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SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THIÊN HẬU (MAZU) BELIEF IN THE SOUTHERN VIETNAM

***Abstract:** The Thiên Hậu belief is a folk belief of the Chinese communities in the Southern Vietnam in particular and the whole country in general. Over nearly 400 years of being introduced to the Southern Vietnam, this belief has been preserved and promoted through the annual religious activities of the Chinese communities. This article explores the social functions of the Thiên Hậu belief in the South through annual religious activities as well as the festival of Thiên Hậu palanquin procession. The social functions of the Thiên Hậu worship include enhancing social cohesion, building social faith and normative behavior, educating the moral, tourist culture, and social welfare. This folk belief has become a driving force for social stability and promoted its social role in many aspects of life.*

***Keywords:** Thiên Hậu (Mazu); belief; social functions; Southern Vietnam.*

Introduction

Worshiping Thiên Hậu is one of the major beliefs of the Chinese people living in the coastal region of the past South China. It could be said that no matter which area in the world has concentrated Chinese residents, that place has the Thiên Hậu belief. Regarding the origin of Thiên Hậu, from the Song Dynasty until now, there are still many different opinions. Some Chinese bibliographies such as *Đại thanh hội điển sự lệ*, Bodhisattva external history, local geography books... recorded that, Lady Lâm Mặc is very intelligent and resourceful, helped people overcome tribulations, taught them a civilized way of

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lives and how to overcome the diseases. One day, during a nap, she saw her father and brother caught in a storm at the sea. She used her special powers to save her brother. While trying to save her father, she was woke up by mother and was unable to save her father. She often used her divine powers to help people, including teaching people to use seaweed to relieve hunger, praying for rain, hanging mats as sails, subduing the two gods Thuận Phong Nhĩ and Lý Thiên Nhãn, and invaliding and conquering monsters of water and win, curing diseases to save people, getting talismans at the well, ascending to sky on Mi Chau island [Phan Thị Hoa Lý, 2010] ... Although there are many different hypothesis about her life, in general, people praise her as a virtuous and filial woman who was ready to sacrifice to save others, and become epiphany after death. The miracles and legends about her have been propagated since ancient times and formed the belief of worshipping her.

The Thiên Hậu belief was introduced to the South following the flow of Chinese immigrants during the Ming and Qing dynasties and gradually took root here, then become a folk belief with unique cultural features of the Chinese people in Vietnam. The Thiên Hậu belief is found throughout Vietnam but is concentrated in the Southern region, because there are many Chinese people living here. The custom of the Chinese people is that wherever they go, they always associate with their beliefs. When immigrants come to settle in a new land, they want to express their thanks to the gods for supporting them on journey and praying for a peaceful and prosperous life in the new land. That is reason why they built a temple to worshipping the gods. According to Nguyễn Ngọc Thơ, "Thiên Hậu temples take place from the Southeastern region, Hồ Chí Minh City to the most provinces in the Mekong Delta. It is called Temple of Mã Châu Lady, or Thiên Hậu Temple, Temple of Chúa Xứ - Thiên Hậu or Thiên Hậu Palace. All the temple are exist and develop very vividly in the picture of local community's religious and cultural activities" [Nguyễn Ngọc Thơ, 2017: 10-11]. According to statistics: "Besides the Southwest region with 74 Thiên Hậu temples, the Southeast region is considered the second largest locality in numbers of Thiên Hậu temples with 58

temples” [Nguyễn Ngọc Thơ, 2017: 71]. Many Thiên Hậu temples have been completely or partially Vietnameseized, vividly demonstrating the process of cultural exchange and acculturation between Vietnamese and Chinese people in the Southern region.

Thiên Hậu belief is an indispensable annual activity of the Chinese community in the South. These religious activities have brought many beauties to folk belief culture in particular and many benefits to society in general. To do research on this topic, we have conducted ethnographic fieldwork, including participant observation and in-depth interviews with people attending the festival of Lady Thiên Hậu palanquin procession in Binh Duong in 2019 to collect data and at the same time to explore the social functions of this belief through the practices.

1. Some concepts of social functions

E. Durkheim is considered the first person who systematically built the concept of function and apply it to scientific research on social life. In his work *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, he studied the functions of religion in society. According to Durkheim, the existence of religion in society proves that it has a function of contributing to maintaining moral unity in society¹.

