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Yinyang: Household Daoists of North China and Their Rituals

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Abstract

The documenting of Daoist ritual in modern China is still only a small part of Daoist studies; most such work has focused on the southeast, for which we now have a substantial body of fieldwork on local lay traditions. In north China, meanwhile, the only outposts of Daoism generally assumed to survive are the major Quanzhen temples. My recent book, based on fieldwork, challenges this assumption that north China is virtually a *tabula rasa* for folk ritual, showing that local, lay, nominally Zhengyi, traditions remained active through the 20th century there too.

Focusing on ritual sequences (mainly for funerals and temple fairs), I deduce that the typical performers in north China, as for the south, were, and are, lay hereditary family groups; further, both Zhengyi and Quanzhen priests

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from the many small local temples until the 1950s were likely to perform forrituals among the folks.

I note the common use of the term *yinyang* to describe lay Daoists, positing a "*yinyang* corridor" right along the north of north China. The article focuses on the lay household traditions of north Shanxi, with outlines of ritual performers and descriptions of ritual sequences in the northeast of one county, Yanggao.

In many areas of north China the *jiao* offering ritual, supposedly a staple of Daoist ritual, is unknown. Indeed, the whole vocabulary of north Chinese Daoists is significantly different from that of the southeast, which has so far dominated our image of Daoist ritual. The main proposal is that there is still plenty of folk Daoist activity in north China.

Keywords: Daoism, ritual, local history, funerals, temple fairs

In this article I introduce household Zhengyi Daoist ritual traditions of Yanggao 陽高 county, in Datong municipality of north Shanxi, against the wider background of the little-known but widespread household Daoist specialists in north China. In Yanggao and many areas of north China, they are locally known as *yinyang* 陰陽; like such household Daoists throughout China, they are ordinary peasants, supplementing their living from the land by performing rituals among the folk.

In my recent book,[1] I seek out Daoist ritual specialists and the rituals they perform in rural north China—mainly for Hebei, Shanxi, Shaanxi, and Gansu, on the basis of both my own fieldwork since 1986 and reports by Chinese scholars.[2] This work is based on witnessing ritual in performance, but our interviews reference living memory, back to Maoist and Republican eras; for all the dramatic social changes of these periods, these notes suggest basic continuity with late imperial times.

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1 Stephen Jones, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

2 I thank the many ritual specialists and villagers whom I have consulted since 1986, central and local scholars (notably my long-term fieldwork companions Xue Yibing 薛藝兵 and Zhang Zhentao 張振濤), Vincent Goossaert (who has encouraged my work, commenting meticulously and giving me many further leads), and two anonymous reviewers for the journal.

Published material on modern Daoist ritual (still a minor part of Daoist studies) is dominated by reports from south China—notably south Fujian and Taiwan. Even the ritual practices of south Fujian are magnificently diverse, as the pioneering work of John Lagerwey, Kenneth Dean, and their Chinese colleagues show. Yet in more general Western-language publications,[3] portrayals not just of southeastern Daoist ritual, but of Daoist ritual as a whole, still lag behind.

In contrast, the growing body of work on religious behavior in north China has mainly revealed more vernacular practices such as "hosting",[4] and the activities of temple committees, spirit mediums, and performing arts groups.[5] All this tends to support the cliché that north China is (or has become) almost a *tabula rasa* for household Daoist ritual practice. It is generally assumed that the only outposts of Daoism to survive there are the major urban and mountain Quanzhen temples.

However, I have come to expect to find household Daoists performing rituals among the folk wherever I set foot in north China too—an expectation deriving largely from the fieldwork of my Chinese mentors on northern "temple music." For north China at least, "Daoist music" has attracted a lot more attention than Daoist ritual practice. Mainland China has a tradition of documenting "religious music" going back at least to the 1930s. After lean times for both ritual and research from around 1958, work was reinvigorated from 1979, with central and local scholars carrying out much fieldwork under the aegis of the vast national project *Zhongguo minzu minjian yinyue jicheng* 中國民族民間

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[3] For example, Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000).

[4] Adam Yuet Chau, *Miraculous Response: Doing Popular Religion in Contemporary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

[5] The work of Daniel L. Overmyer, notably *Local Religion in North China in the Twentieth Century: The Structure and Organization of Community Rituals and Beliefs* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); cf. David Johnson, ed., *Spectacle and Sacrifice: The Ritual Foundations of Village Life in North China* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2010) might seem to overlap substantially with my subject, but such downplaying of religious liturgy/ritual makes my study all the more necessary.

音樂集成 (*Anthology of Folk Music of the Chinese Peoples*).[6] For all its faults, it may serve partly to identify areas for which detailed studies are needed; fieldwork for rural north China by scholars of Daoism is even more seriously flawed in that, basically, there isn't any.

Since early texts in libraries, or even those in the hand-copied collections of local Daoists, can tell only a small part of the story, my focus is on performance. Thus I am mainly concerned to describe rituals as they have been performed since the 1980s. My interest is in local ritual specialists performing complex sequences of liturgy/ritual among the folk, mainly for funerals and temple fairs—which both temple priests (both Quanzhen and Zhengyi) and household Daoists (again, both Quanzhen and Zhengyi!) did, and still do. Thus we find considerable diversity, as for the southeast; before the 1950s, with more temple priests performing ritual among the folk, the scene was even more diverse. My book shows that the Quanzhen priests of the major urban and mountain temples are only the tip of the iceberg; they are—and were—only a small minority in a diverse cast of Daoist ritual specialists performing liturgy/ritual, including both Quanzhen and Zhengyi priests dwelling in small local temples, occupational Daoist household groups, and amateur ritual specialists once taught by temple clerics.

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[6] See Stephen Jones, "Reading Between the Lines: Reflections on the Massive *Anthology of Folk Music of the Chinese Peoples*," *Ethnomusicology* 47.3 (2003): 287–337. Recent annotated bibliographies for "religious music" illustrate many of the problems, but remain impressive: Shi Xinmin 史新民, ed., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo yinyue shilun yanjiu wenxian zonglu, Zongjiao yinyue juan, Daojiao yinyue* 二十世紀中國音樂史論研究文獻綜錄，宗教音樂卷，道教音樂 (Catalogue of historiographical research literature on 20th-century Chinese music, Religious music volumes, Daoist music) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 2005); Tian Qing 田青, ed., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo yinyue shilun yanjiu wenxian zonglu, Zongjiao yinyue juan: Fojiao, Jidu zongjiao, shaoshu minzu zongjiao yinyue* 二十世紀中國音樂史論研究文獻綜錄，宗教音樂卷，佛教，基督宗教，少數民族宗教音樂 (Catalogue of historiographical research literature on 20th-century Chinese music, Religious music volumes: Buddhist and Christian religious music and ethnic minority religious music) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 2005).

This presentation of fragments of the overall picture can be only a beginning, crying out for more detailed fieldwork and the more learned treatment of Daoist scholars and local historians. But such theorization must be based on fieldwork.

1.1 Religious Practice

Surveying the diverse forms of religious behavior in China, Adam Chau usefully lists five "modalities": discursive/scriptural, personal/cultivational, liturgical/ritual, immediate/practical, and relational.[7] The kinds of groups I seek are subsumed under his type 3, liturgical/ritual.

I won't attempt to document all the other manifestations of religious practice, including temple committees and temple fairs more generally, masters of ceremonies, geomancers, spirit mediums, and amateur sectarian groups; mass/individual activities like burning incense, kowtowing, and casting lots; more secular types of behavior at ritual events (hosting, cooking, and so on); expressive cultural forms such as folk-song, opera, narrative-singing, *yangge* 秧歌, percussion ensembles, and dance. All these, in different degrees depending on the locality, are important parts of ritual culture, to be borne in mind.

The household ritual specialists who are my main subject,[8] work either solo (such as geomancers or spirit mediums) or in groups (such as the Daoists), all supplementing their basic living from the land by performing rituals for their local communities. Of many meanings of the term "ritual specialist," I shall use it here to refer more narrowly to groups performing complex liturgical sequences, often with hereditary manuals and god-paintings. I use the term "household" (Daoists, Buddhists, or ritual specialists) to describe members of ritual groups not attached to any temple: ordinary peasants with families, who also serve as ritual specialists. Most are occupational (or "semi-occupational," in that

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[7] Adam Yuet Chau, "Modalities of Doing Religion," in *Chinese Religious Life*, ed. David Palmer, Glenn Sive and Philip L. Wickeri (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 67–84; cf. Chau, *Miraculous Response*, 75–76. Useful online bibliographies on Chinese religion are http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~clartp/bibliography_CPR.html and http://website.leidenuniv.nl/~haarbjter/chinPRCbibtext.html.

[8] Cf. Adam Yuet Chau, "'Superstition specialist households'? The Household Idiom in Chinese Religious Practices," *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 153 (2006): 157–202.

they also live from agriculture), although Part Three of my book thickens the plot by discussing amateur ritual groups in central Hebei. Such groups also show an overlap with former Daoists from small local temples, and in some areas today, occupational household Daoists may have received input from former temple-dwelling clerics.[9]

You might think it would be simple enough to find Daoists by searching for temples within any county. That is indeed one way to find them, but few temples have resident Daoists. Moreover, not all temple-dwelling Daoists perform rituals outside their temples. Today the more easily-found temples have often become mere historical sites or glorified tourist attractions; where they are occupied by resident priests, these may be Quanzhen Daoists who perform few public rituals inside or outside their temple.[10] Some do, however, like the Baiyunshan Daoists in Shaanbei. Nor yet do I refer here to the daily morning and evening rituals of the clerics resident in larger official temples. Before the 1950s, such clerics were less likely to rely on ritual work among the populace, as their temples were well endowed with land and patronage from wealthy households. By contrast, those Daoists in charge of small temples had to supplement their meagre income with ritual work among the people.

Indeed, today in general I doubt that my subject includes temple-dwelling Daoists at all. I mainly seek occupational household ritual specialists who are ordinary peasants. Temple-dwelling Quanzhen Daoists, with their coiled hair, long beards, and daily Daoist costume, are unlikely today to perform the kinds of public rituals that I seek. Until the 1950s those from the smaller local temples often did so, however, cross-fertilizing with lay traditions, both occupational and amateur.

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[9] Despite a wealth of material on the rituals of southeastern Daoists, I have seen little information on their life stories. Ironically, the only such detail in Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 42–45 is on a former temple-dwelling Daoist; another good account for Hunan: Yan Guangrun 鄢光潤, "Xiangtan Zhengyi daojiao diaocha" 湘潭正一道教調查 (Study of Zhengyi Daoism in Xiangtan), *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 153 (2006): 69–156 about a former temple-dwelling Daoist. Lay Daoists undoubtedly predominate in south China, but more material is needed.

[10] Adeline Herrou, *La Vie entre Soi: Les Moines Ta Aujourd'hui en Chine* (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, collection Haute Asie, 2005).

In any case, what constitutes a "Daoist temple" is not so simple: priests dwelling in larger temples called *guan* 觀 ("belvederes", actually quite rare in modern times) tend not to perform the public rituals that interest me, while the mass of small temples (*si* 寺, *miao* 廟, and so on)[11] may not be specifically thought of as Daoist, but may invite Daoist ritual specialists from nearby. Locally the distinction between Buddhist and Daoist temples may be rather academic; but for what it is worth, Buddhist temples were always far more common than Daoist ones, as shown in imperial and republican county gazetteers.[12]

This—along with the fact that in most areas until the 1950s, Buddhists performed rituals among the folk just as often as Daoists did—may make the far greater proportion today of Daoist over Buddhist ritual specialists seem rather strange. But it is not. The Buddhists worked mainly from their temples, and the 20th century waves of temple destruction and laicization were more of a blow to the Buddhists than to the Daoists. The Buddhists may have tended to cater more to élite patrons, and thus were less able to survive during times of economic recession; state policies of the 1950s came as a double blow for them, as apart from temple destruction and laicization, their former patrons also vanished. Conversely, the Daoists had long-standing household traditions, alongside any institutional base; they were more adaptable to local religious life, more all-embracing. The difficulty of regulating them has always been their hidden strength.

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[11] For a thorough list, see Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400–1900* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2000), 19–23.

[12] See for example, Vincent Goossaert, "Counting the Monks: The 1736–1739 Census of the Chinese Clergy," *Late Imperial China* 21.2 (2000): 63–70; Thomas D. DuBois, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 86–105; Zhao Fuxing 趙復興, Gu'an *diqu minsu jilu* 固安地區民俗輯錄 (Records of folk customs in Gu'an), in *Huabei nongcun minjian wenhua yanjiu congshu* 華北農村民間文化研究叢書 (Studies of the popular culture of north China villages), 4 vols., ed. Ou Danian 歐大年 (Daniel L. Overmyer) and Fan Lizhu 范麗珠 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2006), 35–41. But cf. Zhao Shiyu 趙世瑜, *Kuanghuan yu richang: Ming–Qing yilai de miaohui yu minjian shehui* 狂歡與日常：明清以來的廟會與民間社會 (Revelry and routine: temple fairs and folk society since the Ming and Qing) (Beijing: Shenghuo duzhe xinzhi Sanlian shudian, 2002), 51–58, confirming some of my points that follow.

Rural temples are often not clearly either Daoist or Buddhist, and locals may not so distinguish them. We have plenty of cases of "Daoist" temples being curated by Buddhists, and *vice versa*, since imperial times. Since at least the late imperial period, most local rural temples have had only a very small staff. Today the sole temple-keeper (commonly called *kanmiaode* 看廟的) of the typical small northern village temple is rarely a ritual specialist, and he does not even organize the temple fair—that will be done by the temple committee. In one village in Yanggao, the temple-keeper is an old Buddhist monk; but the household Daoists of the village are invited for the temple's fairs, and the village's amateur sect also performs its rituals there. Nearby is the only rural temple in the region with a group of resident Buddhist monks; during their 7th-moon temple fair they perform rituals inside the main temple,[13] but a local group of household Daoists is also hired for more public rituals. For funerals, of course, ideally one would wish to invite both Buddhists and Daoists, and in some places where both are available, people can still do so—not to mention inviting lamas and nuns, as in imperial Beijing.[14]

Thus my scope notionally also subsumes occupational groups of Buddhists. Though Daoists dominate the rural ritual scene, household Buddhist ritual specialists may also perform similar rituals; I have material for central and south Shanxi, south Shaanxi, and central Hebei—and for southeast China, we have data for the Hokkien and Hakka areas. The public ritual sequences (and indeed music) of Daoist and Buddhist ritual specialists in any region have much in common.

