敬礼团拜)



▶ Hong San Temple delegation exchanging incense at Tao Bu Keng.

凤山宫参拜团队与斗母宫换香。



▶ Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng delegation paying respects to the Nine Emperor Gods at Tao Bu Keng.

葱茅园九皇宫团队到斗母宫参拜。





◀ Jiu Huang Dian contingent paying respects at the Nine Heavenly Lamps.

九皇殿参拜团在斗母宫九皇天灯敬礼。



◀ Rewarding and feasting the spiritual armies at Tao Bu Keng, with a vanguard performing a chao ya (military display) ritual.

蔡厝港斗母宫犒赏军将，先锋主持操营仪式。



◀ Opera performers paying respects before their performance.

每日大戏表演前，演员到庙里参拜。

The Sixth Day: Tour of the Old Kampong

The sixth day of the ninth lunar month is also seen as the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods. In the evening, the temple will prepare an eggless birthday cake for the Nine Emperor Gods. In some years, there is also a tour of the temple's former location in Sungei Tengah, known colloquially as “*yew kampong*”. The tour of the old Kampong Sungei Tengah is a grand affair that occurs once every few years on the instruction of the Nine Emperor Gods. The purpose of the ritual is to remind temple members and devotees of the temple's origins and their community roots. The Nine Emperor Gods will lead a large entourage, including the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquins and the Daoist priest, towards Lim Chu Kang Jetty, the former site for the receiving and sending-off rituals. The Daoist priest will conduct a small-scale “inviting water” ritual at the site. After the conclusion of the ritual, the Nine Emperor Gods will instruct a committee member to proceed to the side of the pier to fill a pail of water. This pail will be wrapped in yellow cloth and brought back to the temple.

After the ritual at Lim Chu Kang Jetty, the contingent proceeds to Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong. This visit reaffirms the long-standing ties and friendship between the two temples that dates back to the kampong days. Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong was located next to Lim Chu Kang Jetty, where Tao Bu Keng received the Nine Emperor Gods. In the past, a representative of Tao Bu Keng would first go to Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong in the afternoon of the day of receiving, to first offer incense and inform Mazu of the coming Nine Emperor Gods Festival and the receiving ceremony in the evening. This was a form of respect to the temple and deity, but also reinforced the tradition of friendship between the two temples. Although Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong is no longer at its old address, Tao Bu Keng will still visit the temple to pay respects during its *yew kampong* tour. Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong will prepare an elaborate altar with offerings to receive the Nine Emperor Gods and the visiting Tao Bu Keng contingent. This visit ends with an exchange of incense.

► Preparation of an altar by Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong to receive the visiting contingent from Tao Bu Keng.

慈悲妈祖宫布置神桌神台迎接九皇大帝与蔡厝港斗母宫团队。



► Exchanging incense at Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong.

九皇九位大帝在慈悲妈祖宫神台神桌敬礼换香。



第六天：探访旧甘榜

农历九月六日被视为九皇大帝的诞辰。当天晚上，庙宇将向九皇大帝进献无蛋蛋糕。每隔几年，在九皇大帝的指示下，庙宇也会在初六组织参访甘榜双溪登雅旧址，俗称“游甘榜”。这个仪式是为了提醒庙宇社群斗母宫的根源和历史。九皇九位大帝和九皇宝轿会带领道长和大型队伍前往林厝港码头昔日的迎驾地点。到了码头，道长会主持一个小型的“请水”仪式。仪式结束后，九皇大帝吩咐一位理事到码头边取一桶水，再将其用黄布包起来带回庙里。

请水之后，游行队伍会到位于正华的慈悲妈祖宫参拜。参拜仪式体现了两庙之间的长期友谊。两间庙的关系可追溯到甘榜时代。过去，慈悲妈祖宫位于林厝港码头旁，而蔡厝港斗母宫正是在这一码头迎接九皇大帝。往年恭迎圣驾当天，蔡厝港斗母宫会派代表到慈悲妈祖宫敬香，向妈祖禀告九皇千秋将至和当晚将在码头举行的迎驾仪式。这种做法是对神明和庙宇的尊重，也延续了两庙的友好传统。如今，虽然慈悲妈祖宫已不在旧址，蔡厝港斗母宫队伍在游甘榜时还是会到慈悲妈祖宫参拜。慈悲妈祖宫在正华布置好庞大的神台神桌迎接蔡厝港斗母宫队伍。神桌上摆满了斋食贡品欢迎九皇大帝。道长在神桌前主持简单的仪式，九皇九位大帝则与妈祖换香。



◀ A committee member returns to Tao Bu Keng with a pail filled with water from Lim Chu Kang jetty and wrapped in yellow cloth.

斗母宫理事从林厝港码头请水后，用黄布包盖住带回庙里。

Vegetarian Feast

The vegetarian feast has become a signature event at Tao Bu Keng's Nine Emperor Gods Festival. It is held on the eighth and ninth days of the ninth lunar month, during the festival. The tradition began in the 1960s with Mr. Huang Zhong Xing, the owner of Asia Brick Factory. The factory was originally located at Kampong Lam San, just next to Kampong Sungei Tengah. He had sought the Nine Emperor Gods' blessings for the success of his business and promised to prepare a feast table of vegetarian dishes to thank them next year. His prayers were answered, and he offered not one but two tables of vegetarian dishes during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival annually from then on. Mr. Huang's story quickly became known to the inhabitants in Sungei Tengah and the surrounding area, and they started to do the same, cooking vegetarian dishes at home and bringing them to Tao Bu Keng to offer to the Nine Emperor Gods as part of the vegetarian feast to pray for blessings and fortune, a good harvest, and flourishing livestock. The feast extended over time from a day's affair to an event over two days. The tradition has continued to the present.

The number of tables has also since multiplied over time and underscores the continued popularity and recognized significance of the tradition. Today, the offerings of the devotees during the feast would require several hundred tables before the main altar area. In the past, the devotees participating would prepare the vegetarian dishes at home and lay them out on several large communal feasting tables. Today, these huge tables have been replaced by smaller tables, with one family to a table. The participating families can decide if they wished to prepare the food themselves or to order the food from designated caterers.

The feast begins with the Daoist priest leading the prayers and blessing the participants and the food they have prepared. Then, the Nine Emperor Gods will arrive and proceed to each table, where they will accept the offering of tea from the head or representative of the household offering the food. He would then bless the food and the devotees offering them, while giving them advice. Sometimes, he will conduct a ritual for the senior citizens in attendance. After the feast for the Nine Emperor Gods, the participants would then partake of the food on the different tables. Some devotees will also bring the food home to share the blessings of the Nine Emperor Gods with their other family members.

▶ Vegetarian feasts at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, 1987 and 1991. Photograph courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

1987 年和 1991 年蔡厝港斗母宫的斋宴。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。



斋宴

斋宴是蔡厝港斗母宫九皇大帝千秋标志性的活动。斋宴在农历九月八日和九日举办。这个习俗始于上个世纪六十年代，由亚洲砖厂老板黄种行先生发起。亚洲砖厂原本位于甘榜南山，毗邻甘榜双溪登雅。他恳求九皇大帝保佑他生意成功，并承诺明年千秋奉献一桌斋菜来答谢神恩，他的祈求最终得到了回应。从那一年开始，每逢九皇大帝千秋，他都会准备两桌斋菜。黄先生的故事不久便家喻户晓，甘榜双溪登雅和周围的村民纷纷仿效之。他们亲自下厨准备自家的斋肴，参与九皇大帝千秋斋宴，以求福禄双全、五谷丰登、六畜兴旺。随着时间的推移，参与人众和斋桌越来越多，斋宴也从一天延长到两天。这一传统延续至今。

如今的斋宴，信众的斋肴将被摆放在祭坛前的数百张圆桌上。过去，所有参与斋宴的信众与家属会把家里准备的斋肴摆列在几张大型共享圆桌上。如今，取而代之的是小圆桌，每个家庭各有一张桌子。参与的家庭可以选择自己准备和携带食物或跟指定的供应商订购斋菜奉献。

斋宴开始，由道长诵经主持仪式，为参与斋宴的善信与他们的斋桌食物赐福。诵经仪式结束后，九皇九位大帝会走到每张桌子前巡视一番。他会在每张桌子前伫立，让每户家庭的一家之主向他敬茶，然后赐福予家庭成员与其他他们所准备的食物供品，并指点迷津。有时，他会替某些家庭中的年长者作特别的仪式。斋宴结束后，大家可以随意吃不同桌上的斋肴。善信们也会把食物带回家，与其他家人分享九皇大帝的赐福。



▶ Vegetarian feast at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng today.

当今的蔡厝港斗母宫斋宴。



▶ The First Emperor Gods blesses the food and the devotees at each table.

九皇大帝给善信与斋食赐福。





◀ The Second Emperor God conferring blessings at each table.

九皇二帝给善信与他们供奉的斋食赐福。



◀ Devotees bring the blessed food offerings home to share with their loved ones.

善信们把供奉的食物带回家分享神明的保佑。



Crossing the Bridge of Blessing

A key ritual during the festival is the crossing of the Bridge of Blessing. The ritual is held on the eighth day of the festival. This event generally attracts a large crowd of devotees seeking the blessings of the Nine Emperor Gods. Nearly 2000 devotees participated on one occasion.

► Preparing for the Bridge of Blessing ceremony. The Nine Emperor Gods mediums and their entourage take their positions around the bridge.

善信等着过平安桥，九皇九位大帝也和随从站好位置，准备仪式开始。



The ritual begins with the arrival of the Fifth Emperor God for the installation of the Spiritual Armies around the Bridge, followed by the arrival of the other Nine Emperor Gods through their mediums. The Nine Emperor Gods and their assistants then take up their positions around the bridge, with the Sixth to Ninth Emperor Gods standing at the two sides of the bridge, and the First to Fifth Emperor Gods standing at the ends of the bridge. The devotees will be blessed as they make their way across the bridge, and the Sixth to Ninth Emperors will use wave their command flags to help them change their negative luck. After crossing the bridge, they would be blessed again by the First to Fifth Emperor Gods. The temple committee members and volunteers would then stamp their backs with the Nine Emperor Gods' seal.

过平安桥

每年九月初八，蔡厝港斗母宫九皇九位大帝也会主持过平安桥的仪式。此活动一般都会吸引许多想得到九皇大帝赐福的善信。每年都有将近2000名善信参与。

九皇五帝会先召集五营军将，让他们镇守在平安桥的四周。然后，其余的九皇八位大帝也陆续抵达，降临到各自的乩童身上参与仪式。九皇六帝至九皇九帝分别站在桥头两侧，而九皇大帝至九皇五帝则站在桥的出口两侧。善信们走向平安桥时，他们将被赐福，九皇六帝至九皇九帝会用令旗替他们改运。过桥后，他们将再次被九皇大帝至九皇五帝赐福。然后理事和义工们会在善信们的背后盖上九皇大帝的印章。



▲ Consecration of the Bridge of Blessing, c. the 1980s—1990s and the present day, respectively. The first two photographs are courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

图片分别为1980年代和现在，九皇大帝的乩童为平安桥开光的场景。前两张照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供提供。



▲ The Nine Emperor Gods blessing the temple committee members and volunteers with their command flags after they cross the Bridge of Blessing.

九皇五位大帝挥令旗给刚过平安桥的理事义工赐福。



◀ The First Emperor God blessing a young devotee with his command flag.

九皇大帝用令旗给善信赐福。



◀ A committee member stamps the back of a devotee's shirt with the seal of the Nine Emperor Gods.

理事给善信盖上九皇大帝印章。

Ninth Day: Sending-off Ceremony

Similar to other Nine Emperor Gods temples, Tao Bu Keng sends off the Nine Emperor Gods on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. From dawn, helpers and committee members busy themselves with the necessary preparations for the sending-off ritual and events in the evening. On this day, all participants—temple members, helpers and devotees—again adhere to the white dress code. The sending-off ceremony attracts the largest crowd of devotees, as well as a large number of onlookers.

The temple will also Invite the Jade Emperor on the eighth day. The Daoist priest will conduct the rituals to invite and propitiate the Jade Emperor. At about noon, he will conduct the Hian Keng ritual (also for the devotees to bless their personal belongings). In the afternoon, between 3 to 4pm, the Daoist priest will lead the temple helpers and devotees in sending off the Jade Emperor. On the ninth day, he will conduct the ritual to reward and feast the spiritual armies at about 1.30pm, after the conclusion of the second day of the Vegetarian Feast. Thereafter, the committee members and helpers begin to get busy with the final preparations for the sending-off in the evening.

▶ Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng members preparing the site for sending off the Nine Emperor Gods at Tuas South Beach.

庙宇理事在大士南海滩筹备恭送九皇大帝回銮仪式。



第九天：恭送九皇大帝回銮

农历九月初九，蔡厝港斗母宫准备恭送九皇大帝回銮。理事和义工们当天一早就开始忙碌起来，为傍晚时分恭送九皇大帝回銮的仪式做准备。每个人都穿上白衣白裤，好奇的群众在庙宇周围围观探望。

农历九月初八早上，道长也会恭请玉皇大帝莅临，恭请玉皇大帝参与庆典。中午时分，道长也会主持献供仪式。下午三四点左右，道长会引导理事善信恭送天公。初九下午大概一点半左右，在第二天的斋宴圆满结束后，道长也会主持犒军仪式。之后，庙里理事都会忙着为晚上恭送九皇回銮作最后筹备。



◀ The Fifth Emperor God's medium cleanses his body with burning incense sticks.

九皇五帝乩童用焚香净化身体。



◀ The arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods via their mediums for the sending-off ceremony.

九皇大帝乩童, 恭送圣驾仪式。

The sending-off ritual begins when the Nine Emperor Gods arrive through their mediums. By then, the two sides of the road outside the temple will be crowded with many devotees as well as onlookers. The crowd is much bigger than the day of the receiving. The Golden Drum Troupe starts to play, and the sending-off contingent, consisting of the lion and dragon dance troupes, the vanguard sedan chairs, the dragon ship, and the Dou Mu Yuan Jun sedan chair and Nine Emperor Gods palanquins, sets out to the thunderous drumbeat. The Nine Emperor Gods will watch a performance by the opera troupe before departing. The contingent, led by the vanguard sedan chairs will make their way on foot for a distance before boarding lorries (with the devotees boarding the buses) and making their way to the beach. Crowds of devotees will line the route, earnestly seeking blessings from the Nine Emperor Gods as they pass by.

▶ The palanquins of the Nine Emperor Gods during the sending-off ceremony.

九皇宝轿，恭送圣驾仪式。





◀ A coloured float for the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods.

恭送圣驾团队的花车。



◀ Children participants carrying lanterns at the front of the sending-off contingent.

儿童灯笼团队参加恭送圣驾仪式。



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods watching the opera performance before the journey to the beach.

九皇大帝往海边出发前欣赏大戏表演。

恭送仪式傍晚开始，九皇九位大帝通过乩童抵达。联合宫外两旁的道路上站满了许多善信及好奇的旁观者，人潮比前九天和恭迎圣驾当日还要热闹拥挤。锣鼓队开始演奏，送驾队伍也随着雷鸣般的鼓声从庙宇出发。整个队伍包括龙狮团、先锋宝轿，纸龙船，斗姆元君圣轿和九皇大帝圣轿。出发前，九皇大帝会观赏戏团演的一出大戏。在先锋宝轿的带领下，送驾队伍将步行一段路，才登上前往海边的巴士。一路上，许多善信跪在路旁，焦急等待九皇九位大帝经过以获得赐福。

At Tuas beach, there were already crowds of devotees kneeling by the roadside, earnestly waiting for the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods. After their arrival, the Nine Emperor Gods would walk towards the beach along the side of the road where the devotees are kneeling and wave their command flags over their heads, conferring blessings as they walked past. As they reach the beach, the Daoist priest will begin chanting the scriptures. The Nine Emperor Gods mediums will stand behind the altar table, while the devotees would gather in front of the altar, kneeling in respect. At a certain juncture, the Daoist priest instructs the devotees to kneel down and bow to the Nine Emperor Gods three times. The temple committee members and volunteers will then start to burn the Dragon Ship and the Nine Emperor Gods would leave their mediums one by one. The drums stop playing and the loud cacophony of a moment before is replaced by a certain peace and calm, with the crashing of the waves and the sounds of the fluttering flags in the background. There is a sense of satisfaction and relief at the successful conclusion of the sending-off ceremony.

▶ The Nine Emperor Gods' palanquins arriving for the sending-off ceremony at Tuas coast.

九皇宝轿和送驾队伍到达大士南海边。



▶ The Nine Emperor Gods blessing the devotees kneeling on the side of the road.

九皇九位大帝挥着令旗给跪在路边的善信们赐福。



在大士南海滩，善信已经跪在路旁，热切地等待九皇大帝的到来。九皇大帝到达，便沿着布满善信的马路走向海滩，同时挥动手中的令旗，替他们消灾添福。九皇九位大帝一抵达海滩，道长便开始念经。九皇大帝乩童站在神桌后，而在场的善信都聚集在神桌前跪拜。道长念经到一段落，就给予指示，让所有善信都跪下来向九皇大帝鞠躬三次。斗母宫理事和义工在海边开始焚化龙船。同时，九皇九位大帝陆续地离开，乩童也一一退乩。早前一片喧闹的景象变得平和而安静，大家都能听得到海浪声和风打在旗子上的声音。恭送仪式圆满结束，善信们也顿时感到轻松了不少。



◀ A crowd of enthusiastic devotees and temple members greeting the arrival of Dou Mu's sedan chair at Tuas Beach.

斗姆娘娘宝轿抵达大士南海滩上热闹拥挤的场面。



► Preparing to burn the Dragon Ship.

准备焚化龙船。



► Burning of the Dragon Boat.

焚化龙船。



The festival officially concludes on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month with the lowering of the Nine Lamps and the recalling of the Spiritual Armies. Over the next few days, the cleaned and refurbished prosperity censers and lu zhu (censer masters) censers are returned to their respective owners. Looking forward to the festival next year!



九皇千秋在农历九月初十九皇天灯降下五营将军被收回之后正式结束。斗母宫理事们也将清理重装过的发财炉和正副炉主炉送到各位炉主家里安在神台。一年一度的九皇千秋工作也圆满结束。期待明年九皇胜会的到来！

▲ A committee member helps to consecrate a prosperity censer on a family altar.

理事帮炉主在住家的神桌坛前安好发财炉。

Conclusion

In urbanising Singapore, Tao Bu Keng and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival continue to embody the old kampong spirit in the present. Although Kampong Sungei Tengah is no more, and despite the relocation of its communities, the scale and scope of the festival at Tao Bu Keng has continued to grow exponentially over the years. The community and networks of Tao Bu Keng and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival are no longer just located in Choa Chu Kang, Jurong East, Bukit Panjang, and Bukit Batok, but also across Singapore, even extending to Rengit in Johor. In addition to its connection with the kampong community of the past, the temple and festival have also incorporated new groups, communities, and networks, through channels old and new. Today, devotees young and old, and from different places, participate in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Tao Bu Keng. Their involvement and coming together stemmed not only from their involvement in the various activities and rituals organized during the festival, but also from their common belief in the Nine Emperor Gods and their determination to follow the strict zhai jie restrictions out of devotion and respect for the Nine Emperor Gods. Regardless of the changes over the years, the old kampong spirit and traditions are still the most important foundations of the Tao Bu Keng community and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Reminiscing with old friends and the past whilst engaging in deliberate self-reflection and self-discipline, the occasion is no doubt a solemn affair. That said, as evident amongst the devotees thus far, the festival is also certainly a good time to make new friends. The creation of new communities on the foundations of the old kampong spirit and the rituals, traditions, and values of the festival will be very important in navigating the future of Tao Bu Keng and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in a globalizing and fast-changing Singapore, and its role in the preservation and promotion of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in this country and the wider region.

► The Nine Emperor Gods blessing the devotees, Tuas South Beach.

九皇大帝给善信赐福，大士南海边。



结论

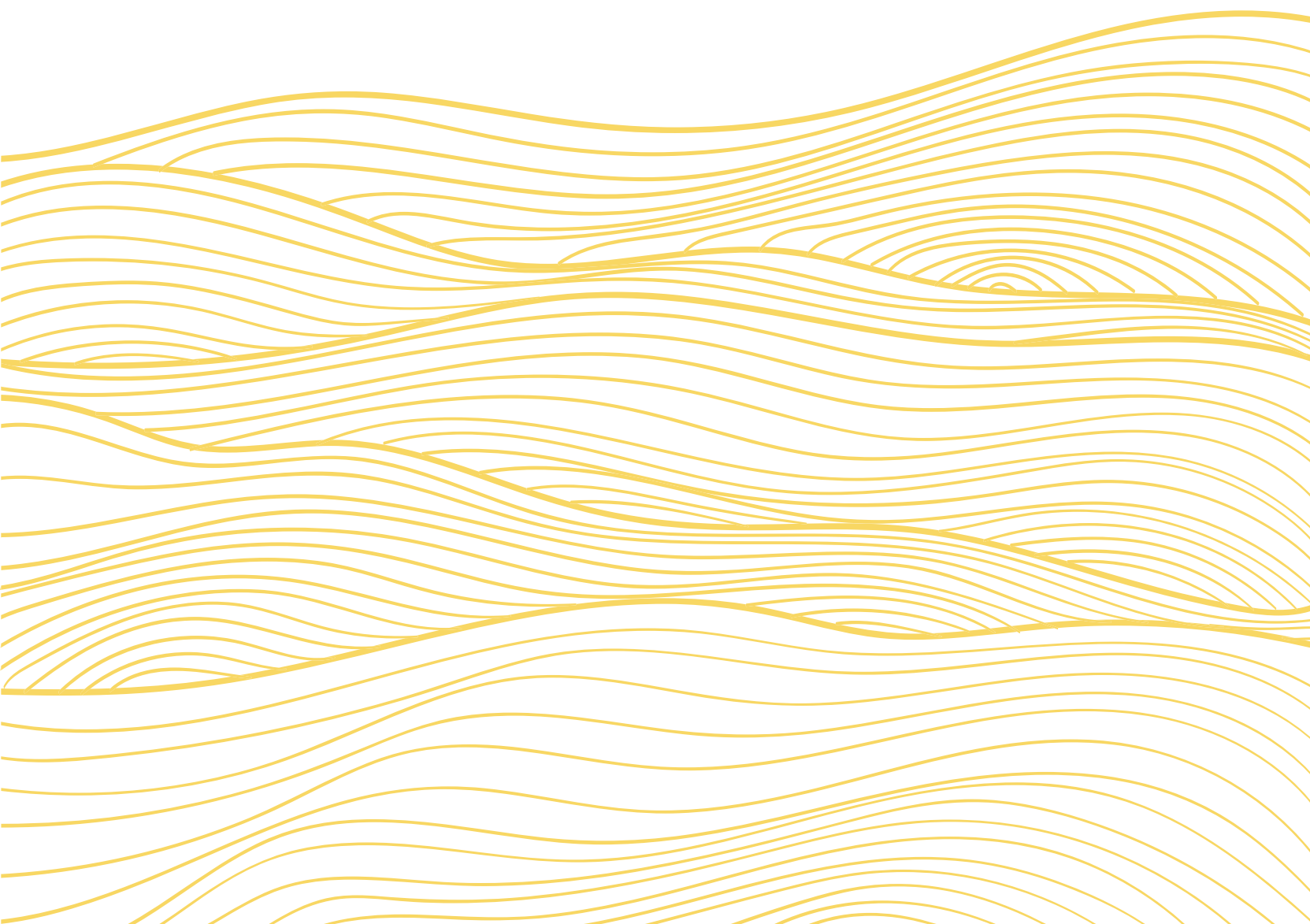
在新加坡不断城市化的今天，蔡厝港斗母宫的九皇千秋仍可看到昔日甘榜精神的延续。虽然甘榜双溪登雅已不复存在，村民们已搬迁到其他地区，这些年来，斗母宫九皇千秋的规模和范围不断扩大。如今，蔡厝港斗母宫和九皇千秋的社区和网络不仅局限于裕廊东、武吉班让和武吉巴督一带，也延伸到了新加坡各地乃至柔佛州的龙引。除了与昔日的甘榜社区保持紧密的联系，庙宇和九皇千秋也通过新旧渠道吸纳新的成员、社区和网络。今天，各地的男女善心都会前往斗母宫参加九皇千秋。众人聚集在此，不仅是为了参与节日期间组织的各种活动和仪式，更是出于众人对九皇大帝的共同信仰，以及他们严格遵守斋戒以表敬重的决心。不管这些年来发生了什么变化，古老的甘榜精神和传统仍然是斗母宫社区和九皇千秋最重要的基础。九皇千秋是与旧友追忆往昔、进行反思和自律的肃穆时光，同时也是结交新朋友的好时机，正如许多善信所经历的。将新的社区建立于古老的甘榜精神和九皇千秋的传统习俗、仪式与价值观的基础之上，斗母宫得以在全球化和瞬息万变的新加坡继续迈向未来，在九皇文化的传承和推广中扮演重要的角色。





第 4 章

Hong San Temple
风山宫



Background

► Exterior and interior of Hong San Temple, 1954.
Photographs courtesy of Koh Lian What.

大成巷葱茅园凤山宫, 1954. 照片由郭连发提供



背景



INTERIOR OF CHINESE TEMPLE IN Lq. TAI LENG
23/4/54



CHINESE TEMPLE IN Lq. TAI LENG 23/4/54

► The exterior of Hong San Temple, 1989. Photograph courtesy of Hong San Temple.

大成巷葱茅园凤山宫, 1989。照片由凤山宫提供。



► Image of the Nine Emperor Gods (back) and Luminous Officer Wang (front) venerated in Hong San Temple, c. 1969. Photograph from the Keith Stevens Collection, courtesy of Ronni Pinsler.

凤山宫供奉的九皇大帝（后）和王灵官（前）像，1969。照片来自 Keith Stevens 收藏，由 Ronni Pinsler 提供。





◀ The exterior of Hong San Temple today.

大成巷葱茅园凤山宫



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods in Hong San Temple today.

当今凤山宫供奉的九皇大帝像。

► The Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hong San Temple, Tai Seng, between 1968 and 1970. Photographs courtesy of Hong San Temple.

大成巷葱茅園凤山宫举行的九皇圣诞，1968 年至 1970 年间。照片由凤山宫提供。



Located at 49 Defu Lane 12, since its establishment, Hong San Temple is one of the oldest Nine Emperor Gods temples at 49 Defu Lane 12.¹ Of significance is that save for a short period in 2003 during renovations, the temple has been at the same site since its initial construction in 1928.²

Of utmost significance has been the growth of the temple from a small and privately owned shrine devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods at 128 Lorong Tai Seng initially to a well-known temple in Singapore today. The development of the worship must be attributed to the arrival of three senior devotees from Zhangzhou, China, with sacred incense from the renowned Nine Emperor Gods temple in Ampang, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, to enshrine Tai Seng village for the dissemination of worship. The temple relocated to its current premise in 1928 to cater to the rapid increase in devotee numbers.

¹ Its prior address was at 128 Lorong Tai Seng.

² Observed during the 2003 renovations was the temple's temporary relocation opposite of its old premise.