According to Karl Marx's conflict approach on the function of social control, religion prevents social change by engaging the oppressed in otherworldly concerns, rather than hunger, poverty, or exploitation those are present. Religion contributes to the completing of institutions and the social order as a whole, maintaining the current status of society, preserving its unequal structure as well as strengthening the interests of the ruling class².

According to Bùi Thế Cường, any stable system consists of different but interconnected components that operate together to create the whole and maintain system stability. It can be considered that understanding a part of the system is when understanding how it contributes to the operation of the system. The contribution to the stable operation of the system is called function. Components have different functional importance to the system. [Bùi Thế Cường, 2006: 74]

Thích Thiện Tâm argued: "The main function of religion is social integration, or in other words, the regularization of standards and rules of action for individuals, that is the positive ability of religion in social institutions" [Thích Thiện Tâm, 1999: 14].

Some essential concepts mentioned above provide the theoretical framework for understanding the social function of Thiên Hậu belief that we will mention below.

2. Religious activities and social functions of the Thiên Hậu belief in Southern Vietnam

2.1. Annual religious activities of the Thiên Hậu belief

Every year, at Thiên Hậu temples in the South, there are two major ceremonies: The ritual of Lady Palanquin procession on the full moon day of the first lunar month and Lady Birth anniversary (Vía Bà) on the 23rd day of the third lunar month. One day before the ceremony, people hold a ritual of bathing statue with holy water, change into new clothes and prepare other necessary tasks for the next great ceremony. The offerings to Thiên Hậu on this day do not have specific regulations but completely depend on the heart and conditions of the worshipers, usually include cakes, fruits, flowers, incense, areca nut, meat... There are often Triều and Quảng singing, or Kunqu performances. As for Lady Tuệ Thành Pagoda (District 5, Hồ Chí Minh City), on 28th day of the twelfth month every year, there is an ceremony for opening and distribution of seals to the people to pray for peace of the country and people, good wishes, and peaceful marriage...

The welcoming ceremony of palanquin procession on the full moon day of the first lunar month is considered a festival in the belief of worshipping Thiên Hậu³. This ceremony is often held at large-scale temple where worshipping Thiên Hậu such as Lady Thiên Hậu Temple in Bình Dương, Lady Thiên Hậu Tuệ Thành Temple, Lady Thiên Hậu Temple (District 5, Hồ Chí Minh City), etc. Festivals attracting tens of thousands of people, both those who are Thiên Hậu believers and other people. The festival has both a religious characteristics and also is an occasion for people to gather to admire the gods, or watch the offerings, dances, and procession as entertainment.

On the day of Lady Thiên Hậu procession, the organizing committee carefully prepares ritual activities. The schedule of the procession begins at dawn on the 14th day of the first lunar month. During this day, there is often a custom of asking for blessings from the Lady. Blessings are large incense sticks and many paper lanterns. According to Chinese beliefs, inviting good fortune with lamps and incense symbolizes convenience, brightness and good luck for the family. In addition, the organizing committee also had to prepare many lucky money envelopes to give to people who came to make pilgrimages and pray for good fortune.

According to my observations, the welcoming ceremony of Lady Thiên Hậu palanquin procession along the streets is the biggest activity of the Thiên Hậu belief in the year. Basically, the palanquin procession has the same steps as the traditions and customs of the Chinese palanquin procession in China as well as around the world. However, there is a slight difference of such the ceremony in the Southern Vietnam. For example, in Taiwan, the procession is often held for many days and the procession route is often very long, passing through many districts and towns. Sometimes, the palanquin procession stops at someone's house door. It is believed that this homeowner will receive many blessings. In the research on the procession of the Thiên Hậu palanquin in Bạch Sa Đồn (Taiwan), it is recorded that: The ceremony and procession of the Thiên Hậu palanquin have the function of dispelling misfortunes and help the homeowner resolve or reduce the disasters and dangers that he is encountering. Thiên Hậu will bless and help a certain family if the palanquin stops in front of that house. [Lã Mai Hoàn, 2007: 65] Thiên Hậu is considered a benevolent guardian deity, always protect everyone. People believe in the sacred power of Thiên Hậu, and that it will be more effective to be the one who directly follows her palanquin in the procession.