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[13] Stephen Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China: Shawm Bands in Shanxi*, DVD (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), B5.

[14] For Shanxi, see idem, *Ritual and Music of North China: Shawm Bands in Shanxi*, with DVD (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 73–74; for combined Buddhist and Daoist funerals, see for example Kenneth Dean, "Funerals in Fujian," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4 (1988): 60–63; and Jones, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China*, chapters 7.4 and 8 (Hebei); for old Beijing, see idem, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China*, appendix 1; and Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800–1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 253–254; cf. Zhao, *Kuanghuan yu richang*, 52–53.

Calendrical observances for the gods are commonly known in north China as *miaohui* 廟會, which I render as "temple fairs" (though "temple festivals" is often suitable, and the French *fête* might be better still). They remain very common throughout China—though it is also interesting to read ethnographies of some areas apparently long devoid of any temple, and even ritual, activity, for both north and south China.[15] Temple fairs are of course multi-functional—subsuming (in varying proportions) markets, socializing, cultural display, and religious devotion. The last of these may be manifested more commonly in routine popular behavior like the offering of incense, pledging of vows, and so on, rather than in the performance of complex liturgical sequences.

Just as relevant are village calendrical rituals that are not necessarily called temple fairs. In central Hebei, the New Year's lantern ritual around 1st moon 12th to 16th are the village's most important annual observance, but villagers do not call it a "temple fairs." Beginning with an Opening the Altar (*kaitan* 開壇) ritual (which, by default, may be the common term for the whole sequence), it may take place in a specially erected tent, or even in the "brigade" office (headquarters of the village administration)—where donors' lists, pantheons, and paintings of the Ten Kings of the Underworld are displayed, ritual specialists recite scriptures, and villagers offer incense. Though associations from nearby villages may come to pay respects, the observances are small in scale, a far cry from the vast displays of many temple fairs in both north and south. Descriptions of such village-bound observances rarely feature in imperial or modern accounts, but are crucial to forming a sociologically well-rounded appreciation of Chinese folk religion.

In any case, at temple fairs in both north and south China, apart from the important business of individual worship, the cast of performers commonly includes opera troupes, mediums and their disciples, temple committees, bards, "performing arts associations" (called *shehuo* 社火 or *huahui* 花會 in the north), and so on. Ritual specialists in my narrow sense seem remarkably absent from many major northern temple fairs—such as those at Miaofengshan and Fanzhuang in Hebei, or in Shaanxi. Nor can we suppose that liturgy was merely a casualty of Communism;

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[15] For example, Liu Xin, *In One's Own Shadow: An Ethnographic Account of the Condition of Post-reform Rural China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). For Jiangxi, see Mobo Gao, *Gao Village* (London: Hurst, 1999).

the absence of ritual specialists from the observances on Miaofengshan predates Communism, for instance. However, this apparent rarity of complex ritual sequences at northern temple fairs is far from a useful generalization: ritual specialists remain common in north China—in some areas they are the star attraction.

Moreover, in folk ritual activity, funerals are just as important as temple fairs, perhaps more so. Funerals may also be performed without ritual specialists, except for a master of ceremonies, a geomancer, a shawm band, and helpers. The procedure varies regionally: where there are Daoists, as in north Shanxi, they will be invited. And while the focus of many scholars documenting funeral practice is on the rituals performed on the day or days preceding the burial, which often require ritual specialists, the customs following a death are much more lengthy and complex than this. Not only do elaborate observances immediately follow the death, but there are prescribed rituals after the burial, and on various anniversaries. Local accounts such as county gazetteers, both imperial and modern, present this broader "folklore" image, often limiting their discussion of liturgy performed by ritual specialists to a single phrase (such as "inviting Buddhist monks and Daoist priests to recite the scriptures" *yan sengdao songjing* 延僧道誦經); indeed, we should bear this broader picture in mind.[16] But ritual specialists do pride themselves on their complex sequences.

Though temple fairs and mortuary rituals are now most common, occasional rituals were also frequent until the 1950s, such as those for the fulfilling of vows (*huanyuan* 還願), Thanking the Earth (*xietu* 謝土), consecration of buildings, communal emergencies such as natural disasters (notably drought, for which rain rituals were performed), and exorcisms for domestic crises. Perhaps the most common term here is "scriptures for well-being" (*ping'an jing* 平安經); the southeastern term *xiaofa* 小法 is not used. Pestilence rituals feature quite prominently in early Daoist texts, and some older manuals still in circulation include

[16] For an outline of pre-Communist funeral practice in north China, based on county gazetteers, see Susan Naquin, "Funerals in North China: Uniformity and Variation," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Early Modern China,* ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley, LA and London: University of California Press, 1988), 37–70.

them, but most such rituals appear to have long been rare in practice, at least in north China. In many villages today, rain processions are subsumed under more general calendrical temple fairs. Both funerals and temple fairs may include a Fetching Water (*qushui* 取水) ritual (see below) but it commonly represents a more generalized prayer for well-being.

While Dean,[17] following Schipper and Lagerwey, has argued for the crucial place of the "Daoist liturgical framework" in south Fujian, more recently he and others have moved away from privileging Daoism as the pivot of local cultures there towards identifying it as one element in a complex whole. But for religion in north China, since most studies (at least in Western languages) have highlighted more vernacular, non-liturgical practices, we still need to establish that Daoist ritual has even a basic presence in the whole. However, local Daoist ritual traditions were, and are, far more common than studies have so far suggested.

1.2 Daoists of North China

My scope is mainly household Daoists, ordinary peasants working within hereditary ritual traditions. Several brothers may study together, so that with father, grandfather, uncles, and cousins, a single household may be sufficient to mount a ritual group. However, a reputable Daoist may take one or more disciples from other lineages, and this has long been the case; it is also common for Daoists from nearby villages to work together. They invariably begin studying from infancy with their family elders. Where we found former temple priests, they too had entered (or rather were given to) the clergy in their early teens or even earlier, sometimes as young as 5 *sui* 歲;[18] like household ritual specialists, the great majority of such priests came from a very poor background, and their education was almost entirely based on learning ritual skills. In north China today one rarely hears of traditions of registers (*lu* 籙) confirming ordination, though ritual specialists descended from a former temple tradition may have generational names and knowledge of a generational poem.

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[17] Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China*, 14, 17, 178.

[18] Cf. Vincent Goossaert, "The Quanzhen Clergy, 1700–1950," in *Religion and Chinese Society: the Transformation of a Field,* ed. John Lagerwey (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient and Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004), 699–771.

Individually, household Daoists may offer consultations for appropriate sitings, and timings for activities, using their *luopan* 羅盤 compass and almanacs, but their main business is performing public rituals for funerals and temple fairs, in groups that usually consist of between six and thirteen. They till their own land, if they have time—the Yanggao Daoists seemed to be busy most of the time doing funerals and temple fairs.

I expect any single county to have several groups, but distribution is patchy. Some areas, like central Shaanbei, seem unusual in their paucity of Daoists. To discern reasons for this would be fascinating, drawing on imperial and modern histories, ecology, economics, and so on, but this is way beyond my scope here. Several types of Daoists come to mind:

- temple-dwelling Daoist priests mainly performing morning and evening services, as well as some calendrical and occasional rituals, all within their home temple;
- temple-dwelling Daoist priests performing further rituals outside their home temple;
- occupational household Daoists, formerly temple-dwelling, performing rituals among the folk;
- occupational Daoists with hereditary household traditions performing rituals among the folk, never having dwelt in a temple.

All these may collaborate, or shift over time. We might add:

- amateur associations whose ritual specialists learned from temple clerics, performing rituals among folk, as in central Hebei, using vocal liturgy, ritual percussion, and paraliturgical *shengguan* 笙管 music, or in some cases just the latter;
- amateur sects whose ritual specialists perform rituals with vocal liturgy and ritual percussion alone.

Most groups have preserved at least some of their hereditary ritual manuals, though the rituals they now perform do not always require that they use them—the vocal texts (recited, chanted, or sung) of many rituals consist of quite short sections that the Daoists know by heart. Instead, more common are little notebooks into which they have copied the texts they need to recite and sing, and the lengthy documents that they will write out before they address them to the gods by burning them.

Apart from vocal liturgy and ritual percussion, *shengguan* melodic instrumental ensemble music is widely performed by both Daoists and Buddhists, both to accompany singing and as separate pieces.

Many groups used to have a wealth of ritual paintings such as images of the Ten Kings of the Underworld, but after the destructions of the 20th century not all groups have had new ones painted—though in areas like south Hebei, *jiao* rituals still involve displaying a large array. More often today, simple temporary "god places" (*shenweizi* 神位子) or "tablets" (*paiwei* 牌位) are inscribed on paper or card, merely giving the name of the deity. Daoists also depict *fu* 符 talismans and write the ritual documents required, including the tomb tile.

For rituals the Daoists now don cheap, simple robes (usually red or black), most made recently—a paltry substitute for their former elaborately embroidered robes. They also wear black hats, usually with emblems of sun and moon; the chief officiant further dons the "five-Buddha hat" (*wufoguan* 五佛冠; the Daoist term "five-ancients hat" *wulaoguan* 五老冠 is rarely used) for particular parts of some rituals, such as the Pardon and the climax of Hoisting the Pennant in Yanggao (see below). For some ritual segments the chief officiant wields a wooden "court tablet" (*chaoban* 朝板, *tieyiban* 貼義板).

As I have mentioned, ritual specialists today are rarely temple-based; although household practitioners may have become more common since the 1950s, they also have a long imperial history. They may serve several local temples, being hired by temple committees to perform for their temple fairs, but they do not live there or manage the temples. Whereas a few large Quanzhen *shifang conglin* 十方叢林 temples have a national network, most temple and household Daoist traditions are intensely local. Unlike such Quanzhen priests, who are expected to gain experience by travelling widely, household Daoists and local priests are active only over a very small area, usually within a couple of districts in their own county. Never mind Longhushan (notional mecca for Zhengyi Daoists to receive their registers of ordination, in distant Jiangxi), the Daoists of Yanggao had not even visited Hengshan, the "northern marchmont" of Daoism a mere sixty kilometers south.

The terms *daoshi* 道士 "Daoist" and *fashi* 法師 "ritual master" may be known but are rarely used; the southern terms *shigong* 師公 and *duangong* 端公 are unknown. The colloquial term *laodao* 老道 is common in and around Beijing. The term *huoju* or *huojudao* 火(伙)居道 ("fire-

dwelling Daoist" or "Daoist dwelling in company")[19] is widely recognized, though less often heard; the popular term "fake monks" (*jia heshang* 假和尚), referring to household ritual specialists (whether Buddhist or Daoist), is and was also common—from Beijing and Hebei to Shaanxi.[20]

Though I suggest a convenient distinction between temple-dwelling clerics and "household" ritual specialists, my material shows that it needs refining. For instance, the terms *huojudao* and *jia heshang* are rather ambiguous. Not only do they seem to be used somewhat interchangeably to refer to either Daoists or Buddhists, but they might denote any of the following: a ritual specialist who spends most of his time serving a particular temple; a temple-trained cleric who has left the temple, married, and continues practising; a lay disciple of a temple-dwelling cleric; or even, most commonly, a household ritual specialist performing rituals for the local network of funerals and temple fairs, not attached to a particular temple. To refine our understanding of the use of the term, we need detailed life stories.

At the local level, there were (and are) many Zhengyi household ritual specialists, but Zhengyi does not only signify "household": staffed Zhengyi temples were common alongside Quanzhen ones. Nor are Quanzhen temples only major monastic centers in the urban and mountain sites. In my book I discuss some intermediate temples with staffs over a dozen or more (Baiyunshan; the Chenghuangmiao in Gu'an; Houshan), but there were also many more small temples with a tiny staff. Clerics in such intermediate and small temples were by no means ascetic or removed from the populace.

In a long corridor through northwest Hebei, north Shanxi, north Shaanxi, Ningxia, Gansu, east Qinghai, and the neighbouring areas of Inner Mongolia where Han Chinese ritual specialists are hired, the most common term for household Daoists is *yinyang* 陰陽. This is an entirely different usage from the solo *yinyang* master in our usual understanding

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[19] I am not aware of a consensus on the writing of the *huo* character. This seems to be the same issue as in *shehuo* 社火 "parish bands," where *huo* is thought to have evolved from the "community" *huo* (伙) to the *huo* of *honghuo* 紅火, "fiery": see Zhao, *Kuanghuan yu richang,* 231–232.

[20] For Beijing, see Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 102, 124–125, 266; and ongoing, yet unpublished, work by Ju Xi 鞠熙.

of the term, who offers geomantic and calendrical advice, and officiates at funerary and other rituals, chanting with a hand-bell at the grave and after the return to the house;[21] he works individually, and does not perform complex ritual sequences or don a special costume. Conversely, *yinyang* Daoists, while also giving individual geomantic and calendrical advice, do much of their work in groups, performing complex public ritual sequences with singing, chanting, percussion and melodic instrumental music, and so on. Thus as far afield as Ledu county in east Qinghai, Holm's reference to a group of nine *yinyang* officiating over a *daochang* 道場 must refer to household Daoists.[22]

As yet I have found few early textual glimpses of the term *yinyang*. For southeast Shanxi, in two nearly identical references under "Funerals" in the Qinzhou (1741) and Tunliu (1885) county gazetteers,[23] fusty Confucian prescriptions concede reluctantly that "only the versions of the Buddhists and *yinyang*, with their ancient customs, have not entirely been erased" (*wei futu–yinyang zhishuo sushang yijiu, wei jin ge* 惟浮屠陰陽之說俗尚已久，未盡革); since the term *futu* is not colloquial, I cannot be sure how to interpret this, but I surmise that *yinyang* here too indicates Daoists rather than geomancers, the binome *futu–yinyang* being thus equivalent to the more common term *sengdao* 僧道.

Moving on to the republican period, two brief accounts from northwest Hebei are slightly clearer, if no less hostile towards folk "superstition." The 1934 gazetteer for Wanquan county buries a brief

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[21] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China, volume 2: Shaanbei*, DVD, B6, D5.