大成巷葱茅园凤山宫是新加坡历史最悠久的九皇爷庙之一，自1928年建庙至今，除了2003年因翻新扩建而暂时搬迁到对面的空地外，始终都位于现址 49 Defu Lane 12（旧地址为 127 Lorong Tai Seng）。凤山宫是大成巷村的重要地标，并与毗邻凤山小学有着密切的关系。日据时期前，凤山宫大量吸引新加坡东部邻近甘榜的村民前来参与九皇诞。虽然大成巷村如今已不复存在，但凤山宫仍为新加坡重要的九皇爷庙，对以前的村民更是意义深远。

大成巷葱茅园凤山宫起初是一间供奉九皇大帝的小型家庙。1906年，几位漳州籍的先辈从吉隆坡安邦把九皇大帝的香火带来大成巷葱茅园。他们在村子里开坛后，四周许多村民都前来供奉。随着信众的增加，凤山宫在1928年迁至位于德福12巷49号，占地更大的现址。



▲ Feng Shan Primary School, between 1968 and 1970. Photograph courtesy of Hong San Temple.

凤山小学, 1968 年至 1970 年间。照片由凤山宫提供。

An important fixture in Tai Seng village and the surrounding Lemongrass district region, Hong San Temple even provided much-needed financial assistance to a primary school in its vicinity—Feng Shan Primary School. This educational assistance has continued till the present. Great was its reach and influence that the participants that it drew to its Nine Emperor Gods Festivals came from many neighbouring villages in eastern Singapore before the Japanese Occupation. Indeed, the Tai Seng village no longer exists today. Nevertheless, the temple remains an undeniably important religious institution for Singapore’s Nine Emperor Gods Festival, especially for the older generation of former inhabitants and their descendants. Hence, the temple’s maintenance of its strong Tai Seng roots is observable. Hong San Temple’s contemporary reach is equally impressive to that of its past, with followers hailing from all across Singapore, particularly during the festival. Understanding this compels the recognition that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival should not be viewed as an isolated religious affair. Rather, it should be regarded as an annual social event facilitating the reunion and bonding of former Tai Seng kampong inhabitants.

Today, Hong San Temple has followers from all over Singapore. However, its Tai Seng roots remain very strong, and the people from Tai Seng village continue to return annually to participate in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. It is not just a religious affair. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival can also be regarded as an annual social event that continues to bring many people formerly from the “Tai Seng” kampong back together.

今天的凤山宫，信众遍布全新加坡。然而，其与大成巷的过去仍维持很密切的联系，许多以前大成巷村的居民仍每年回来参与九皇诞。对他们而言，这不仅是一个宗教的节日，更是凝聚大成巷村老村民的年度社会活动。



◀ The Sincerity and Devotional Association erected Archway in the 1980s. Photographs courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

凤山宫诚心联合会大牌楼，1980年代。照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。



Preparation: Spring Cleaning

Before the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, Hong San Temple is typically thoroughly cleansed on the first of October. Interior and exterior façades aside, the cleansing extends to the cooking equipment and utensils. This cleansing serves to notify participants who are directly involved in the festival—the censer-masters, “Bosses” or *Towkays*, and some members of the different temple committees and societies, including the Association of the Old Vegetarian Friends—of the start of the *zhai* regime. Other individuals merely participating as devotees or normal temple members instead begin the vegetarian diet three days before the Inviting Ceremony.

► Food offerings sponsored by various “Incense Societies”.

凤山宫香社赞助的素食供品。



准备：大扫除



Spring cleaning within the temple.

大扫除

凤山宫10月1日的大扫除在清静庙宇之余，也提醒参与九皇诞的核心成员如头家、炉主、老菜友，以及若干理事会成员等应开始茹素斋戒。另一方面，其他善信则可视情形于请水前自行决定何时开始斋戒，例如有人会选请水前三天开始茹素。与往年相同，庙宇的大扫除进行得非常彻底，连厨具和餐具都必须清洗和更换。

Discussions on Hong San Temple cannot be extricated from insights regarding the various “Incense Societies” or associations connected to the temple. Crucial are members from these associations as they contribute finances, manpower and connections for decorations, parades and cultural performances necessary for successful and grand Nine Emperor Gods Festival celebrations. A nod to their unique histories and responsibilities of interests are the eight remaining associations that are still active as of 2022, including:

1. Among the first associations to be founded, the Association of Old Vegetarian Friends was founded after the Japanese Occupation of Singapore (1942—1945). Responsibilities held by members of this society include procuring vegetarian food items and offerings for the festival and assisting in conducting key rituals during the festival as ritual specialists. The latter includes the coastal receiving and sending-off ceremonies, daily scheduled raising and lowering of the Nine Lamps, and the maintenance of the Inner Chamber alongside the censer-masters.
2. Founded in 1952, the Incense Pavilion Society is tasked to bear the two palanquins of the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival.
3. Deriving its name from the five sponsored silver turtles offered at the altar of the Nine Emperor Gods after the Second World War, the Silver Turtles Society emerged after a devotee successfully invited one of the said turtles back. Considering the origins of the society, what followed was the privileging of only the members of this society to seek the Nine Emperor Gods’ permission to invite one of the turtles back home. By 1961, tasks allocated to this society expanded to organising dragon dances, decorated floats, and musical bands. More recently, society has also assisted with celebratory banquets. Originally a devotional association formed by several vegetable traders in the 1950s under the title the “Green Vegetables United Association”, the society’s involvement with lighting firecrackers before the palanquins of the Nine Emperor Gods gave it its new namesake—the Large Canon Society. Other duties of this society include preparing decorated floats and organising performances.
4. Established in 1964, the Sincerity and Devotional Association has since been responsible for decorating the temple’s compound and surroundings with fairy lights. Members constructed archways above the temple during the past Nine Emperor Gods Festivals. Additional assignments include organising festival performances and parades—opera, lion and dragon dances, and parade floats.
5. Created between 1968 and 1969, the Unity Society also oversees the organisation of decorated floats for the festival parades.
6. Initiated between 1972 and 1973, the Devoted Friends Association coordinates performances and provides musical accompaniments for the sending-off ceremony. Moreover, they have a hand in arranging processions, coloured floats and banquets.
7. The most recently established association, the Ritual Ship Association, had its roots in 2018. The association directs procurements and rituals relating to the Ritual Ship.

▶ Preparations of the main entrance of Hong San Temple for receiving new lanterns for the upcoming year. All but the red banner representing the Jade Emperor will be swapped to yellow.

大扫除后，凤山宫静候九皇诞的到来，也陆续挂上新的平安灯。九皇诞期间，除了写着“玉皇上帝”的横幅维持红色之外，其他都换成黄色，象征玉皇上帝的崇高地位。



在凤山宫，除了庙宇理事，九皇诞也在几个“香社”的协助下举办。香社成员集合资金、人力和人脉关系，通过装饰、游行和文化表演，使凤山宫的九皇诞庆祝活动尽可能盛大。每个协会都有自己独特的历史和责任。截至2022年，这些香社中有八个仍在运作，它们是：

1. 老菜友会是在新加坡被日本占领期间（1942年至1945年）成立的，是本地第一个成立的素食会。该香社成员的任务是为庆典采购素食材料和供品。这个香社的几名成员也是仪式长老，他们在九皇诞期间主持一些重要仪式，如在海边的迎驾与送驾、升九皇灯，以及和炉主一同守护内殿。
2. 香亭社成立于1952年。顾名思义，该香社成员们的任务是抬起两乘九皇爷宝轿。
3. 银龟社得名于第二次世界大战后，被供奉和安放在九皇神龛上的五只银龟。后来，在一个未说明的日期，一位信徒设法邀请其中一只银龟和他一起回来，倡议成立银龟协会。其后，只有成员才获授权向九皇爷申请邀请其中一只银龟回家。到了1961年，该香社的任务是组织舞龙表演、花车和乐队，以配合九皇诞盛典。随着时间的推移，该香社也开始参与组织庆祝宴会。
4. 大炮社最初成立于1950年代，是由几个蔬菜商组成的一个灵修协会，最初的名称是“青菜联合会”。后来，该香社开始参与准备装饰花车、组织表演等，最重要的是在九皇爷圣殿前燃放鞭炮。此项任务也是香社之名的由来。
5. 诚心联合会成立于1964年，其成员主要负责装饰庙宇周围和院落的彩灯。过去，其成员也在九皇爷圣诞期间，在庙宇顶上竖起牌楼。随着时间的推移，该香社也组织了歌剧、舞狮与舞龙表演、花车游行等。
6. 联合社于1968年至1969年间成立，其成员也负责组织花车游行。
7. 诚友会成立于1972年至1973年间。他们负责组织演出和为送驾仪式提供锣鼓乐队的音乐伴奏。他们还组织游行、装饰花车和筹办宴会。
8. 法船会成立于2018年。顾名思义，其成员主要负责监督与法船有关的采购和仪式。



◀ Two palanquins for the Nine Emperor Gods incense burner and image.

黄色的圣轿载着象征九皇爷的金身与香炉。神诞期间，负责抬轿的香亭社成员必须严格遵守斋戒茹素的规定。据说不斋戒茹素的香亭社成员在抬轿时会感到千斤重，反之则轻松自如。

Receiving the Nine Emperor Gods

Unique to Hong San Temple is its comparatively earlier commencement of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival annually as opposed to other Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore. The determinant of this commencement date lies in the invitation date results derived from the tossing of divination blocks a year prior by the then-contemporary Hong San Temple's ritual specialists or censer-masters. The tossing of the divinations allows the Nine Emperor Gods to select from a couple of dates.

In 2017, the receiving ceremony was performed on the 13th of October 2017 (the 24th day of the eighth lunar month). Despite the receiving ceremony taking place only at night, the busyness of preparatory work engulfing the censer-masters during the day was visible. These included one of the most important rituals of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival—raising the Nine Lamps to signal the official start of the said festival.

Raising of the Heavenly Lamps

► Daoist priest-led ritual for raising the Nine Lamps with the Towkays, censer-master and Old Vegetarian Friends.

唯有头家、炉主和老菜友能参与起降天灯的仪式，其他人只能在仪式区域外观礼。当道长开始诵经祈福时，头家、炉主和老菜友跪于草席上。根据世代相传的传统，他们在仪式过程中得全程赤脚，不得穿任何鞋袜。



► Preparations of the palanquins for receiving the Nine Emperor Gods at East Coast Park by yellow-and-white-clad palanquin bearers from the Incense Pavilion Association.

香亭社的成员整理圣轿，为东海岸公园的接炉仪式做准备。他们以黄色衬衫和善信、其他理事有所区别。



恭迎圣驾

凤山宫比新加坡其他的九皇大帝庙宇早几日恭迎九皇大帝。接炉的日期是在前一年的九月初三，由该年的炉主或理事选择几个日期，在庙宇中殿以掷杯的方式请九皇爷作决定的。

2017年的接炉日期是农历八月廿四日（阳历10月13日）。尽管接炉仪式在当天晚上进行，头家炉主一大早就开始准备。最重要的仪式之一就是升天灯，象征九皇大帝圣诞庆典的开始。

升天灯



◀ Scheduled daily refilling of the lowered Nine Lamps by the same three personnel—one of the Old Vegetarian Friends, the main and deputy censer-master.

降下天灯须由老菜友执行。天灯的清洁与添油均由老菜友、炉主和副炉主负责。

Receiving the Nine Emperor Gods

► The installation of banners and flags at the beach for the receiving ceremony in which the yellow banner is positioned before the red banner in the direction of the sea.

彩旗和灯笼队伍到了海边站好位置。在恭迎九皇大帝时，黄彩会排在红彩前面，向着大海。



► Invitation of the censer to the beach ritual site where offerings and incense paper are laid out between two large yellow candles, and chanting and petitions would occur.

庙宇理事会将香炉请到恭迎仪式地点。仪式地点也在一对大黄色蜡烛中间摆了祭品、茶杯、茶壶和金纸。道长开始诵经展开恭迎圣驾仪式。老菜友代表也会念读疏文。



恭迎圣驾



Devotees wait in anticipation of the Nine Emperor Gods' arrival.

善信齐聚于海边准备恭迎九皇大帝的到来。



Several members from the Old Vegetarian Friends Association are assisting the main censer-master in carrying the large yellow censer filled with incense sticks into the sea to receive the Nine Emperor Gods.

正炉主在老菜友及其代表的陪同下走入海里恭迎九皇大帝



A solemn affair, the invitation ceremony mainly involves the more important direct festival contributors—the Daoist priest, the main and assistant censer-masters, and several members of the Old Vegetarian Friends, requesting the Nine Emperor Gods to head out from within the Inner Chamber of the temple. Other participants, such as the palanquin bearers and their palanquins, temple volunteers and devotees await outside the Inner Chamber in the main hall whilst kneeling with incense. This ritual is maintained until the notification by temple elders regarding the completion of the prayers within the Inner Chamber.

Case in point, worshippers are first alerted to the impending transition during the collection of the held incense sticks by a temple elder who would have been in the Inner Chamber prior. The ensuing process entails offering the collected incense in the chamber while the devotees remain in the main hall. That said, devotees are further informed of the culmination of the rituals during the exiting of other temple elders during the ongoing offering of collected incense sticks from the Inner Chamber.

The signal is when a temple elder came out to collect incense sticks from the worshippers outside. He then returned to the Inner Chamber to offer the incense sticks to the deities. As this was happening, other temple elders would leave the Inner Chamber.



◀ The censer-master and Old Vegetarian Friends enter the temple on foot.

炉主、老菜友与接炉队伍缓缓步行回凤山宫。

道长、炉主和助手，连同老菜友，一起进入内殿。圣轿进入庙宇，停驻在内殿外，圣物在掩蔽下进入内殿。随后，道长在内殿诵经主持仪式。信众与庙宇义工手捻香跪地，在阵阵铃声中等待站在内殿门外的老菜友官务示意内殿已祈福完毕。

当他步出内殿收集跪候于殿外众善信手中的焚香，并返回内殿作为代表进香给九皇大帝时，即象征着内殿的仪式已经完成，其他老菜友会官务也陆续退出了内殿。

The Consecration of the Bridge of Blessing

▶ Devotees willingly traverse the Bridge of Blessing for prosperity and blessings—once across, a stamp from the Nine Emperor God's seal on their backs will be issued for further blessings.

富贵平安桥，善信可以过桥以求富贵平安。过了桥的善信的背上都会被盖上玺印以保平安。



Prevalent during the first hours of the first day of the ninth lunar month (i.e. at roughly 11 P.M. on the 30th day of the eighth lunar month) annually is the consecration of the Bridge of Blessing and Prosperity by the Daoist priest. This ensures that traversing devotees can attain prosperity and blessings. They will receive a stamp of the Nine Emperor Gods seal on their backs after crossing the bridge. The Bridge Official Deity (Gio Gua) oversees the bridge during the festival.

That said, deviations from normal routine practices are not uncommon. For instance, the 2017 consecration of the bridge was performed earlier than 11pm as the Hong San committee members were scheduled to embark on a trip to Ampang Nan Tian Gong Temple to retrieve incense ashes. Initiating the consecration was the Daoist priest's consecrated the bridge by summoning celestial generals and soldiers to protect the site. Following this, the committee members were allowed to cross the bridge and having the temple's seal stamped before their Ampang trip.

富贵平安桥开光仪式



Consecrating the Bridge of Blessing

平安桥开光仪式

每年九月初一子时，道长会为富贵平安桥开光。开光后，善信在过桥前需上香祭拜上帝公，然后步行过桥，祈求消灾解厄、富贵平安。最后，凤山宫理事会在善信的背后盖九皇大帝印章，象征被神明庇佑。平安桥由桥官神明监督。

2017年，由于凤山宫成员将出发前往马来西亚吉隆坡安邦南天宫割香，因此提早举行开光仪式。由道长平安桥周围六处召唤天兵天降镇守，并将令旗系于桥上。道长为平安桥开光后，带领头家炉主等步行过桥，官务萧先生在每人背后盖章，为大家前往南天宫割香之行祈求平安顺利。

Trip to Nan Tian Gong Temple, Ampang, Kuala Lumpur

Hong San Temple schedules a trip to Nan Tian Gong Temple in Ampang, Malaysia, to invite incense ashes once every three years when the lunar calendar experiences a leap month.

▶ Barefooted expedition to Ampang, where the visiting Hong San Temple committee members are welcomed by Nan Tian Gong Temple committee members outside their temple.

抵达安邦后，理事们都赤脚走路。南天宫理事会代表在庙外欢迎凤山宫的到访。



到南天宫请香火

每三年有轮月的农历年份凤山宫理事会主持团队到安邦南天宫请香火。



◀ Conduction of prayer by Mr Siow How Mong, an elder from Hong San Temple, for the Hong San Temple entourage in the main prayer hall of Nan Tian Gong Temple.

凤山宫团队队员到南天宫的主殿，由凤山宫宫务萧孝茂先生带领大家进行团拜，向南天宫九皇大帝捻香行礼。



◀ The final agenda in the itinerary of Hong San Temple members' visit to Nan Tian Gong includes partaking in a prepared vegetarian feast before the former's return to Singapore.

最后，南天宫为凤山宫团队摆斋席。用餐后，凤山宫团队启程回返新加坡。



The Ban Xian Ceremony of the Devoted Friends Association

Prevalent during the annual Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the daily noon scheduled “Performance of the Immortals” or Ban Xian in appreciation of the day’s sponsor of the opera performances. Each noon performance is sponsored by one of the associations linked to Hong San Temple. This section will focus on the performance of the Ban Xian Ceremony sponsored by the Devoted Friends Association.



▲ A representative of the Devoted Friends Association received the patron deity of actors before its arrangement on the offering table in front of the Nine Emperor Gods.

戏班演员将太子爷及冠帽素果交给诚友会代表，放置在九皇大帝的神龛前。

诚友会扮仙仪式

九皇大帝圣诞庆典期间，每天中午都会进行扮仙的仪式，以酬谢当日戏班大戏演出的赞助人。凤山宫各个香社与理事会都会轮流赞助一天的大戏演出。以下即以诚友会扮仙为例子，一窥扮仙仪式如何进行。



▲ Payment of respects to the Nine Emperor Gods, the Jade Emperor, the Nine Lamps and other deities and altars by the Devoted Friends Association and opera performers in Hong San Temple.

诚友会会员与戏班演员走到前殿向玉皇上帝与天灯上香行礼，由阿三哥代为将香置入香炉。

Temple Visits

Cross-temple visits are a norm during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Typically, these visits involve the exchange of incense, gifts and greetings between the host and visiting temples. Hong San Temple, likewise, entertains visits from other temples during this period annually.

► Cross-temple visits to Hong San Temple by Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, Kim San Tze, Long Nan Dian, and Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan Qing Nang Lao Yu Luo Chun.

洪水港斗母宫,金山寺,龙南殿与玄武山翰林院代表
及其炉主到凤山宫进香



参拜

九皇大帝千秋期间，其它九皇庙宇会来凤山宫拜访，交换香火，礼篮和祝福，反之亦然。



▲ Visit to Long Nan Dian and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

凤山宫代表及其炉主到龙南殿与洪水港斗母宫进香

Chanting Session by Koo Chye Ba Sheng Hong Temple San Qing Gong

An annual practice during the festival is the arrangement for Daoist priests-led blessings at Hong San Temple by the Daoist Federation.

▲ Included in the cross-temple visits is the involvement of Hong San Temple's main censer-master in parts of the rituals of the host temple for the receiving of blessings on behalf of his temple.

凤山宫九皇大帝圣诞庆典正炉主参与了其中一部份的仪式。仪式过程中，他代表凤山宫接受诵经团的祈福



Decorating the Ritual Ship

Noteworthy is the practice of the adornment of the Ritual Ship with stickers and lights not only for religious purposes but also for aesthetical enhancements.

► Decorating the Ritual Ship.

装饰祈福法船



韭菜芭城隍庙三清宫的诵经团

新加坡道教总会近几年每年都会安排韭菜芭城隍庙三清宫的诵经团到凤山宫诵经祈福。



装饰祈福法船

祈福法船贴满了祈福者的捐款收据，并挂上了灯饰加以美化。

Nine Emperor Gods' Birthday

► Conduction of a chanting session in the wee hours of the sixth day of the ninth lunar month by the Daoist priest in commemoration of the Nine Emperor Gods' birthday.

在农历九月初六的凌晨，道长为纪念九皇爷诞辰而诵经。



The birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month is a much-celebrated annual affair at Hong San Temple. The commissioning of an eggless birthday cake for the Nine Emperor Gods epitomises the extent of the commemoration. The reason for the deliberate customisation of the cake is the adherence to the festival's vegetarian requirements. Given the approval for consumption, slices of cakes and longevity buns are usually distributed to the participating devotees after the necessary ritual prayers.

九皇大帝圣诞正日



◀ Spread of food and incense paper offerings by the Kitchen Committee to sponsor the “Performance of the Immortals” on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

厨房委员会厨务组准备的食物和香纸供品。他们在农历九月初六赞助了“扮仙”仪式。



◀ Distribution of the vegetarian birthday cake to devotees.

将素食生日蛋糕分发给信徒。

九月初六晚上，凤山宫为九皇大帝庆祝诞辰正日。庙方会为九皇大帝特别订制无蛋生日蛋糕，素食者也可食用。庙宇义工将生日蛋糕和寿桃分给在场的善信。

Closing of the Bridge of Blessing

▶ The Bridge of Blessing and Prosperity is dismantled on the eighth day of the ninth lunar month after undergoing a sealing ritual by a Daoist priest and kept in storage till the next festival.

农历九月初八，经过道长主持的仪式，庙方理事开始拆卸富贵平安桥。他们将拆解后的桥小心翼翼地包裹和收藏起来以备来年九皇大帝圣诞庆典之需。



Ninth Day of the Ninth Lunar Month

The ninth day of the ninth lunar month is a significant occasion for all Nine Emperor Gods temples, including Hong San Temple. After all, it marks the day for sending-off the Nine Emperor Gods.

▶ Preparations of glutinous rice balls are to be offered to the Nine Emperor Gods and other deities by a selected Lady of Good Fortune. Criteria for this section include (1) a living spouse, (2) both sons and daughters, (3) never lost a child, and (4) grandchildren from both sons and daughters.

圣驾回銮当天制作汤圆. 这些汤圆得由好命人来制作。身为一个好命人必须具备以下条件：(1) 丈夫与公婆皆健在；(2) 有子女；(3) 无子女夭折；(4) 子女皆有所出。除了九皇大帝，也会为其他神祇献上汤圆。



关闭富贵平安桥



九月初九

农历九月初九是凤山宫和各大九皇爷宫庙的大日子。这一天是九皇大帝圣驾回銮的日子。初九的扮仙，凤山宫总务和官务与戏班演员一同向众神致敬。



◀ Attachments of lettuces or “She Cai” in Fujianese (a homophone for “becoming wealthy”) on the Ritual Ship in the afternoon of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month ahead of the sending-off ceremony.

当天下午准备晚上的送驾仪式时，义工在祈福法船上挂生菜。福建话“生菜”的发音与“生财”类似，取其吉祥之意。

► Ban Xian on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

九月初九扮仙



As part of the Ban Xian performance on the ninth day, opera troupe performers pay their respects to the deities alongside the chief executive and ritual specialists from the Hong San Temple committee.



Sending off the Nine Emperor Gods

Hong San Temple pulls out all the stops for the sending-off ceremony, as with other temples. At dusk, highly decorated floats are routed to drive past the temple in a procession. The procession's lion dance, dragon dance and acrobatics performers usually pay their respects to the deities at the temple's main entrance before the Nine Lamps. On the whole, the success of the sending-off ceremony is determined by the complete efforts rendered by participants, including temple committee members and members of the different associations affiliated with the temple, who partially account for the assembled mass.

Before inviting the image and the censer representing the Nine Emperor Gods into their respective palanquins, rituals are usually performed in the Inner Chamber by the Daoist priest, censer-masters and Old Vegetarian Friends members. After the ritual's conclusion and settling of the Nine Emperor Gods in the palanquins is the exit of the said individuals from the Inner Chamber led by the Daoist priest. Worth noting at this juncture is the fact that the main censer master emerges carrying a smaller incense censer and other ritual objects.

► Presentation of final respects to the Nine Emperor Gods by the leaders of Hong San Temple before the sending off.

恭送九皇大帝之前，凤山宫的理事与领导向九皇大帝敬拜。



► The main censer master carries a incense censer, while the palanquins follow after him

正炉主捧着香炉走出大殿，香亭社成员抬着圣轿跟随在后。



恭送九皇大帝

黄昏时分，凤山宫已是人潮拥挤，水泄不通。除了庙宇的信众外，还有许多民众来凤山宫观赏九皇大帝圣驾回銮的游行。这是九皇大帝圣诞庆典的重头戏，凤山宫各香社组织花车及表演节目，参与游行，对九皇大帝献上崇高的敬意。送驾游行中，各香社都准备了美轮美奂的花车并安排了许多精彩的表演，如舞龙、舞狮和杂技表演等等。当各香社花车和表演队伍经过凤山宫时，表演队在庙前殿的阶梯和天灯前向神明致敬。



◀ Preparing the palanquins for sending off the Nine Emperor Gods..

筹备圣轿准备恭送圣驾。

在代表九皇大帝的金身与香炉被安放到圣轿之前，道长、炉主及老菜友在内殿主持仪式。当仪式结束，而金身与香炉也被安放圣轿后，在道长的带领下，炉主连同老菜友捧着香炉及其他法器缓缓走出内殿。



◀ The departure of the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins from Hong San Temple to East Coast Park.

九皇大帝圣轿离开凤山宫前往东海岸公园送驾回銮

▶ Carrying the Ritual Ship to the lorry for transportation to East Coast Park.

祈福法船被安置到罗厘上，准备运往东海岸公园



▶ Devotees at East Coast beach waiting to send off the Nine Emperor Gods..

在海边恭送九皇大帝回銮的善信。





◀ The Nine Emperor Gods palanquins at the beach.

九皇圣轿抵达海边。



◀ Preparations for the tugging of the Ritual Ship out to sea.

准备将祈福法船拖曳到海中



▶ Sending off the Nine Emperor Gods.

恭送九皇大帝回銮



The normative practice is inviting the large yellow censer representing the Nine Emperor Gods to the ritual area for the coastal sending-off ceremony with the assistance of the members of the Association of the Old Vegetarian Friends. The ritual takes place whilst participants and devotees kneel around the yellow censer. Blessings are sought for all present individuals before the collection of the incense sticks for placement within the censer.

▶ The censer-master carries the large yellow censer and walks into the sea with selected representatives from the Old Vegetarian Friends Association.

炉主捧着香炉在老菜友（或其代表）的陪同下，缓缓涉入海中，恭送九皇大帝回銮。



The censer master carries the yellow censer into the sea and sends off the Nine Emperor Gods. At the same time, the other temple members will burn the Ritual Ship. The devotees and participants in the sending-off ceremony then say their prayers, and burn their yellow girdle (part of the festival's attire) with incense paper. It marks the end of the sending-off ceremony. The sending-off contingent heads back to Hong San Temple by the chartered buses and lorries.