The palanquin is carried around the streets with a dance troupe (*múa hầu*). In front of the palanquin procession is a sign with four words "Thiên Hậu is traveling". The next is the dance troupe of the Chinese people from Fujian state. *Hầu* is the golden lion-dragon, the

king of beasts. *Hầu* leads the procession with the intention of driving away evil spirits. The *hầu* dance does not accompany with a land genie like in the lion dance. Behind the *hầu* dance are flower car, weapons, eight precious ornaments, and cards to give the sign of asking to be silent, respectful or staying away (*túc tĩnh, hồi tị*). After this essential ritual, depending on the organizing committee each year, there may be a troupe of Eight Fairies (including 6 male fairies and 2 female fairies), and female fairies of dragon and unicorn dances.. After the lion dance troupe is the Lady's palanquin. There are eight people carry the Lady palanquin. It is believed that participating in carrying the Lady's palanquin will gain many blessings, therefore it is equally assigned to four Chinese groups (Guangdong, Chaozhou, Fujian, Chongzheng), each group is in charge of one corner of the palanquin. This is an official palanquin procession troupe which arranged by the organizers. In addition, anyone on the road also can join the procession. Everyone believes that if they participate in the parade with the Lady's palanquin procession, that year their family will be blessed the peace, lucks and have a prosperous business.

2.2. The social functions of Thiên Hậu religious activities

2.2.1. Function of consolidating social communities

It can be said that festivals of the Lady Thiên Hậu temples “have become the big festival for the Chinese and Kinh people in the South. The festival contributes to strengthening the solidarity of ethnic groups and becomes a common cultural feature in the community of Vietnamese ethnic groups”⁴. Rituals and religious activities bring people together and thereby affirm the common bond between them in order to consolidate and strengthen social relationships. According to E. Durkheim that is social solidarity: “Ritual is, above all, the means by which a social group periodically reaffirms itself” [E. Durkheim, 1915: 432]. This argument is clearly shown in the annual ceremony of Thiên Hậu palanquin procession in which everyone participates in the parade, shares same religious beliefs and many other things in life, therefore they connect with each other. This sense has been reminded once a year as an opportunity to reaffirm community cohesion.

The social function most clearly expressed in Thiên Hậu belief is social cohesion. They stick together in doing business, creating jobs for people in the community, and participating in traditional religious activities. Exchange activities in all aspects of life are indispensable in the Chinese community in the South. Wherever the Chinese come, they form the groups, build pagodas and temples. They make the religious sites become the place of bringing people together, where people come to help each other, and share many issues of their lives. In the past, Chinese pagodas and temples were also places to discuss of funerals, cemeteries, and build schools... Son Nam in his work *The Ancient Gia Định - Bến Nghé and The Saigon People* has said that: "Pagodas and temples are used as legal gathering places to discuss capital contribution, loans, and contributions to build Chinese schools. If they cannot afford to build schools, they can temporarily study at the temple. Then, they establish hospitals and buy lands for cemeteries" [Son Nam, 2014: 120]. Today, many Chinese temples still retain the above tradition. Anually, Thiên Hậu temples in the South conduct many religious activities, the most typical of which is the festival of Lady's procession. In addition to the factors of praying for peace and prosperity in business, participating in the procession of the Lady's palanquin, whether a person in the organizing committee (directly participates in the procession) or anyone on the way who integrates into the procession all those have the spiritual connection. According to E. Durkheim, through the forms of religious and belief rituals, society periodically gather members of the community in order to share social issues and show solidarity with each other. It is essential that people are gathered, feelings are felt in common and expressed in common behaviors [E. Durkheim, 1915: 431-432].

The function of uniting the community through religious and belief rituals is also shown by B. Malinowski in his analysis. It is a ritual which displays of supreme power and traditional values in primitive societies. It is also used to impress this strength and value on the minds of each generation, and is a very effective means of ensuring the continuation of tradition and community cohesion. [Cited by Vietnamese Association of Historical Sciences, 2006: 168] It can be

said that the religious activities and the annual festival of the Lady's palanquin procession at Lady Thiên Hậu temples help attendees having abundant spirit and energy, having the power to connect society and create a society with its own discipline. Trần Hồng Liên mentioned: “It is the spirit of solidarity, mutual support, and attachment to the community of the Chinese people, which is the main driving motivation to help the Chinese community existing sustainably and increasingly integrate into society and the Vietnamese nation in a peaceful and voluntary manner. The Chinese community in Vietnam has experienced a continuous process of Vietnameseization that has taken place for hundreds of years. It is the strong endogenous factor of the Chinese community that has helped the Chinese maintain their ethnic cultural identity. So, the Chinese community did not lose their traditional cultural characteristics, but contribute more colors to the flower garden of the ethnic groups in Vietnam”. [Trần Hồng Liên, 2005: 27-28]