[22] David Holm, "The Labyrinth of Lanterns: Taoism and Popular Religion in Northwest China," in *Minjian xinyang yu Zhongguo wenhua guoji yantaohui lunwenji* 民間信仰與中國文化國際研討會論文集 (Proceedings of the International Conference on Popular Beliefs and Chinese Culture), ed. Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin (Taipei: Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1994), vol.2: 797–852. Here the "*tiegang*-style *daochang*" presumably refers to a version of the *tieguan shishi* 鐵罐施食, better known in the Baiyun guan of Beijing, see for example, Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 251–252, 341–344.

[23] *Zhongguo difang zhi minsu ziliao huibian, Huabei juan* 中國地方志民俗資料滙編，華北卷 (Collection of folklore material from Chinese local gazetteers, north China vol.), ed. Ding Shiliang 丁世良 and Zhao Fang 趙放 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1989), 625, 638.

description of *yinyang* within a hostile account of spirit mediums.[24] Still, I am grateful for even this degree of attention.

> There are also people called *yinyang*, popularly known as *erzhai* [see below]. In their behavior, they appear to resemble a religion, yet it is neither Buddhism nor Daoism, and there are no standards for the scriptures they recite. Although their behavior is not as extreme as that of the mediums, since they offer prayers on behalf of people, and deliver the dead, they are another serious instance of superstition.

If the author regarded them as "neither Buddhist nor Daoist," a bit more study might have revealed that they were Lingbao Zhengyi household Daoists. The 1935 gazetteer for Zhangbei county, just north of Wanquan, describes the Thanking the Earth vow ritual:[25]

> After the Double Yang festival [9th moon 9th], after the autumn harvest, every family pledges vows and Thanks the Earth, only stopping on 12th moon 23rd. They invite *yinyang* (fake Daoists, *jia daoshi* 假道士) to construct an altar in their homes and recite scriptures. It lasts two days; one person for "small scripture," five to seven people for "large scripture." Its meaning is to guarantee well-being for all four seasons.

In fact the author's gloss of *yinyang* as "fake Daoists," meaning household Daoists, is less commonly heard than the term *jia heshang* (fake monks), used irrespective of any notional allegiance. And if written sources offer scant clues to the *yinyang*, local inhabitants are widely aware of them.

Unlike those in many southern traditions, our northern Daoist families have no public altar at their home, and the term *tan* 壇 altar seems rare; the southern terms *daoguan* 道館 or *daoshitang* 道士堂 are not found, though the suffix *tang* "hall" is sometimes added after the name of a Daoist to refer to his ritual group. A Daoist often receives clients at his home for individual consultations, but his band (*ban* 班, as it may be called) does not perform rituals there. Other measure-words used locally for groups of ritual specialists include *peng* 棚 ("tent," as in

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[24] Ibid., 219.

[25] Ibid., 163.

"three tents of scriptures" *sanpeng jing* 三棚經) and *tan* 攤 ("stall," as in the *jingtan* 經攤 "scripture stalls" of south Shaanxi).

Some Daoists, like Li Qing 李清 in Yanggao, are admired for their moral virtue, but most are simply providing a service. Few have much if any concern for the more abstruse aspects of classical Daoism; their literacy is directed almost entirely towards practising ritual skills, and in other respects they are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants.

For funerals, the chief Daoist may be consulted early on, but the full Daoist band is only needed for the funeral proper. The Daoists retire to a temporary "scripture hall" (*jingtang* 經堂), which serves as a base where they prepare the written documents required, change their costumes, rest and are fed. It should also be equipped with god paintings (or, more often by the 1990s, temporary written placards) for the gods of the underworld. In order to allow for a suitably lengthy and imposing procession, the scripture hall is at a considerable distance from the "soul hall" (*lingtang* 靈堂) housing the coffin. In some parts of Gansu it holds a separate altar where certain ritual segments are performed.

1.3 Rituals, *Jiao*, and Quanzhen/Zhengyi

Thus I am concerned with the public ritual sequences that the Daoists perform in both their main contexts: funerals (*baishi* 白事) and temple fairs (*miaohui*).[26] Very little that I have read about Quanzhen and Zhengyi, the two dominant branches of Daoism, helps me explain the types of Daoist ritual practice in north China.

The Quanzhen monastic order has long been the visible public face of official Daoism, reflected in state rhetoric and support. Rituals documented for south China, however, mostly belong to household Zhengyi traditions, and it is the Zhengyi practice of the *jiao* 醮 ritual of communal offering, along with the esoteric interior cosmic visualization techniques of *liandu* 煉度 and *neidan* 內丹, that has attracted fine scholarly attention for Taiwan and Shanghai. However, fieldwork on household Daoist ritual traditions throughout China now suggests that we need to downplay the esoteric techniques, for even southeastern Daoists rarely use them. More importantly, with or without them, the

[26] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, DVD.

ritual segments of the *jiao* there are very different from those I have documented in many areas of north China. Though I have found little evidence of this whole *jiao–liandu* complex in modern north China, it still dominates our image of Daoist ritual. In any case, *jiao*, *liandu*, and *neidan* are common to both Quanzhen and Zhengyi.

Modern sources commonly explain the notionally greater incidence of household Daoist ritual specialists in south China by claiming that Quanzhen (supposedly "monastic") has long been more common in the north, Zhengyi ("household") in the south,[27] but the picture is surely not so simple. People resort to it partly because so few scholars have found—or looked for—household Daoists in the north, so by default any work there has mainly been in major Quanzhen temples. In fact one can find many Zhengyi household traditions in north China too, and local temple-dwelling priests in north China of both nominal Quanzhen and Zhengyi branches also performed rituals among the folk. The distribution of *jiao* in north China doesn't seem to be explained by any local prevalence of Quanzhen or Zhengyi; even their temple-dwelling or household status doesn't help us identify ritual distinctions. It does indeed look as if household Daoist ritual specialists are more common in the south, but my book shows that they are by no means scarce in the north.

Local household ritual traditions, of course, are by no means merely a modern response to state secularization; they date back to at least the 6th century C.E.[28] We should also beware the claim of Chinese scholars that it was only economic desperation since the late imperial period that forced temple-dwelling priests to perform rituals outside their temple and transmit their ritual among laymen. Goossaert shows that this claim was part of an anticlerical discourse going back as far as the Ming;[29] this traditional disdain for local Zhengyi household traditions, originating from the more exalted Quanzhen temple-dwelling priests, was perpetuated by discursive scholars and the religious authorities of the modern state. But however ancient such local household traditions may be, modern history has certainly accelerated the trend towards household

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[27] See for example Kenneth Dean, "Taoist Ritual Today," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 659, 661; Chau, *Miraculous Response*, 57–58.

[28] See for example Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 28–29.

[29] Ibid., 123–5, 328.

practice. When temple-dwelling Daoists were forced to laicize in the 1950s, they and their children often became household ritual specialists, becoming more openly active by the 1980s.

So before the 1950s, Daoists performing ritual among the folk in north China might be either laymen transmitting within their households, or temple-dwelling clerics; and if the latter, they might belong to either the Quanzhen or the Zhengyi lineage. Indeed, local temple-dwelling priests did not necessarily have much more ritual expertise than household Daoists; the latter might be just as busy.

Many (though not all) local temple-dwelling priests in north China did perform rituals outside their temple, among the folk. But local studies show both Quanzhen and Zhengyi temples, and whatever the distinctions between them (and their many sub-branches), I cannot discern any clear differentation in their ritual practices. In ritual, at least, the distinction has long been somewhat academic; the Quanzhen clergy adopted Zhengyi liturgy, and even non-Quanzhen priests might use Longmen titles.[30] Many of the local Quanzhen Daoists listed in modern sources were no longer resident in temples after the 1950s (as in south Hebei), even if they did still claim to hand down generational names. Quanzhen temple Daoists were not strictly supposed to play melodic instrumental music, but in practice, if they performed rituals outside their temple, then they invariably did.

However, if the Quanzhen/Zhengyi distinction seems of limited use, I do discern a clear difference between the diverse ritual programmes of "north" and "south" China. As to the grand *jiao* ritual, in Part Two of my book I sketch several pockets of activity in north China (south Hebei, south Shanxi, Baiyunshan, Gansu), but my overall impression is that it is far less common than in the south. The "classical" *liandu* rituals of the *jiao* (and we can use this as a shorthand for rituals performed for both *jiao* and mortuary rituals), as in Taiwan or Shanghai, revolve around items like *suqi* 宿啟, the *sanchao* 三朝 (Triple Rituals of Audience), *fendeng* 分燈 (Dividing the Lanterns), *jinbiao* 進表 (Presenting the Memorial), *danghui* 蕩穢 (Cleansing Filth), and so on. Conversely, the "vernacular" ritual repertoires of the northern Daoists that we meet below revolve around items such as *pao wufang* 跑五方 (Chasing Round the Five Quarters),

[30] Goossaert, "The Quanzhen Clergy, 1700–1950," 702–709; idem, *The Taoists of Peking*, 28–39, 269–270.

duqiao 度(渡)橋[31] (Crossing the Bridges), *yangfan* 揚幡 (Hoisting the Pennant), *guandeng* 觀燈 (Beholding the Lanterns), *yankou* 焰口, and so on. One might characterize these more vernacular rituals as semi-dramatic, the southern *jiao–liandu* complex as both bureaucratic and esoteric—although ironically, "ritual drama" as such is far more common in the south. Of course, the esoteric aspects of southern ritual may have been overstated, and the repertoire is anything but drab: within its bureaucratic frame it may subsume many spectacular rituals, including some of the "vernacular" ones I cite for the north.

Still, the more popular type of ritual specialists in north China do not seem to buy so much into the whole *jiao*-type ritual sequence emulating imperial court audiences. Though burning paper documents is always the main method to communicate with a range of gods, in the more popular sequences of the north it occurs on a far less Kafkaesque scale than in the *jiao*. While the more "classical" rituals of the southeast stress both bureaucratic and material offerings to the gods, in the north the latter are more important, including incense, tea, liquor, dough shapes, and so on. And while the rituals of northern household Daoists seem "dramatic," they rarely possess a tradition of ritual drama as such, as documented for many regions of south China.

2. North Shanxi

Thus, in contrast with the simplistic northern Quanzhen/southern Zhengyi portrayal found in the sources, household Zhengyi Daoists from hereditary family traditions, never temple-based, are also common in north China. Perhaps the clearest case lies in the Daoist networks east of Datong city, in the northeastern corner of Yanggao county in the far north of Shanxi.[32] This ritual tradition extends north to Inner Mongolia and east to the Zhangjiakou region in Hebei.

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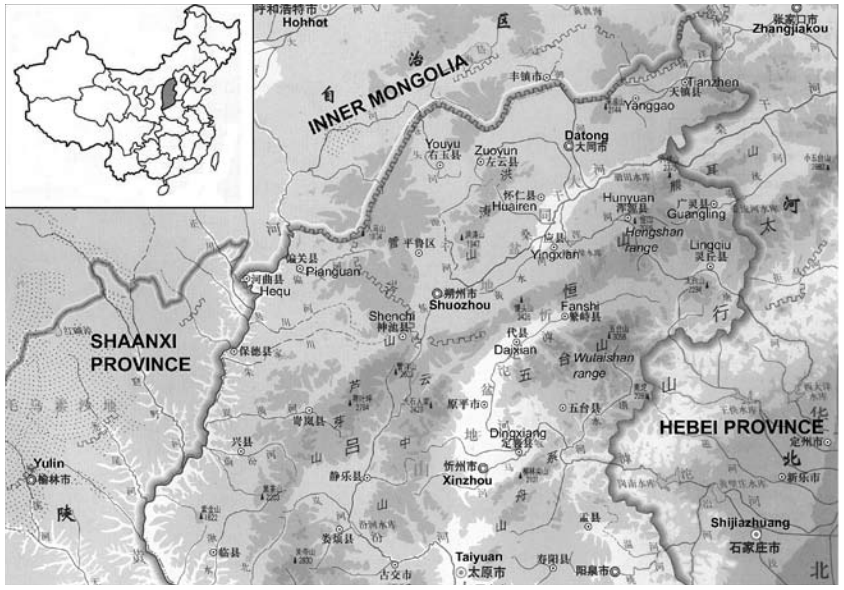
[31] Sources, including ritual manuals, often use the character 度 for the more "correct" 渡.

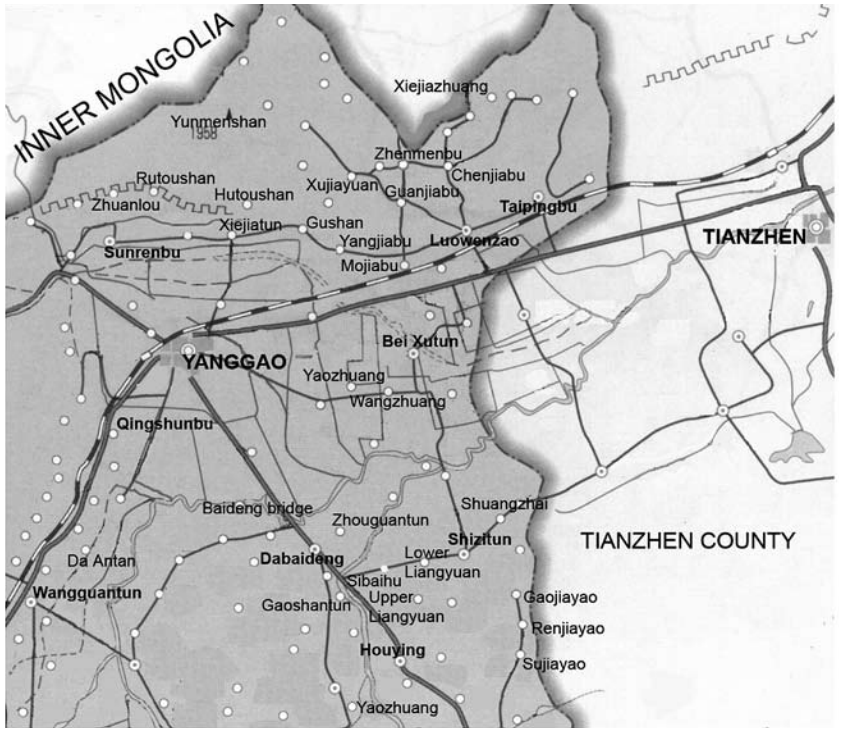
[32] See Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*; Wu Fan 吳凡, *Yinyang, gujiang: zai zhixu de kongjianzhong* 陰陽/鼓匠：在秩序的空間中 (Daoists and shawm bands in the ordering of space) (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2007); for further refs., see idem, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China*. In my work in Yanggao I am deeply grateful for the generous guidance of many



Map 1: Northern part of Shanxi province, with inset showing Shanxi within People's Republic of China

Local scholar Chen Kexiu 陳克秀 has long been in contact with the Yanggao Daoists, and he and Jing Weigang 景蔚崗 have published learned treatises—albeit limited largely to their paraliturgical *shengguan* wind ensemble music—based on fieldwork through the 1980s. The Yanggao Daoists became minor celebrities in 1990, giving a concert performance at a festival of religious music in Beijing. Although local scholars coined the name "Hengshan Daoist music troupe" for this concert, and the recent Intangible Cultural Heritage project uses the term, they have never had any contacts with the mountain. I visited Yanggao briefly in 1991 and 1992, and got to know the Daoists better from 2001 to 2005, by which time Wu Fan was doing a fine PhD on music in temple fairs there.