在老菜友的主持和指挥下，九皇大帝的黄色香炉被安放在海边恭送仪式地点的中央，在一对黄色的长蜡烛之间。炉主、头家、老菜友以及凤山宫众理事成员围着香炉跪立成倒U字形，朝向海水。炉主跪立于香炉正后方，老菜友等人在其两侧。道长站立在炉主老菜友等人身后，开始进行恭送九皇大帝回銮仪式，并为凤山宫、理事、头家炉主、会员和众善信祈福。仪式完毕后，大家手中的香将被收集放置到香炉内。



◀ Burning the Ritual Ship.

焚烧法船

炉主将香炉捧到海中恭送，而其他理事点燃已经放入海中的祈福法船，恭送九皇大帝回銮。然后，在海边的各理事善信也祈求神的庇佑，并把他们节日期间穿戴的黄色手带及腰带放进焚烧的金纸中，象征着消灾解厄，趋吉避凶。恭送圣驾回銮的仪式至此结束。善信与民众逐渐散去，理事也搭乘香客巴士回凤山宫。

► The temple after the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods.

恭送圣驾回銮之后的场面。



Back at Hong San Temple, the yellow lanterns outside the main prayer hall have been switched to red while the temple party and devotees were sending off the Nine Emperor Gods. The sending-off contingent and the devotees returned to find the area outside the main prayer hall covered with red lanterns rather than yellow. Worshippers now end their vegetarian diet, except for the *towkays*, censer-master, Old Vegetarian Friends, and certain temple committee members.



当送驾队伍出发到东海岸公园恭送九皇爷回銮时，留守庙里的义工便将凤山宫主殿外的黄灯笼换成了红灯笼。当送驾队伍和善信回宫后，主殿外红色横幅向内的灯笼都换成红色。除了头家、炉主、老菜友以及部分理事会成员外，众善信都可以开始享用荤食。

Lowering of the Nine Lamps

▶ Lowering of the Nine Lamps.

降天灯



The Nine Lamps are generally lowered at around 10 A.M. on the morning of the tenth day of the ninth lunar month. Indicative in this act is the announcement of the conclusion of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Guided by the Daoist priest, the ritual seeks to inform the heavenly court about the culmination and offer prayers for blessings over the participants and the temple. With the Nine Lamps lowered, the site would be removed, and the lamp pole would be dismantled. Completing this final ritual underscores the fulfilment of the duties of the *towkays* and censer-masters and heralds the recommencement of everyday life routines and diets.

降下九皇天灯

降下天灯的仪式约在早上十点举行。升起天灯象征九皇诞的开始，反之则代表节日的结束。与前者仪式相同，头家、炉主和老菜友为主要参与者。道长主持降灯仪式，为头家、炉主和老菜友以及庙宇诵经祈福，并禀告天庭节日结束。事后，理事们会降下天灯、撤除周围的栏杆，最后将灯篙拆卸下来。当整个降灯仪式完毕后，头家、炉主的责任也完成，才可以开荤，回到平常的生活旋律。



▲ Rewarding spirit soldiers with non-vegetarian offerings.

以荤食犒军

Epilogue

In Hong San Temple, there is a sense of community spirit among the devotees, the associations, and the temple's committee members. Such a community-based culture has widened its membership over the years. Since its establishment, the temple has maintained strong networks with the villagers, devotees, and the associations, companies, and schools in the village. Furthermore, the members of the committees from the older generation all came from the same kampong and embody the spirit of togetherness akin to a family. Initially, the recruitment of committee members was restricted only to those who lived in the Tai Seng region. However, the rules gradually loosened over time. The temple now gladly welcomes passionate members from different parts of Singapore and from all walks of life. Not only do they have a strong community spirit within their old kampong area, but they also welcome new members with open arms and create new communities on the foundations of the old.

Moving forward, as many temple elders have begun to retire, Hong San Temple continues to recognise the need to recruit younger members into its committee. They have a Youth Wing dedicated for devotees from a younger generation. The Youth Wing will also look into the efforts to groom future leaders. Other committees such as the Silver Turtle committee are also actively recruiting younger members. These efforts are important for one of the oldest Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore to continue playing its important roles in preserving and passing down the traditions, values, and culture of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

结语

凤山宫的善信与香社、理事之间有着强烈的社区精神。多年来，这种以社区为基础的文化使得凤山宫的成员不断增加。凤山宫自成立以来一直与旧村民、善信甚至社区内的旧商号和学校(如凤山小学)维持着紧密的联系。此外，资深的理事几乎都是原来甘榜的居民，彼此之间情同家人。理事会及各香社创立之初，成员仅限于大成村附近的居民，后来，这一限制逐渐放宽。如今，庙宇积极欢迎来自新加坡各地和各行各业的热情善信担任理事。凤山宫不仅维持旧甘榜的社区精神，同时也张开双臂欢迎新成员。

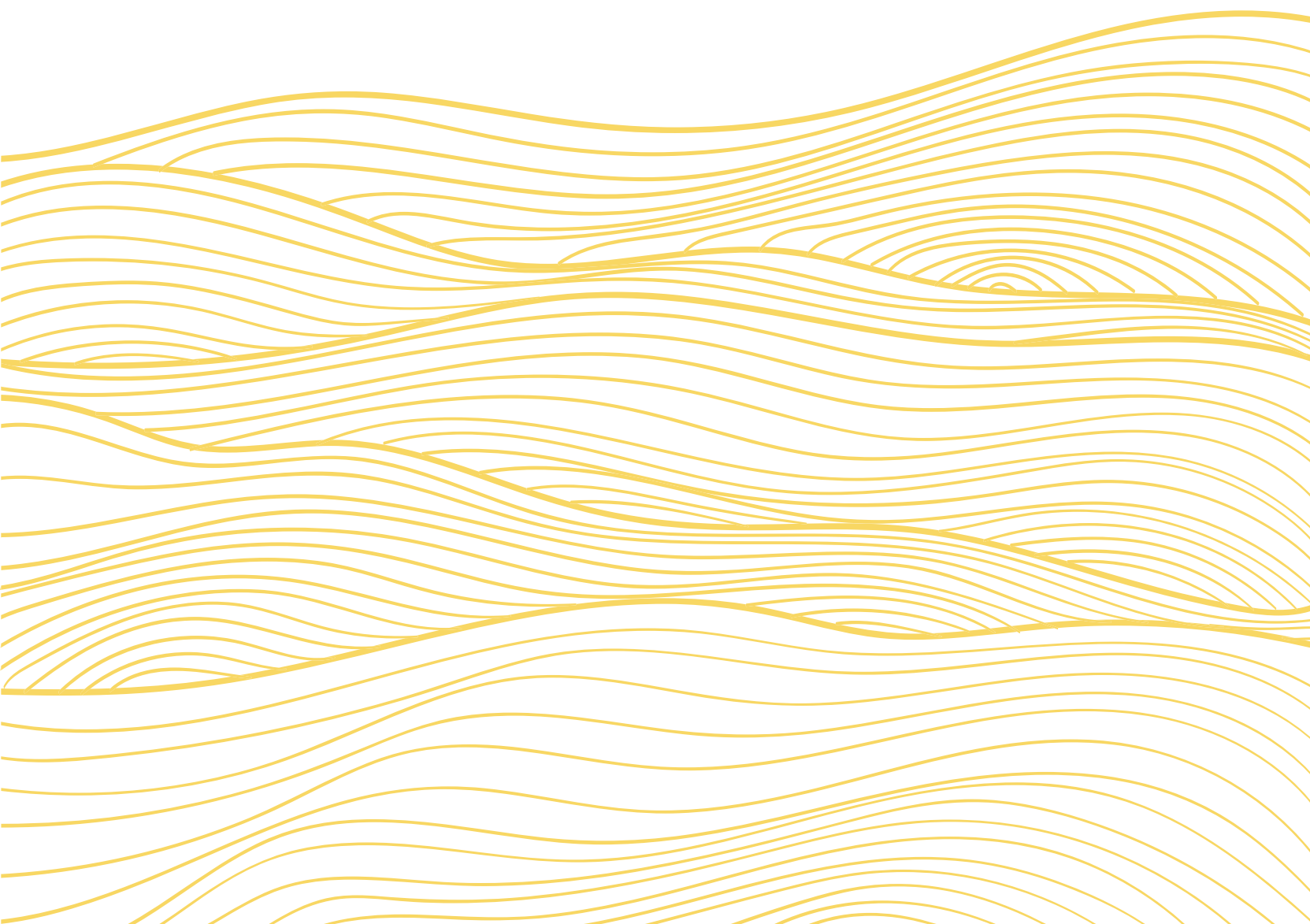
随着德高望重的长辈开始退休，凤山宫理事会和各香社也正视招募年轻善信及成员的需求。凤山宫设立了青年团，以吸引年轻一代加入并培养未来的管理层。其他香社如银龟会也积极招募新会员。作为新加坡最古老的九皇庙之一，凤山宫这些努力对于保存和传承九皇文化的传统、价值观和社群具有重要的意义。



Nine Emperor Gods Festival celebrations at Hougang Tou Mu Kung today.
如今节日期间的后港斗母宫。

第 5 章

Hougang Tou Mu Kung
后港斗母宫



Introduction

► Festivities at Hougang Tou Mu Kung, c.1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1980年代节日期间的后港斗母宫。照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。



Established in 1921, Hougang Dou Mu Kung is widely recognised as the oldest temple dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods in Singapore. The temple served the Fujianese and Chaozhou communities in the Hougang and Upper Serangoon areas in the past but has since become famous island-wide as one of the key Singapore temples related to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

The temple had humble beginnings as a small shrine owned by Ong Choo Kee. On one of Ong's frequent business trips to Malaya, he had obtained the sacred incense from the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong in Penang—which he installed in the small shrine. Namely, the shrine's observation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival caught the attention of businessman Ong Chwee Tow. Having gained much wealth from regional pineapple and canning plantations in the wake of the First World War, Ong Chwee Tow was a well-known sponsor of Chinese temples in Singapore. He then acquired the land at 5 ½ milestone at Serangoon Road to build Hougang Tou Mu Kong. His contributions have since been recorded on a stone stela in the temple. The inscription reveals that the temple has remained at its current since its construction in 1919.

► Vegetarian noodle preparations in the temple kitchen, the 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1980年代在后港斗母宫准备素面。照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。



引言



◀ Devotees in Hougang Tou Mu Kung, 1990. Photograph from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年，在后港斗母宫里朝拜的信众。图片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。

创立于1921年，后港斗母宫是新加坡最早尊奉九皇爷的庙宇。虽然早期的善信都来自于后港与实龙岗路上段的闽潮族群，后港斗母宫至今已成为享誉全岛的九皇庙和九皇诞的主要中心之一。

新加坡后港斗母宫的香火最初是由一名叫王珠玑的商人带来的，他经常往返新马两地经商。在一次旅行中，王珠玑将九皇大帝的香火从槟城香港巷斗母宫请到新加坡，供奉于后港四英里林露园。该庙供奉九皇爷千秋的情景，后来引起了本地富商王水斗的关注。王水斗在第一次世界大战结束后，从当地的黄梨种植和罐头制造业中赚取了大量财富，也是本地华人庙宇的重要捐献者和支持者。随后，王水斗把后港五英里半的一块空地购下盖了后港斗母宫。于是，在庙宇石碑上，他的名字位居首列。根据该石碑碑文所载，斗母宫于1919年完工，并一直伫立至今。

▶ Temporary hawker set-ups outside of Hougang Tou Mu Kung, 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1980 年代，小販在后港斗母宫外售卖商品。照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。



The growth of Hougang Tou Mu Kung was epitomised by the construction of a permanent opera stage facing the temple's main entrance within nine years of its establishment in 1928. Although the structure was demolished after the redevelopment of the adjoining Serangoon Road, that the opera performances hosted by the temple during the festival had been extremely popular. Given the importance of opera performances to past festival observations in Hougang, it is perhaps uncoincidental that the patron deity of opera troupes—Marshall Tiandu—has remained one of the temple's secondary deities alongside other recognisable divinities, such as The Master of Clear Water and Bodhisattva Guanyin. Similarly, the temple also weathered the Japanese Occupation of Singapore during the Second World War, during which the continuation of the annual festival provided much spiritual solace for its devotees.

▶ Yellow candles were used in the temple during the festival 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Barbara J. Anello.

1980 年代，后港斗母宫中九皇大帝千秋使用的黄色蜡烛。照片由 Barbara J. Anello 提供。



The Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the main event in the temple's calendar. Preparations begin in the eighth lunar month before the festival. These include the cleaning of the palanquins for the transportation of the Nine Emperor Gods and their accompanying deities and the organisation of palanquin bearers from the organisation's devotee bases into four teams. The temple is also decked in yellow for the occasion. Red lanterns and *ang cai* (red banners) typically in red are changed to yellow ones.



◀ The permanent opera stage (now demolished)
 Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the
 Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of
 Singapore.

1980 年代，后港斗母宫对面的戏台（现已拆除）。照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。

到了1928年，面向庙宇正门的戏台搭建完成。虽然在毗邻的实龙岗路重新开发后，该戏台被拆除，但在过去的节日庆祝活动中，庙宇举办的酬神演出在当地非常受欢迎。鉴于过去戏曲表演对后港九皇胜会的重要性，戏班的守护神，田都元帅，与其他知名神祇，如清水祖师和观世音菩萨，同列为庙宇在九皇大帝之外的重要神明。此外，这座庙宇也经受住了第二次世界大战期间日本占领新加坡的考验，胜会仍每年如期举行，并为其善信提供了许多精神上的慰藉。

九皇千秋是庙宇一年中的重头戏。准备工作从农历八月就已经开始。用来运送九皇爷及其随行神明的轿子首先会被清洗干净，为接下来的庆典做准备。轿子的轿脚从信众中选出，并分为四队。此外，考虑到“皇”与“黄”同音，庙宇在庆典期间也会被装饰成黄色。红彩和红旗将被黄色之物取代。

Preparations

► Maintaining the palanquins by temple members includes cleaning and locating, and fixing chipped portions.

庙宇成员会仔细照料轿子的每一个细节，如：清理轿子和检查轿子是否有任何损坏等。



► The sedan chairs of Hougang Tou Mu Kung weigh 400 kilograms each. Their considerable weight stems from the elaborate wooden dragon carvings and gold ornamentation. The temple members ensure that the lights on the chairs are ready for the festival.

后港斗母宫拥有四座轿子。每座轿子已经亮灯，随时准备让轿脚抬起，作好迎接九皇爷的准备。由于其精美繁复的木头龙雕与金制装饰，斗母宫的每座轿子重达400公斤。



► At about noon, a ceremony is performed to raise a bamboo pole reinforced by a metal one, which forms the structure for the Nine Emperor Gods' Heavenly Lamps.

十二点半左右，庙宇人士开始准备九皇天灯的灯篙，竖立竹竿与铁柱。



准备



Red banners and lanterns in Hougang Tou Mu Kung are replaced by yellow ones during the Nine Emperor Festival.

九皇千秋时，庙宇内的红色装饰——横幅和灯笼——会替换成黄色装饰。这些黄色装饰在庙宇内四处可见，表示庆典正在进行中。



The paper Dragon Ship has become an important feature of the festival. Devotees can write and paste their names and wishes on the ship during the festival for good fortune and blessings. The Dragon Ship is burnt in the evening of the ninth day to signify the bringing away of ill fortune, as part of the ceremony to send off the Nine Emperor Gods.

如今，龙船以成为九皇千秋的重要特色。善信能够将他们的姓名和心愿写在纸条贴在龙船身上。龙船在农历九月初九，也是恭送九皇大帝回銮时候在海边焚化，以象征摆脱厄运。

Receiving the Nine Emperor Gods

Hougang Tou Mu Kung's celebrations of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival begin with the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea. For this purpose, the temple contingent will proceed to Pulau Punggol Timor with four palanquins bearing the images of the Qing Shui Zu Shi and Tian Du Yuan Shuai, a tablet of the Nine Emperor Gods and an incense censer of the Nine Emperor Gods, respectively.

▶ A typical start to the festival observes the vanguards of the Nine Emperor Gods, Qing Shui Zhu Shi and Tian Du Yuan Shuai, being escorted to the coast to welcome the Nine Emperor Gods into the temple.

九皇爷的先锋清水祖师和田都元帅被护送到海岸，迎接九皇入庙。



The Qing Shui Zu Shi and the Tian Du Yuan Shuai are the vanguards of the Nine Emperor Gods. As such, they escort the deities to and fro the coast. While the Qing Shui Zu Shi and Tian Du Yuan Shuai are invited to the altar for the receiving ceremony, while the Nine Emperor Gods tablet and censer remain in the palanquins, covered and concealed from public view.

The tasks of bearing the palanquins fall on male temple helpers who belong to the temple's circle of devotees. Given the sacredness of the ritual, individuals who do not hail from Hougang Tou Mu Kung are not allowed to participate. Additionally, for the same reason, palanquin bearers must adhere to the festival's mandatory vegetarian diet. These male carriers are split into four alphabetical teams—A, B, C, and D. Each team comprising 10 to 15 males is allocated to one palanquin and tasked to take turns carrying the said palanquin at scheduled intervals. Specifically, the invitation ceremony begins with these palanquin bearers and their palanquins gathering in the open space in front of Hougang Tou Mu Kung for ritual preparations before the departure for Pulau Punggol Timor.

恭迎九皇大帝

后港斗母宫九皇大帝千秋由庙宇理事与善信到榜鹅东岛海边迎接九皇圣驾开始。后港斗母宫迎驾团队会为清水祖师、田都元帅、九皇大帝牌位与其九皇大帝香炉准备四乘圣轿到榜鹅东迎接圣驾。

清水祖师与田都元帅为九皇大帝的两尊先锋神明。因此在出游和接送仪式他们都会跟随九皇大帝护驾。在海边的恭迎仪式，这两尊神明都会请到神桌上座，而九皇大帝牌位和香炉都会留在圣轿里，远离公众视线。



Waiting for the deities to be invited into the palanquins.

圣轿与理事等候恭请神明入座。



Group photo prior to the team's procession to the coast for the receiving ritual. Temple members aside, devotees, likewise, dress according to the depicted all white attire with white headscarves during the invitation ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods.

出发到海滩请水前，众人拍了一张合影。如庙宇成员一般，斗母宫的善信若要参与请水，那就必须身穿图中所示的服装就是白衣白裤白头巾。

全男性的圣轿队把圣轿抬到斗母宫前面的广场，为庙宇的仪式与前往榜鹅东岛作准备。轿脚必须由后港斗母宫的忠实善信担任。不属于后港斗母宫的善信是不能抬圣轿的。此外，轿队成员也必须严格遵循吃斋的戒律。这些男性轿脚会被分成四组，并以英文字母A、B、C、D命名。每座圣轿会指派一组负责抬轿。每组拥有10-15名男性，在特定的时间段轮流抬轿。

► The 2016 ceremony included a procession of elaborately decorated floats accompanying the devotees to the pier for the receiving ceremony.

2016年，装饰精美的花车队伍隆重登场，陪同信众前往码头参与迎驾仪式。



► 1990 receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods by Hougang Tou Mu Kung. Photograph from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年，后港斗母宫恭迎九皇大帝的场面。图片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。



► Temple Chairman Mr Tan Thiam Lye, Minister K. Shanmugam and the temple committee participating in the invitation and receiving ritual.

后港斗母宫的主席陈添来先生、尚穆根部长与庙宇众人等候九皇大帝的到来。





Reaching at approximately 8.55 pm. in 2016, temple members were seen carrying the palanquins to the makeshift altar on the stage, where the images of Tian Du Yuan Shuai and Qing Shui Zu Shi were invited from the palanquins and to the said altar.

在8点55分左右，轿脚抬着轿子抵达现场，来到舞台上临时搭建的神坛前。庙宇人士将田都元帅和清水祖师从轿子请到在舞台上的神坛上。



Receiving the Nine Emperor Gods by Hougang Tou Mu Kung in the present.

如今，后港斗母宫恭迎九皇大帝的场面。

Esteemed guests, including Minister K. Shanmugam, attended the 2016 festival. Following the initial ritual led by the head priest, Master Lin Zai Tian, temple chairman, Mr Tan Thiam Lye, Minister K. Shanmugam, and other temple committee members proceeded up the stage whilst holding three incense sticks respectively to follow the head priest's lead. With a slight bow towards the altar, Master Lin sprinkled water with pomelo leaves and broke into a series of chants whilst ringing his bell. The ongoing process was punctuated by instructions for attending members to bow and kneel at certain intervals.

Afterwards, tea was poured into teacups displayed before the altar by temple helpers, and a pot of sandalwood was set alight after that. Apart from verbal instructions, the overall ritual was also guided by the sounding of a gong—to signal a solemn turn in the ritual's sequence. At this juncture, a pile of joss papers placed beyond a fence was set ablaze.

► Censer of the Nine Emperor Gods

九皇炉。



► Inviting the Nine Emperor Gods censer into the palanquinn.

恭请九皇大帝香炉入座圣轿



林再添道长带领庙宇众人开始进行另一项仪式。后港斗母宫的主席陈添来先生、尚穆根部长与庙宇理事手拿三支香踏上台上。随后，道长领头向神坛鞠躬，手拿柚子叶洒圣水，并开始诵经与摇铃。庙宇众人随后跟随道长的指示，在特定的时间段鞠躬与下跪。

庙宇理事将茶倒入排列在神坛前的小茶杯，并将香炉中的檀香点燃。锣声响起，现场的气氛变得更为肃穆庄严，与此同时，置放在篱笆边的金银纸也被点燃。



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods censer filled with smouldering sandalwood.

九皇大帝降临到燃烧着檀香的香炉。



◀ The swaying palanquins signified the presence of the deities swaying as they returned to the temple.

圣轿以摇晃这显示了神明的降临回到庙宇。

► 1990 celebration of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hougang Tou Mu Kung. Photographs from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年，后港斗母宫庆祝九皇千秋。图片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。





◀ During the return trip to Hougang Tou Mu Kung, synchronised movements were observed across the palanquin bearers.

轿脚动作划一，在返回庙宇的途中大力摇晃轿子。



◀ Prompt ushering of the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods to the second floor of the temple for secure placement in the Inner Chamber upon the palanquins' return.

等轿子回到庙里之后，九皇香炉就被护送到了庙宇二楼。

Like other temples that observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, Hougang Tou Mu Kung has established a special room to enshrine the sacred censer of the Nine Emperor Gods. What sets Hougang Tou Mu Kung apart is that the room is on the second story of the temple's premises. This pavilion was constructed to correspond with the eight trigrams. Only selected male temple committee members are allowed to enter this room, and devotees and other temple helpers are restricted to paying their respects in the main hall on the first floor.

Following the invitation of the incense censer and the Nine Emperor Gods in the temple was the critical ritual the lighting and raising of the Nine Lamps in the temple's courtyard to signify the commencement of the festival. Due to their sacredness, the daily afternoon refilling of the lamps at 3 pm was—and continues to be today—the sole responsibility of the temple's leadership. Besides providing a point of reference for devotees to recognise the temple from afar, the Nine Lamps at Hougang Tou Mu Kung are also related to the worship of the Northern and Southern Dipper Sovereigns—who are charged with the destinies of humankind. The structure of the lamp generally comprises two bamboo saplings—the longer sapling serving as the shaft of the lamppost and the shorter bamboo stalk becoming its mast. The latter is usually aligned to the cardinal north and south throughout the entire occasion to take into account the life-prolonging and longevity-conferring powers of the Nine Emperor Gods.

▶ Following the storing of the incense vessel and tablet in Hougang Tou Mu Kung's Inner Chamber was the official commencement of the 2016 Nine Emperor Gods Festival with the hoisting of the triangular formation of the Nine Lamps onto the bamboo pole.

当轿子与游行队伍抵达庙宇后，香炉和神主牌被送到内殿，九盏油灯以三角形排列，高升到之前置立的竹筒上。这九盏油灯的点亮标志着后港斗母宫的九皇千秋正式开始。



Master Lin conducted the last ritual for the day to bless and consecrate the Bridge of Peace and Safety. Devotees seeking peace could cross the bridge from this time onward until the end of the festival.

▶ The head priest's consecration of the Bridge of Peace and Safety was the last ritual conducted on the festival's first day, 2016.

当天的最后一个仪式是为平安桥祈福，由林道长主持。平安桥保佑渡桥的信徒免于灾害。



与其他九皇庙宇一样，后港斗母宫专门设置了内殿来供奉九皇大帝的香炉。在后港斗母宫，内殿位于庙宇建筑的二楼，在一间按八卦方位而建的亭子中。只有选定的寺庙委员会的男性成员才被允许进入内殿。斗母宫的信众和其他会员只能在下面的大殿中表达敬意。

香炉和九皇大帝入庙后，下一个重要的仪式是在庙宇的院子里点起九皇天灯。它们标志着庆典的开始，只有宫庙领导可以在每天下午三点为九皇天灯添油。后港斗母宫的九盏灯除了让信众从远处就能认出庙宇之外，还表达了对掌握人们命运的北斗与南斗星君的崇拜。两根竹子中较长的一根用作灯柱的轴，另一根较短的竹子用作灯杆。后者在整个场合与九皇爷的福佑长寿，以及南斗、北斗星君司命主寿的职能一致。



当天的最后一个仪式是为平安桥祈福，由林道长主持。想要祈求平安的庙宇信徒可以在接下来九天的庆典中度过平安桥，直到九皇千秋结束。

▲ The palanquins used by Hougang Tou Mu Kung during the festival 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Barbara J. Anello.

1980 年代，后港斗母宫的九皇圣轿。 照片由 Barbara J. Anello 提供。

Yew Keng Procession

Hougang Tou Mu Kung's yearly visiting and touring schedules concentrate on the northeastern areas of Singapore to illuminate its connections and good relations with these temples. For instance, temples visited in 2016 and 2017 included Kim San Tze, Nan Shan Hai Miao, Yu Hai Tang, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, Long Nan Dian, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng, Zhun Ti Tang and Hong San Temple. In these years, only two palanquins which carried the Nine Emperor Gods incense censer and tablet, respectively were involved. Leaving the temple at 1 pm., Hougang Tou Mu Kung's *yew keng* only culminated around 11:30 pm.

The *yew keng* to the other temples proceeded according to set protocols with a standardised schedule and flow. Hougang Tou Mu Kung engaged chartered buses to the eight participating temples to facilitate greater accessibility for devotees and the public. In general, protocols mandate that participants don white attires bearing an emblem of the temple. The underlying reason, thus, is the physical manifestation of a cohesive identity of the temple and its devotees and participants vis-à-vis the temples to be visited. In turn, it assists in gathering involved members for transportation purposes.

Representatives from Hougang Tou Mu Kung visiting Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong to pay respects to the Nine Emperor Gods.