The festival takes place with both religious functions and social connection, demonstrated through the group of people accompanying the Lady's palanquin procession. Festival attendees are both participants in religious activities with the hope of blessing good luck to themselves and their families, as well as those who spread the traditional culture of Chinese originated-Vietnamese people in particular and also a tradition of the Vietnamese people in general. Social connection is expressed in faith, everyone agrees to follow the palanquin and believe in good things. The beliefs and stories experienced by each person during the palanquin procession are passed on to the next generation, and that tradition is continued in generations, enriching customs and cultural traditions.

2.2.2. The function of building the faith and social standard behaviors

According to E. Durkheim, ritual is the practice of belief about what is sacred: “Religious phenomena are naturally divided into two basic categories: the faith and ritual” [Cited by Vietnamese Association of Historical Sciences, 2006: 49]. Religious faiths and

religious rituals have the ability to unite individuals into groups and spiritual communities. Participation in Thiên Hậu religious activities by believers contributes to building their standard behaviors. “It can also be said that festivals motivate people to live more beautifully, the society to be more developed, and the life increasingly to be more improve and perfected” [Trần Hồng Liên, 2005: 132]. The Thiên Hậu belief promotes the spirit of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty. The believers have both feelings of admiration and fear for Thiên Hậu. Admiration for Thiên Hậu's nobility and helpfulness, but fear of their bad behaviors would be punished. This mentality leads the believers of Thiên Hậu to restrain their behaviors to conform to social standards. Therefore, to some extent, Thiên Hậu belief has the effect of restraining people's bad behaviors.

Furthermore, faith gives people spiritual nourishment and plays a role in social stability. Those who believe in Thiên Hậu always hope to be blessed by her, thereby they strengthen their confidence and courage to overcome difficulties, and trend to live a more active and positive life. The believers often express their psychological tendencies through religious activities and festivals to welcome Thiên Hậu. It does not only regulate their behaviors but also make social life more harmonious and orderly.

E. Durkheim said: “Believers who have communicated with their gods are not merely people who see new truths that non-believers do not see, but they are also stronger people. These people feel they have more power in prolonging life, or in controlling it” [E. Durkheim, 1915: 464] . It is the repeated ritual activities in the religious and belief system that create “the impression of joy, inner peace, serenity, enthusiasm, which for believers then they are empirical evidence of their beliefs” [E. Durkhiem, 1915: 464].

It can be said that divine procession ceremonies in general at communal houses, pagodas, temples, etc. are a way to bring sacredness into life, create a connection between religion and belief with everyday life, and providing opportunities for everyone to have fun and entertain in the atmosphere of folk beliefs like every

traditional festival. Each person participating in the palanquin procession have feeling of following in the footsteps of Thiên Hậu, as if a great supernatural power has been transmitted to them. They consider that the procession has a magical meaning. That is why the palanquin procession is considered to have the function of exorcising evil spirits, banishing disasters and misfortunes. However, whether the Lady's palanquin procession is successful and attracts participants depends on many factors, including the organization. For example, the assignment and preparation of palanquin processions, rituals, offerings, etc. are also very important. Because the festival parades through a long route, the palanquin carriers need to have experiences. The efficiency and social interaction of the procession are therefore also very important.

Explaining more about the meaning and beliefs of those who directly participate in the palanquin procession, beside the attendees who come with the hope that Thiên Hậu will bless them with peace and prosperous business, there are also a number of people who has gone through tribulations which were resolved by by Thiên Hậu, and now they return to repay gratitude. They consider going on pilgrimage with the procession as a way to repay Thiên Hậu and show gratitude to her for accompanying and blessing them.