Daoists, notably Li Qing and Li Manshan. I was also helped by scholars Chen Kexiu, Jing Weigang, Xue Yibing, Zhang Zhentao, and Wu Fan, as well as the genial local cadres Zhao Fu 趙福 and Li Jin 李金. Among other lay Zhengyi traditions documented in the *Anthology*, note those of Zhangye and Jingtai in Gansu, and Changwu in Shaanxi: see Jones, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China*, chapters 5 and 6.



Map 2: Yanggao county, northeastern area

Though I regret that we did not study the Yanggao Daoists more comprehensively at an earlier stage, since expertise has been diminishing since the 1950s, my 2011 studies with Li Manshan 李滿山 still reveal his deep ritual knowledge.

For Daoism in the Datong region (historically called Pingcheng 平城), Shanxi scholars adduce early historical links with the "Northern Heavenly Masters" tradition of Kou Qianzhi in the Northern Wei period (5th century C.E.), as well as the resilience of early Daoist traditions under the Liao and Jin dynasties. Here, though, I will limit the discussion to modern practice.

The local term for household Daoists here is *yinyang*; just west in Datong county and nearby, the term *erzhai* 二宅 (here pronounced *erze*)

"two dwellings" is heard.[33] More prosaically, locals talk of *yingmenshi* 應門事 "responding for household rituals" or *qingjing* 請經 "requesting the scriptures"; more prosaically still, the most common term of all in north China for "performing ritual," whether secular or liturgical, is *banshi* 辦事 "doing things" (hence my choice of this phrase as the title for the DVD with Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*). A group of Daoists may be known as a "hall" (*tang* 堂), and named after its leader, such as "Li Qing *tang,"* but a more common vernacular term is *ban* 班 "band," as in *yinyangban*.

Photo 1: Advertisement above Li Bin's shop in Yanggao town.

They are Zhengyi Daoists of the Lingbao 靈寶 scriptural tradition, living as ordinary peasants. They earn their livelihood both as a group from performing public rituals, and individually (like *fengshui* or *yinyang* masters elsewhere in China) by doing geomancy and calendrical consultations for

[33] This term seems to refer to their dual officiation over *yin* and *yang* dwellings for the living and the dead; indeed, one might think *yinyang erzhai* was a composite phrase of which the two binomes were alternative abbreviations, though no-one said so.

auspicious sitings and timings. Thus they cite two common summaries of their skills: "first looking, second reciting, third wind-and-percussion" (*yikan ernian sanchuida* 一看二念三吹打); and "wind, percussion, writing, reciting, looking" (*chuidaxieniankan* 吹打寫念看) —this latter phrase in reverse order of importance. "Looking" (*kan rizi* 看日子 or *ze rizi* 擇日子) refers to choosing auspicious days, a task that senior Daoists perform often (some have queues outside their doors!); "writing" refers to the many complex documents prepared for funerals and other rituals, including talismans (*fu* 符) and many types of *diaodui* 吊對, the four-character phrases pasted at the top of the tent before the coffin. Individual "looking"and group "responding for household rituals" occupy about the same amount of time for them monthly, but the latter takes longer, while "looking" is quick and well paid. They provide a complete service for mortuary rituals (Photo 1), even painting coffins (*huacai* 畫材). They also officiate for raising the roofbeam, writing an auspicious diagram of the eight trigrams (*bagua tu* 八卦圖) to be pasted on the beam.

Photo 2: Li Qing practicing two vital skills: writing the texts required for a ritual, and playing the *sheng* mouth organ.

On the group outings of the *yinyang* for public rituals, apart from "writing" and ritual actions, they perform vocal liturgy (chanting, singing

hymns and incantations, reciting prose sections), ritual percussion, and *shengguan* wind ensemble music. It was this instrumental music, led by the master Daoists Li Qing 李清 and Liu Zhong 劉仲, that became deservedly—if ephemerally—famous in Chinese musical circles around 1990; but since their demise, while *yinyang* bands are still very much active, ritual expertise has continued to decline.

Most prestigious of the Yanggao Daoists was Li Qing (1926–99, Photo 2), based in Upper Liangyuan 上梁源 village in Shizitun district southeast of the county-town. In 1992 he listed a dozen household Daoist groups in the villages just south and east of Yanggao town (see Map 2); and just north and east of the county-town, on the plain and in the northern foothills, there are many more hereditary Daoist families—in villages like Mojiabu, Gushan, Chenjiabu, Xiezhuang, Taipingbu, Wangzhuang, and Zhenmenbu, and the township of Luowenzao. During the adversities of the 1950s—and apparently earlier—Daoists were among many Yanggao dwellers who migrated north to Inner Mongolia and northeast to the Zhangjiakou region.

None of these Daoist groups was ever attached to a temple, apart from receiving informal invitations to perform rituals at the local temple fairs. As to cults, there is a network of temples to Huye (Hulaoye 胡老爺, Hushen 胡神), extending as far as Xuanhua in northwest Hebei.[34] Some of the main temple fairs around north Yanggao are shown in Table 1. They last two or three days, the table showing the "main day" (*zhengrizi* 正日子). As often, the temples are identified by the name of the village, the formal names of their temples being barely known—the Gushan temple is known as "Nunnery" (*guzi miao* 姑子廟) or Granny temple (*nainai miao* 奶奶廟). Only the Xujiayuan temple has resident clergy—unusually, they are Buddhist monks, and for their own temple fair they perform several rituals including an impressive *yankou*,[35] though they appear not to perform rituals outside their temple. For all these temple fairs, apart from an opera troupe, at least one group of Daoists and at least one shawm band is invited—the latter a ubiquitous feature of folk ritual, generally known as *chuigushou* 吹鼓手 or *guyueban* 鼓樂班, here called *gujiang* 鼓匠.

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[34] Huye refers to an ancient general called Hutu 胡突: see Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, 73–75, 78.

[35] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, DVD, B5.

Table 1: Some temple fairs in north Yanggao

Village	Formal name of temple	Main fairs
Xujiayuan 許家園	Qingyun si 青雲寺	(2nd moon 2nd) (5th moon 8th) 7th moon 3rd
Lower Liangyuan 下梁源	Lingyuan si 靈源寺	7th moon 7th
Zhenmenbu 鎮門堡	Chenghuang miao 城隍廟	1st moon 15th 7th moon 15th 10th moon 1st
Gushan 孤山	Wulong shengmu miao 五龍生母廟	4th moon 8th 7th moon 3rd
Yunmenshan 雲門山	Xuanyun guan 懸雲觀	5th moon 18th
Rutoushan 乳頭山	Longwang miao 龍王廟	2nd moon 2nd

No *yinyang* we met spoke of any formal graduation or ordination process in learning the trade. Some even observed that you are born a *yinyang*, so how could you go through an examination? However, Li Qing told us of a Daoist association (he used the more modern term *Daojiao xiehui* 道教協會) in Yanggao town in his father's time. This must refer to the *Daohuisi* 道會司, official state organizations that had been established in every county in the Qing dynasty to regulate Daoism.[36] Indeed, Li Qing was probably right: in Tianjin, for instance, the old *Daohuisi* were replaced by *Daojiaohui* in the republican period.[37]

Li Qing also claimed (I think less convincingly) that a Daoist had come from the Beijing Baiyun guan to take charge of the association, staying in the Sanhuang miao 三皇廟 temple in the county-town; they held an annual gathering on 3rd moon 15th. Senior Daoist Li Yuan 李元 (in Luowenzao) also recalled that before Liberation, candidates for official recognition had to go to the "*yinyang* official" (*yinyangguan* 陰陽官) in the county-town to "recite the fish scriptures" (*nian yujing* 念魚經, if our notes are correct: the *muyu* 木魚 "wooden fish"

[36] For the central *Daohuisi*, see for example Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking,* 59–62; for Yangyuan just east of Yanggao, see *Yangyuan xianzhi* 陽原縣誌 (Yangyuan county gazetteer) 1935 (1986 reprint, Yangyuan), 229.

[37] Zhang Xiuhua 張修華, "Wo he Tianhougong" 我和天后宮 (Me and the Tianhou temple), *Tianjin wenshi ziliao xuanji* 天津文史資料選集 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1982) 19: 172, 187–188; cf. Goossaert, 72–80.

woodblock was commonly known as *yuzi* 魚子).[38] The candidate had to recite the scriptures alone while accompanying himself on the three main ritual instruments: *guo* 鍋 (cymbals), *gu* 鼓 (drum), and *dangzi* 鐺子 (gong-in-frame); and only after passing this exam did one get a certificate and go looking for ritual business (*lanshi* 攬事) among the people. The *yinyang* official used to be called Yang 楊; he was also responsible for arbitrating in any disputes between Daoists, but the system ended before Liberation.

Li Qing's son Li Manshan recalled that the Li family had a seal (*yin* 印) with the characters *Lingbao dafashi* 靈寶大法師 ("grand ritual master of Lingbao"), that they stamped onto the document for Burning the Treasuries; they stopped using it on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, afraid it was evidence of politically unacceptable private business.[39]

The formal title of the Li lineage ancestral master, copied through the generations (see Photo 3), is "Ancestral Master, Heavenly Worthy of the Great Dharma who Supports the Teachings of the Three Heavens, Assists the Numinous and Embodies the Way" *(Zushi santian fujiao fuxuan tidao dafa tianzun* 祖師三天扶教輔玄體道大法天尊). The expression santian fujiao, at least, referring to Zhang Daoling, is commonly found in Zhengyi literature, confirming the Li household as part of a wider, and ancient, Zhengyi tradition.

So let us now focus on the Li lineage. Li Qing was the second of three brothers, all of whom took up the Daoist trade; he never went to school, instead gaining a rigorous Daoist schooling from his youth with his elders. Li Qing's family genealogy was destroyed in the Cultural Revolution, but he made a new one in the late 1980s. He could name his Daoist forebears back to Li Fu 李福, six generations before him; the family tradition was that Li Fu had learnt Daoist ritual from nearby Jinjiazhuang 金家莊 village, perhaps in the late 18th century.

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[38] See for example Chang Renchun 常人春, *Hongbai xishi: jiujing hunsang lisu* 紅白喜事：舊京婚喪禮俗 (Weddings and funerals: wedding and funeral customs of old Beijing) (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chubanshe, 1993), 329; Yuan Jingfang 袁靜芳, *Hebei Julu daojiao fashi yinyue* 河北鉅鹿道教法事音樂 (Daoist ritual music of Julu, Hebei) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1997), 92.

[39] For such seals in Hunan, see Yan, "Xiangtan Zhengyi daojiao diaocha," 110–112.

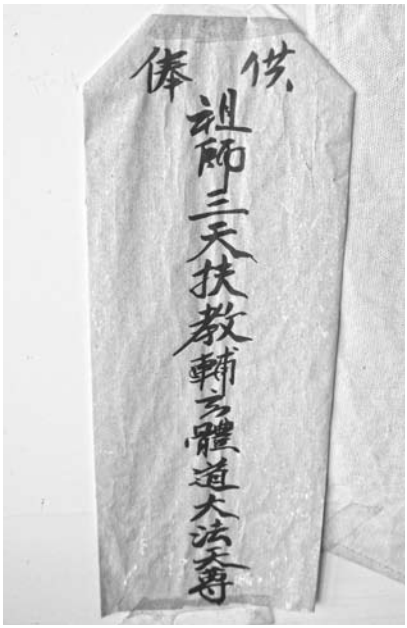

Photo 3: The formal title of the Li household Daoist deity

Only when Li Manshan wrote a more extensive genealogy for me did I begin to understand the depth of the Li lineage Daoist tradition in Upper Liangyuan alone. Four men in the second generation were Daoists; three in the third generation; four in the fourth; two in the fifth; four in the sixth; six in the seventh generation, including Li Qing (taking us into the Maoist period!); and five in Li Manshan's own generation today. Further, in that fourth generation, Li Zengrong 李增榮 had a stepson (from his wife's previous marriage) called Wang Lihe 王李和 who went on to become a Daoist, producing a subsidiary lineage of Daoists based in neighbouring Shuangzhai 雙寨 village: three from that generation, and five from the next. And we still need to document other Daoist lineages in Shuangzhai, as well as those starting when a new disciple teaches his descendants! These Daoist households are like cells that multiplied constantly over several centuries until the 1960s; such details, like all the rich material from south Fujian, totally belies the shallow academic view of "religion" (meaning elite reflective philosophy) as declining since the Ming dynasty or earlier.

Ritual business had not suffered during the Japanese occupation, Li Qing said—the Japanese troops even made donations when they came

across Thanking the Earth rituals being performed—nor during the following civil war. Li Qing married in 1945 at the age of 20. During the first stage of land reform his Daoist father was classified, much to the family's disadvantage, as a "rich peasant," but he was accidentally shot dead during the civil war in 1947.