后港斗母宫团队随后抵达龙山岩斗母宫内部向九皇爷致敬。



出巡游行

后港斗母宫每年都会举行出巡游行。出巡游行是一个全天的活动，后港斗母宫在于2016、2017年一共拜访了八座东北地区的友庙（金山寺、南山海庙、洪水港斗母宫、龙山岩斗母宫、龙南殿、葱茅园九皇宫、凤山宫与玉海棠观音堂）。出巡游行的目的是为了彰显后港斗母宫与友庙的密切联系。两乘宝轿，分别承载着九皇爷的神位和香炉，在下午1点从后港斗母宫出发。出巡游行一直持续到晚上的11点半才正式结束。

后港斗母宫与友庙提前商定，在巡游行当天遵循特定的流程。为了方便大众参与这次活动，庙宇也安排了接驳巴士，从后港斗母宫出发到八座友庙。根据规定，所有参与出巡游行的信众都必须身穿全白。衣服上也印有后港斗母宫的徽章，表明了庙宇成员的身份，也让成员之间更轻易地相互辨识，便于在接驳巴士前往下一个地点之前提醒同庙成员登上巴士。



◀ The Hougang Tou Mu Kung ceremonial party paid respects at the altar of the Nine Emperor Gods at Leong Nam Temple.

巡游队来到龙南殿，向九皇大二帝的天灯神坛致敬。



◀ The Eight General Troupe participating in the Hougang Tou Mu Kung tour and procession, and performing at Charn Mow Hern Kew Huang Keng. These troupes are a Taiwanese tradition.

参与后港斗母宫游行的八将团在葱茅园九皇宫表演。八家将团为台湾传统。

▶ Hougang Tou Mu Kung representatives paying respects at Kew Huang Keng.

后港斗母宫向九皇宫参拜。



▶ Return of the Nine Emperor Gods to Hougang Tou Mu Kung after the visits.

九皇大帝回宫。





▲ Group photo commemorating Hougang Tou Mu Kung visit to Hong San Temple

后港斗母宫往凤山宫参拜。

Inviting Water

The sixth day of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival entails Hougang Tou Mu Kung's holding of a ceremony known as "Inviting Water". Beginning early in the morning at 5 A. M. and lasting till the afternoon, participation in this sacred ceremony—particularly the early morning rituals—is restricted to the temple's main committee members.

"Inviting Water" is a large-scale ceremony involving two ritual stages—A ritual to invite water from a well on the temple's premises and a ritual to "invite water" at Punggol pier. Of particular significance was the observed layout of the ceremony. Situated in the temple's formerly spacious entrance was a large central altar to the Jade Emperor surrounded by rows of tables with packaged offerings. There was an embellished paper palace as a tribute on the Jade Emperor's altar, a pair of sugar canes beside the paper palace to symbolise gratitude, and joss paper and food offerings, such as oranges, apples, bananas, and prosperity cake. The temple's devotees purchased the offerings on the surrounding tables for \$80 each to gain blessings and offer their gratitude to the Nine Emperor Gods.

▶ Altar of the Jade Emperor on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

九月初六的天公座。



The rituals on the sixth day began 5.30am in the morning. Master Lin conducts the first set of rituals at the altar of the Nine Emperor Gods, with gong accompaniment provided by other Daoist priests. He instructed the participating committee members to kneel and bow to pay respects at certain intervals. Shortly after, they returned to the temple's main hall to complete the first set of rituals. A short break was announced for the participating members to rest and prepare the second set of rituals.

The second ritual set, which involves the inviting of water, is conducted at 7.20 am. It involved all five Daoist priests playing their instruments and sounding their horns regularly. Master Lin would instruct the committee members when to kneel and bow. The chanting continued as the pail was lowered into the well for inviting the water. The water thus invited was poured into two small red bowls with pomelo leaves and a porcelain vessel.

请水

九皇千秋的第六天是后港斗母宫的一个重要日子，因为这天将会进行一个庄严的仪式——“请水”。这个仪式在早上5点开始，一直到下午才结束。只有庙宇的主要理事才能参与早晨的仪式。

请水仪式主要有两个部分：（一）从庙宇中的井请水；（二）到榜鹅海请水。在这项仪式中最引人注目的是庙宇的布局。之前空旷的入口，现在已经架设了一个庞大的玉皇大帝神坛，神坛周围被一排排的桌子环绕，桌上放着祭祀的供品。玉皇大帝的神坛主要由一座装饰精美的纸制宫殿组成。宫殿两旁是谐音“感谢”的甘蔗。神坛上置放着金银纸与不同供品，如：橘子、苹果、香蕉与发糕。宫殿周围的供品由信众捐助，每一份售价八十新币。庙宇信众可以购买供品，以求赐福和向九皇爷表达感恩之情。



◀ Daoist priests lead a ritual on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

道长九月初六凌晨主持仪式。

早上大约5点半左右，第一项仪式在九皇爷和斗母神坛前开始举行。林道长主持仪式，伴随着其他道士演奏的铜锣声。仪式队的成员根据道长的指示鞠躬下跪，向神明致敬。庙宇众人在林道长的指示下鞠躬下跪。不久，他们回到庙宇大殿，结束第一项仪式。此时，林道长宣布让众人短暂休息，为第三项仪式作准备。

第二项仪式“取井水”在早上大约七点二十分左右开始。五名道士聚集在井前的神坛进行仪式。如往常一样，所有道士开始演奏手中的乐器，并在特定时段吹起号角。林道长再一次带领众人诵念经文，时而指示他们鞠躬下跪。当道士在吟诵经文时，庙宇人士往井中降下一个红色的桶请水，接着分别把水倒入两个装着柚子叶的红色小碗和瓷瓶中。

► Ritual performances by Daoist priests by a well in the temple compound.

道长在后港斗母宫的井前举行仪式。



After the conclusion of the chanting, the contingent made its way to the temple's main hall with two members, who were holding the porcelain vessel and a tray holding the two red bowls of water with pomelo leaves respectively, leading the procession. Following the offering of the porcelain vessel to the altar of Dou Mu and the Nine Emperor Gods Master Lin, the main Daoist priest, continued to chant prayers. He used the pomelo leaves to flick the consecrated water around the premises and rang his bell intermittently while walking around.

► Arrival of the palanquins at the beach.

轿子到达海边。



Then begins the third segment of the ceremony—the inviting of water with the porcelain vessel at Punggol pier. At about 9am, the contingent, which included palanquins to carry the presiding deities, departed for the pier.

At the palanquins the deity images were invited onto the altar. In addition, the porcelain vessel containing the well water was also displayed on the altar. The porcelain vessel with the water invited from the well was also placed on the altar. This was followed by the participating committee members and sponsors offering incense and paying respects at the altar. They would also kneel on the yellow cushions and bow when instructed by Master Lin. The highlight of the ritual was no doubt the inviting of the seawater at an auspicious time with a yellow pail at the pier. The water in the pail was then transferred into the porcelain vessel the porcelain vessel was held above the head and brought back to the altar by the representative. Upon the ceremony's conclusion, the contingent returned to the temple.



Inviting water from a well in the temple.

在井边进行请水仪式。

吟诵完毕，一名庙宇成员手拿瓷瓶，另一名则端着托盘，盘中放置着两个盛着柚子叶和刚取的井水的红色小碗。这两名宫内代表带领众人返回庙宇大殿，五名道士和众人跟随在后。在庙宇大厅内，手拿瓷瓶的成员将其置放在斗母与九皇爷的神坛上，随后，林道长念诵了几句经文，用蘸了井水的柚子叶往大厅周围洒圣水。他在跨步行走时，也会在固定的时间段摇铃。



The arrival of Hougang Tou Mu Kung representatives and members at the beach.

后港斗母宫到达海边

在请水的第三阶段，庙宇理事将前往榜鹅东海取水。大约9点左右，后港斗母宫的请水团队，提着瓷瓶，在两尊神明和圣轿的护送下，朝榜鹅东出发。到了目的地，两尊神明和瓷瓶将请到神桌上。道长开始引导手持清香的在场参与理事下跪祭拜，在指定时段吩咐他们鞠躬。同时，一位理事代表将用瓷瓶到码头请水。他先用一个黄色小桶，承装海水，再倒入瓷瓶中。请水后，代表将瓷瓶送回神桌。此时，林道长与众人也在此时纷纷站起。最后，请水团队也出发回庙。

► Procession of palanquins being guided to the coastal ritual site.

轿子被引导到仪式道场。



► Successful completion of the Invitation of Water ceremony.

请水仪式顺利完成。



Back at the temple grounds, three representatives holding the images of Qing Shui Zu Shi and Tian Du Yuan Shuai and the porcelain vessel were welcomed by lion dance performances whilst entering the temple. They were closely followed by the vigorously rocking palanquins—which only halted upon reaching the front of the temple’s main hall. Selected committee members then transferred the incense censer from the palanquin to the Inner Chamber under the cover of a large yellow cloth.



◀ Coastal Invitation of Water ceremony.

在海边进行请水仪式。



抵达庙宇后，三位代表分别手托清水祖师、田都元帅和瓷瓶，排成一列，进入庙宇。舞狮也在此时飞腾起舞，为他们顺利返回而喝彩。接着，圣轿摇晃进入庙宇，激烈地摇晃着前进，在庙宇大殿前方才停下。庙宇成员用黄布将轿子遮掩起来。接着，他们将焚燃着檀香的香炉从轿子取出，带到二楼的内殿。

► Post-Invitation of Water ceremony return procession to Hougang Tou Mu Kung.

领袖，神像，轿子和宝瓶回宫。



The next ritual segment was to begin at about 11.30am, with the blessings of the devotees' offering packages by the Daoists priests in the main courtyard of the temple. Following customs, the five priests circled each table to give blessings to the offerings, which had the names of the devotees written on them. Following custom the five priest circled each table. The first priests had the added responsibilities of ringing the bell, blessing each offering with water sprinkled with pomelo leaves, and the second priest inking a red stamp on each rice bowl. The rest of the priests sounded their instruments in accompaniment to the chanting. Generally, devotees are allowed to bring the food offerings home, including the offered rice, after the ritual, for blessing and good fortune.

► Food offertory blessings by Daoist priests.

道长为善信的供品祈福。



Evident is the comprehensiveness of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival rituals as rituals continued beyond the main altar—the altar located at the back of the temple and that of the opera performers. The ceremony's completion was signalled by a final bow by priests and temple members in unison at the main altar.



在早上11点30分，另一项仪式在庙宇的道场内进行。五名道士来到神坛前的供桌旁，桌上的每一份供品都写着捐助者的姓名。五名道长围绕圆桌为供品赐福。第一名道长摇响手中的铃，手拿柚子叶向供品洒圣水。第二名道长每碗米饭上盖上印章。其他三名道长各自敲响自己手中的乐器，同时诵读经文。仪式结束后，善信可将这些象征着平安与财运的供品携带回家。

以上仪式结束后，道长前往神坛和戏台主持仪式。最后，道长与庙宇理事再次在总神龛面前鞠躬。仪式也与此圆满结束。

Inviting the Jade Emperor (Eighth Day of the Ninth Lunar Month)

▶ Daoist priest conducting a ritual at an altar table for the Jade Emperor in front of the main altar at Hougang Tou Mu Kung.

道长在总神龕设置的玉皇大帝神坛主持仪式。



请天公（农历九月初八）



Sending-off Ceremony

The ninth day of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival marks the end of the celebration. The sending-off ceremony began at 7pm at Pulau Punggol Timor. The temple even chartered buses to facilitate the participation of devotees. The preparations for the sending-off ceremony included the loading of the Nine Emperor Gods' altar stand, boxes of prosperity cakes and joss paper, and boxes of safety vests into the awaiting lorry for transportation to the venue at least an earlier than the main contingent to secure ample preparation time.



▲ Evening preparations by members, including altar establishment and ritual materials, for the sending-off ceremony upon arriving at the pier.

晚上6点，庙宇成员开始在海滩上设置神坛，并准备仪式所需的各样物件，确保送水仪式顺利进行。

恭送九皇回銮

随着九皇千秋第九天的到来，庆典渐进尾声。九皇大帝圣驾回銮仪式在晚上7点举行，地点在榜鹅东岛。此外，庙宇也会为想要前往海滩送九皇爷的信徒准备接驳巴士。在恭送九皇大帝仪式开始前，庙宇委员将九皇大帝神桌坛位的架子、一箱发糕和金银纸，以及几箱救生衣搬到罗厘上。委员必须提早一个小时到达海滩，才有充足的时间设置神坛。



▲ Adorned with papers containing devotees' names, the paper Dragon Ship was transported to Pulau Punggol Timor for the sending-off ceremony in the evening.

龙船上贴满了信徒的姓名。傍晚降临时，龙船会被运载到榜鹅东岛，用以恭送九皇爷。

▶ Inviting the Nine Emperor Gods censer into an awaiting palanquin

代表九皇大帝的香炉被请到轿子中。



▶ The Nine Emperor Gods' spirit tablet is hidden under a canopy of yellow cloth.

九皇爷牌位被掩护与黄布之下。





◀ The Dragon Ship at Punggol coast.

龙船抵达榜鹅东岛。

The sending-off ceremony was graced by several Guests of Honour at 9 pm, including Dr Mohamad Maliki Osman (East Coast GRC and Senior Minister of States, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Mayor of South East CDC), Mr Darryl David (Ang Mo Kio GRC) and Chua Eng Leong (Aljunied GRC representative). The celebration commenced energetically, with devotees and esteemed guests treated to entertaining performances and parades.

▶ Malay and Indian musical performances at the sending-off ceremony.

马来和印度音乐团队助阵恭送圣驾晚会。



Though the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is Chinese, the 2016 sending-off ceremony was far from monoethnic and monocultural. The entertainment even encompassed Malay and Indian percussions from Jamiyah Singapore Kompang Group and Luoyang Tua Pek Kong Temple's Indian traditional percussion group, respectively. Traditional instruments aside, the entertainers were also decked in their traditional costumes—*rebana* (for the Malays) and *Nadaswaram* (for the Indians). This truly epitomised the multicultural nature of Singapore.

The final Guest of Honour, Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Teo Chee Hean, arrived with the temple chairman, Mr Tan Tiam Lye and a group of temple members midway through the performances. This was not Mr Teo's first time at the event, as he had graced the ceremony in 2015.

晚上9点在沙滩上，大会贵宾——Dr Mohamad Maliki Osman（东海岸集选区议员、高级政务部长、国防部长、外交部长以及东南区市长）、Mr Darryl David（宏茂桥集选区议员）、Mr Chua Eng Leong（阿裕尼集选区议员）——莅临现场。现场的气氛热闹非凡，各色表演和游行行为送水的开幕献上满满活力。



众多表演中有两场格外引人注目，来自Jamiyah Singapore Kompang Group和洛阳大伯公宫印度传统鼓乐团。他们身穿传统服饰，演奏着传统乐器，分别是马来族的*rebana*和印族的*Nadaswaram*。极富种族特色的表演正是新加坡多元文化的缩影。

傍晚九点左右，最后一名贵宾——张志贤先生（新加坡副总理）——与后港斗母宫主席陈添来先生，以及一些庙宇成员一同来到现场。张志贤先生早在2015年就担任过送水的贵宾。

▲ Cultural performances and fireworks at the sending-off ceremony.

恭送圣驾晚会文化表演和烟花。

► Arrival of Daoist priest and main sending-off contingent.

道长与恭送圣驾团队抵达恭送现场。



► Devotees and volunteers at the sending-off ceremony.

恭送圣驾仪式善信与义工。





◀ Palanquins arriving at the sending-off ceremony.

圣轿抵达恭送圣驾现场。



The arrival of the sending-off entourage from Hougang Tou Mu Kung with the palanquins of the Nine Emperor Gods and the accompanying deities brought a buzz of excitement. Instructions were given to awaiting devotees who had purchased incense sticks to light them using candles situated at various points at the site. Additionally, this marked the point at which the temporary barricades could be lifted so devotees could join the procession towards the altar whilst the four palanquins followed behind.

▶ Mr. Tan Thiam Lye escorting the Nine Emperor Gods' censer to the altar.

陈添来先生恭请九皇香炉上坛。



The mood heightened further as the procession approached the altar and the palanquins made several charges to and from, as a form of paying respects at the altar. Other surrounding barricades were lifted for individuals to pay their final respects to the Nine Emperor Gods. Temple members also began handing out incense sticks around during this stage to the surrounding devotees who needed them.

After the palanquins have come to a standstill, the deities were invited to the altar by two committee members. The chairman, Mr Tan Thiam Lye, was entrusted with the task of inviting the burning sandalwood censer from the palanquin to the altar. Another committee member invited managed the Nine Emperor Gods tablet, adorned with a garland of flowers to the same altar.

▶ Concluding rites conducted by Master Lin during the sending-off ceremony.

林道长在海边完成送恭九皇回銮仪式。



接下来，后港斗母宫的理事与宝轿也进场。这时，善信已经根据吩咐，运用现场各处摆置的蜡烛点燃自己手中的香。围栏也被移走，让善信加入了游行的队伍。四乘宝轿紧跟在善信与恭送队伍后面。



◀ Minister Teo Chee Hean graced the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods held by Hougang Tou Mu Kung.

张志贤部长出席恭送九皇大帝仪式。

接近恭送九皇大帝的总坛时，四乘圣轿冲向总坛三次向神明致敬。神坛外围的围栏随后被移开，庙宇人士向善信分发线香，让信众可以最后一次向神明致以敬意。

接着，四乘宝轿停了下来，两名庙宇理事从相应的圣轿上请出神明金身，并将之安在神桌上。两位理事双手合十，向神明敬拜。陈添来先生不久后也登上台，手中捧着从圣轿请出来的香炉，将其也安放在神桌上。最后，另外一名理事也将九皇大帝牌位也请到神台上。



◀ Daoist priest officiating at sending-off ceremony.

道长恭送九皇仪式

After the guest of honour and committee members, as well as other members of the temple, had gathered on the stage, the sending-off rituals began with the chanting of the Daoist priests then began the ritual chanting to the accompaniment of ritual music. The leading priest, Master Lin led the chanting while blowing the horn at various intervals, the two priests around him played small cymbals and gongs at various intervals. The priests led everybody in bowing before the altar, while Master Lin began ringing the ritual. Master Lin then knelt on the cushion and started a rhythmic striking of the wooden block to the accompaniment of the ritual bell by the other priest. He would signal to the committee members to bow and the devotees would follow suit.

After a series of bows by the congregation, Master Lin signalled for everyone to stand up, as the chanting stopped. The priests continued to play the ritual instruments in the background. In the distance, the Dragon Ship was being pulled out into the water by temple members in lifevests, to be set alight. Temple members started collecting the incense sticks held by the devotees, along with white head scarves and yellow wrist bands which were placed on the circular pile of joss paper created earlier, to be burnt to mark the end of the festival. As the rhythm of the ritual music quickened, the dragon boat was already burning in the distance, representing the eradication of ill fortune. The master of ceremony for the event led the crowd in shouting “huat ah” three times.

▶ Sending off the Nine Emperor Gods' censer.

恭送九皇大帝香炉回銮。



当贵宾和理事们，与其他庙宇会员已经登上仪式平台后，道长便开始诵经。林道长偶尔会吹起号角。其他两位道长也用铍锣巧乐伴奏。道长引导众善信鞠躬，然后林道长开始诵经，边响法铃，然后变边敲木鼓，。旁边一位道长也开始响法铃。道长也会引导理事善信鞠躬。鞠躬几次后，道长也指示大家竖立。诵经也停止，但是法器还是隐隐伴奏。这时候，可以看到龙船已慢慢被小船拉出深海准备焚化。理事们也开始收集其他理事善信手上的清香与其头上的白头巾和手腕伤的黄色布带，一起放到堆好的金纸燃烧。背景的道乐的节奏增加，也可以看到远方龙船已经在焚化，象征着消灾解厄。司仪也带领大家欢呼三次“发啊”(闽南音)。同时，主席陈添来和理事们把九皇香炉请到船上。船到海中，理事们便送走香炉，也象征着恭送九皇回銮。在岸上，还有善信跪着，手还持香，虔诚地恭送九皇大帝。



◀ Towing of the paper Dragon Ship from the shore to be burnt.

龙船被拖入海中焚化。

► Burning of joss paper, white headcloth, yellow wristbands and belts and incense.

海边焚化金纸，白头巾、黄腰带、黄腕带和香。



At the same time, Mr. Tan Thiam Lye, the chairman, with several temple members had invited Nine Emperor Gods censer onto a boat. After venturing a distance from the shore, the censer was sent off into the water, signifying the sending off the Nine Emperor Gods. On shore, some devotees were on their knees praying devoutly as the censer was being sent off.

Committee members and volunteers continued cruising in the water to make sure all was fine and to clear debris. The contingent made their way back to the temple. There, the committee members and devotees were met with a sea of red that had replaced the yellow. It marked the end of the festival for this year.



▲ Hougang Tou Mu Kung's group photograph with all the guests of honour at the end of the sending-off ceremony.

送水仪式结束后，后港斗母宫会众与所有贵宾合影留念。

庙宇成员持续在海上循航，确保一切正常后，才返回岸上。接着，恭送团队也出发回宫。抵达官庙时，黄色的装饰（灯笼与蜡烛等）都已恢复到平时的红色装饰，这表示九皇爷庆典已经圆满结束。

► The Nine Lamps before the final lowering on the tenth day.

九月初十，九盞天燈最后一次被降下。



The official conclusion of the festival, nevertheless, occurs only with the lowering of the Nine Lamps in the temple's courtyard. On the 10th day of the ninth lunar month, this final ceremony, held at 3pm in 2016, was scheduled in conjunction with the rewarding and feasting of the spiritual armies deployed for the festival. Meat is now served as reward for their services during the festival before they were returned to their respective abodes. Likewise, the meat offerings represent the end of the festival-related vegetarian regime and, thus, the official end of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival for the temple. Indeed, it signals the resumption of normal life and activities until the recommencement of the cycle in the following year.

Conclusion

Hougang Tou Mu Kung is widely recognized as the oldest Nine Emperor Gods temple in Singapore. It has continued to maintain a leading position in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival landscape today, especially under the management of the Taoist Federation. This synergy between the federation and the most important Chinese religious festival in Singapore has played an important role in the growing profile of the festival in Singapore and its growing regional connections, especially with Malaysia. It has also played an important role in promoting closer ties and connections between the Nine Emperor Gods temples, but also in promoting better understanding of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in multi-ethnic Singapore. Hougang Tou Mu Kung shall continue to be an important stalwart in the preservation of the traditions, culture, and values of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival into the future.



然而，直到农历九月初十降九皇天灯，庆典才算正式结束。2016年，这个仪式在农历九月初十的下午三点与犒军仪式同时举行。这时候，五营将军将会被献上肉食供品，然后才回到各自的岗位。这也意味着斋戒已经结束，庙宇已恢复其日常，大家共同期盼来年庆典的到来。

结语

后港斗母宫是新加坡历史最悠久的九皇庙。在道教总会的管理下，后港斗母宫至今仍在新加坡九皇胜会中扮演重要的角色。道总和九皇胜会的互动不仅让节日在新加坡越来越受欢迎，也促进了新加坡九皇千秋的区域联系，尤其是与马来西亚九皇庙宇间的沟通交流。道总对九皇胜会的协调既增进了新加坡九皇庙宇之间的友好联系，同时也加深了新加坡多元族群对九皇胜会的了解。我们相信，后港斗母宫在未来仍会是保护和传承九皇胜会的传统、文化与价值观的重要支柱。



Façade of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong Feng Shan Si

洪水港斗母宮鳳山寺的外观

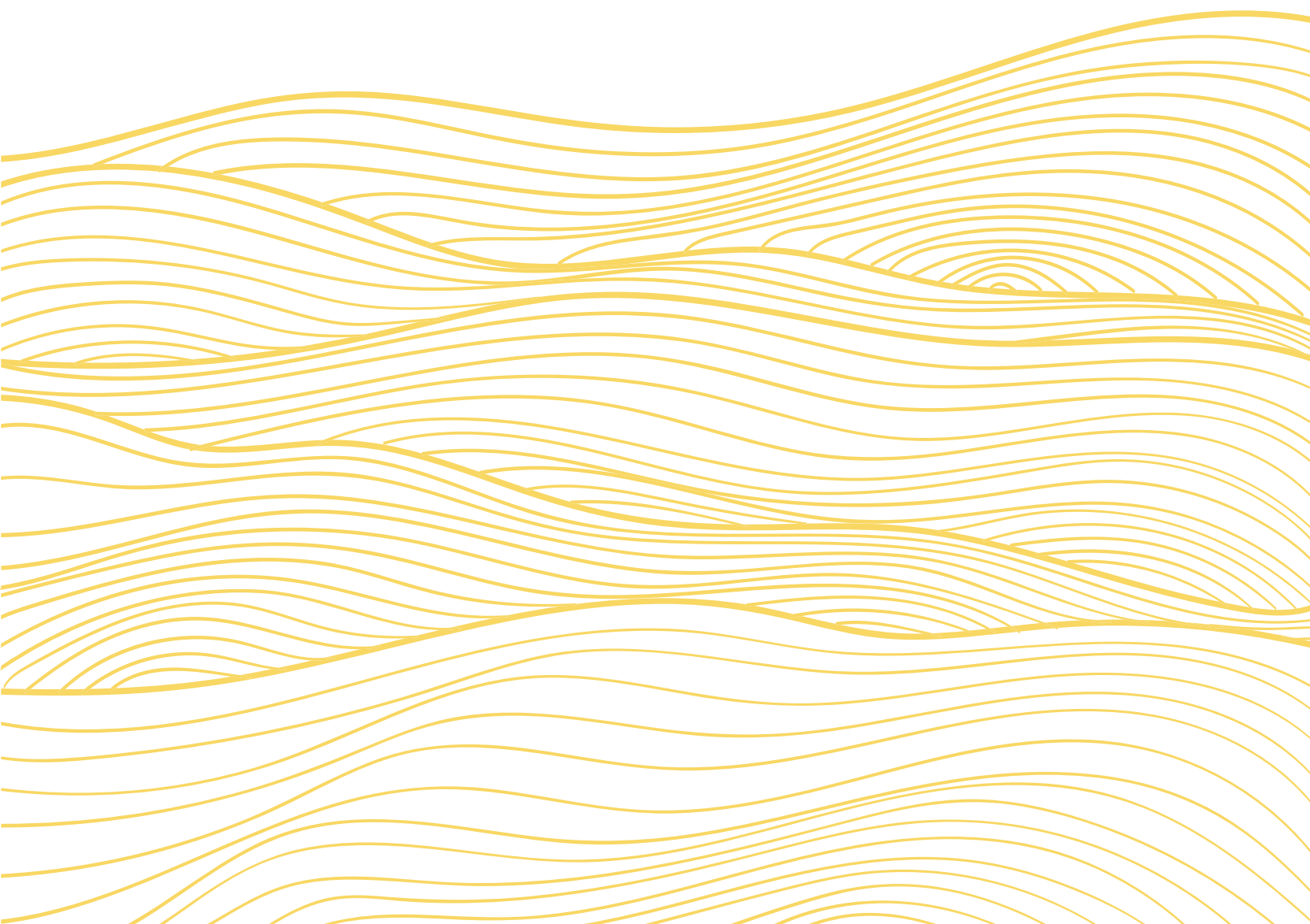
第

6

章

Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong
Feng Shan Si

洪水港斗母宮鳳山寺



Introduction

Situated at 561 Yishun Ring Road, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong harbours a rich history spanning over a century. The earliest records of the temple trace back to a village Jingshuigang [Minnan: Jia Zhui Kang], named after a nearby river. The village, which has since ceased to exist, was located along Old Upper Thomson Road. Currently, the temple is part of the Chong Pang Combined Temple. The Chong Pang Combined Temple is a compound shared by several other temples within the Yishun area, namely Hwa Poh Siang Tng, Chin Kong Religion Fook Poon Tong, and Kwang Tee Temple.