2.2.3. Function of Education

Thiên Hậu was originally a real-life person and was apotheosized by the people according to recognized standards of good and evil. Many good traditions and positive ideas in Asian culture, such as: kindness, love for people, saving humanity... are all mentioned in stories and legends about Thiên Hậu's life and maners. That thoughts are spread among people, expressed right in annual religious activities or in the Thiên Hậu palanquin procession. On this day, wherever the palanquin passes, we can see volunteers' activities including distributing free mineral water and food. These actions warm the hearts of tourists from all over and have significance of moral education, good behaviors between people, and benevolence. The benevolence reflected by belief in Thiên Hậu is not only a standard of interpersonal relationships, but

also a standard of ethical behavior. According to Quanyou Su (苏全有) and Fengtao Ge (葛风涛): “Certain moral value concepts which is promoted in folk beliefs that also have a social moral value, in modern society it can still bring a certain moral teaching effect” [Tô Hoàn Hữu and Cát Phong Đào, 2009].

Participants in the palanquin procession always believe in Thiên Hậu, whether while directly participating in the procession or at any turning point in their life. They always have joy and peace because it seems like Thiên Hậu is by their side to protect them. First of all, when participating in the joyful atmosphere of the festival, they seem to be inspired by the spiritual power of Thiên Hậu and also from the attendees in the procession. When all pressure and sadness are released, it also causes people to be good and do more positive things for society.

The relationships between individuals participating in the procession quickly become harmonized because they share the same role in Thiên Hậu belief. They were strange because of coming from many places, but in the procession, they were bound by having the same beliefs and emotions.

From the power of religious belief, the attendees in the procession also feel physical and mental freedom. Even though they were tired from walking and carrying a palanquin for a long distance, they are still persevered in following the group and prayed for help from Thiên Hậu. It shows the function of training a disciplined attitude through the spirit of religious asceticism. According to E. Durkheim: Ritual prepares the individual for a social life by imposing on him a strict discipline, requiring him to forget himself, to disregard the pain. Society can only exist when individuals respect disciplines and have self-control [E. Durkheim, 1915: 350].

2.2.4. Function of tourist cultures

The Lady's palanquin procession with the participation of many groups of people and many different troupes of performing arts, it is not simply the religious service but has become a social service activities. It shows the rich vitality of folk arts and the lively

atmosphere during the festival. These activities attract people's attention and make this annual religious event into a tourist festival. Therefore, the festival is getting more and more attention from local authorities. It would be considered that festival activities have a clear entertainment function.

Hence, the festival forms an interactive relationship between the individuals as well as the communities. The ceremony of Lady's palanquin procession also creates a cultural landscape and intangible cultural connotations. We can clearly see the interactive space between local communities through procession rituals. Moreover, we can find the network of social relationships behind the palanquin procession ritual and Thiên Hậu beliefs, between local communities, traditional culture, and the cultural space environment. These issues require to think about the preserving and conserving cultural heritages related to Thiên Hậu's cultural and religious beliefs.

In the process of belief changes, the rituals also change according to the needs of modern society. The procession of Lady Thiên Hậu palanquin is not only a pure religious cultural feature but also represents the collective consciousness of local residents and expresses a modern social network. It shows that, in the gradual process of cultural changes, local residents maintain the connotation of cultural activities by restoring and preserving traditional rituals, at the same time combining tourism resources of the region to turn religious rituals from folk beliefs into large-scale festivals. Therefore, many tourists have chance to observe the beauty of traditional beliefs through religious rituals. Some people mentioned that the process of secularization or commercialization of tourism is not good, however, promoting cultural values relevant to modern society while still preserving traditions is the right thing to do. Religious tourism and cultural tourism can be combined with tourism of experience entertainment and cultural stories in order to promote local traditional culture.

2.2.5. Function of social welfare

The offering incense and paper lanterns to the pagoda and making lanterns in the pagoda take place every year. In addition to serving

beliefs, these offerings are also can be auctioned. The auctioned money will be put into the temple's public treasury to serve other social works such as restoring and repairing temples, giving charity to the poors, building a study promotion fund, etc. It can be seen that the lantern auction activity in the Thiên Hậu temple express great significance in the social volunteer activities. This activity has been maintained for many years. According to Trần Hồng Liên, "In this festival, it is probably the most busy in the lantern auction booth to raise funds. There are up to 12 lanterns representing 12 months of the year. Each lantern has different verses. In 1992, the lantern of January was bought for 17 million VND! The last lantern was also auctioned for 4 and a half million" [Trần Hồng Liên, 2005: 63]. According to the Administration Board of Lady Temple in Binh Duong, during the festival in 2018, the temple auctioned 9 lanterns, the highest amount for one was up to 2.5 billion VND. The custom of auctioning lanterns at Lady Temple festival is maintained every year. The lantern of Thiên Hậu Holy Mother is considered an item that brings luck to the owner, so many people want to have it. 70% of the proceeds from lantern sales are used for charity works, focusing on building charity houses for the elderly and free eye surgery. So, in fact, blessings not only come to the lucky lantern owner, but are also shared with people in difficult circumstances. This activity has great significance for the community that the Lady Temple festival has promoted over the years.