After the Liberation, the Daoists still performed funeral rituals, but temple fairs and Thanking the Earth were becoming rare. In 1958 the commune confiscated some of their ritual manuals and instruments, but Li Qing's class status was still not held against him—a gifted *sheng* 笙 mouth-organ player, like many Daoists in north China, he was now chosen for a salaried job in the Yanbei regional "arts work troupe" (*wengongtuan* 文工團) in Datong city. Like many state work-units throughout China, the troupe was cut back in 1962, and Li returned to his village—anyway, rural households needed all the laborers they could get. Unlike Hebei villagers, Yanggao dwellers didn't really identify the "three years of hardship," as they continued to be hungry right up to the dismantling of the commune system in the 1980s. After that they still managed to "respond to household rituals" on the quiet until the Four Cleanups campaign, though many of their manuals were burnt then. In a barren countryside where everyone was virtually destitute, Li Qing was himself classified as a "rich peasant" in 1968—much to the amusement of his fellow villagers, who ribbed him, "Call yourself a rich peasant?!" —perhaps the only way they could ridicule the rigid political system.

The Daoists performed very rarely, and in secret, during the Cultural Revolution. After the commune system began to crumble, they began gingerly performing rituals from about 1980, as Li Qing painstakingly copied the family's old manuals (see Photo 4); the Daoists only came out into the open fully around 1984. Importantly, despite Li Qing's sensitive trade, he had a wonderful reputation as an honest and virtuous man—when the matchmaker was seeking partners for his sons, she only had to announce that Li Qing was their father and the deal was done. His group was in demand throughout the area; Li Manshan still profits from his father's good repute.

Apart from working with his own family, Li Qing often collaborated with a group of distinguished senior Daoists from Upper Liangyuan, Shuangzhai, and the nearby villages. In Upper Liangyuan alone a dozen senior Daoists were active in the 1980s, including Li Yuanmao 李元茂 (1919–late 1990s, from another Li lineage), and Kang Ren 康仁 (1925–c. 2002), and they could all muster enough fellow Daoists from their

own families and disciples to form several groups as needed. And they were in great demand—few days passed when they were not performing a ritual, particularly in the busy winter season, when there were more funerals (and, until the 1950s, more individuals fulfilling vows by commissioning rituals). Though business was only average around 2003, by 2011 they were busier than ever—Li Manshan attributes this mainly to the demographic, with more old people dying. Still, he recalls they were still more busy before 1964!

Of his own six children, Li Qing taught his three sons. The oldest son Li Manshan 李满山 (b. 1946) began learning when 7 or 8 *sui*, but only started in earnest after Li Qing came home from the Datong "arts work troupe" in 1962, as society was loosening up, although the famine was still desperate. He gave up school to go round performing rituals with the band, for an all-too-brief period before the Four Cleanups. He took over as leader of the group when Li Qing died in 1999. The second son Li Yushan 李玉山 still lives in Upper Liangyuan, but works for a separate group. The third son Li Yunshan 李雲山 (b. 1969) began to study keenly after Daoists were able to practise more openly again around 1980, but having done well in school (unlike most village teenagers) he landed a job as a cadre in the county-town in 1990; since 2006 he has been employed in the county anti-corruption unit. Li Qing also taught his grandson Li Bin 李斌, son of Li Manshan. He plays *sheng*, but also does *kanrizi* consultations and paints coffins. In 2010 he opened a shop in the county-town, supplying all mortuary needs (see photo 1).

Of Li Qing's disciples, Wu Mei 吳美 (b. 1970) is the fourth child of a family from the cripplingly poor village of Renjiayao just to the east, who from 1985 apprenticed himself to Li Qing, staying at his house for a three-year apprenticeship. His brilliant *guanzi*-playing is modelled on that of Li Qing's colleague Liu Zhong (c. 1930–93). Liu Zhong's playing brought tears to the eyes of all who heard him, but Wu Mei is no less inspired; in fact, senior villagers recall Li Yuanmao's playing as being most outstanding. In 2007 Wu Mei moved with his family to Shizitun village, and in 2009 they moved to a new village (built as part of a poverty-alleviation project) south of the county-town. He was then working as a welder in the town, having learnt the trade from his older brother; for this he received the princely sum of 120 *yuan* a day, as opposed to 80 *yuan* for two days working as a Daoist. But during the busy winter and spring seasons he was still working 15–20 days a month as a Daoist, and 7–8 days in summer. By 2011 he was happy to be

working full-time as a *yinyang* again.

Two further close relatives are regular performers with Li Manshan's group, well versed in ritual. Huang Shuangping 黃雙平 (b. 1978), from Upper Liangyuan, studied from 15 *sui* with Li Qing, his mother's father; but by 2011 he had taken a factory job in distant Wuxi. Zhang Shiyu 張世宇 (b. 1968) comes from Houying village, studying from 1987 with Li Qing, his mother's brother; he is an outstanding ritual specialist.

But the problem of transmission will soon be acute. Daoist families no longer want their sons to become Daoists; there are now easier ways to make a better living, and people like pop music anyway. They agree that the Intangible Cultural Heritage project is quite unable to solve these issues.

Rituals and Ritual Manuals

The Yanggao Daoists classify their rituals under three headings: funeral scriptures, temple scriptures, and earth scriptures (*baijing* 白經, *miaojing* 廟經, *tujing* 土經), in order of frequency. Many of the ritual segments, as well as the vocal items performed within them, may be used for all three types. The earth scriptures (a generic description of various rituals for vows and crises) have rarely been performed since the early 1960s, so I will focus here on the sequences for funerals and temple fairs, again focusing mainly on the Li band.

Li Qing managed to keep some of the family collection of ritual manuals, and as the Daoists were restoring in the early 1980s he recopied them (Photo 4, and Table 2). Still, once they began performing ritual again, few of them were needed; many rituals in common use consisted of relatively short texts that could be memorized, and the Daoists also commonly transcribe such texts into little exercise books. Impressively (given the usual stories of the decimation of ritual artifacts in the Cultural Revolution), Li Manshan reckons that his father managed to copy the greater part of their previous collection; there were hardly more than thirty manuals before. But, strangely, he has never seen a manual for *yangfan* 揚幡 or *panhu* 判斛, two of their basic ritual segments.

Photo 4: Ritual manuals copied by Li Qing, early 1980s

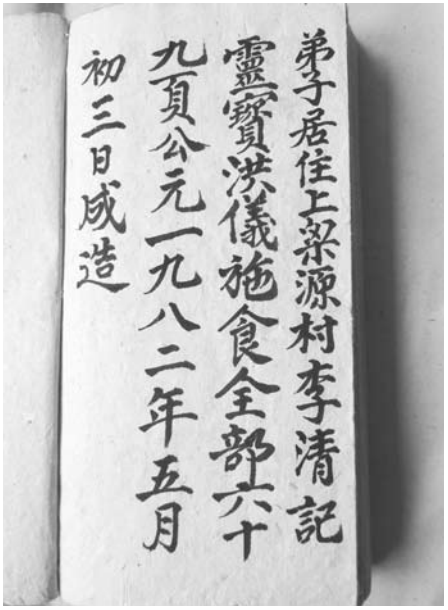

Photo 5: Final page of *Lingbao hongyi shishi quanbu manual*, copied by "disciple Li Qing of Upper Liangyuan village ... completed on the 3rd day of the 5th moon of 1982"

Table 2: Ritual manuals copied by Li Qing, c. 1980–83

Manual	**Number of Pages***	**Use**	**Comments**
untitled (*zantan ben* 讚嘆本) volume of hymns includes many hymns and also, near start *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶救苦妙經 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao zhenjing* 元始天尊說升天得道真經	63	for all rituals	date equivalent to 1980/6/16 (Li Manshan wrote a title page "*Zantan*" [Photo 4: taken by author in 2011])
*Lingbao kaifang shezhao** *yubao** xianzhuan youlian ke 靈寶開方攝召預報獻饌遊蓮科 Lingbao Manual for Opening the Quarters, Summons, Reporting, Food Offerings, and Roaming Paradise *Detailed titles of these segments: *Shezhao muyu* 攝召沐浴; *Yubao chenghuang* 預報城隍	17	separate ritual segments as listed, for funerals	copied from an old manual of his uncle Li Peisen, which I saw in 1991
Lingbao fangshe duqiao poyu zhubaiyu ranghuangwen ke 靈寶放赦度橋破獄祝白雨禳蝗瘟科 Lingbao Manual for Dispatching the Pardon, Crossing the Bridges, Smashing the Hells, Precautions against Hailstones, and Averting Plagues of Locusts	25	*fangshe*, *duqiao*, and *poyu* are for funerals; *zhubaiyu* and *ranghuangwen* are pestilence rituals	ditto
Zhaoqing quanbu 召請全部 Summons, Complete	20	funeral segment	
Lingbao shiwang guandeng ke 靈寶十王關燈科 Lingbao Manual for the Ten Kings Closing the Lanterns (As Li Manshan observes, the *guan* character should be 觀 "beholding")	14	for 1st evening of 3-day funeral	four copies: one with date equivalent to 1981/12/17; another dated 1983/4/22 in Gregorian calendar
Shishi quanbu 施食全部 Bestowing Food, Complete. Full title at end: *Lingbao hongyi shishi* 靈寶洪儀施食	69	long final ritual of night before burial	dated 1982/5/3; not performed since early 1950s?
Shenwen ke 伸文科 Announcement Manual	8	to invite gods for temple and earth scriptures	two copies

(continued over)

Manual	Number of Pages*	Use	Comments
Bafang zhou Laojun jing 八方咒老君經 Incantations for the Eight Directions and Scripture of Laojun. Full title of latter: *Taishang laojun shuo changqingjing jing* 太上老君説常清靜經	8	to open the 2nd day of temple and earth scriptures, mostly chanted solo, without *shengguan*	
Zhenwu jing 真武經 Scripture of Zhenwu Full title: *Yuanshi tianzun shuo beifang zhenwu miaojing* 元始天尊説北方真武妙經	12	for 2nd afternoon of earth scriptures	
Cifu dengke 賜福燈科 Lantern Manual for Bestowing Blessings Full title at end: *Lingbao cifu dengke* 靈寶賜福燈科	17	for 1st evening of temple and earth scriptures	undated; another copy by Li Manshan is dated 1999/7/9 (*yimao nian guayue chujiu* 已卯年瓜月初九)
Shiyi yao 十一曜 The Eleven Victims of Bad Death Full title at end: *Yuanshi tianzun shuo shiyiyao da xiaozai shenzhou jing* 元始天尊説十一曜大消災神咒經	10		consists mainly of a series of holy incantations *shenzhou* 神咒
Zhushou ke 祝壽科 Manual for Celebrating Longevity	11	for temple and earth scriptures	
Zhushou guandeng ke 祝壽關燈科 Manual for "Celebrating-Longevity" Beholding the Lanterns (again, the *guan* character should be 觀 "beholding")	24		dated *layue* (the last Moon of the lunar calendar) 1980/1981
Xijing zayi 喜經雜儀 Diverse Rituals for Auspicious Scriptures	27	for earth scriptures	
Rangzai jing 禳災經 Scriptures for Averting Calamity. Includes the following short scriptures: *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶升玄消災護命妙經, *Taishang lingbao tianzun shuo rangzai du'e zhenjing* 太上靈寶天尊説禳災度厄真經, *Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing* 太上泰清天童護命妙經, *Taishang sanguang zhuling zifu yanshou miaojing* 太上三光注齡資福延壽妙經	8	for vow rituals for domestic crises	

(continued over)

Manual	Number of Pages*	Use	Comments
Lingbao jinbiao kefan 靈寶進表科範 Lingbao Model Ritual for Presenting the Memorial	11	for temple scriptures	this is a rare manual in the hand of Li Xianrong 李先榮, Li Qing's great-grandfather
Lingbao tagang budou jinbiao kefan 靈寶踏罡步斗進表科範 Lingbao Model Rituals for Stepping the Cosmos, Pacing the Dipper, and Presenting the Memorial	20	for temple scriptures	
Sanguan jing 三官經 Scripture of the Three Officers	14		opens with baogao 寶誥 for the sanguan
Longhu tudi jing lingguan erlang zhou 龍虎土地經靈官二郎咒 Scriptures of Dragon-and-Tiger, and of the Earth, and Mantra of Erlang, including *Taishang Zhengyi tianzun shuo zhenzhai xiaozai longhu miaojing* 太上正乙天尊説鎮宅消災龍虎妙經, *Taishang shuo lingying tudi huguo xiaozai zhenjing* 太上説靈應土地護國消災真經	10		
duiben 對本 volume of Couplet Mottos	21	for all kinds of rituals	

Other manuals not yet found:

Yankou Manual			different from above
Qingshen 請神, *Songshen* 送神 Inviting and Escorting Away the Gods			
Zaoke 竈科 Stove God Scripture			
Zaoke 早科, *Xianwu ke* 獻午科, *Wanke* 晚科 Manuals for Morning, Noon, and Evening Services			
Qiangao 前誥 Former Invocations			
Yushu jing 玉樞經 Jade Pivot Scripture			

* Numbers of pages: one page is considered as one folded sheet with left and right folios.

** The Yanggao Doist pronounce "gao" 誥 as "hao."

For the *shengguan* instrumental melodies, Li Qing preserved his great-grandfather's *gongche* 工尺 score of the *shengguan* melodies, entitled "Complete holy pieces" (*Shenqu quanbu* 神曲全部). He wrote a beautiful copy of this score, but later, in the 1990s, he also used modern cipher notation (*jianpu*) to write a new kind of score. This included the melodies of the vocal items (never previously notated), the *shengguan* repertoire, and mnemonics for the percussion pieces. Cipher notation is generally used in a more detailed and explicit way than the traditional skeletal *gongche* notation.

Moving from ritual manuals to actual performance, sequences for funerals and temple fairs are shown in Table 3, and a longer more ideal funeral sequence in Table 4. In fact the Daoists alternate throughout with the prescribed pieces played by the shawm band, as well as going with them on procession.[40]

The chief Daoist is consulted soon after a death to make geomantic and calendrical calculations, the whole band arriving in time for the rituals on the day preceding the burial. During the funeral proper the chief Daoist performs tasks such as writing the many documents and talismans for burning, as well as the tile for the tomb (Photo 6), and finally using his *luopan* 羅盤 compass to align the coffin.[41]

The Daoists are given a separate room called "scripture hall" (*jingtang*) to rest and prepare. The scripture halls for the funerals I attended in 1991 and 1992[42] were equipped with simple "god places" to Bodhisattva King Ksitigarbha (Dizangwang pusa 地藏王菩薩), "In the Palace of the Eastern Pole" (Dongji gong zhong 東極宮中),[43] and the Ten Kings of the Underworld Courts (Mingfu shiwang 冥府十王); apart from the customary *duilian* 對聯 mottos[44] at the soul hall, there were also

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[40] Cf. the tables in Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, 64–65 and 80–81, including the activities of the shawm band, and the text 57–86.