► The facade of the temples in Jia Zhui Kang Village is undated. Photograph courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

洪水港村庙宇的外貌，日期不详（可能在 1980 年代后期和 1990 年代）。照片由洪水港斗母宫鳳山寺提供。



引言

洪水港斗母宫凤山寺坐落在大牌561义顺环路。庙宇历史悠久，有将近一百年的历史。庙宇原本坐落在老汤普森路上段的洪水港（“Jia Zhui Gang”）村内。村子的名称来自附近的河流，如今已不复存在。后来，洪水港斗母宫凤山寺同几间庙宇搬迁到现今的地点，一起组织成忠邦联合宫。这些庙宇包括华报善堂、真空教复本堂及关帝庙。



▲ Interior and exterior views of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, undated (likely late 1980s and 1990s). Photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

洪水港斗母宫景观，日期不详（可能在 1980 年代后期和 1990 年代）。照片由洪水港斗母宫凤山寺提供。

Fundamentally, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong can be deemed a composite temple as it comprises several temples that used to be located around Jia Zhui Kang village. Though since amalgamated, these constituent temples worship their patron deities. For instance, Tai Sui Palace worships Tai Sui, an alias, the Guardian God of the Year. Long Xian Tang worships Bodhisattva Guanyin, the Altar to the Five Generals worships the Five Camps and their armies, Feng San Si worships Guang Ze Zun Wang and Tua Pek Kong. Worshipping of the Black Command Flag and Tiger God also occurs on the temple grounds. Additionally, and of interest to this chapter, is the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods by the constituent temple, Dou Mu Gong, within Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

The temple celebrates the Nine Emperor Gods Festival during the ninth lunar month per the Lunar Calendar. The celebration primarily takes place over ten days, from the last day of the eighth lunar month to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. The ten days involve a hectic schedule filled with events and activities which bring together the religious organisation and devotees across Singapore to worship the Nine Emperor Gods.

Preparations

The preparation for the festival begins approximately two weeks before the festival begins on the ninth lunar month. As the temple team consists primarily of an ageing generation, and faces a shortage of youthful manpower, the temple usually begins preparations earlier every year. As most of the temple's manpower comprises of volunteers, most of the preparations take place in the afternoons and evenings, when the volunteers are done with their day jobs.

▶ Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong adorned with yellow banners and lanterns for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

挂上黄色横彩和灯笼



斗母宫内供奉九皇大帝。洪水港九皇大帝凤山寺庙与几座寺庙并置。大多数寺庙过去都位于洪水港村附近。这些寺庙中都供奉各自的主神。太岁殿供奉太岁，斗母宫供奉九皇大帝，龙显堂供奉观音菩萨，五将军坛供奉五营将军，凤山寺供奉广泽尊王与大伯公。寺内还供奉着黑令旗和虎爷公。

庙宇每逢农历九月都会举行九天的庆典以庆祝九皇大帝诞。九天的庆典中，庙宇和大众共同进行各项活动。九天的庆典中，全岛各地的信徒们会同庙宇共襄盛举。

筹备过程

九皇大帝诞的准备工作在农历九月的两周前开始。由于庙宇成员以年长人士为主，缺乏年轻人，庙宇每年必须提早为节日进行筹备。多数的筹备工作在下午和傍晚时分，义工们下班后才得以进行。



These tasks include cleansing the temple, putting up the yellow banners and lanterns, assembling the palanquin, folding bags of joss papers, packing of goodie bags for the less fortunate amongst many more.

▶ Palanquin preparations for the festival.

为庆典架设神轿



One of the annual visual centrepieces of the festival is the Dragon Ship. A local traditional artisan family creates Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong's Dragon Ship—the Lim family, headed by Alvin Lim. The towering structure requires up to a week to be completed, with assistance from Alvin's children and apprentices. The Dragon Ship stands as an iconographic symbol of the festival. It is a highlight for many devotees who contribute a token sum to obtain stickers to add their names to the sides of the ship in hopes of attaining great fortune and blessings for themselves and their families.

▶ Dragon Ship decked in neon lights.

组装好的龙船



主要任务与工作包括如准备圣轿、挂上黄色横彩和灯笼、架设神轿、折叠金纸、组装礼包给弱势群体等。



Construction of the Dragon Head is in progress by an elderly artisan for the Dragon Ship.

工匠制作龙头

每年，庆典的亮点之一就是龙船。龙船是Alvin Lim和父亲亲手制作的。在孩子和同事的协助下，龙船可以在一个星期之内完成。这艘船是九皇大帝的标志性象征，也是许多信徒眼中的节日亮点，他们会捐出一笔象征性的款项来获得贴纸，以便将他们的名字贴到船身上。他们相信这能为家人祈福。

Receiving the Nine Emperor Gods

After weeks of preparation, the day is filled with excitement, all efforts have culminated in this eventful day. It was the day to receive the Nine Emperor Gods. A day packed with activities, from the ritualistic invitation of the Nine Emperor Gods at the beach, the raising of the Nine Lamps, to the festive lion and dragon dance troupe performance. The nine-day event is about to begin.

▶ Raising of the Nine Lamps.

九皇灯升起



恭迎九皇大帝圣驾晋宫

经过数周的准备，所有的努力成就了万众期待的一天。这一天是恭迎九皇大帝的日子，也是活动满满的一天。从海边的九皇大帝祭祀、九皇灯的升起，到喜庆的狮龙表演，热闹非凡。为期九天的活动也随即开始。



◀ Lion and Dragon dance troupe

龙狮团

► Securing of deities to a sedan chair.

神明金身入座在神轿上



As the sun begins to set, the congregation sets off from the temple in Yishun Ring Road towards Sembawang Beach, where the invitation ritual will take place. The procession includes not only the temple staff, but also devotees from all over Singapore, as well as the performance troupes.

► Paying respects to the Nine Emperor Gods before departing to the beach.

恭迎队伍离开前向九皇大帝致敬



► The utilisation of Black Command Flags to escort the Nine Emperor Gods Censer.

黑令旗给香炉护驾。



黄昏时分，队伍从义顺前往三巴旺海滩以迎接九皇大帝。除了庙宇员工，队伍也包括全岛各地的信徒以及表演团队。



Women holding yellow banners during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

九皇大帝诞庆典的女旗手



The arrival of the palanquins at the beach, 1992. Photograph courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

神轿抵达海边, 1992. 照片由泮水港斗母宫鳳山寺提供。

► Receiving ritual conducted by a Daoist priest, 1992.
 Photograph courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

道长在三巴旺海边恭迎九皇大帝，1992。照片由泝水港斗母宫鳳山寺提供。



As the final step of the receiving ritual, the Nine Emperor Gods' censer from the temple is then dipped into the sea to collect water which will then be brought back to the temple. The censer is held by the censer master, followed by two other assistant censer masters who are responsible to protect the censer with two black command flags. The censer along with the spirit tablet are then escorted back to the temple by the procession, where it will reside until the end of the festival. The return of the procession marks the beginning of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival proper.

► Inviting the Nine Emperor Gods' deity tablet on an awaiting palanquin.

将九皇大帝安进轿子里。





◀ Receiving rituals conducted by Daoist priests.

道士在三巴旺海滩迎接九皇大帝



◀ Daoist priests-led coastal receiving ritual ceremony attended by the temple congregation and Member of Parliament, Henry Kwek Hian Chuan.

国会议员郭献川先生也加入海边祭祀队伍

恭迎圣驾的仪式的最后一步，是用香炉在海里请水。九皇大帝的香炉由炉主和两名副炉主握着。之后，他们将香炉带回庙里，直至庆典结束。他们也负责用两副黑色令旗盖住香炉。恭送队伍的回归喻示九皇大帝诞庆祝活动的正式开始。



◀ The arrival of the censer and spirit tablet at the temple.

香炉与神牌回到庙宇

Gathering of the Community

During the festival, the community of devotees will gather to pay their respects to the Nine Emperor Gods, seeking for blessing and protection in the coming year for their families. The temple has been a site of prayer for a few generations of devoted Daoist families. Many parents have brought their children to pay respects to the Nine Emperor Gods, just as their parents did. Apart from incense and joss papers, some devotees will also offer oil lamps and candles as a sign of their worship and devotion towards the Nine Emperor Gods.

▶ Paying respects to the Nine Emperor Gods by devotees.

信众向九皇大帝致敬



There are also a wide variety of activities that enhance the festivities of the festival. The temple organises various performances and activities to engage members of the community. Such activities include *ge tai*, dance and musical performances, as well as free traditional Chinese medicine consultation sessions. These activities are commonly sponsored by other temples; for example, the Chinese medicine consultation sessions are sponsored by the Nam Hong Siang Thong.

▶ Drum performances at the festival site.

锣鼓表演



社群聚会

庆典期间，广大信徒将齐聚一堂，祭拜九皇大帝，为家人祈求来年的庇佑和保护。这座庙宇一直是几代虔诚的道教家庭祈祷的场所。很多父母都带着自己的孩子来拜见九皇大帝，就像他们的父母一样。除了香、钱，一些信徒还会献上油灯和香烛，以示对九皇大帝的崇拜和虔诚。



Oil lamps represent the wishes of the devotees.

油灯代表信众的祝愿

此外，还有丰富多彩的活动，为节日的庆祝活动锦上添花。庙宇举办各种表演和活动，以吸引社区成员。这些活动包括歌台、舞蹈和音乐表演，以及免费的中医咨询服务。这些活动通常由其他庙宇赞助；例如，中医咨询服务是由南凤善堂赞助的。



Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) consultation in progress.

中医咨询

The temple also organises a vegetarian dinner for elderly folks residing in the Chong Pang district. Apart from the scrumptious feast prepared for the elderly, there were also performances put up by various groups of performers, such as a multi-ethnic band from the Inter-Racial and Religious Confidence Circles (IRCC). This event is graced by Member of Parliament, Mr. Henry Kwek. The dinner is sponsored by devotees of the temple. By approaching the temple staff, devotees may express their interest to sponsor any number of seats for the elderly attendees. Devotees do not know who they are specifically buying a meal for; their act of sponsorship is purely an act of kindness, dedicated to benefit the pioneers of Yishun Neighbourhood.

Organised dinners for senior group homes situated in the vicinity of the temple.

乐龄人士齐聚晚宴



The dinner event witnessed elderly folks of different ethnic groups gathered to enjoy a night of food and performances. This event also provides an opportunity for people of different cultures and religious backgrounds to come together to either showcase their talents as performers or enjoying a night with each other's company. The dinner represents Jia Zhui Kang's efforts in giving back to the community that has supported them through the years. As part of their commitment to the people, the temple does its best to help the less fortunate. The temple also prepared goodie bags and red packets as a token of appreciation for the elderly of the Yishun neighbourhood.

庙宇也为居住在忠邦地区的老年人举办素食晚宴。除了为乐龄人士准备的素食盛宴外，还有来自族群与宗教互信圈（IRCC）的多元民族乐队等多组表演者的表演。国会议员郭献川先生也出席了晚宴。晚宴由庙宇的信徒赞助。信徒们可以通过庙宇成员，赞助乐龄人士任意数量的席位。信众不知道他们为谁买餐，故他们的赞助行为纯属善举，致力于造福义顺社区的建国一代。



Group photographs of the performers.

表演艺员合影

晚宴上，来自不同族群的乐龄人生齐聚一堂，一起享受充满美食与娱乐的夜晚。这场活动也给来自不同文化和宗教背景的街坊有机会聚在一起，展现他们的表演天赋或享受彼此的陪伴。

义顺社群支持洪水港数年，而这场晚宴是洪水港回馈社群的方式之一。庙宇尽力帮助弱势群体，以实践对社群的承诺。今年，为了感谢义顺区的乐龄人士的参与，庙宇也分小礼包和红包给乐龄人士。

Visits to Nine Emperor Gods Temples

Just as the other temples have visited the Jia Zhui Kang, the temple will also conduct their visits to other Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore. The temple sets off early in the morning, with buses catered for devotees who wish to join this occasion. The visits also serve as a great opportunity for the temple committee and staff to keep in contact with other Nine Emperor Gods temples.

▶ Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong's contingent's visit to Hougang Dou Mu Gong.

参拜后港斗母宫



▶ Group photograph with Long Nan Szye temple.

参拜与龙南寺。



九皇圣驾出巡友庙

就像其他庙宇都前来参拜了洪水港一样，庙宇也举办自己的游境，到其他九皇庙宇参拜。参拜大队一早就出发了，庙宇也租赁了巴士也为希望参加这一活动的信徒提供载送服务。游境也让理事会成员和员工们有机会和其他九皇庙宇保持联络。庙宇之间融洽的关系是非常重要的，因为这确保社群和网络的凝聚力。



◀ Visit to Zhun Ti Tang.

在准提堂进香



◀ Visiting Hong San Temple.

在凤山宫进香

► Celebratory cheers of “Huat Ah!” rang through Leng San Giam Do Mu Gong.

龙山岩斗母宫内齐喊“发啊！”



Visitors from other Nine Emperor Gods Temples

► The arrival of visiting contingents at Jia Zhui Kang for payment of respects.

友庙前来进香



Moreover, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong similarly undertakes the role of the host during this period in light of the visits by contingents from other temples.



新加坡各大九皇大帝友庙前来进香



就像泮水港到友庙参拜，其他九皇大帝庙也会前来参拜。

► Incense censer carried by designated bearers.

承载香炉的圣轿



Prior to entering the temple, both the host as well as the guest temple's vanguard carry a whip and the five flags. They represent the Five Camps and their armies. Upon greeting each other with a bow, both takes turns cracking the whips to symbolise “clearing the way”. This would be done before the Nine Emperor Gods censer is brought into the temple. Some temples would bring their palanquins with them during such visits. Each temple's palanquin has its own unique design, history, and background story.

► Visitors from Jiu Huang Dian arrive.

九皇殿的善信理事来进香



The carrying of the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods during the visits is the responsibility of a designated censer master. The censer master is selected annually by the Nine Emperor Gods via the throwing of divination blocks. Apart from carrying the censer, the censer master carries other important ritual items and plays a crucial role during rituals. Of equal symbolic importance is the censer, for it contains burning sandalwood—an essential item exchanged during visits.



◀ Xuan Wu Shan's multi-tiered palanquin.

玄武山九皇斗母圣轿入庙

东道庙和参拜庙宇会各派出一名先锋。先锋们持着法索和五色令旗，肩负五营将军的职责。互相鞠躬敬礼后，两名先锋轮流“抽打”法索以净化道路。这个动作是在九皇大帝炉进入庙宇之前进行的。

一些庙宇会抬着神轿进行参拜。每间庙宇的圣轿有各自的独特设计，历史和背景故事。



每间庙的香炉由炉主持着。九皇大帝每年会挑选炉主，挑选结果通过掷杯决定。在不同的庙宇，炉主肩负着不同的职责。虽然如此，在每个庙宇里，炉主在仪式中都扮演着举足轻重的角色。炉主负责九皇香炉和不同仪式中其他重要的物品。每个香炉里装有点着的檀香。进行参拜时，两间庙宇会交换檀香。

► Censer in a special throne covered in LED lights.

用霓虹灯装饰的香炉宝座。



Parallels between the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and Chinese New Year can be drawn. Both assume a reunion time and reflect the interconnected network linking the Nine Emperor Gods' temples.



与农历新年非常相似，九皇大帝诞庆典也是团圆的日子，体现了将所有不同的九皇大帝庙联系在一起的网路。

Inviting Water Ritual

The temple is packed with activities on the sixth day. It begins with the ritual for Inviting Water, followed by paying Respects to the Jade Emperor, and finally, a procession [Minnan: yew keng] around Yishun in the evening. Every year, the temple conducts a ritual to bless water which has been invited from a well. The ritual of inviting water stands as one of the symbolic events of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival for Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

▶ Inviting Water ceremony performed by Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, 2009. Photograph courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

泮水港斗母宮鳳山寺清水儀式, 2009。照片由泮水港斗母宮鳳山寺提供。



请水仪式

初六，庙宇里非常热闹，有各种活动在陆续进行。庙宇会先到井边请水。然后祭拜玉皇上帝，最后在傍晚十分绕着义顺游境。

每年，庙宇会进行一个仪式，从一口井请水，然后给请出的井水开光，井水仪式是洪水港斗母宫九皇大帝诞里具有象征意义的活动之一。



▶ Well water obtained for ritual performances.

为清水仪式打水



▶ Daoist priest conducting a ritual.

道士做法中



Returning to the temple after the “Inviting Water” ritual in 2017, the lead Daoist priest launched into a prayer and ritual dedicated to the Jade Emperor. Surrounding the altar and, in turn, the priest, were food offerings that were blessed and later distributed to devotees.



◀ Performance of the Inviting Water ritual by a Daoist priest.

道士进行请水仪式

一回到庙宇，道士便开始进行仪式并带领大家祭拜玉皇上帝。桌上摆着供奉神明的食品。道士会给食品开光。过后，庙宇成员会将食品分给信徒们。



◀ Blessing of food offerings.

道长在发糕上盖章



◀ Performance by the Singapore Performance Troupe, Ba Jiang Tuan, which was trained in Taiwan.

来自台湾的八将团表演

Previously, the Ba Jiang Tuan, also known as Guards of the Gods, also performed at the temple. They belong to the Zhong Lian Dian Folk Arts troupe, which was trained in Taiwan, and stands as the only recognised group in Singapore performing this special dance. The guards are generals in the underworld who serve deities of the netherworld. Even though the performing group is named Ba Jiang Tuan (Eight General Group), there are in fact, nine of them. The ninth leader in the centre holds a gourd. Their performance on kickstarts the temple's *yew keng* (visitation) to the other temples within the Yishun district.

▶ A close-up look at Ba Jian Tuan.

八将团特写



Like the previous *yew keng* where Jia Zhui Kang visited other Nine Emperor Gods temple, the temple visits neighbouring places of worship, as a way of maintaining inter-temple relationships with other religious organisations within Yishun. The temple does not only visit Chinese temples but are also welcomed in the Hindu temples in the neighbourhood.

傍晚时分，八将团在庙里表演。八将团属于中蓬殿官将首八将团。此团在台湾受训，是新加坡唯一认可的表演这种特殊舞蹈的团体。八将团里的将士是来自阴间的将军，在阴间为神明效劳。虽然此团名为八将团，团里其实有九个将士。第九名将士是团长，站在团队中间，手握葫芦。八将团当晚的表演给庙宇的游境活动揭开序幕。游境时，洪水港会到义顺区内的其他庙宇进行参拜。

就像之前游境时参拜其他九皇庙宇，这天，洪水港也拜访其他邻近的宗教场所，以维护庙宇和义顺内其他宗教组织的良好关系。洪水港不只是和华族庙宇保持良好关系，也同时受到邻近兴都庙的款待。



▲ Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong's visits to other temples and religious institutions during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, 1993. Photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

参拜义顺的寺庙，1993。照片由洪水港斗母宫鳳山寺提供。

► Censer master proceeded through the Yishun neighbourhood alongside the contingent.

炉主前往义顺区进香



► Black Flags protecting the censer.

黑色令旗守护香炉





▲ Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong's visit to the Holy Tree Sri Balasubramaniam Temple.

参访兴都庙



▲ Group photographs inclusive of the temple's staff committee, volunteers, and performers.

庙宇理事、义工及表演者合影

Sending off the Nine Emperor Gods

The final day of the festival was one of the busiest, as several events took place concurrently. As with the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods, the sending off ritual takes place in the evening at Sembawang Beach.

► Performance troupe from Zhong Hua Lian You Hui.

中华联友会表演团



► Bodhisattva Guanyin sees the Nine Emperor Gods off

观音佛祖的乩童起乩，恭送九皇大帝



恭送九皇大帝聖駕回銮

庆典的最后一天也是最忙碌的时刻之一，因为许多活动同时进行。黄昏时分，如同恭迎九皇大帝仪式，恭送九皇大帝仪式也在三巴旺海滩举行。



Placing the spirit-tablet and joss paper in the palanquin

庙宇成员把神牌和金纸安置在神轿里



The palanquin begins to rock as it moves off to the beach

神轿前往海滩时左右摇晃

► Performance at Sembawang Beach before the send off

恭送九皇大帝前，在三巴旺海滩表演



► Minister Shanmugam gracing the sending-off ceremony.

部长尚穆根出席恭送仪式



► Daoist priests perform the sending-off ritual

道长们主持恭送仪式





◀ Moving the Dragon Ship to the Beach

众人将龙船搬到海滩上



◀ Devotees at the beach to send off the Nine Emperor Gods

海滩上参与恭送仪式的信众

▶ Banner women ready on the beach

海滩上的女旗手准备就绪



▶ Setting the Dragon Ship ablaze

点燃龙船



At the end of the ritual, the Dragon Ship is pushed into the sea and set ablaze. At the same time, the Nine Emperor Gods censer is carried from the prayer altar towards the sea. The censer is then dipped into the sea before the final prayer to the Nine Emperor Gods is offered. The censer master brings the censer back into the Inner Chamber of the temple; where it sits, until mobilised again for the next Nine Emperor Gods Festival.



仪式结束时，众人将龙船推进大海焚化。同时，庙宇成员会将九皇大帝香炉从神台运到大海前，将其浸泡在海里，再进行九皇大帝祭拜仪式。之后，炉主把炉端回庙里安置。香炉会一直摆放在庙里，直到下个九皇大帝诞。

▲ Sending-off the Nine Emperor Gods.

恭送九皇大帝仪式

Post-festival and Appreciation Dinner

After the eventful night before, the volunteers return to the temple early the next day. Despite sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods, there was still much work to be done. The volunteers and staff spend the next day removing decorations, as well as packing up the logistics that had been set up for the Nine Emperor Gods festival, such as flags, banners, gates and tables. Rituals were also conducted through the day, to symbolise the conclusion of the festival.

A series of rituals were conducted in succession. Spirit generals and soldiers were rewarded [Minnan: Ko Kun] as an expression of gratitude for the hard work of the Five Camps that had protected the temple during the festival. There was also a ritual to signify the end of their fast. Food offerings placed in front of the altars consisted of both meat and vegetable dishes.

▶ Non-Vegetarian food offerings at the altar.

斗母宮神台前方供奉着荤类食品



庆典后续与慰劳宴

在三巴旺海滩一夜的活动后，隔天早上，义工们回到庙里。尽管九皇大帝诞结束了，义工们还有许多后续的工作要完成。义工和员工们花费一天的时间拆除装饰品以及把节日用品如旗子、横幅、闸门和桌子收起来。庙宇中的仪式全天进行，作为结束整个庆典的一种方式。



◀ Rewarding the Five Camps.

犒赏五营将军

一系列的仪式陆续进行。庙宇成员进行犒军仪式以酬谢五营将军在节日期间守护庙宇的艰辛。庙宇也需要降九皇天灯。庙宇也进行一场仪式以象征斋戒结束。神台前方此时供奉着荤食。



◀ A night of celebrations.

充满欢乐气氛的夜晚

Conclusion

Jia Zhui Gang Dou Mu Gong is one of the oldest Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore. Like other early ones which have remained in their neighbourhood and its vicinity, it has become an important centre for the festival and community in the course of its history. It continues to play such a role today and has built new communities in Yishun and Chong Pang. It also draws its devotees and supporters from all over the island.

Through the project, we have experienced and witnessed the strong bonds of friendship, spirit of community and sharing which continues to sustain and push forth the tradition and culture of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. With the long and complex histories of the Nine Emperor Gods, there is still much to be done and studied. We look forward to working with everybody in the future, and to be part of this effort to preserve and promote these traditions in Singapore!

结论

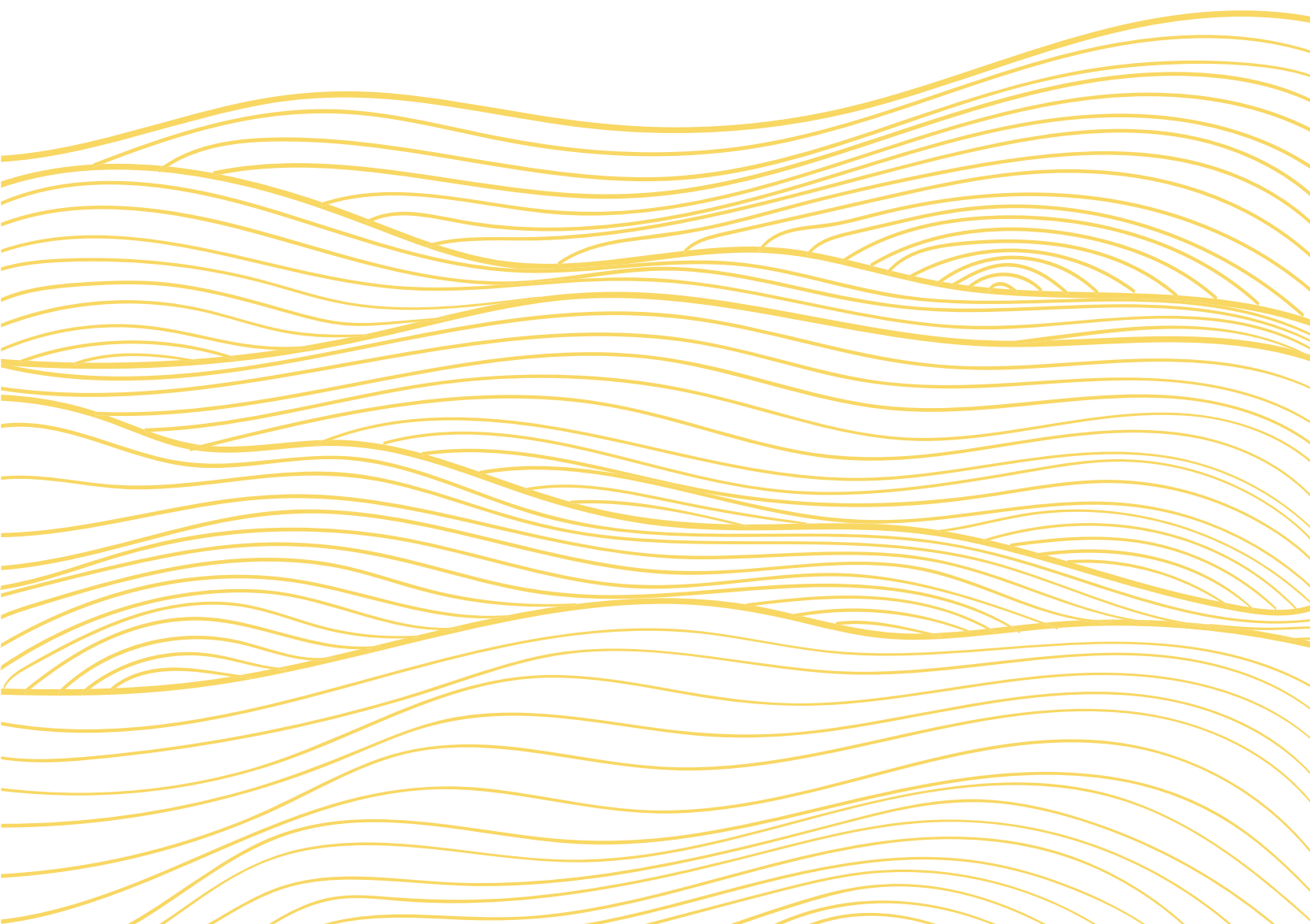
洪水港斗母宫是新加坡最古老的九皇庙宇之一。如同其他仍存在于这一地区的早期庙宇，洪水港斗母宫在历史进程中成为重要的节日和社区中心，至今仍扮演着这样的角色。洪水港斗母宫也在义顺和忠邦建立了新的社区，吸引了来自全岛各地的信徒和支持者。

通过这个项目，我们体验和见证了九皇胜会上的深厚友谊、社区团结和分享精神，这一切共同促进九皇胜会传统和文化的传承与发展。九皇大帝的历史悠久且多元化，因此，研究工作尚未结束。我们希望未来能有更多机会与各位并肩合作，共同传承和推广新加坡的九皇文化传统!