In addition, during the the annual fesstival at Lady Thiên Hậu Temple in Binh Duong, we also see a profound spread of human kindness. Every year the festival attracts tens of thousands of people from all provinces in the Southern region. The number of people is very large, so many problems will inevitably arise. However, many participants still consider this festival is famous for civilized and kind characteristics. It is rare to find a festival where people see human kindness through free booths including free food, free car repairs, free motorbike taxis to free mineral water, etc. Stories of kindness are widely spread in the community. A young charity worker said: Once a year, her family organizes this activity to share kindness with everyone. The whole family woke up at 4 a.m. to prepare 3,000

rations of bread. They participate in doing charity, even though they have to put in a lot of effort, but they never feel tired but always happy⁵. At the Lady Temple festival, kindness is not personal ownership, people do not need to be rich to do good deeds. Once a year, being able to give and share good things, for them that is the joy in life. It can be said that it is the power that the faith in the Thiên Hậu belief imparts to them when they directly participate in doing good deeds on festival day.

In its social welfare role, Lady Temple has fulfilled the spirit of Thiên Hậu's compassion and charity, for example, saving suffering, helping and supporting the poor, old and weak people by the donations and auction fund. In addition, temples also play an important role in the economic activities of the Chinese community in particular and the Vietnamese in the South in general. Because people always have faith that Thiên Hậu will bless them with prosperous business. When the economy become better, they return to do charity and help the poor to having jobs, or build and restore the temples how to become more spacious and beautiful. These are social charity activities that have important significance in Thiên Hậu belief.

Conclusion

Through the process of introduction and development, Thiên Hậu belief has integrated into the religious life of Vietnamese people in general and Southern people in particular. Vietnamese and Chinese people both participate in religious activities of worshipping Thiên Hậu. Vietnamese people accept the belief in worshipping Thiên Hậu as naturally as they accept the belief in worshipping Guan Yin Buddha. To them, Thiên Hậu is like Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, both are Buddhas and goddesses who bring good things to people.

Religious activities at Lady temples as well as charity and social welfare activities show that Thiên Hậu temples are the place with religious functions and social cohesion function as well. The religious belief lead people to more normative social behaviors. Beliefs also educate people to live ethically, to help and love each other in times of difficulty and tribulation. Annual festival activities in the Thiên Hậu

temples also attract many tourists to visit and worship, which create a cultural landscape and promote economic development. In addition, social charity activities have helped many poor people and spread human values and human kindness. In general, this type of folk belief really provide a motivation for stabilizing society through the close relationships between individuals and the cohesive atmosphere of the festival. Religious activities and the annual procession of Lady Thiên Hậu palanquin show that there is no contradiction or conflict between beliefs and the development of modern society. That is reason why these activities always attract a large number of attendees and tourists from all over the world, create an extensive social network that has both cultural and social profound significance.

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ANNOTATIONS

- 1 Cited by Trần Hồng Liên (2009), Understanding the social function of Vietnamese Buddhism, Hồ Chí Minh City General Publishing House, p.9
- 2 Tôn giáo, Bách khoa toàn thư mở Wikipedia, <http://vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/T%C3%B4n_gi%C3%A0o#Vai_tr.C3.B2_c.E1.BB.A7a_t.C3.B4n_gi.C3.A1o_trong_x.C3.A3_h.E1.BB.99i>.
- 3 Some Thiên Hậu temples no longer have this ritual because the streets are narrow and there is no space to practice rituals.
- 4 <https://vovworld.vn/vi-VN/viet-nam-dat-nuoc-con-nguoi/le-hoi-ram-thang-gieng-tai-binh-duong-786569.vov> (truy cập ngày 20/9/2021).
- 5 Interviewing people who participating in charity activities during the festival of Lady palanquin procession, full moon day of January 2019.

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