[41] See Wu, *Yinyang, gujiang*, 328.

[42] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China,* DVD, A2.

[43] This should continue with the title of the presiding god Taiyi jiuku tianzun: see Min Zhiting閔智亭, *Quanzhen zhengyun puji* 全真正韻譜輯 (Edited scores of standard Quanzhen vocal liturgy), ed. Wuhan yinyuexueyuan daojiao yinyue yanjiushi (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chuban gongsi, 1991), 181. Cf. idem, *Daojiao yifan*, 173.

[44] *Duilian* mottos for all kinds of occasion are collected in one of the Li family's manuals, and deserve our attention as part of their ritual repertoire.

abstruse Daoist slogans pasted on the doors of a gateway on the route from the scripture hall to the soul hall. Since then all such inscriptions seem to have fallen out of use.

First I will describe common rituals that I have attended since 1991, and then add notes on some rarer ones. Both funerals and temple fairs comprise two types of ritual segments: the routine visits to the soul hall or temple through the day, and the more elaborate rituals in a public arena.

Table 3: Funeral and temple fair sequences of Yanggao Daoists, c. 1990

	Funeral	**Temple Fair**
Day 1		
am	*kaijing* 開經 Opening the Scriptures	√
	songjing 送經 Escorting Scriptures	√
	songjing Escorting Scriptures	√
noon	(***fangshe*** 放赦 Dispatching the Pardon)	
pm	*kaijing* Opening the Scriptures	√
	qushui 取水 Fetching Water	√
	songjing Escorting Scriptures	√
	songjing Escorting Scriptures	√
	songjing Escorting Scriptures	√
eve	***zhaoqing*** 召請 Invitation	
	shaoku 燒庫 Burning the Treasuries	
	zhuanxian 轉獻 Transferring Offerings ***shishi*** 施食 Dispensing Food ***songgu*** 送孤 Escorting Away the Lonely Souls	***guandeng*** 觀燈 Beholding the Lanterns
	guoling 過靈 Crossing the Soul, without Daoists	

Day 2		
am	*taigang* 抬杠 Raising the Coffin	*kaijing* Opening the Scriptures
	raoling 繞靈 Circling the Soul	***yangfan*** 揚幡 Hoisting the Pennant
	[chief celebrant alone attends at the grave]	***shanggong*** 上供 Presenting Offerings
	[end]	
pm		*kaijing* Opening the Scriptures
		songjing Escorting Scriptures
		panhu 判斛 Judgment and Alms

Items in bold denote major public rituals; items in parentheses were less often included.

Table 4: Li Qing's ideal three-day funeral sequence, c. 1990

Day 1	
am	*kaijing* 開經 Opening the Scriptures
	songjing 送經 Escorting Scriptures
	songjing Escorting Scriptures
pm	*kaijing* Opening the Scriptures
	qushui 取水 Fetching Water
	kaifang 開方 Opening the Quarters (= *pao wufang* 跑五方 Chasing Round the Five Quarters)
	songjing Escorting Scriptures
	songjing Escorting Scriptures
	songjing Escorting Scriptures
dusk	*zhaoqing* 召請 Invitation
eve	*songdeng* 送燈 Escorting Lanterns *baomiao* 報廟 Report to the Temple
	guandeng 觀燈 Beholding the Lanterns

Day 2	
4–7am	*qiwujing* 起五更 Rising at the Fifth Watch (recite seven litanies)
9am	***yangfan*** 揚幡 Hoisting the Pennant
	fangshe 放赦 Dispatching the Pardon
	xianwu 獻午 Noon Offerings
pm	*kaijing* Opening the Scriptures
	songchan 送懺 Escorting Litanies
	duqiao 渡橋 Crossing the Bridges
	panhu 判斛 Judgment and Alms
eve	***shaoku*** 燒庫 Burning the Treasuries
	zhuanxian 轉獻 Transferring Offerings ***shishi*** 施食 Dispensing Food ***songgu*** 送孤 Escorting Away the Lonely Souls
	guoling 過靈 Crossing the Soul (without Daoists)

Day 3	
am	*fayin* 發引 Burial Procession
	taigang 抬杠 Raising the Coffin
	raoling 繞靈 Circling the Soul
	[chief celebrant alone attends at the grave]
	[end]

*In his otherwise thorough account, I surmise that Li Qing subsumed these rituals under Transferring Offerings without detailing them.

Photo 6: Li Manshan writing the tomb tile. Photo by Wu Fan.

The routine visits (four in the morning and three in the afternoon) are called Escorting the Scriptures (*songjing* 送經) or Escorting the Litanies (*songchan*)[45]—the first sequence of both morning and afternoon is also called Opening Scriptures (*kaijing* 開經). For these visits they proceed in single file from their "scripture hall" to the altar-table in front of the soul hall where the coffin lies, led by the oldest son or grandson carrying the soul tablet. For Opening Scriptures they perform percussion (led by the two types of cymbals *nao* 鐃 and *bo* 鈸), intermittently sounding the conch, wearing their red costumes; for the remaining visits they play the *shengguan* melodic instruments, wearing their black costumes. On arrival at the soul hall, standing around the altar table under the awning before the coffin, the *yinyang* sing a prescribed sequence of songs (generically called "hymns of mourning" [*zantan* 讚嘆].[46]

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[45] One might expect *song* to be "reciting" 誦, but "escorting" is almost universal in my experience. *Song* 送 may mean either "gifting" (as here) or "escorting away" (as in *songshen* 送神).

[46] Like *zan*, this term has a long pedigree in Daoism, but *zantan* seems to be rarely used elsewhere today.

Apart from these "routine" visits, on the day preceding the burial the Daoists wear their red costumes to perform more public rituals such as Fetching Water, Hoisting the Pennant, Judgment and Alms, Invitation, Burning the Treasuries, and Transferring Offerings.

Fetching Water (*qushui*), a very common component of rituals throughout north China,[47] is part of both funerals and temple fairs. It is performed in the afternoon, between the first and second visits of the *yinyang* to the altar. By 2001 it was becoming optional for funerals, but I saw it at a funeral in 1992;[48] here and below I describe particular rituals that I witnessed. The oldest son, bearing a tray with the soul tablet, a vase, and ritual food offerings, led the procession, followed by the shawm band and then the *yinyang*, playing alternately on procession to the well. On arrival at the well, as the shawm band stood (as ever) to one side, the *yinyang* performed vocal hymns accompanied by the melodic instruments and ritual percussion while the son filled the vase with water, tying its neck with red cloth. The procession then returned to the soul hall, whereupon the vase was placed on the main altar table and the *yinyang* led the mourners on a winding route before the coffin. Until the 1950s they used to spray the water around the ritual arena, symbolic of making the ground suitably moist for the deceased, but now the winding route represents it instead. Li Yuan was alone in mentioning a brief *anfang* 安房 (Settling the House) exorcistic ritual, performed after returning from the well.

For the temple-fair version of Fetching Water, I describe a 2003 ritual.[49] As the procession nears the well, the shawm band stops at the foot of the slope leading to the well, while the *yinyang* climb the slope and then also stop; the pennants from the temple are stuck in the ground. The temple elder, with helpers, goes to the well, where they set the tray down on the ground, light three sticks of incense and place them on the tray, burn the yellow paper petition in front of the tray, break the biscuit and disperse it, kowtow, and then fill the vase with water from the well.

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[47] Yuan Li 苑利, "Huabei diqu qiyu huodongzhong qushui yishi yanjiu" 華北地區祈雨活動中取水儀式研究 (The Fetching Water ritual in north Chinese rain prayers), *Minzu yishu* 民族藝術 (Guangxi), 2001/2: 96–108, and 121.

[48] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, DVD, A6.

[49] Ibid.

Usually they only fill the vase a third full, so as to attract a reasonable amount of rain, not a flood, but since 2000 there has been a serious drought, so today they fill it to the brim—something of a metaphor for modern Chinese history? As the temple elder returns from the well, he sets the tray down before the *yinyang*, who, standing in facing rows, with one chief reciter facing the tray, perform the hymns *Taishang song* and *Wu gongyang* 五供養, each with several verses, accompanied by *shengguan*, with the incantation *Jingzhi zhou* 淨止咒 (accompanied only by the ritual percussion) in the middle. As the procession returns towards the temple, the shawm band and *yinyang* again play instrumental pieces alternately. On arrival, the vase is placed between the large and small statues of Hulaoye; it will stay there until the next rainfall, when it can be poured away. The shawm band disperses while the *yinyang* stand in double file at the entrance to the temple, performing another sequence of hymns, some with *shengguan* accompaniment, in praise of water and the dragon kings.

Hoisting the Pennant (*yangfan*) is now more common at temple fairs than at funerals.[50] I saw it the Lower Liangyuan temple fair in 2003, on the morning of the second (final) day.[51] This time five tall wooden poles (to the five elements) are erected in the center, northwest, southeast, southwest, and northeast corners of an arena in the large open space before the temple complex. The poles are linked by ropes from which are hung coloured paper squares each bearing a character written by the *yinyang*, making up four rows of inscriptions to the ghosts and ancestors. The tall central pole is called "the old pole" (*laogan* 老杆); at its top is a long triangular pennant decorated with the seven stars of the Northern Dipper. Just beneath this is a furled cloth attached to a rope hanging right down to the ground; it is decorated with an image of "Our Lady Earthworm" (Qushan niangniang 曲蟮娘娘), with the head of a woman and body of a snake, as in "The Tale of the White Snake."

First the shawm band plays while making a base to one side in the shade beneath the eaves of the temple, then the *yinyang* emerge to parade

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[50] For a version in "standard" Quanzhen temple ritual, see Min, *Daojiao yifan*, 191–193; this ritual, as part of the *jiao*, is common in southeast China, but seems to be of a different nature in north Shanxi.

[51] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, DVD, B6.

sedately around the poles, animating the ritual arena with percussion. On a small offerings-table are placed a "precious sword" (*baojian* 寶劍), a hand-bell, three bowls of food offerings, and yellow paper petitions and incense sticks for burning; the table is moved by helpers as the *yinyang* visit each pole in turn. On arrival at each pole, the *yinyang* sing a sequence of different hymns with *shengguan* accompaniment, interspersed with short interludes led by *nao* and *bo* cymbals. The temple elder offers incense and burns a yellow paper petition at the foot of each pole before the group moves on to the next one. On procession from pole to pole the *yinyang* again take a winding route, playing *shengguan* pieces, the shawm band also playing in the distance.

In the last act of Hoisting the Pennant, as the table is set down back at the central pole, and Li Qing's favourite disciple Wu Mei, the chief *yinyang* celebrant today, dons the "five-Buddha hat" and unsheaths the precious sword, wielding it in his right hand and the bell (its mouth facing upwards) in his left hand. He leads the *yinyang* on a tour around the poles; as they play percussion, Wu Mei hastily uses the sword to scrawl a talisman in the dust before each of the poles in turn. He then breaks into a run, the *yinyang* trying to keep up as they play percussion, and they race ever faster around the arena. Finally Wu Mei tugs the rope hanging from the furled cloth on top of the central pole, revealing the image of Our Lady Earthworm, and making the small paper envelopes and goodies inside the cloth fall down for excited children to catch. This seemingly naïve denouement denotes cosmic harmony and the prosperity of the community.

The **Judgment and Alms** (*panhu)* ritual complements Raising the Pennant. It was also once performed for funerals after Crossing the Bridges, but is now performed more for temple fairs. This ritual seems to be rarely found outside north Shanxi.[52] The obscure term *panhu* is locally interpreted to mean sending off or placating the dead spirits; Li Qing equated it with the *shishi* (*yankou*) ritual for feeding ghosts without

[52] The only text I can find in the *Daozang is Yulu jiyou panhu yi* 玉籙濟幽判斛儀, see DZ 506, in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1000–1001.

a master.[53] But here it now appears to have little liturgical content; while entertainment is often a concomitant factor in Daoist rituals (as we saw in the Pardon ritual above), in this version it seems to take clear precedence over cosmic functions.

At the Lower Liangyuan temple fair in 2003, this final public ritual was performed by the *yinyang* from 5:00 p.m to 5:30 p.m.[54] Again the shawm band led the way, followed by the *yinyang* playing percussion on procession to the square outside the temple. A table had been set in front of a single pole decorated with a sheaf of tall *gaoliang* 高粱 stalks, into which were stuck dough offerings. The *yinyang* stood round the table to finish their percussion prelude, and then took their seats around the table. Villagers crowded around—again mainly young children. On the far side of the pole, facing the pole and the temple, a village elder knelt before a tray with three bowls of offerings and a paper petition, lighting three sticks of incense. First the *yinyang* performed verses of the hymn *Yuqie jing* 瑜伽經, accompanied only by ritual percussion. The following brief recitation of the leading *yinyang* was largely drowned out by the opera across the square. Then brilliant young wind-player Wu Mei, on small *guanzi* oboe, led the *yinyang* in an extrovert *shengguan* suite, switching to large *guanzi* for a fine medley of pop pieces, in authentic Daoist style. He segued into a fine "fooling around" routine (cf. the Pardon below); the audience lapped it up, the children spellbound.

Finally the children scrambled for the dough offerings which were released from the bundle of *gaoliang* stalks—again symbolizing food for the hungry ghosts—before the temple elder lit the paper petitions and placed them beneath the bundle, setting fire to it. The old pole (*laogan*), which has remained erect after the *yangfan* ritual, can only be taken down only after they have recited the last phrase of the *panhu* ritual, "as the great pole is overturned, the lonely souls disperse" (*dagandao, guhunsan* 大杆倒，孤魂散), recited while burning the petitions.

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[53] Indeed, the food offerings for the hungry ghosts are called *hushi* 斛食, but there is no specific *panhu* segment in the *yankou*, although there are "judgment documents" (*panshu* 判書: Chang, *Hongbai xishi,* 261–263, 303;) and "judgment officers" (*panguan* 判官: Min, *Daojiao yifan*, 176).