第 7 章

Jiu Huang Dian
玉封九皇殿



Jiu Huang Dian

Hidden amid an industrial area is a small young, vibrant temple dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods, Jiu Huang Dian. Established on 18th December 2008, this relatively new home temple bursts with youthful energy and enthusiasm. Close cooperation abounds between the young committee members who possess the utmost dedication. This is witnessed especially during the annual Nine Emperor Gods Festival from the 30th of the eighth lunar month to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

History

Despite its comparatively more recent founding, several relocations of the temple have since occurred. Having started a temple within the home of one of the young founders, Lawrence, in 2008, Jiu Huang Dian relocated to Blk 192, Pandan Loop, the following year before shifting to Mandai Estate. The temple only moved to its current premises at Bukit Batok Street 23 in 2021.

► Interior of Jiu Huang Dian at Mandai Estate.

万礼园中的玉封九皇殿。



Due to space constraints, tentages, temporary altars and structures are set up annually to enable the temple to host the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Given its numerous relocations, it is unsurprising that the festival has been held at different locations since 2008. Initially held in front of Lawrence's home unit, the festival site had manifested as a small, simple corridor-based altar with rituals occurring within Lawrence's house compound. The following year, the site shifted to a grass patch at Jurong West Street 41. Additionally, the site took shape beside a hawker centre at 347 Jurong East Avenue 1 in 2014.

Notwithstanding changes to the locations of the festival site, Jiu Huang Dian's Nine Emperor Gods Festival has continued to grow in scale with more elaborate decorations, peripherals, and palanquins incorporated over the years. The many shifts in locations helped rather than hindered the temple's accumulation of devotees, and new devotees were gained through the festivals' attractions of residents in the various vicinities. Moreover, devotees were further sustained by their willingness to follow the temple despite changes to their festival sites.

玉封九皇殿

玉封九皇殿成立于2008年12月18日，以九皇大帝为主神。位于工业区的玉封九皇殿虽然没有悠久的历史，但是理事们也相较年轻，恰恰为这庙宇添上了别具一格的活力与朝气。也许是在建立庙宇初期经历不少困难的缘故，庙宇理事团结出凝聚力，每年农历八月三十日至九月九日都上下一心、尽心竭力地去筹备一年一度的九皇大帝宝诞！

历史

玉封九皇殿成立至今已经搬迁数次。2008年成立初期，玉封九皇殿是设立在其年轻创始人，傅仲庆（Lawrence）的住家中。隔年，玉封九皇殿搬迁到了班丹环道大牌192，后又迁往万礼园。2021年，该庙宇搬迁到武吉巴督23道。



由于空间上的限制，每逢九皇宝诞之际，玉封九皇殿便会另寻场地设置帐篷和神坛等来供奉九皇大帝。

2008年，九皇殿的九皇宝诞在Lawrence家门前举办。当时，Lawrence在家门前走廊上设立了一个小型神坛，而仪式则主要在他住家内进行。2009年，九皇殿将庆典场所更换到裕廊西41街的一片大草地上，并于2014年改换到大牌347裕廊东1巷的一个熟食中心旁的空地。

玉封九皇殿的九皇庆典随着场所迁移，规模也逐渐扩大。九皇宝诞的外围场地、装饰布置与九皇大帝的轿子也变得更精美细致。不仅如此，庆典场所的更动也吸引了更多善信前来供奉九皇大帝。值得庆幸的是，纵使庆典会场不断更动，玉封九皇殿的忠实善信由始至终依然紧紧跟着庙宇的步伐，在九皇宝诞期间准时出现在庆典会场。

Festival Preparations

Festival preparations commence in earnest with the setting up of the tentage and its transformation into a sacred space. The tentage is transformed with bright lights and intricately embroidered golden yellow fabric adorning the altar, the placements of decorations including banners, five-coloured flags, and yellow cloth, and the fixtures of majestic deity robes. The space is divided into two distinct spaces—a Front Palace and an Inner Back Palace. Whilst the Front Palace is accessible to the public, the Inner Palace had restricted access, similar to the Inner Chambers of Nine Emperor Gods temples.

Banners, in particular, can usually be found all over Jiu Huang Dian's festival sites. For instance, the 2017 festival saw banners of the characters “The Northern Dipper Sovereign”, “Nine Emperor Gods, and “The Southern Dipper Sovereign” hanging from great heights at the site. The sides of the tentage contained more banners with the names of each of the Nine Emperor Gods [as the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and the two hidden stars in the constellation]. Furthermore, two vertical banners with dragon embroideries stating “大地威灵震乾坤” and “九皇法旨传世间” were fastened to the ceiling on both sides of the main altar. Other banner contents observed included the “Five Encampments of Spirit Generals and Soldiers”, “Jade Emperor”, and “Liu Ren Xian Shi”.

▶ Altar dedicated to the Heavenly Lamps.

供奉天灯的神台。



Spectacular was the five-storey main altar situated in the middle of the tentage. For one, as aforesaid, the altar was brightly lit and embellished with yellow banners and cloths. Arrangements of deities on the altar usually entail heavenly deities occupying the higher levels, whilst earthly deities are placed on the lower platforms. Of no surprise, therefore, was the highest level occupied by the Emperors of the Three Departments in 2017. Other deities invited from the temple to the altar at the festival site for celebrations included Liu Ren, Tua Pek Kong, Guang Ze Zun Wang, Guan Di and Qing Shui Zu Shi. The left of the main altar comprises the five-coloured flags—green, red, yellow, white and black from left to right—representative of the presence of spiritual soldiers from the five cardinal directions—east, south, central, west and north, respectively.

庆典筹备

每逢九皇宝诞，庙宇人士从设立帐篷开始，旨在划出一个供民众前来祭祀供奉的场地。在帐篷内，灯光明亮的神坛以布满精致刺绣的金黄布匹围着，写有不同字样的横幅直幅。五色旗、黄色布匹与众神的服饰可见于帐篷各处。

印有“北斗星君”“九皇大帝”“南斗星君”的横幅从左到右横挂在主神坛上方。黄色帐篷两旁则挂着印有各尊九皇大帝名字的直幅。在主神坛左右，印有“大地威灵震乾坤”和“九皇法旨传世间”的两道直幅配从棚顶垂挂而下。“五营将军”“玉皇上帝”和“六壬仙师”的直幅也可见于庆典会场中。庆典会场主要划分为外殿和内殿。内殿以黄布围起，只有特定人士才能进入。外殿则开放给所有民众。

在庆典会场中，最亮眼夺目的要属五层高的主神坛。主神坛以黄布围起，顶上挂有黄色横幅。在神坛的最上方供奉着三官大帝。神坛的排位主要以天神在上、地祇在下置。神坛上供奉的神明包括六壬仙师、大伯公、广泽尊王、关帝和清水祖师。这些神明会士从庙宇请到帐篷中庆贺九皇宝诞。五旗则竖立于神坛边，由左到右为青、红、黄、白和黑，分别代表东、南、中、西和北的五方五营将军。



Scores of deities are displayed on the main altar.

神坛上供奉着多个神像



Five Coloured Horses represented the Five Camps and their armies.

五营兵马，也称作五营将军。

Altar preparations for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

为庆典筹备神坛。



Marketing of paper boats for devotees to purchase.

宝船供善信选购。





▲ Display of palanquins on stage.

舞台上的圣轿。

► The Dragon Ship

龙船。



Raising of the Heavenly Lamps

Before the receiving ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods, necessary rituals include raising the Nine Heavenly Lamps on a bamboo pole. The role of the Nine Heavenly Lamps is to guide deities and gods to the celebrations. Commencing this ritual in 2017 was digging a hole for rice and wine to be placed within. Moreover, a talisman was placed in the hole after a Daoist priest conducted blessings. A straight and strong bamboo of considerable height and at least 15 years old was inserted in the hole.

Moreover, a pulley system was used to raise the Nine Heavenly Lamps on the top of the bamboo. In addition, 28 talismans symbolic of the 28-Star Constellations were placed along the lamp pole. The effort resulted in a line of traditional lanterns extending down from the top of the bamboo to the festival site. In general, an important measure observed during every Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the maintenance of the oil lamps—which requires oil to be added throughout the festival to prevent the lamps from extinguishing.



升九皇天灯

在恭迎九皇大帝前，玉封九皇殿的众人正忙着在庆典会场前竖立九皇天灯。他们在选定的地点挖出一个坑后，将米与酒放置在坑中。过后，道长会进行祈福仪式，并把灵符放入坑中。接着，庙宇众人合力把一根竹龄不少于15年的竹子埋于坑中，竖立起来，再用滑轮与轴承支架将九盏灯悬挂在竹子顶端。庙宇人士也会沿着竹子贴上28道符纸，象征二十八星宿。竹子顶端挂着一线传统灯笼，由上往下伸展到庆典会场。在庆典期间，庙宇人士每天都会往天灯中添置灯油，避免灯火熄灭。在九皇诞生中，天灯将为前来庆典的众神指路。

▶ Raising of the Heavenly Lamps.

竖立九皇天灯。



Inviting the Nine Emperor Gods

The annual deity-hosting responsibilities begin on the 30th day of the eighth lunar month for Jiu Huang Dian with the ceremony to invite the Nine Emperor Gods. Adhering to the mandated dress code, devotees don white attires, head scarves, and yellow cloth belts. In particular, the white headscarves are usually stamped with the seal of the Nine Emperor Gods for the ceremony. Though the ceremony was held at Changi Beach in 2017, devotees convened in advance at the festival tentage, where a big piece of incense wood was lit in an urn facing the altar for the smell of incense and smoke to envelope the gathered. The hired transportation only departed for the beach at 7 pm. Awaiting the devotees at the beach were ritual-related displays set up in advance, including an altar covered in yellow cloth with offerings and other ceremonial paraphernalia. Commencing the ceremony, the leading Daoist priest chanted whilst facing the sea. It was only around 9 pm that selected temple committee members were given the signal to enter the sea with sacred ceramic censer and scepter, to welcome the Nine Emperor Gods. Specifically, the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods was epitomised by the committee members inviting water into the censer and covering it with a piece of yellow cloth. The censer, thus, is generally regarded as the vessel in which the Nine Emperor Gods reside during the festival.



▲ Lighting the Heavenly Lamps.

点燃九皇天灯。

恭请九皇大帝

农历八月三十日是玉封九皇殿恭请九皇大帝的日子。当日，庙宇善信头戴印有九皇大帝的印章的白头巾、一身白衣白裤围着黄腰带，纷纷聚集到帐篷中。神坛前的香炉中燃烧着一块巨大的香木，升腾的香烟使整个会场烟雾缭绕、香烟飘渺。

傍晚7点左右，庙宇的大巴与罗厘会驶向樟宜海边。到达海滩后，庙宇人士将神坛设立在海滩上，并在桌上摆上善信的供品与仪式用品。过后，道长面向海，口中念念有词，开始念诵经文。9点左右，在道士的指挥下，庙宇理事带着香炉和神杖，缓缓步入水中迎接九皇大帝。理事朝香炉注入海水并盖上一块黄布。这象征庙宇成功迎接九皇爷驾临。庙宇理事也将香炉捧在手中带回到海滩上，置放在圣轿中。据说，九皇大帝就附在香炉中。

▶ The lighting of incense wood fills the tentage with incense and smoke.

点燃的香木使整个会场烟雾缭绕。



▶ Palanquins for the Invitation of Nine Emperor Gods.

迎接九皇大帝的圣轿。





◀ The vanguard contingent with the receiving banner and gongs.

先锋队手握九皇大帝旗帜与锣。



◀ Invitation ritual led by a Daoist priest.

道长主持恭请九皇仪式。



The atmosphere at the beach usually heightens with the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods. The event in 2017 was no different. Exhilaration and joy ensued as massive flags were raised and waved whilst the lion dancers broke out in their performances to the deafening sound of the drums and cymbals. The censer was placed in a prepared palanquin to begin its journey to the temple. There were three palanquins at the ceremony—the other two holding the Northern and Southern Dipper, respectively. The three palanquins swayed from left to right vigorously as they proceeded to the carpark. The palanquins, paraphernalia and the contingent returned to the festival site via the chartered buses and lorries.

▶ Temple committee members inviting the Nine Emperor Gods.

庙宇理事恭请九皇大帝。



The return procession to the temple was far from silent, with some devotees proclaiming “Kew Ong Dai Deh [“Nine Emperor Gods” in Minnan]” whenever overhead bridges were encountered. The rest of the entourage would exclaim, “Huat Ah!” as salt and rice were thrown up towards the bridge. These actions were taken to ward off any potential gathered malevolent forces.

▶ Return of the receiving contingent to the tentage.

迎接团队返回庆典会场。



在迎接九皇大帝时，现场气氛达到高点。巨大的旗帜在空中挥舞，醒狮团也随着鼓声与铜钹声展开演出，现场一时鼓乐喧天。此时，载有九皇大帝、南斗星君与北斗星君的三乘圣轿也开始左右摆动，往罗厘停放的方向前进，准备返回庆典会场。



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods palanquin.

九皇大帝圣轿。

在返回庆典会场的路途中，罗厘也会经过天桥底下，这时坐在罗厘上的理事都大声呼喝 “Kew Ong Dai Deh”（闽南话音译：九皇大帝），并将盐米洒向天桥底下，其他的理事也会高喊一声“Huat Ah”！他们宣称这有助于驱赶聚集在桥下的恶灵。



Sounds of a cracking whip mark the arrival of the returning contingent at the festival site. This was similarly observed in 2017. The palanquins were whisked away into the restricted zone of the Inner Palace after a brief public ritual performance upon arrival at the tentage. The palanquins were followed by select committee members who had adhered strictly to an ascribed vegetarian diet and were responsible for maintaining the altar and ritual performances in the Inner Palace.

► The palanquins back at the festival tentage.

圣轿抵达九皇千秋场地。



响亮的法索挥打声预示迎接团队已回到庆典会场。团队成员抬着圣轿在会场中央完成简单仪式后，便将圣轿抬入内殿。会场中的内殿是不开放给公众与庙宇善信进入的，只有吃全斋的几位认定理事才能出入内殿，协助打理神坛与主持必要仪式。



After the coastal invitation ceremony, the congregation pays respects before the main altar with guidance from the Daoist priests.

从海边回来之后，道长引导庙宇理事与善信在主神坛前致敬。

Festival Rituals

Following the invitation ceremony, the temple staff, residents from the surrounding estates, and devotees from across Singapore converge to participate in the numerous scheduled activities at the festival site, mainly to pay their respects and to present their offerings to the Nine Emperor Gods.

Performances run through the entire duration of the festival. hey include puppetry and melodic singing by a hired performance troupe to entertain the Nine Emperor Gods. Before the beginning of each puppetry performance, the performers will pay their respects before the main altar, and a red child deity is invited to sit at the altar, where he is surrounded by sweets. This is returned to the puppeteers at the end of the performance.



▲
Puppet Performance Stage

木偶戏的演出舞台。

九皇圣诞仪式

九皇圣诞期间，帐篷中熙熙攘攘，大小活动接连不断。附近的居民与来自新加坡各地的善信也在不同时段前来向九皇大帝致敬与献贡。

在庆典期间，木偶戏表演者的吟唱声不时在会场中响起，给九皇大帝助兴。表演开始前，木偶戏班成员会向众神致敬，再将戏神邀请到神坛就坐，在戏神周遭摆放各色糖果。戏神要请回戏台上，表演才能圆满结束。



▲ Performances by puppeteers.

木偶戏的表演者正用线牵引木偶表演。

Rewarding the Spiritual Armies

Apart from special one-time rituals, daily routine rituals include the daily ritual offerings to the Five Camps and their armies represented by the five flags and horses. Like other temples and Nine Emperor Gods Festival sites, Jiu Huang Dian has inner and outer camps deployed on its festival site. Moreover, a *chao ya* (or military display) ritual is conducted twice a day for these spiritual armies.

▶ Marshalling, drilling and rewarding of the spirit soldiers by select committee members.

庙宇理事主持犒军与操营仪式。



犒军

九皇宝诞的会场由五营看守和保护。庙宇理事每日都会在五营前进行犒军仪式，答谢五营的庇佑。五营的五个颜色分别代表：“青旗—东营军”、“红旗—南营军”、“白旗—西营军”、“黑旗—北营军”、“黄旗—中营军”。九皇殿和其他庙宇九皇胜会一样，有内军外军。庙方也有认定理事每日(在犒军时段)也会进行两场操营仪式。



▲ Rewarding the Five Camps with vegetarian food and incense paper.

犒军时的供品：斋食、金银纸。

Change of Luck Rituals

Jiu Huang Dian also conducts two major rituals on the fourth and seventh days of the festival, respectively for its devotees. The first is the “Luck-changing” ritual, and the second “Bridge-crossing” ritual. Leading the ritual with chants from the scripture book “Change of the Year” and a talisman, the Daoist priest facilitates the symbolic transference of devotees’ adversities to the talisman, which is, in turn, burnt to signify their eradication. Noticeable during the 2017 ritual was turning a bamboo plate filled with traditional copper coins, chopsticks, and other talismans in a clockwise direction during the incineration process by a volunteer. This represents the shifting of fortunes for devotees’ attainment towards success.

Change of Luck rituals conducted by a Daoist priest.

道长主持改运仪式。



The similarly presided by a Daoist priest, the “Bridge Crossing” ritual aims to improve devotees’ luck for the year ahead. Following the consecration of the bridge in 2017, the devotees were arranged according to their zodiac signs. The Daoist priest led devotees of each of the various zodiac signs across the bridge and around the main altar.

改运

在宝诞期间，善信可以通过九皇殿所提供的两项仪式改变运势。这两项仪式分别在农历九月四日和九月七日举行。农历九月初四，善信会前来帐篷参与改运仪式，扫除该年的霉运。在仪式进行时，道长会念诵一本名为《改年》的经书，善信则需要双手持香，跪在神坛前，等待道士将身上的霉运转移到灵符中。随着道长点燃符纸，善信的霉运也将随着符纸焚化殆尽而得以剔除。在灵符燃烧的片时会有一位理事将手里的竹盘顺时针方向扭转，体现了歹运转吉的改运过程。竹盘中摆着传统铜币、筷子与灵符。

农历九月七日，玉封九皇殿会举行过平安桥仪式。仪式由道长主持。过平安桥前，道长会先为平安桥进行净化仪式，再指示善信根据自己的生肖排队站好，等候过桥。接着，道长会一一引领不同生肖的善信过平安桥，并围绕主神坛。过了平安桥后，善信来年的运势也将得到改善。



◀ The Daoist priest leading devotees across the Bridge of Peace and Safety.

道长引导善信过平安桥。



The Nine Emperor Gods' Birthday (sixth day of the ninth lunar month)

The sixth day of the ninth lunar month is regarded as the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods. As such, Jiu Huang Dian organises a special vegetarian birthday feast for the Nine Emperor Gods on this day. Devotees are also encouraged to participate by sponsoring vegetarian offerings, which are placed on tables in front of the main altar. Similarly, a table of offerings, spanning a spread of vegetarian dishes, nine bowls of rice and nine cups of tea, is prepared by the temple. The Daoist priest officiates over the ritual leading the censer master through the prayers and in offering vegetarian food to the Nine Emperor Gods on behalf of the temple and devotees.

▶ Preparations of vegetarian food offerings ahead of the Nine Emperor Gods' birthday.

善信为九皇诞辰前准备斋食。



▶ Rectangular tables of offerings sponsored by devotees for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

善信在庙方为他们在神坛前摆设的长方形桌子上供奉各式各样的斋食。



农历九月六日：九皇大帝诞辰正日

玉封九皇殿认定农历九月六日为九皇大帝的诞辰正日。当日，善信会在神坛前摆置的桌供奉各式各样的斋食。庙方也会特别为九皇大帝另设一个盛宴，并在一张大圆桌上摆满丰盛的斋食、九碗米饭与九盏茶。道长主持仪式，由选定的炉主代表九皇殿和信徒向九皇大帝供奉素食。



◀ Temple's feast table for the Nine Emperor Gods.

庙宇为九皇大帝办盛宴。

► Ritual blessings over the tables of offerings led by a Daoist priest.

道长引导善信在各桌的供品进行仪式。



Visiting Temples

The visits to other Nine Emperor Gods temples undertaken by the temple are central to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival celebrations in Jiu Huang Dian. On these visits, Jiu Huang Dian will exchange greetings, these visits would involve the exchange of gift hampers, offerings, and incense with the host temple. These exchanges reinforce the camaraderie and connections between the temples, both in Singapore and beyond. That main committee members would be barefoot as a form of respect for the deities of the host temples. Likewise, Jiu Huang Dian hosts contingents from other temples during the festival.

► Paying respects to Jiu Huang Dian's deities before the visits to other temples.

访友庙前，玉封九皇殿的进香团在神坛前祭拜。





进香团参访友庙

在九皇宝诞期间，玉封九皇殿的进香团也会参访友庙，走访各大九皇庙宇参拜神明。在参访友庙时，庙宇理事除了和友庙人士交流攀谈、联络感情外，也会互相交换供品礼篮与香火。不仅如此，玉封九皇殿的主要理事会打着赤脚进入友庙，以向友庙的神明示尊重。友庙在接待了玉封九皇殿的进香团后，也会派进香团回访，礼尚往来。

▶ Jiu Huang Dian committee members visiting other Nine Emperor Gods Temples.

玉封九皇殿的理事参访友庙。



▶ Exchange of gift hampers between a Jiu Huang Dian committee member and the leader of Xuan Wu Shan.

玉封九皇殿的理事与玄武山理事互换供品礼篮。





Presentation of gifts to Zhun Ti Tang, Hougang Dou Mu Kung, Long Nan Dian and Kew Huang Keng by Jiu Huang Dian.

玉封九皇殿的理事与准提堂、后港斗母宫、龙南殿、九皇宫理事互换供品礼篮。





▲ Exchanges of incense between Jiu Huang Dian and host temples during their visits.

玉封九皇殿与友庙换香。



◀ Jiu Huang Dian hosted devotees from Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong and Kew Huang Keng.

龙山岩斗母宫, 洪水港斗母宫和九皇宫拜访与九皇殿换香。



Sending-Off Ceremony

Worshippers send off the Nine Emperor Gods on the night of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. There is a heightened buzz of activity on this day. Jiu Huang Dian temple staff and helpers and those from other affiliated temples stream into the festival site throughout the day. In 2017, the sending-off ceremony began at about 6.30pm with the lion dance performances. Three performers dressed as “Ne Zha the Third Prince” danced along to techno-music. The enthusiastic performances boosted the spirits of the devotees present, and they cheered along. The Daoist priest closed the Bridge of Blessing with a short ritual. The vanguard team responsible for the Five Camps and their armies also began the final preparations for the sending-off ceremony. The temple committee led the censer master, volunteers and devotees in paying respects before the main altar before the sending-off contingent departed for Changi Beach to send off the Nine Emperor Gods.

▶ Committee members lead the devotees in paying respects before the departure of the sending-off contingent for Changi Beach.

出发到樟宜海滩前，庙宇理事引导善信向九皇大帝致敬。



圣驾回銮

农历九月九日是恭送九皇大帝回銮的大日子。当天，善信成日都会聚集在帐篷中，而与玉封九皇殿有联系的其它庙宇人士也会前来帮忙。傍晚六点半，醒狮团开始演出，敲锣打鼓声响彻帐篷。Techno-“哪咤三太子”也随着电子音乐起舞。形形色色的演出活络了现场的气氛，吸引了大批群众前来围观喝彩。演出过后，道长会在平安桥上进行一个小仪式，而负责五营的团队也开始准备参与恭送九皇大帝。在出发到樟宜海滩前，庙宇理事会引导善信在总坛前向九皇大帝致敬。



◀ Dragon dance performance before the sending-off ceremony.

恭送九皇前的舞龙表演。



◀ Performers dressed as “Prince Ne Zha” and the divine generals paid their respects before the Nine Emperor Gods.

三太子与天将的扮演者向九皇大帝致敬。

The sending-off contingent was led by the vanguard carrying the five flags, followed by the lion and dragon dance troupes, the censer master carrying the censer, the Dragon Ship, and the Nine Emperor palanquins. The temple members and volunteers mainly boarded the lorries while the devotees boarded the buses, as the contingent made their way to Change Beach.

► Pre-departure palanquin ritual performance on the temple grounds.

出发前，抬轿人抬着圣轿在帐篷中进行了一场仪式表演。





▶ The vanguard watches on in anticipation as the contingent prepares to depart for the beach.

先锋准备护送九皇大帝前往海滩进行送神仪式。

手握五营令旗的先锋引领恭送队伍前走向大巴与罗厘。紧随先锋之后便是舞龙舞狮团、炉主和香炉、龙船与九皇圣轿。浩浩荡荡的送驾队伍吸引了不少民众前来围观。在喧闹的气氛中，送驾队伍登上了罗厘，庙宇善信也登上了大巴。

Upon arrival at the beach, the temple contingent was greeted by an assembled temporary altar. The Daoist priest started chanting and prayers, leading the participants in the sending-off ceremony. Taking cues from the priest, selected committee members pushed the Dragon Ship out to sea and ignited it. Upon the instructions of the Daoist priest, the censer was carried by the main and deputy censer masters into the sea and sent off, to complete the ritual.

▶ The Dragon Ship at the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods, with paper stickers of the names of individual devotees and their families, seeking blessing and good fortune. Any misfortune or bad luck will be eradicated when the ship is burnt at sea during the sending-off ceremony.

龙船上贴满了纸条，纸上写着善信和家人的名字。在庙宇人士将龙船推到海上点燃时，善信与家人的厄运也会随着龙船焚烧殆尽而剔除。



抵达樟宜海滩后，沙滩上已设立了一个临时神坛。此时，道长开始诵经，引领善信参拜与恭送九皇大帝。在道士的指挥下，庙宇理事将纸扎的龙船推入海中点燃。接着，炉主与一些庙宇理事手抬香炉，缓缓步入海中恭送九皇大帝。



◀ Burning the Dragon Ship

焚化龙船

▶
Dou Mu's sedan chair.

斗母圣轿。



The devotees and helpers then began throwing their white headscarves and yellow cloth belts into a burning pile of incense papers. With this, the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods concluded and the contingent began to make its way back to the festival area.



▶
The censer masters sending-off the Nine Emperor Gods.