[54] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, DVD, B8.

These petitions are on behalf of the ancestors, orphan souls, ghost kings, and "the *taishang* Mianran and orphan souls for whom the *jiao* is initiated":

- *geshimenzhong sandai zongqin* 各氏門中三代宗親
- *bianfangjienei shilei guhun* 邊方界內十類孤魂
- *sisheng liudao yiqie guiwang* 四生六道一切鬼王
- *qijiao taishang Mianran guhun* 啟醮太上面燃孤魂

Photo 7: Page from manual of Li family Daoists, Yanggao, copied by Li Qing's uncle Li Peisen before Liberation. The final listing of "Shanxi Datong fu" shows its local origins, followed by a rare sighting of the term *jiao*.

In this transient petition, the very final act of the temple fair, we find a slim clue to the persistance of the *jiao* 醮 ritual in the area. Lower Liangyuan villagers still call their temple fair *dajiao, positing the characters* 打轎 "doing the sedan", but local Daoists concur with me that it must refer to the Daoist *jiao* 醮, and Li Manshan recalls that

people did indeed use the term *dajiao* until the mid-1960s; only since the 1980s has the term "temple fair" (*miaohui*) become common parlance. Apart from some elusive references under Thanking the Earth,[55] the term (standing alone) appears within the Li family ritual manuals (Photo 7), and even in some funeral placards; but clues to the *jiao* in this region are now quite sparse. Moreover, the ritual sequence is far from what one expects of a *jiao*, entirely lacking crucial elements like *chaoshi* 朝事 audience rituals or the *jinbiao*. But we must learn not to see Daoist ritual solely through the prism of the *jiao*.

For the funerary rituals in the evening, the **Invitation** and **Burning the Treasuries** rituals may be combined into one sequence. The purpose of the Invitation (*zhaoqing*) is to invite back the last three generations of ancestors of the deceased, showing them the way by burning paper along the route from the gravelands back to the coffin, inviting them to share a meal and then go off together with the deceased.[56]

So the procession first goes in the direction of their graves. Transferring Offerings can be performed only after the Invitation. My local mentors explain that Burning the Treasuries (*shaoku* 燒庫, sometimes called Returning the Treasuries, *huanku* 還庫) means returning the money borrowed by the soul (*linghun* 靈魂) at birth—the debt must be redeemed, or else the Yama Lords of the Ten Courts (Shidian Yanjun 十殿閻君), who preside over the underworld, will not let the deceased pass. The gold and silver treasuries (two tall structures made of paper) should not be too full, or the deceased's descendants will have no money.[57]

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[55] Jones, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China*, 77–79.

[56] The *shezhao* 攝召 ritual in the Li family manuals (see above) is a rare occurrence of this ritual title in my experience. But in Min Zhiting's prescription (*Daojiao yifan*, 163–166), *shezhao* is among the major sections of a funeral, and is one of several sections that include the *zhaoqing*, although the two are not equivalent. Several "invitations" (*zhaoqing*) to the orphan souls are issued in the course of the *shezhao* and the *yankou*: Min, *Daojiao yifan*, 165–166, 171, 179.

[57] For Treasury rituals in Taiwan, cf. John Lagerwey, *Taoist Rtual in Chinese Society and History* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 186, 188–189; Hou Ching-lang, *Monnaies d'Offrande et la Notion de Tresorerie dans la Religion Chinoise*, Memoires de l'Institute des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, vol.1 (Paris: College de France, 1975), especially 49–54 ; and in Fujian, Dean, "Funerals in Fujian,"

The procession sets off after dusk.[58] The shawm band leads the way, followed by the *yinyang* in single file playing percussion simultaneously but not in time with the shawm band, and periodically sounding a conch; then follow two men bearing the treasuries, two men carrying the altar table laden with offerings, and other helpers, the kin coming along in no fixed order. Along the route they sometimes stop to regroup, kin standing behind the altar table while the shawm band and *yinyang* continue to play.

When the procession reaches the site just outside the village, the two treasuries are set down back to back, the altar table is set down a few meters in front of it, and kin kneel between the two, male and female kin facing each other in two rows, burning paper spirit-money on little fires in a line between them, while the *yinyang* sing a hymn with ritual percussion. The shawm-band musicians take up their place, standing as ever to one side. Facing the treasuries, the chief Daoist celebrant, sounding the hand bell and waving a cloth spirit-banner, intones the paper document that he has written earlier; this is a moving interlude of tranquil beauty, for which each celebrant has his own melody. He then hands the document to the eldest son to burn while the *yinyang* band performs a brief percussion coda. The (living) kin now move into a circle around the treasuries; the treasuries are then ignited, and the kin, holding hands, parade in an anti-clockwise circle around it, while the shawm band play. This circular parade is common in the area south of the Baideng bridge, where the 2003 funeral I describe took place; north of the bridge, nearer Yanggao town, the kin commonly kowtow.

After the treasuries have been reduced to ashes, all proceed back towards the soul hall, the shawm band playing again, the *yinyang* now playing *shengguan* pieces, while the kin set little lights on the ground at the side of the track at intervals to show the ancestors the way back. From Li Qing's prescription for a three-day funeral above, I wonder if this is a further condensed amalgamation of Escorting the Lanterns,

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Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie 4 (1988): 39–40, 57–58. See also Anna Seidel, "Buying One's Way to Heaven: The Celestial Treasury in Chinese Religions," *History of Religions* 17.3/4 (1978): 419–431. Cf. the modest contract implied in the amount of water poured for Fetching Water.

[58] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, DVD, A7.

when the *yinyang* lead the kin on a Report to the Temple (*baomiao*).[59] Indeed, Burning the Treasuries may also be combined with a Report to the Temple, as I saw at another funeral in 2003. At a funeral I attended in 1991, the shawm band was ritually "impeded" (*lan* 攔) on the return journey, surrounded by boisterous village men and cajoled into playing pop pieces on demand.

When they arrive back at the host household, the altar table is set down outside the gate as the shawm band and *yinyang* finish playing. Finally, the *yinyang* sing a hymn accompanied by ritual percussion, while the kin again kneel in facing rows and burn paper spirit-money.

The lengthy **Transferring Offerings** (*zhuanxian*) ritual,[60] the climax of the evening rituals, is a "feast for the ghosts, the dead ancestors." The coffin rests directly inside the open main central door of the deceased's house. Before it is a small altar table; before that, on the floor, is a bowl for burning paper spirit-money. Outside the house, directly in front of the coffin, is a large altar table, laden with offerings, under an awning. The *yinyang* sit or stand around this altar table, and the kin kneel before it. The Daoists used to wear their black costumes for this ritual but have dispensed with formal costumes since the end of the Cultural Revolution.

Transferring Offerings consists of three sections (*ji* 記), during which offerings are transferred from the large altar table to the smaller altar table directly in front of the coffin. Meanwhile two grand-daughters, kneeling before the coffin, burn paper spirit-money in the bowl on the floor, while the oldest son kneels before the large altar table, and other kin kneel on both sides and kowtow in turns. When the chief *yinyang* calls out instructions to present offerings in turn, the oldest son goes to kneel at the threshold before the coffin, while helpers place bowls of offerings from the large altar table onto a tray, covering them with a cloth; the tray is then balanced on his head until all the bowls of offerings are moved onto the small altar table directly in front of the coffin. The son then returns to his place kneeling before the large altar table.

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[59] For the lighting of lanterns to show the way back to the soul hall in Shaanbei, though without Daoists, see Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China, vol. 2: Shaanbei*, with DVD, 178–179, 185–186, and DVD, B4, D5.

[60] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, DVD, A8.

During this sequence of offerings, the shawm band and the *yinyang* perform alternately. The shawm band stand (or sit) to one side, while the *yinyang* sit facing each other on both sides of the altar table, wind instruments on the left, percussion on the right. After the shawm band has played a medley of pieces, the *yinyang* then perform a sequence of hymns with *shengguan* accompaniment, linked by brief percussion interludes, beginning with the magnificent solemn slow hymn *Yici zhenling* 以此振鈴 ("Hereby shaking the bell"). The chief *yinyang* officiant then intones a series of commands to "Present offerings" (tea, fruit, liquor, vegetables, and so on) and, while the shawm band plays another medley, the eldest son kneels before the coffin, and bowls of offerings (covered with a cloth) are placed on a tray which he balances on his head, as the bowls are moved to the table before the coffin. To mark the end of the first section, the chief *yinyang* shouts "Play the Grand Music!" (*Zou Dayue* 奏大樂) and the shawm band plays the "suite" *Jiangjun ling* 將軍令, as prescribed, while the mourners kowtow in turn.

For the second section, the whole sequence is repeated; this time the first hymn performed by the *yinyang* is *Shi baoen* 十報恩 ("Ten Repayments for kindness"). The kin continue to kowtow in turn, while the grand-daughters continue to burn paper spirit-money before the coffin as more offerings are transferred onto the altar table at the coffin. The shawm band marks the end of the second section with the "suite" (*Shang qiaolou* 上巧樓).

Whereas the first two sequences consisted of five offerings, for the final section eight offerings are made. This time the first hymn of the *yinyang* is *Shi miezui* 十滅罪 ("Ten absolutions of sin"). For their finale the *yinyang* first play a percussion piece while the kin again kowtow, then an upbeat instrumental suite, accelerating rapidly, including a popular "mountain piece" (*shanqu* 山曲) from nearby Inner Mongolia, for which the leading *guanzi* player also plays the *mahao* 麻號, a short curved trumpet.

Then in a strangely perfunctory **Dispensing Food** (*shishi*) ritual, the *yinyang* officiant scatters bread for the lonely souls (*guhun* 孤魂) before the main altar table while reciting a brief text. As his colleagues begin a simple pattern on drum and small cymbals, an equally perfunctory **Escorting Away the Lonely Souls** (*songgu*) ritual follows, the *yinyang* leading the oldest son a little way along the road outside the house (nominally towards a crossroads in the direction of the earlier Invitation)

to burn paper spirit-money, the *yinyang* following with percussion patterns. The whole sequence finishes around midnight. The simplicity of this Bestowing Food ritual now contrasts with the lengthy *yankou* that was once the climax of the nocturnal rituals.

In another local variant, Transferring Offerings is performed at different times north and south of Baideng bridge. South of the bridge, it is generally performed after the opera ends, from about 10 p.m. to midnight; if there is no opera, then the shawm band plays popular pieces instead—this is called *guoling* Crossing the Soul. North of the bridge, they do Transferring Offerings first, then a lengthy Crossing the Soul deep into the night.

On the morning of the **Burial**, the coffin is first prepared for removal from the house.[61] While one *yinyang* directs the son to kowtow as the coffin is sealed with nails and prepared with heavy ropes, the shawm band plays briefly, standing in the courtyard. The *yinyang* wields a bundle of *gaoliang* stalks and a cleaver as he exorcizes the dwelling, and then smashes a bowl (*dawan* 打碗 or *zhanwan* 斬碗) on the floor (marking the end of the son's duties to feed his parent). The coffin is then lifted out of the house and the shawm band (now standing outside the gate) plays again until it is lowered to the ground in the alley outside. The coffin-bearers then prepare the coffin inside the handsome palanquin, fixing the poles on which it is to be borne. Little yellow paper talismans (*fulu* 符籙) are distributed to avert evil; as I make my video, one is lodged in my ear to protect me too.

As the coffin is lifted up and the procession starts, the two shawm bands play again, and female kin wail on cue, continuing to do so at intervals throughout the procession to the grave. Firecrackers are set off at the head of the procession, and the shawm bands and *yinyang* (the latter now in their red costumes) follow, playing alternately. Then come helpers bearing the soul pennant and paper offerings; then the male kin in single file, linked together by a long hemp rope over their shoulders; then the coffin; and lastly the female kin wailing behind it.

The procession first goes as far as the main village square, where the coffin is put down before a large crowd of villagers. The shawm bands take up a place to one side at some distance, while *yinyang* and

[61] Ibid., A9.

kin "circle the soul" (*raoling* 繞靈), the *yinyang* playing a free selection of fast pieces including pop. Firecrackers are let off, the large assembled crowd is showered with candies, while the shawm bands play pop. Eventually the male and female kin kneel in two rows facing each other to burn paper spirit-money, and the soul pennant is waved as the son smashes a second bowl (*jiao zhipen* 教紙盆), the female kin wailing on cue.

Thus two bowls are smashed: the first, privately, by the chief *yinyang* as the coffin is taken out of the house, to show the end of food for the deceased; the second (in which incense and paper spirit-money were burnt) by the son in the public square.[62]

The procession sets off again towards the grave in the fields outside the village, the shawm bands and *yinyang* accompanying only as far as the edge of the village. While the other members of the *yinyang* band return to their scripture hall, only one senior *yinyang* attends at the grave, performing necessary rituals such as checking the *fengshui* alignment with his *luopan* compass.

The basic vocal repertoire, as I mentioned, conists of *zantan* hymns, some accompanied only by the percussion, some further by the magnificent sound of *shengguan*. In this area, few are in the standard *zan* hymn structure of 4–4–7–5–4–5 words. They refer to some of these songs by formal titles, such as *Shi miezui*, *Yi zhandeng* 一盞燈, *Taishang song* 太上誦, *Liuju zan* 六句讚, *Fengxian xiang* 奉獻香, and so on. But many more are named by their opening words, such as *Yuqie jing* (*Shi baoen* 十報恩), *Wu jin beitan* 吾今悲嘆, *Yici zhenling* 以此振鈴, and the magnificent *Zhongzhong wuming* 種種無名, also known as Q*izi zhenyan* 七字真言 (seven-character mantra). The latter four songs are all part of the "standard" *yankou* rituals of Daoist and Buddhist temples,[63] but are performed separately in several rituals in Yanggao.

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[62] Much could be, and probably has been, written about smashing the bowl in Chinese funerals: for just one example from old Beijing, see Chang, *Hongbai xishi*, 403–406.