炉主恭送九皇大帝。



◀ Daoist priests led the sending-off ceremony at the beach.

道士在海滩上主持送九皇仪式。

随着龙船在海上燃烧，善信开始在海滩旁的焚烧炉点燃一叠叠的金纸，并把头上戴着的白头巾与腰上围着的黄腰带扔入火堆中。据说，这有助于剔除不祥之兆。恭送仪式的结束也意味着九皇宝诞正式落幕。



▲ Burning of incense papers at the beach.

海滩上，焚化金纸。

Banquet on the Evening of the Tenth Day

The festival's conclusion is followed by a sumptuous banquet-cum-auction. This feast is not only a celebration of the festival's success but also reinforces the bonds between the temple and devotees, through good food and great company. The members of the temple and the devotees look forward to the next festival with abounding wishes of good health, fortune and prosperity.

▶ The celebratory banquet hosted by Jiu Huang Dian in 2017.

2017年，九皇殿举办的庆祝宴会。



Conclusion

Yu Feng Jiu Huang Dian is a relatively new temple in the history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore. Despite their short history, it is the youth and energy, as well as the devotion, discipline, and determination to follow the traditions of the festival that have allowed the festival at Jiu Huang Dian to grow in scale every year. The leaders and committee members have all made important sacrifices to make the festival a success. They have been able to attract new devotees not only from the neighbourhood of their festival site in Jurong, but also beyond. They will continue to play an important role in the preservation and promotion of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and its values.

农历九月十日——庆典后的联欢晚宴

农历九月十日晚上，玉封九皇殿摆宴联欢。庙宇理事与善信聚集在一起，在美食中谈笑风生，共同庆祝九皇圣诞的落幕。晚宴中，他们祈求来年平安健康、财运亨通，也期盼着九皇圣诞明年的到来。



结论

玉封九皇殿是新加坡九皇胜会历史上较为新近的庙宇。尽管玉封九皇殿的历史很短，但它充满青春活力，十分虔诚，重视纪律，坚定遵循九皇胜会的传统，让九皇殿的九皇千秋宝诞一年比一年旺盛。官庙领导和理事们为了成功举办九皇胜会付出许多心血。他们积极吸引新成员参与，不仅有来自位于裕廊的节日现场附近的信徒，还有从更远的地方而来的信徒。官庙领导和理事们在传承和推广九皇胜会及其价值观方面将继续扮演着关键角色。

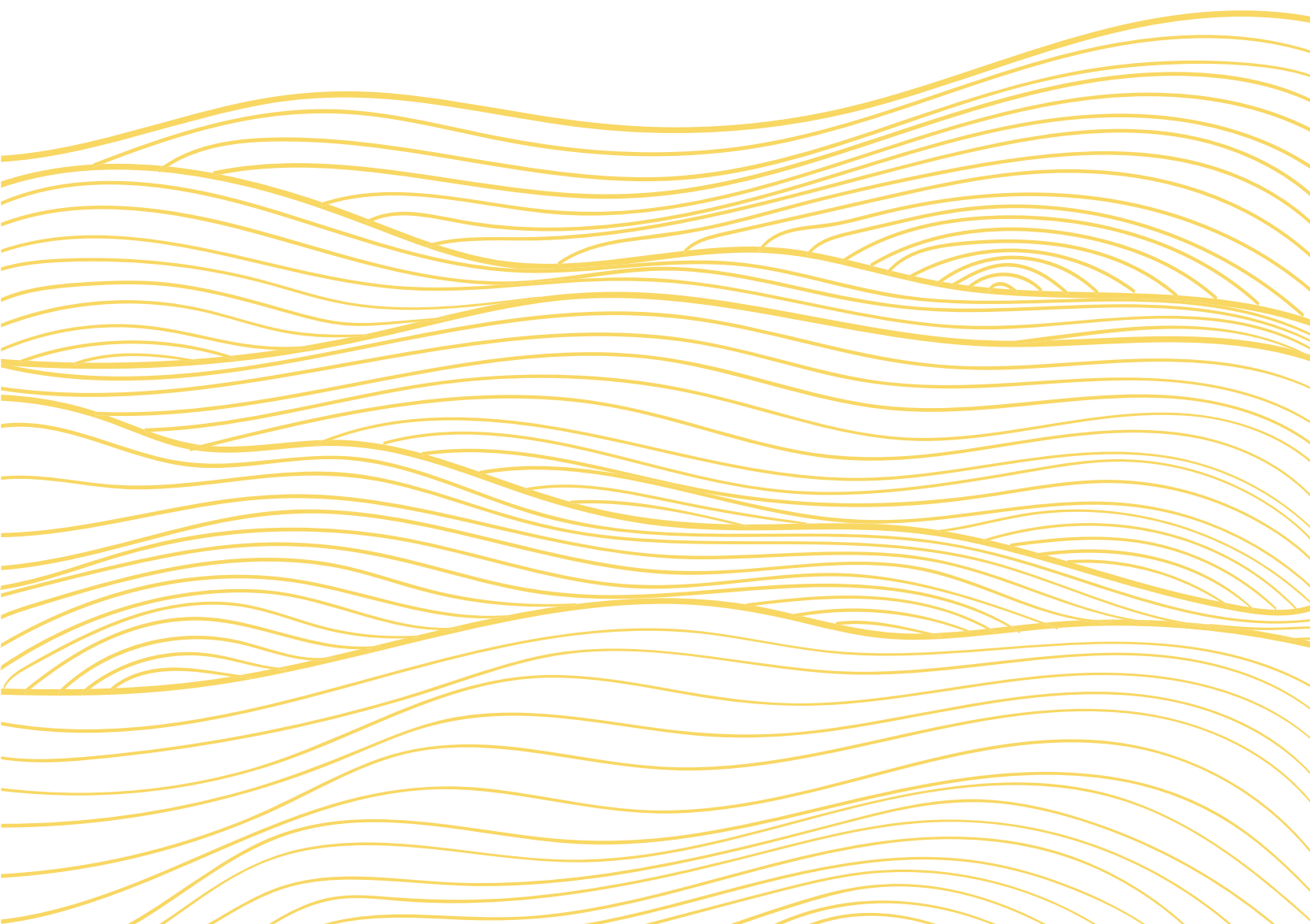


The present-day exterior of Kim San Tze.

金山寺的外观

第 8 章

Kim San Tze
金山寺



Introduction

Kim San Tze was founded by a lay follower Zeng De Shun, known as the “vegetarian aunt” in Shi Xiang Village at 7th Milestone, Upper Changi Road. It was originally a Buddhist temple that mainly worshipped Bodhisattva Guanyin and Shakyamuni Buddha before the Second World War (1942—1945).

That said, many villagers were devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods. The absence of Nine Emperor Gods temples in the vicinity rendered it necessary to travel to Hong San Temple in Defu Lane for worship, especially during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The underdeveloped nature of the public transportation system exacerbated the inconveniences related to distance. In 1948, seven Nine Emperor Gods’ devotees proposed the establishment of a Nine Emperor Gods temple in the village by inviting and enshrining incense from Hong San Temple in Kim San Tze. This received the support of Madam Zeng and the Inner Chamber of the Nine Emperor Gods was thus established in the temple. It was named “Dou Shan Gong” after the temple committee consulted the Nine Emperor Gods.

Kim San Tze relocated to Jalan Ulu Siglap in 1968 after securing a piece of land from a Malay family and has remained there till the present day. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival has become increasingly grander and more varied with the increase in devotees. The temple has steadfastly maintained many traditional rituals and the culture related to worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods.

A prominent feature in Kim San Tze’s worship and understanding of the Nine Emperor Gods is the veneration of the Second Emperor God’s image in the Main Hall and the First Emperor God in the temple’s Inner Chamber. The Inner Chamber is out of bounds to all except a small number of designated male members of the temple. The continued operation of the temple rests on the efforts of its members.

简介

金山寺由曾德顺居士（常被称为菜姨）在樟宜路上段的石乡村创立。二战前（1942-1945），该寺是一座佛教寺庙，主要供奉观音菩萨和释迦牟尼佛。

村里有许多九皇大帝的信徒，每逢千秋期间都会到德福巷的凤山宫致敬。在公共交通不发达的时候，这对村民来说是一段艰难的旅程。因此，1948年，村里的七位九皇大帝信徒提议将凤山宫九皇大帝的香火请到金山寺。经曾居士的批准和支持，寺内设立了名为“斗山宫”的内殿。内殿名字经过九皇大帝认可后而定。

金山寺在1968年迁至位于惹兰乌鲁实乞纳的现址，当时它有幸从一个马来家庭购买了一块土地。随着时间和地点的变化，随着信徒人数的增加，金山寺的九皇千秋庆祝活动变得更加盛大而隆重，活动种类也更加繁多。然而，九皇大帝圣诞的许多传统仪式和文化并没有改变。

对金山寺而言，安置在正殿的九皇大帝和九皇二帝是九皇众神的代表。除了少数的男性庙宇理事以外，内殿是不允许任何外人进入的。金山寺的经营与活动由一群热心的志愿信徒一起努力担任推动。

Preparation

► Spring Cleaning.

大扫除



Given the importance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the temple's premises are cleaned by members in the days leading up to it. Cleaning aside, necessary assembly and maintenance works are also conducted prior. These include the setting up the Bridge of Peace and Safety and upkeep of the palanquins, which are usually stored in the locked Inner Chamber until the latter's unlocking on the first day of the eighth lunar month for the festival.

► Preparation of wooden platform for the Dragon Ship.

准备支撑龙船木板



Additionally, routine works include the cohesive customisation by temple volunteers of a wooden plank as the base floatation attachment for the Dragon Ship featured during the sending-off ceremony of the festival.

筹备

九皇大帝千秋筹备的开启，由洗庙开始。筹备工作中还包括准备“平安桥”和圣轿。每年九皇大帝圣诞庆典结束后，圣轿都保存在内殿中，直到农历八月初一，当内殿的门为节日打开时才取出。



◀ Assembling the Dragon Ship.

组合龙船。

庙宇成员为了庆典特制了一片木板。木板被钉在龙船底部，让龙船在最后一天恭送九皇爷时，能随浪漂离海岸。

Changing of Banners and the Assumption of a *Zhai* Regime

A norm across all Nine Emperor Gods temples is the observation of a strict regime of *zhai* preceding the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In Kim San Tze, this begins when the yellow *zhai jie* signs are put up in the temple in the evening of the 23rd day of the eighth lunar month at 8pm sharp. The temple management and volunteers will offer incense in the temple informing the deities that the *zhai jie* had begun. Henceforth, the consumption of alcohol, meat, garlic, onions and spring onions are forbidden in the temple, and for people entering the premises. Devotees have since offered several different interpretations of the practice's significance. Whilst some regard it as a period to abstain from any killings, others, in contrast, conceive it as a means of cleansing their bodies from all incurred sins.

In 2017, this regime began at 8pm on 12th October. At this time, temple helpers offered incense to all the deities in the temple, informing the deities of the beginning of the vegetarian regime until the end of the festival. For this period, all the offerings to the deities would be vegetarian. Another reason for offering the incense was to seek the forgiveness of deities who do not normally adhere to a vegetarian regime.

▶ Pasting yellow signs of “*Zhaijie*” at the temple's entrance.

在庙门贴上“斋戒”黄牌告示



What followed were changes made to the temple's trimmings and paraphernalia. Yellow *zhai jie* signboards are raised on the walls on both sides of the temple's entrance declaring that only devotees on a strict vegetarian diet could enter the temple during the festival. The red banner and lanterns, representing the Jade Emperor, which hung on the front porch of the Main Hall, were replaced by a yellow banner emblazoned with the name of the temple, as well as the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, and a pair of lanterns with the Nine Emperor Gods' title. A yellow embroidered ball is tied to the forehead of the Second Emperor God and other yellow embroidered balls are used to decorate the temple's palanquins.

Rounding up the decorations was the attachments of two flag banners displaying the characters “silence” and “avoidance” alongside two sets of gongs to side pillars in the temple.

斋戒以及更换旗帜

严守斋戒是象征庆典开始的指标之一。农历八月二十三日，八点整，理事和助手们会在庙里上香，告知神明斋戒已开始。八点以后是象征新的一天的开始。从这一刻起，信徒必须严格持斋。肉、蒜、葱以及洋葱一律禁食。有些人认为这是为了避免“杀生”，但也有一些人认为这是为了“净身”。斋戒时期禁止饮酒食荤和吃五辛。



Attaching a yellow ball onto the image of the Second Emperor God.

为九皇二帝金身绑上黄色花球

从这一天起，提供给神明的供品都以斋食为主。因此上香的另一个含义，也是为了祈求得到其他在座不持斋的神明的谅解。除此之外，庙里的装饰也都进行了大改造。不仅如此，象征着玉帝的红彩和红色灯笼也被拆除，取而代之的是象征“九皇”的“金山寺斗山宫祝九皇大帝千秋”的黄色旗帜以及“九皇大帝”的灯笼。成员也在九皇二帝的额头上绑上一粒黄色彩球。这个彩球也绑在圣轿以及其他神明的身上。



Raising gongs and flags.

挂上两副马头锣与旗子

最后，成员们摆出两副马头锣与旗子。旗子上写着“肃静”以及“回避”字样。这两副旗帜悬挂在大殿的梁上。为了保持平衡，一粒凤梨也被绑在旗帜上。

Visiting Ampang

Every leap year (once every three years), Kim San Tze will visit Nan Tian Gong in Ampang, Malaysia, during the Nine Emperor Gods festival to invite incense. To Kim San Tze, that Hong San Temple derived its worship of the Nine Emperor Gods via the consecration of incense from Nan Tian Gong meant that Nan Tian Gong was, by association, interwoven into Kim San Tze's origin story and history.

Similar to prior visits, the 2017 visit to Nan Tian Gong involved the invitation of incense from the Ampang temple Kim San Tze. Inviting the incense from Ampang every leap year reinforced the ties between the two temples Kim San Tze's recognition and treasuring of its roots.

► During Kim San Tze's visit, a commemorative photograph was taken in the Nan Tian Gong temple.

金山寺团队在南天宫合照。



请香火

每三年闰月到来时，金山寺将在九皇大帝圣诞期间访问马来西亚安邦的南天宫。金山寺请来的九皇大帝香火虽然来自凤山宫，但其香火的根源却来自安邦的南天宫。

金山寺每隔三年会去拜访安邦南天宫一次，主要是为了纪念安邦南天宫与金山寺之间的缘分，并把九皇爷的香火再一次的请进金山寺。前往安邦南天宫的拜访是为了重新建立和加强庙宇之间的关系，也是为了提醒庙里的助手理事要饮水思源不忘本，不忘根。



Receiving the Nine Emperor Gods

The early morning of the 29th day of the eighth lunar month began with the preparation and offering of a vegetarian buffet by the temple's chef and members for devotees and guests. The generals and armies of the Five Camps are also rewarded with a vegetarian feast for the Ko Gun ritual. Underpinning this feast is the respect and appreciation for them in guarding the Nine Emperor Gods and the temple and its environs during the festival. A feast is also laid out for the netherworld deities in the temple.

The Ko Gun ritual to reward the armies usually took place at around noon. While a large spread of vegetarian dishes were offered to the generals, wild grass and Five Coloured Beans— a mixture of green, red, yellow, black and white beans—are offered to the horses. Generally, the Five Camps are rewarded on the festival's second, third, sixth, ninth, and tenth days.

► Rewarding the spirit soldiers.

犒军



After some time, divination blocks are used to ask the Generals of the Five Camps and the netherworld deities if they were satisfied with the feast and its proceedings. The ritual was concluded only with a positive response and the temple members would proceed to burn the offered joss papers.

After this, the Daoist priests and censer master gathered in the main hall and the drums were sounded. They then proceeded to pay respects to the deities in the temple. As the priests did the chanting to the accompaniment of cymbals, rice, wine, and tea were served to the different deities.

恭迎圣驾

一大早，厨房义工和庙宇成员便开始准备提供给信徒和客人的素食自助餐。他们还准备了犒军仪式，即是为五营将军和他们的兵马供奉斋食和草料。

这个仪式有一些规则需要遵守。犒军仪式的准备工作必须在中午十二点之前完成。庙宇成员将白饭和汤献给将军，野草和一些五色豆——绿豆、红豆、黄豆、黑豆和白豆的混合物等都献给兵马。这是对五营军将洁净和镇守九皇大帝圣诞法会场地的酬谢。



接下来，庙里的成员也会为阴间神明献上菜肴。过了一阵子之后，一位信徒利用筊杯请示五营将军以及阴间神明是否食用完菜肴。筊杯是个供人与神明沟通的管道之一。在神明的同意下，庙宇成员将菜肴收起来。然后庙里成员便焚烧金纸。犒军仪式在初二、初三、初六、初九与初十。

道长以及炉主前往大殿中央，随着鼓声的响起，下一轮仪式又即将开始。道长一边诵经一边致敬。炉主同时也会献上米酒与茶。

►
Da Shi Ye.
大士爷



Then the Daoist priests would consecrate the Da Shi Ye (Ghost King) image and the palanquins. As evening approached, temple members and devotees would prepare themselves by tying yellow cloth around their waists and wrists, and a piece of white cloth on their head.

向各神明致敬之后，道长便为轿子以及大士爷的神像开光。夕阳西下，庙宇成员开始为接下来的恭迎九皇仪式做准备。每个人的腰都绑上了黄丝带，而额头上也绑上了白色的头巾。



◀ Consecrating Da Shi Ye's paper image.

道长为大士爷塑像开光。



◀ Daoist priests consecrating the palanquins.

道长为圣轿开光做法。



◀ Donning of white headscarves by devotees.

善信们在额头上戴上头巾。

▶ Preparations for the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods at the beach.

在海边做好准备。



Further preparations ensued with the departure of an advance party to East Coast Park at 6 pm for the erection of an altar to welcome the Nine Emperor Gods.

▶ Departure of the palanquins to the beach. A unique feature of the palanquins at Kim San Tze is the absence of decorative LED lights. This is largely to maintain the tradition of the older palanquins in the temple.

圣轿启程前往海滩。 为了保持传统，金山寺的圣轿都没装LED灯。



到了黄昏，一群金山寺的成员准备出发前往东海岸，为晚上的恭迎九皇仪式做准备。六点半左右，先锋队抵达了东海岸F2停车场，摆设好恭迎仪式要用的供桌。



◀ Invitation of deities to board their palanquins before the departure to the beach.

恭请先锋神明入轿。

In the temple, the percussionists maintained a steady beat with the gongs in the Main Hall, as the palanquins moved out into the temple compound. There, the lion and dragon dance troupes were performing and the large gongs were taken down from the sides of the Jade Emperor altar to accompany the censer master and the receiving contingent to the beach. Following the departure of the main entourage from the main compound, the three palanquins followed suit, to be transported on lorries to the beach.

▶ A “Blazing Censer” (homonymous with “prosperity”).

发炉。



After a copious amount of incense was offered to the Jade Emperor, the incense burst into flames. This phenomenon is known as a “prosperous censer 发炉 [Huat Lor] “ and is seen as an encouraging sign by devotees.

Devotees arrived at the beach at 7.30 pm. and were met with the distribution of lit incense sticks to await the initiation of the ritual.

在庙里，锣声缓缓响起。金锣队伍稳稳地开始敲锣，等待轿子移驾到庙外。主殿外头，也有舞龙舞狮助兴。绑在玉帝旁的金锣也随之被取下，伴随着炉主游行。随着主游行队伍的离开，三乘轿子也随之启程。

玉皇大帝的香炉中点燃了大量的香，熊熊烈火燃起。这是福建话中的“发炉”（Huat Lor），被信徒视为吉祥的象征。



Devotees awaiting the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods.

理事们等待九皇大帝的到来。

七点半左右，信徒与轿子抵达海边。

► The censer master walked into the sea with the deputy censer master and temple committee members, and they returned to the shore with a jar of seawater.

炉主和理事们迈入海水中请水回到神桌上的香炉。



The highly anticipated and most significant component of the ritual was the retrieval of a jar of seawater by the main censer master assisted by the deputy censer master, representing the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods. Upon returning to the shore, seawater was poured into a talisman-covered censer. This censer would represent the Nine Emperor Gods for the duration of the festival.

► Return of the Nine Emperor Gods to the temple.

圣驾回宫。



After installing the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods within one of the palanquins, the censer master offering the incense from the censer to the censers of the deities in the other palanquins, the congregation was led back to the temple by the main censer master. The palanquins rocked and swayed as they proceeded to the carpark, and after their disembarkation at Jalan Ulu Siglap, back to the temple. Welcoming the Nine Emperor Gods at Kim San Tze were lion and dragon troupes at the entrance of the temple and devotees in the Main Hall. Upon returning to the temple, the Nine Emperor Gods' censer and the palanquin bearing it were ushered into the Inner Chamber by the main censer master whilst the other two palanquins paid their respects to the temple's other deities.



大家站好位置后，仪式随即开始。仪式中最重要的部分是由代表九皇大帝的的炉主在副炉主的和其他理事协助下，取回一罐海水。海水代表着九皇爷。炉主们回岸之后，将涓涓的海水倒入香炉。一旦完成，香炉将在节日期间代表九皇大帝。



仪式结束后，炉主带领着迎驾团队与善信回到停车场，返回庙里。圣轿紧随在后。在庙入口，舞龙舞狮热烈的欢迎九皇爷的到来。圣轿在返回庙宇的途中不停地摇晃。炉主在内殿门外迎接九皇圣轿与九皇圣炉，护送九皇香炉进入到内殿。其余两乘先锋圣轿到个神明坛前敬礼。

▶ Raising the Nine Emperor Gods Heavenly Lamps

升起九皇天灯



Following the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods to the temple, the Daoist priest and the censer master prepare for the lighting and raising of the Nine Emperor Gods' Nine Heavenly Lamps. The censer master lit the lamps as the priest chanted before the altar, and the lamps were then raised up the pole. The Second Emperor through his medium emerged from the Inner Chamber and inspected the Nine Lamps and other altars in the temple, before returning into the chamber. The palanquins, in the meantime, were returned to the special stage after the deities were returned to the main altar.

By this time, various deities were descending on their mediums and they took turns to pay respects to the Nine Emperor Gods. The Second Emperor God would also exchange greetings with them after he inspected the Nine Lamps and on his way back to the Inner Chamber. The arrival of each patron god was marked with the payment of respects to the temple's respective deity by the respective spirit mediums.

▶ Performance of rituals in front of the Bridge of Peace and Safety by a Daoist priest.

道长进行过平安桥仪式



All the temple goers observed the succeeding ritual of consecrating the Bridge of Peace and Safety. Concluding the ritual, the Daoist priest led the censer master and devotees across the bridge as a form of blessing.



◀ Invitation of the Nine Emperor Gods' censer into the Inner Chamber by the censer master.

炉主把九皇炉请进内殿。

九皇大帝回宫之后，炉主和道长开始主持九皇天灯仪式。在道长诵经的同时，炉主会在理事的协助下点燃九盏天灯后升起灯篙。在这同时，九皇二帝乩童也会从内殿迈出，到九皇天灯坛前检查。前言完毕，九皇二帝便转身回内殿。同时，圣轿也回到特制的台上。这时，道长以及炉主开始点灯以及升起九天灯的仪式。



◀ The medium of the Second Emperor God in Kim San Tze.

金山寺九皇二帝乩童。

庙里这时也有几尊神明降乩，向九皇大帝与庙里其他神明致敬。九皇二帝回内殿途中也会与这些神明敬礼。

Qing Gong and Da Shi Ye Rituals

Kim San Tze hosts a Qing Gong ritual every nine years. It is held not only for the blessings of the devotees but also to display appreciation to their patron deities. In 2017, the rituals were conducted by Ci Fo Shan Tang. This year was also rather special as the rituals for Da Shi Yi were also conducted together with the Qing Gong. They last for two days. A special tentage and stage was set up within the compound of the temple, with a table for offerings, and the crafting of an image of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva with uncooked and dyed long-grain rice, decorated with jewellery. On the first day, the rituals involved the invitation of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva and the Ten Kings of the Netherworld, followed by the Cleansing of the Five Cardinal Directions—North, South, East, West and Central, which involved the Shan Tang members running around the compound with coloured flags as part of the rituals, and the performance of the Walking with Lanterns ritual.

►
Fang Yan Kou

放焰口



The second day's rituals involved the invitation of the Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva and Da Shi Ye for the Fang Yan Kou ritual during the day. The Fang Yan Kou ritual featured the showering of sweets, longevity peach buns and money among the congregation of devotees. The Da Shi Ye image is also burnt as part of his sending-off ceremony with joss paper and other paper offerings after the ritual. These rituals were aimed at protecting devotees and the community from wandering spirits.

清供与大士爷仪式

金山寺的九皇千秋，就如就拜访安邦，清供每三年举行一次，但是，由于成本高，庙宇向九皇大帝要求每九年举办一次。举办清供是为了解救孤魂野鬼，保佑信徒和表达庙宇对众神的感谢。庙宇里设立了一个帐篷，仪式供品整齐地摆放在桌面上。此外，庙宇成员为了仪式，使用染色的长粒稻米，制作地藏王菩萨的图像，并且用首饰点缀图像。



◀ An image of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva made out of rice.

用米画的地藏王菩萨。

金山寺每九年会主持清供仪式。2017年比较特别，就是清供和大士爷仪式同时举办，都由慈佛善堂主持。清供的第一天是从邀请地藏菩萨与阎罗王（也称十殿阎罗）开始。接着，成员们净化五方，并且进行走灯仪式。

清供的第二天，庙宇为了进行放焰口仪式而恭请地藏菩萨和大士爷。下午时分，仪式圆满后，庙宇理事会与焚化大士爷纸像恭送大士爷。他们同时也会分化金纸和其他供品。到了晚上，善堂也替金山寺主持北斗神军元神、洁净五方和祈福跑灯仪式。这仪式主要是为了通过施舍食物给四周幽灵和聚集幽魂在大士爷的监督下送回阴间，保护阳间的善信。

► Burning the Da Shi Ye image.

焚化大士爷纸像



The evening saw the consecration of the Northern Dipper's armies and Origin Deities Dipper, the Cleansing of the Five Directions and the Running with Prosperity Lantern rituals. The first began about 6.30pm. In this final ritual, a total of 22 lanterns—20 red and two yellow lanterns—were specially prepared, and the ritual specialists would run with two lanterns within the temple compound and the Main Hall. Whilst the yellow lanterns were intended for the Nine Emperor Gods, the other red lanterns were placed on auction during the banquet commemorating the Nine Emperor Gods. After the yellow lanterns were handed to temple members in charge of the Inner Chamber, temple members busied themselves with the hanging of 14 of the red lanterns in the Main Hall. With the temple cleansed and lanterns blessed, the rituals culminated in burning paper offerings for Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva.

► Northern Dipper's Spirit Soldiers and Origin Deities Dipper.

北斗神軍元神斗



当天晚上，大约六点，善堂会主持北斗神军元神仪式、洁净五方仪式和祈福跑灯仪式开始。为了仪式准备的跑灯共有22盏，其中20盏是红色的，而两盏是黄色的。黄色跑灯是为九皇爷准备的，而其他的红灯会在金山寺的九皇爷节日庆功晚宴上拍卖。最后，仪式专家们进行了祈福跑灯仪式。这时，他们各手持两盏跑灯，根据不同阵型，在帐篷里到处跑。过后，他们在内殿门前集合，而黄色跑灯交给了其中一位负责内殿事物的庙宇理事托他带入内殿。其他十四盏红色跑灯由其他庙宇成员悬挂在大殿里。清供仪式也随后以焚化地藏王菩萨供品圆满结束。



◀ Qing Gong.

清供。



▲ Qing Gong.

清供。



Running with Prosperity Lantern.

祈福跑燈



Traditional Chinese Opera

▶ Traditional Chinese Opera.

传统华族戏曲



The Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kim San Tze also featured opera performances. 2017 saw the temple invite opera troupes from two different dialect groups to ensure varied entertainment for deities and devotees different language communities. Still, the fact that the temple is located in a residential estate rendered necessary the conclusion of all performances by 10 pm.

传统华族戏曲



金山寺的九皇胜会也有传统大戏演出。庙宇为了给众神和信徒们提供不同选择，每年都邀请两个不同籍贯方言的剧团表演。由于庙宇坐落在住宅区，剧团表演必须在晚上十点前结束。

Selection of the subsequent censer master

Censer masters are usually chosen a year in advance. Likewise, Kim San Tze's selections occur on the fifth day of the ninth lunar month. Given the crucial role played by the censer master as the representative of the Kim San Tze temple community in serving the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival and the immense responsibilities and duties attached to the role only members of Kim San Tze can be considered for selection. Thus, the censer master is required, for example, to reside in the temple throughout the festival until the lowering of the Nine Heavenly Lamps on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month.

Considering the auspicious nature of the role, it is coveted by many devotees. Devotees believe that blessings would be showered upon the censer master for the willingness to undertake the said heavy responsibilities. Apart from the main censer master, the assistant censer masters and Toujia (Towkays) are also selected on the fifth day.

In 2017, after the compilation of a list of interested candidates, the selection took place before the main altar and the Second Emperor God. Divination blocks were cast as each name is read, and the number of positive responses recorded. A gong was struck for each positive response. The candidates with the most number of responses would be the main censer master and eight deputy censer masters, with a number of the candidates with positive responses to become the towkays

Upon the conclusion of the tabulations, the results were immediately released and pinned on the temple's notice board.

选择明年的炉主

农历九月初五是炉主选拔仪式。由于炉主在节日里扮演着至关重要的角色，所以只有金山寺的成员可以自行提名担任这个角色。在九皇大帝圣诞期间，炉主代表代表庙宇社群伺候九皇，肩负着许多责任与义务。因此，圣诞期间，炉主必须住跟睡在庙里直到九天灯降下来为止。

许多善信希望被选为炉主，因为这是被视为吉祥的角色。他们相信九皇大帝会赐福给肩负如此重任的人。当天，九皇大帝也会挑选明年的副爐主和头家。

在选择炉主之前，金山寺会编制一份名单，其中包含该职位的所有男性候选人的姓名助手会在大殿内的九皇二帝神像面前，将名单上的名字逐一念出来，征得九皇二帝得认可。当每个名字被念出来时，今年九皇爷节日的炉主会将筊杯投掷到空中。如果九皇二帝接受这个人成为明年的炉主，筊杯会形成一个圣筊。



Selection of the following year's censer master.

选择明年的炉主

因此，得到最多圣筊的人将会成为明年的炉主。接下来的八个人选会成为副炉主，并负责给炉主提供支援。最后的成绩出炉后，成员立即将成绩张贴在布告栏上。

Yew Keng

Kim San Tze also organized a grander *yew keng* tour during the 2017 festival, involving the deity palanquins. It also visited several temples which it did not visit the previous year. Nevertheless, the temple would always visit Hong San Temple every year as it was the source of the incense which established Dou Shan Gong in Kim San Tze temple. Apart from the receiving and sending-off ceremonies, the 2017 festival entailed activating the palanquins for the temple's procession, alias *yew keng*. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival witnesses the annual visit by Kim San Tze to Hong San Temple, as the latter was the source of the sacred ashes that allowed the former to conduct the Nine Emperor Gods worship.

▶ Gift hampers by leaders of Kim San Tze.

领袖们带着礼篮准备出发



Like other rituals, *yew keng* requires substantial preparatory work, including preparing fruit baskets to be exchanged during the visits. Such fruit baskets are considered a basic etiquette of *yew keng*. The 2017 fruit basket contained: eight oranges, a bunch of sweets and a small money-filled red packet.

The censer master has to lead devotees and followers during the *yew keng*. Furthermore, the main censer master is responsible for bearing a small censer containing incense from Kim San Tze along with some sandalwood in a shallow yellow plate during the procession for exchanging incense with the host temple.

Some committee members and volunteers would participate in the *yew keng* procession barefoot to demonstrate the temple's sincerity and "down-to-earth attitude".

▶ The censer master leading Kim San Tze *yew keng* contingent visiting other Nine Emperor Gods temples.

炉主带领理事善信到友庙进香



游行与游境

2017 年的游行（福建话 *Yew Keng*）和去年的有些不同。2017年的游行使用轿子，而游行队伍也拜访了一些前年没能拜访的庙宇，除了大成巷葱茅园凤山宫，因为金山寺香火来自凤山宫，因此金山寺每年都会派人前去交流拜访。

一些庙宇成员一直在为游行包水果礼篮。水果礼篮会在拜访其他庙宇时进行交换。交换礼篮也是游行的基本礼仪之一。每个水果礼篮装有八粒橙子、一簇糖果和装有一些钱的小红包。



◀ Censer master exchanging incense with other Nine Emperor Gods' temples.

炉主与友庙换香

由于炉主代表金山寺九皇爷，炉主被视为领导，会在游行的过程中带领信徒。为了与其他庙宇交换香火，炉主也必须在游行时端着一个较浅的黄色盘子，盘子上摆放着金山寺九皇的大帝香火与一些檀香。

多数的信徒们都是赤着脚参与游行。据说，这是为了脚踏实地、诚信地去参拜。



◀ Visit by Kim San Tze to Jiu Huang Dian.

金山寺到九皇殿进香

► Visit by Kim San Tze to Shen Xian Gong.

金山寺到神仙宫进香



Some host temples welcomed and bid farewell to Kim San Tze by cracking a Ritual Whip.

There is a standard procedure observed during these visits to other temples. The Kim San Tze delegation will pay respects to the host temple's Nine Heavenly Lamps, the Jade Emperor, other present deities, and the Nine Emperor Gods, and then conduct exchanges of incense and gifts before departure for the next destination.

► Visit to Kim San Tze by Hougang Dou Mu Gong.

后港斗母宫到金山寺进香



These visits were important opportunities for the members of the two temples to catch up and strengthen their ties. Given the ritual proceedings and the number of temples visited, the delegation only returned to the temple at 11 pm in 2017—thereby marking the conclusion of the year's *yew keng*.

当进香队伍抵达某些庙宇时，东道庙成员会用法索欢迎与恭送金山寺团队。

参拜过程为：向九皇大帝的九天灯敬礼、向玉皇大帝敬礼、向庙里的众神敬礼、向九皇大帝敬礼、交换香火、交换礼物、离开并前往下一间庙宇。



Visit to Zhun Ti Tang.

金山寺到准提堂进香

两间庙宇的理事经常会相互聊天、了解大家的近况。



Visit Kim San Tze by Jiu Huang Dian.

九皇殿到金山寺进香

Nine Emperor Gods birthday celebration

► Special offerings for the Nine Emperor Gods' birthday

九皇宝诞正日的特别供品。



Kim San Tze organizes a birthday celebration for the Nine Emperor Gods in the wee hours of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, which begins the night before at 11pm. The 2017 birthday celebration preparatory works began at 7 pm with temple members setting up tables outside the Inner Chamber for devotees' food offerings. The offerings included a variety of Nonya kueh, longevity peach buns, Prosperity Cakes, pineapples, joss paper and other food—most of which possessed auspicious meanings. The Nine Emperor Gods' godchildren (Kweh Gia) also prepared fruit baskets offered to the Nine Emperor Gods in the Inner Chamber.

Besides the food offerings, devotees have also dedicated deity robes for the Nine Emperor Gods and the Jade Emperor for the evening. These were different from the robes for the other deities, which would be burnt only on the 10th day of the ninth lunar month, after the lowering of the Nine Heavenly Lamps and the closing of the Inner Chamber.

The birthday celebration occurred late at night. The committee members began to light incense and distribute them among the devotees. It was then that the eggless birthday cake was brought out. With the arrival of the Daoist priest, the celebrations and offerings began at around 10.45 pm that the vegetarian birthday cake emerged, and the Daoist priests arrived to begin the celebrations.

As the priest chanted, the fruit baskets that had been offered to the Nine Emperor Gods by his godchildren were taken out from the Inner Chamber and returned to the latter to be consumed by them for good fortune.

金山寺九皇爷圣诞庆典

金山寺会按照庙宇的习俗，在农历九月初九另外举办了一个九皇大帝圣诞庆典。庆典在农历九月初九晚上11点整（阳历2017年10月27日的晚上11点）开始。

虽然如此，庙宇成员在傍晚七点就在进行筹备工作，在内殿外摆放桌子。庙宇成员将理事和信徒们的供品放在桌面上。供品包括各种娘惹糕点、寿桃、发糕、黄梨与金纸等。多数的供品带有吉祥寓意。九皇大帝的干孙们（福建话Kweh Gia）也会准备水果礼篮，特别放在内殿里献给九皇大帝。



Finalisation of presentations by leaders of Kim San Tze for the Nine Emperor Gods' birthday.

金山寺的领袖为九皇诞做好准备



神袍也叠在大殿外的桌子上。神袍是信徒们购买来献给九皇大帝的，神袍上也写有信徒的名字。庙宇成员将庙宇特别为九皇大帝和玉皇大帝准备的神袍搁到一边，因为这些神袍只有在农历九月初十，当九天灯降下来、内殿封闭时，才供奉给神明。

在大约晚上10点45分，庙宇成员开始点燃线香，并将线香分发给信徒们。这时，庙宇成员也把为节日准备的高蛋糕端出来。道长一到场，庆典就开始了。

► Presentation of a vegetarian birthday cake to the Nine Emperor Gods.

献给九皇大帝的素食生日蛋糕



The ritual concluded with collecting the joss sticks from the devotees and placing them in the censer outside the Inner Chamber with the assistance of the Nine Emperor Gods' godchildren. Following the invitation of the Second Emperor God's medium from the Inner Chamber, devotees sang the Happy Birthday song in multiple languages.

Following the celebrations and the return of the medium into the Inner Chamber, the censer master uses the divination blocks to seek the permission of the Nine Emperor Gods to burn the deity robes for the other deities. Once permission is granted, the joss paper and deity robes were transported to a special site to be burnt. Joss papers and robes were transported to the incineration site via lorry.

► 65-66. Repacking and distributing food offerings

重新包装和分发供品。



道长诵经时，成员们也陆续地从内殿里提出九皇大帝干孙献给九皇大帝的水果礼篮。这些礼篮会归还给干孙们，让他们食用，讨一个好兆头。



Transportation of deity robes for burning as offerings.

把祭品神炮带到铁笼进行火化。

成员们收回信徒们手中的线香。线香交由干孙们插入炉里。庙宇理事将九皇二帝乩童从内殿请出来，善信们则用多种语言向乩童唱生日快乐。

九皇二帝乩童会回到内殿后，炉主会用筊杯问九皇大帝是否“享用”了供品。一旦得到圣杯，理事们就开始将金纸和神袍搬上罗里，载到指定的铁笼进行火化。回到庙里，理事们将剩余的供品分给了信徒们食用，庆典也到此圆满结束。

Nine Emperor Gods Sending-off Ceremony

Kim San Tze holds the annual sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods at East Coast Park on the evening of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. Unlike the invitation ceremony, the sending-off ceremony involves the decoration of a Dragon Ship with paper figures and several flags emblazoned with the temple's name.

Arriving at Kim San Tze at around 3:10 pm for the consecration ritual in the Main Hall, the Daoist priests informed the deities about the impending sending-off ceremony. During this time, temple members were busy completing their final preparations for the Dragon Ship for the consecration ceremony.

► Consecration of the Dragon Ship by the Daoist priest.
道长 为 龙 船 进 行 开 光 仪 式



The Daoist priest dipped a Chinese ink brush in a teacup filled with red ink and dotted various areas of the Dragon Ship whilst chanting to consecrate it.

An advance party departed for East Coast Park by lorry with the necessary paraphernalia and equipment at around 5.50 pm.

In the temple, the Daoist priest began the ritual for closing the Bridge of Blessing. The oil lamp at the bottom of the bridge was moved to the altar in the Main Hall. Offerings and talismans were removed from the bridge after the Daoist Priest tapped it with a ritual sword at several places. The bridge was moved to make way for the next ritual. What ensued was the gathering of committee members and devotees in front of the main altar in the Main Hall for the performance of Three Bows and Nine Genuflections.

Led by the censer master, the procession to the beach began with the palanquins following and were filled with gold and silver ingot-shaped joss paper. As this was the last chance to carry the palanquins for the year, and especially the Nine Emperor Gods palanquin to send the deities off, many temple helpers took turns to carry them in the temple as they prepared to depart, and also at the beach. The palanquins were borne successively by many temple helpers. The grandness of the affair was marked by the celebratory throwing of joss paper into the air upon the first palanquin's crossing of the threshold.

送驾

每年的农历九月初十，金山寺理事善信们会到东海岸公园恭送九皇大帝回銮。这也是九皇千秋最隆重的仪式，有许多筹备事项。庙宇理事用纸质木偶点缀纸船，并且插上几支写上了庙宇名字的旗子。

在大约下午3点10分左右，道长在大殿主持仪式明今晚恭送九皇大帝圣驾回銮。同时，庙宇理事也忙着准备龙船开光仪式。

接着，道长开始给龙船开光。他将毛笔浸涂在装有朱砂红墨的茶杯里，用毛笔在龙船的不同部位画上小点，并且诵经。

在大约傍晚5点50分，恭送仪式先锋队开始将所有布置海滩所需要的物品搬上罗厘，前往东海岸公园。



◀ Temple members preparing the altar for the sending-off ceremony at the beach.

金山寺理事在海边准备晚上恭送九皇回銮仪式神桌。

在庙里，理事们也开始准备封关平安桥仪式将放在桥下的油灯移到大殿的神台。接着，道长用法剑敲打平安桥的几个部位。桥上的供品与符被移除后，平安桥终于被移开。接着，所有的理事善信聚集在大殿里。庙宇成员带领大家进行三拜九叩礼。

▶ Sealing of the Bridge by the Daoist priest.

道长准备封关平安桥



Upon arrival at the beach, devotees were asked to remove their white bandanas and yellow clothes from their heads, waists and wrists, respectively, and to place them in a metal cage for burning at the end of the sending-off ceremony. Upon reaching the beach, the main censer master placed the Nine Emperor Gods' censer on the altar table at the beach. Following closely behind were temple members bearing the Dragon Ship. The palanquins were swaying whilst running into open spaces. All in all, there was a sense of heightened energy with the sounding of the drums and cymbals alongside the swaying of the palanquins.

▶ Devotees are filling a metal cage with their white headscarves, yellow girdles and joss paper.

善信把白头巾，腰带和金纸堆入铁笼。





Devotees performing the Three Bows and Nine Genuflections.

善信们进行三拜九叩礼。

随着炉主带领大家前往海边送驾回銮。理事们将折成元宝形状的金纸塞入圣轿里。许多庙宇理事与义工助手也抓紧今年最后一次抬圣轿，尤其是九皇圣轿，的机会。终于，当第一乘圣轿跨过门槛时，金纸也被豪迈地抛向空中，以示庆祝。



Arrival of the Dragon Ship at East Coast Park.

龙船抵达东海岸。

节日期间，信徒们头上绑着白布，手肘和腰上则绑着黄色布条。一抵达海滩，所有信徒们将白布和黄色布条拆下，放入一个铁笼里。仪式结束后，白布和黄色布条被火化。

一抵达海滩，炉主直接前往海滩上布置好的仪式桌，将九皇大帝的香火放在仪式桌上。抬着龙船的成员们在后方紧紧地跟着。接着，圣轿以时快时慢的速度摇晃，有时又在旷阔的地方冲向一个方向。场面熙攘但有条不紊。随着轿子摇晃，理事们也敲锣打鼓。

▶ The arrival of the palanquins at the beach.

圣轿抵达海边



After the contingent reached the beach at about 9.30pm, the palanquins charged towards the sea, and stopped in front of the altar. The censer master then invited the censer from one of the palanquins to the altar. The yellow decorations on the palanquin were removed and placed in the metal cage for burning. The three Daoist priests then prepared to begin the ritual. Lighted incense had been distributed to the devotees present, who were also instructed to kneel down. The priests began their chanting. At the end of the ritual, the Daoist priests led the congregation in shouting “Huat ah” several times.

The burning of the Dragon Ship was the next important ritual, and a highlight of the sending-off ceremony. Led by the Daoist priest, temple members helped to push the vessel into the sea and lit torches to set the ship ablaze. It was then towed out to open sea using a small boat. The temple members on this small boat will also release small tortoise-shaped buns into the sea, symbolizing the releasing of animals.

▶ Incineration of the Dragon Ship.

焚烧龙船



Then, the incense sticks were then collected from the congregation and planted into the censer. The main and assistant censer masters then carried the censer towards the sea, with the other temple members assisting them. When the water reached the level of the chest, the censer master sent off the censer, to be carried away by the waves. Everybody’s eyes would be on the censer as it floated away on the waves. It is believed that the further and longer the censer floats, the better the year ahead will be. After the censer disappeared from view, the temple members and devotees would rush into the sea and splash themselves with seawater to symbolize the washing away of their bad luck. The yellow and white cloth, yellow accessories and joss paper in the metal cage were then burnt, marking the end of the sending-off ceremony at sea.

大约晚上9点30分，送驾团队抵达海边。圣轿冲向大海，停滞在仪式桌前。炉主将香炉从圣轿请到神桌上。理事们也开始拿下圣轿的黄色装饰品，放到铁笼准备和白头巾和黄腰布腕布焚化。这时，三名道长准备开始仪式。同时，线香也被点燃并分发给理事们。握着线香的信徒们按照指示下跪。进行仪式时，信徒们与道长们高呼“发!”几次。



◀ Dispatching of the Nine Emperor Gods' censer.

恭送九皇炉回銮

仪式的亮点之一是将龙船推到大海上。在道长的指示下，一些庙宇成员点燃了事先准备好的火炬，其他成员则负责将龙船推到海面上。



龙船由一辆小船拉到海面上。龙船一旦浮在海面上，小船上的人会将乌龟形状的包子放入海中。龟形包子由信徒们献给九皇大帝，代表放生。

► Sending off the Nine Emperor Gods' censer.

恭送九皇炉回銮



After the conclusion of the ceremony, the censer master carried a small tray and a vessel with the incense of the Nine Emperor Gods, and led the contingent back to the temple. He then headed for the Inner Chamber with the vessel while the palanquins were brought back to the main hall for dismantling and putting into storage. The deities were also invited back to the main altar by the temple members.

在岸上，理事们收集善信手中的香，插入九皇香炉。然后，炉主副炉主会和几位理事请九皇香炉，开始迈向海中，恭送九皇大帝。他们走到水位高达胸部的海域，炉主便恭送九皇香炉，让香炉随着海水浮走。送了香炉，大家都会瞧看香炉的浮程。香炉漂浮得越远，就意识下来这年的运势会跟好。当他们看不到香炉时，理事善信会冲到海中，往自己身上泼海水，相信海水能够替他们洗掉霉运。理事们也开始焚烧铁笼里的黄白布料、金纸和香。当晚海边恭送九皇回銮仪式也划下句点。



Return of the censer master to the temple.

炉主回宫

炉主再次端着九皇大帝的香火，带领信徒们回到金山寺。一抵达庙里，炉主前往内殿，大家则开始将圣轿里的物品取出。将圣轿抬到大殿里进行拆卸，并且将神明放回主要的神台上。当晚的仪式与工作也都圆满结束了。

Lowering the Nine Emperor Gods' Nine Heavenly Lamps, the sending-off of The Jade Emperor, and the sealing of the Inner Chamber's door

On the 10th day of the ninth lunar month, temple helpers started early by removing festival decorations and shifting the palanquins to the outside of the temple's Inner Chamber. The helpers were in their regular clothing rather than festival-related white outfits signifying the return to normalcy. The main rituals on the tenth day revolve around the lowering of the Nine Emperor Gods Heavenly Lamps, sending-off of the Jade Emperor, and sealing the Inner Chamber's doors.

Arriving at 10am, the Daoist priest proceeded to the Main Hall for the ritual. to conduct rituals there before proceeding outside to conduct the ritual for the lowering of the Nine Emperor Gods' Heavenly Lamps. The temple helpers then lowered the Nine Lamps, keeping them into storage. The Nine Lamps were an important part of the festival's ritual set-up. The censer master plays an important role in the refilling of the oil lamps and their lowering and raising every morning and evening. The lowering of the Nine Lamps represents the end of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

▶ Lowering the Heavenly Lamps.

降天灯



The Daoist priest and temple helpers then proceeded to conduct the sending-off ritual for the Jade Emperor. The paper offerings were then brought to a metal enclosure some distance away and the priest begins chanting. He then asks the censer master to light the offerings. They then circumambulated the burning offerings while rice wine was poured around the enclosure. Rice wine was furthermore poured around the site during the process of circumambulation around the metal cage.

Returning to the Main Hall, the Daoist priest ended the ritual with a short chant. After a short break, the priest and helpers returned to the Main Hall for another ritual to inform the temple's deities about the end of the festival.

The temple helpers then began to dismantle the yellow decorations and put up the red ones. The doors of the Inner Chamber were also closed and sealed at about 5pm, only to be opened the next year. This marked the end of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

降下九皇九天灯、恭送玉帝与关闭内殿

大约上午九点半，我们抵达庙宇的时候，金山寺理事们已经忙着拆下装饰品，并且将轿子搬到内殿门外。今天，大家都穿着平日穿的衣服。主要事宜包括降下九皇九天灯、恭送玉帝与关闭内殿。降下九皇九天灯代表九皇爷节日正式结束。

10点左右，道长到场作法。开始在大殿仪式，然后前往外头悬挂九皇九天灯前进行仪式。庙宇理事们将九天灯降下，并且立即收起来。

九皇大帝圣诞期间，九皇九天灯为九皇胜会的主要仪式中心，由炉主负责保养。炉主每天在大约早晨和傍晚必须给九天灯添油。他会先降下天灯，然后将油灯从钩子下。接着，炉主会小心翼翼地修剪灯芯，并且给每一盏灯添油，再将油灯钩回架子上。他会在一个小碗点燃一些檀香，手里拿着小碗绕着九天灯九次，才再将九天灯升起。这是“净化”油灯的必要步骤。炉主在节日的每一天，从九天灯最初升上到给九皇大帝送驾，都必须这样保养油灯。



◀ Burning the incense paper offerings.

点燃供品



九皇灯收好后，道长与庙宇理事们并开始恭送玉皇大帝为玉皇上帝火化供品。理事们先把供品搬到附近的大铁笼。之后，道长先诵经，然后指示炉主点燃供品。供品燃烧的同时，道长带领炉主与理事们开始绕着铁笼走，炉主则边走边在铁笼周围倒米酒。

供品化成灰烬时，大家回返庙宇。道长和炉主直接进入大殿，短暂地诵经后结束了仪式。休息片刻后，他们再次回到大殿里进行另一个仪式，以通知众神九皇大帝圣诞庆典结束的消息。此外，在九皇大帝圣诞期间，一些神像被移动过，而此仪式可以帮助安好神像。同时，其他的理事们忙着更换装饰品。仪式一旦结束，成员们将黄色灯笼改为红色灯笼。对于庙宇与成员们，九皇大帝圣诞庆典正式落下帷幕。下午五点左右，内殿关闭，并且只有在明年的九皇大帝圣诞才会再次开放。

69th Anniversary and Celebration Banquet of the Kim San Tze Temple Association

After the festival, Kim San Tze organized a banquet to celebrate its 69th anniversary and to thank its supporters, volunteers, and devotees for their help during the festival. The banquet was also aimed at raising funds for the daily operations of the temple and its events. There was an auction of auspicious items, including the Qing Gong lanterns mentioned earlier. A temple helper carried a piggy-bank from table to table collecting donations, with the piggy-bank to be auctioned later. The auction also included the donation of necessities such as adult diapers to Non-Profit Organizations and charities.

The Guest of Honour for the 2017 banquet was Member of Parliament (MP) for Marine Parade GRC, Mr Edwin Tong. The conclusion of the auction with the successful auction of the final item coincided with the conclusion of the night's dinner and celebrations. Temple committee members and helpers stood at the entrance to bid farewell to the guests.

▶ The arrival of Mr Edwin Tong, the Member of Parliament (MP) for Marine Parade GRC, for the celebration.

马林百列集选区议员唐振辉先生抵达了晚宴现场



Conclusion

Kim San Tze has a history of over seventy years. Beginning as a temple dedicated to Sakyamuni Buddha, and a stalwart of their community in Kampong Chai Chee, it had invited incense from Hong San temple for the convenience of the residents and devotees in the area, and become a new centre for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the district. Since then, it had moved to a new district and established itself as a key hub for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Jalan Ulu Siglap. As the new generation takes over from the old, a very important guiding principle has been the emphasis on a strict adherence to its traditions. With its incense lineage to two of the most important Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore and Malaysia, namely Hong San Temple and Nan Tian Gong in Ampang, it has provided the incense for new Nine Emperor Gods Festival centres in Taiwan. Kim San Tze will continue to be an important hub for the preservation and transmission of the traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the years to come.

金山寺六十九周年庆

2017年九皇大帝圣诞庆典后，庙宇举办晚宴，庆祝庙宇成立六十九周年以及九皇大帝圣诞庆典的圆满结束，即可慰劳理事义工善信和庙宇支持者，也可为庙宇筹款以应付庙宇的日常运作与其举办不同活动的开销。筹款在晚宴的喊标环节进行。庙宇有各种物品可供信众喊标，包括在清供时开过光的跑灯。喊标进行时，一名成员端着一个财神扑满，到处筹款。扑满过后也会进行喊标。

晚上10点，特邀嘉宾兼马林百列集选区议员唐振辉先生，抵达了晚宴现场。最后一件物品拍卖出去后，晚宴就圆满地结束了。大家对于美食与标到的物品感到非常满意。庙宇成员们挥手送走了客人。

结论

金山寺已有超过七十年的历史，最初是一座供奉释迦牟尼的庙宇，也是菜市甘榜社区的中坚力量。战后从凤山宫请香火让当地善信居民比较方便庆祝九皇胜会，之后又搬迁到惹兰乌鲁实乞纳，也成为当地九皇胜会的中心。金山寺世代相传的一个重要指导原则是强调严格遵守传统。金山寺的香火源于新加坡和马来西亚两间很重要的九皇庙宇，即凤山宫和安邦南天宫，也让台湾庙宇请香火主持九皇胜会。我们相信金山寺在未来仍然是传承九皇胜会传统的重要中心。