[63] The *Shi baoen* is performed near the end of the Buddhist *yankou*: Ling Haicheng 1986, *yankou* manual, 106a–b. For *Wujin beitan* in the Daoist *yankou*, see Min, *Quanzhen zhengyun puji*, 177–180; idem, *Daojiao yifan*, 178; and in south Hebei, Yuan, *Hebei judu daojiao fashi yinyue*, 179–181. *Yici zhenling* is the introduction to the *Kulou zhenyan* in the *zhaoqing* segment of the (Buddhist) *yankou*: Chang,

The sequence of *shengguan* pieces without vocal liturgy, in long suites, is also closely prescribed.

Less Common Rituals

A major element in the choice of the common two-day or the now rare three-day funeral program, apart from a modern history of political restrictions, is the relative economic means of the host family or community—rituals like Crossing the Bridges are expensive, as we shall see. The fuller sequence is still sometimes performed when the host family wants to put on a grand show, as in a funeral around 1990 for the mother of a mine-boss in Xinghe county over the border in Inner Mongolia.[64] The abbreviation of the funeral from three to two days necessitated a streamlining, a readjustment to include the core elements; but as we now see, much has been lost. On one hand, ritual programmes are not static—apart from synchronic variation (in line with factors such as the means and social status of the host family, age and gender of the deceased, season and weather, geographical layout of the home and the village), we cannot assume a timeless historical constancy before the reductions of the 20th century. But the latter were doubtless on an unprecedented scale.

I saw the magnificent **Dispatching the Pardon** (*fangshe*) ritual at a funeral in Yanggao in 1991; it was already becoming rare by then, although it is still occasionally required.[65] The *yinyang* have constructed

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Hongbai xishi, 324; Ling, *Yankou* manual, 63b (cf. 53a); Yuan Jingfang, *Zhongguo fojiao jing yinyue yanjiu* 中國佛教京音樂研究 (Study of the "capital music" of Chinese Buddhism) (Taipei: Ciji wenhua chubanshe, 1997), 216–217. For *Zhongzhong wuming*, see Min, *Quanzhen zhengyun puji*, 37; Min, *Daojiao yifan*, 171; among folk versions, see for example, JCI Gansu, *Zhongguo minzu minjian qiyuequ jicheng, Gansu juan* 中國民族民間器樂曲集成 · 甘肅卷 (Anthology of folk instrumental pieces of the Chinese peoples, Gansu vol.) (Beijing: Zhongguo ISBN zhongxin, 1997), 768–773, for its rendition in Zhangye, Gansu.

[64] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, 29.

[65] For the Pardon in Fujian and Taiwan, see Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*, 202–215; Kenneth Dean, "Funerals in Fujia," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4 (1988): 45, 52–53; idem, "Lei Yu-sheng (Thunder is

an open-air altar in a large clearing in the middle of the village near the funerary site, using tables, benches, and planks. On this structure are placed in a row five "palaces" for Yuhuang, the Three Officers (sanguan 三官, for heaven, earth, and water), and Ziwei 紫微—small paper images mounted on stalks of *gaoliang* inserted into large rectangular *dou* 斗 bowls filled with grain. Just below the central palace to Yuhuang is an altar table bearing the soul tablet, and below that, a long table around which the *yinyang* will stand. Further behind, facing the five palaces, a long platform has been built on which tables are placed. The ritual is in two main parts: presenting the offerings from the altar table, and announcing and burning the writs of pardon from the platform.

The *yinyang* proceed once more from their scripture hall, playing percussion and conch, first paying a brief visit to the soul hall. They then lead the kin on an elaborate winding procession around the whole ritual arena to purify it. Virtually all the villagers have gathered round. Acting as intermediary for the kin standing or kneeling in a row behind him, the chief celebrant Li Qing, wielding his wooden Daoist placard and sounding a hand-bell and a *qing* 磬 bowl on the table, now faces the altars and presents offerings to each of the five deities in turn. The tray of offerings is at first placed on the table of the *yinyang*; after a choral hymn accompanied only by the ritual percussion, its verses punctuated by patterns on *nao* and *bo* cymbals, the tray is handed down to the oldest son of the deceased. Li Qing recites a text and then takes the offerings in turn from the tray, handing them up towards the altars by way of the altar tray in front of the central palace. Each time he does so, the instrumentalists, standing around the main altar table, play a short piece—this is one of the few occasions when the *dizi* 笛子 flute is played, replacing the *guanzi* oboe—and the *yinyang* sing another hymn.

For the transfer of the second set of offerings, Li Qing climbs up onto the table, wielding placard and bell, and the *yinyang* sing hymns (now accompanied by majestic *shengguan*) as he places the offerings

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Noisy) in the Theatrical and Funerary Traditions of Fukien," in *Ritual Opera, Operatic Ritual: "Mu-lien Rescues his Mother" in Chinese Popular Culture*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley, CA: University of California, publications of the Chinese popular culture project, 1, 1989), 59–61; cf. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), 403–404. For the Pardon within the "standard" *yankou*, see Min, *Daojiao yifan*, 175–176.

before the central palace. He kneels on the table and makes obeisances with his placard while the cymbals play interludes.

Then, taking all their ritual and musical instruments with them, the *yinyang* ascend the platform behind, standing in a long line before a row of tables to face the altars. After a long percussion prelude, the three central *yinyang* don "five-Buddha hats." Li Qing and Liu Zhong, in the middle, solemnly read out the lengthy pardon slips (*shetiao* 赦條) to the deities (Photo 8), fold them up, and place them in large envelopes, handing them down to the kin, again accompanied by the ensemble with *dizi*. Li Qing told us there were one hundred pardon slips, but thankfully they are combined into a few documents.

Photo 8: The Pardon ritual during a funeral at Greater Antan village, Yanggao 1991. Liu Zhong recites one of the pardon writs from platform, Li Qing next on our left; far right, their young disciple Wu Mei. Note conch on table on left. The funeral family awaits below to take the writs and burn them for the gods.

The main *guanzi* player, the splendid Liu Zhong, standing to the left of Li Qing, then leads a protracted clowning sequence ("fooling around" *shuashua* 耍耍 or "catching the tiger" *zhuo laohu* 捉老虎), playing two *guanzi* alternately and at once, dismantling his instruments while playing them, playing a whistle in his mouth, pretending to pluck snot from Li Qing's nose and smear it over the face of the *sheng* player on his left,

replacing the latter's cap with a cymbal, putting on false eyes, and making ribald gestures with a *mahao*, a small telescopic curved trumpet. Li Qing and the others try to keep a straight face throughout. Finally the *yinyang* descend from the platform, parade around the altars again playing *shengguan*, and Li Qing guides the kin in the ritual burning of the memorials, *dizi* again replacing *guanzi* in the accompanying instrumental music. They then retire to their scripture hall to rest and prepare for the next ritual.

The clowning sequence is also performed for the *panhu* ritual (read above); indeed, there is some dispute whether the Daoists learnt it from the shawm bands or vice versa, but in either case it goes back well before living memory. As in the Pardon ritual of Fujian and Taiwan, I suppose it represents the mockery of all the ghosts and officials from whose clutches the deceased is to escape on the journey to paradise, though the Yanggao Daoists do not articulate such a specific significance; its most obvious function is to provide comic relief.

In Fujian and Taiwan the Pardon precedes the Assault on Hell, and indeed in Li Qing's grandfather's day they also performed Smashing the Hells (*poyu* 破獄), as well as Roaming in Paradise (*youlian* 遊蓮), but by the 1980s even master Daoists like Li Qing couldn't recreate them. The latter ritual, by the way, is still commonly performed by the household Quanzhen Daoists of Tianzhen and Shuozhou nearby.

For *kaifang* Opening the Quarters (*pao wufang* Chasing Round the Five Quarters),[66] a large ritual arena is prepared, with each of the five quarters represented by five tables stacked up. On each of these is a rectangular *dou* bowl in which are placed *gaoliang* stalks representing the "holy trees" (*shenshu* 神樹) for the gods: the "emperors" (*di* 帝) presiding over east, south, central, west, and north quarters are respectively blue (*qing* 青), red (*chi* 赤), yellow (*huang* 黃), white (*bai* 白) and black (*hei* 黑). After a vocal chant, they chase ever faster through the arena as they perform acrobatics with "flying cymbals" (*feibo, feinao* 飛鈸, 飛鐃). Finally they assemble at the central altar and sing the hymn *Guangming zan* 光明讚.

Crossing the Bridges (*duqiao*) was also rare in this area by the 1980s. Below we find other areas with further material, but Li Qing gave

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[66] Only briefly mentioned as an option in the "standard" ritual of Min, *Daojiao yifan*, 170.

a detailed prescription. Two bridges were constructed, each using four or five horse-carts, without the wheels, which were turned upside-down and placed in a long line. Wooden planks were placed on top of them to simulate a bridge; white cloth decorated with waves trailed from the sides. A group of at least nine beggars was then hired; their leader had to be able to sing the Mantra for Crossing the Bridges (*Guoqiao zhou* 過橋咒). (It is still eminently possible to find beggars—they routinely show up at weddings and funerals to sing a few songs.)[67] The beggar leader dressed up as the "big ghost," wearing a five-feet-tall hat of white paper[68]—this has an obvious modern secular reflection in the dunce's cap of the Cultural Revolution, though both appear to go back to punishments of imperial times. The hat had the characters "responsible for great ritual" (*dang dashi* 當大事) on the front, and the name Zhang Guangcai 張廣才 on the back.[69] The other eight, the "little ghosts," wore hats three feet tall. In pairs, they stood guard at the ends of the bridges while the big ghost directed them from on top of the bridges.

The *yinyang* now led out the kin, followed by the two shawm bands. First they paraded round the bridges, and then the *yinyang* led them to the head of the silver bridge, singing the Opening the Bridge Scripture (*Kaiqiao jing* 開橋經). The male kin then gave some cash to the big ghost for permission to cross the bridge while singing the mantra, and both male and female kin "bribed" the little ghosts to let them onto the bridge. Throughout the slow journey of the kin across the narrow planks, the beggars could extort more cash from them so they would not impede their progress. The hapless kin also had to shower the onlookers with

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[67] Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, DVD, A1.

[68] Cf. the hat of the "dead ghosts" in Baifu, Wu'an county, Hebei: photo, Zhao, *Kuanghuan yu richang*, 256.

[69] An anonymous reviewer kindly points out the term *dang dashi* used for funerals in Hunan: http://www.tianya.cn/publicforum/content/no04/b700e3cc9e9619808eef604826cd70fb/1/0/1.shtml. All I can find about Zhang Guangcai is that he features in the *Pipa ji* 琵琶記, on which the Beijing opera *Sao songxia shu* 掃松下書 and other operas like *Zhao Wuniang* 趙五娘 are based. There must be a local dramatic source, but I haven't yet found him in any Shanxi dramatic genres. He is a model of righteous behavior, entrusted with sweeping the tomb of the parents of a distant grand official.

cigarettes, candies, and coins. The little ghosts demanded a further bribe to allow them to emerge from the other end of the bridge. The beggars also "impeded" the two shawm bands on the bridge and demanded that they compete in playing popular pieces for the crowd; the crowd threw clods of earth at the band they considered less accomplished. This section alone could take several hours, and the shawm bands naturally demanded a very high price from the host for this ritual. The whole process was repeated for the golden bridge. Remembering that the shawm bands were themselves right at the bottom of the pile, all this sounds like a system of social support for the less privileged members of an unequal society![70]

Escorting Lanterns (*songdeng*) and **Report to the Temple** (*baomiao*, to the Wudao miao temple) on the first evening formed a single unit. There was also a Report to the Temple on the second evening in conjunction with Burning the Treasuries, and the two may still be combined in the two-day funeral. The shawm band and the *yinyang* led the kin on a tour of the village alleys, setting out lanterns at the sites of all the temples. From a bucket, ladles of gruel were poured into vegetable leaves—the only kind of sustenance the deceased can take while still trapped at the Wudao miao 五道廟 temple. After burning paper before the temple, the kin wailed, and all returned, the shawm band and the *yinyang* playing instrumental pieces at the front of the procession. For the grand 1990 funeral mentioned above, shawm player Hua Yinshan recalled having to play on procession for five hours the first evening, seven hours on the second evening, only resting for a while, fuelled by opium, before going into a lengthy Transferring Offerings ritual.

On return to the soul hall, the Report to the Temple was followed by Beholding the Lanterns (*guandeng*). Until the 1940s, 365 lanterns were placed at the soul hall for all the days in the year, but later the number was reduced to twelve, for the twelve moons; the kin knelt as the *yinyang* recited the "Ten Kings Lantern manual" (*Shiwang deng ke* 十王燈科). This is now performed mainly for temple fairs, as the main ritual event on the evening before the final day—although even this may be omitted, since the opera attracts more of an audience.

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[70] Cf. Jones, *Ritual and Music of North China*, 14.

At the 2003 Lower Liangyuan temple fair, after supper the younger *yinyang* rehearse the Beholding the Lanterns manual in their scripture hall. They still sometimes perform this ritual for funerals, but the version required tonight is a "Wishing Longevity" (*zhushou* 祝壽) Beholding the Lanterns, also called Spreading Flowers (*canhua* 參花), for the temple's patron deity Hulaoye. It is more complex, and they are less familiar with it, so they have to rely more on the manual, with its unfamiliar characters—prompting some last-minute swotting.

The ritual eventually begins at 9:15 p.m. In the courtyard at the entrance to the main temple a table is set up, around which the *yinyang* will sit. First they pay a ritual visit to the kitchen to collect the eight offerings (*baxian* 八獻, indeed representing the eight immortals *baxian* 八仙) on a tray, performing a hymn to the Stove King—using *dizi* instead of *guanzi* again, as in the Pardon. The main ritual consists of vocal liturgy punctuated by patterns on percussion with cymbals; as the eight dishes are transferred in turn to the temple from the tray held by a temple elder kneeling before the table, the *yinyang* play brief instrumental pieces. When the offerings are complete, twelve candles are lit on the table (again a paltry replacement for the former 365 lanterns), and the lantern manual is recited, hymns now accompanied by fine *shengguan*.[71]

So their modern ritual practice is dominated by funerals. Of the rituals in Li Qing's funerary manuals, several were no longer known by the 1980s (if not earlier), such as *yubao chenghuang* 預報城隍, *youlian*, and *poyu*. We can now also glean only sparse clues from his manuals for other rituals, such as the pestilence rituals *zhubaiyu* and *ranghuangwen*, and most of those for temple and earth scriptures..

Thanking the Earth (*xietu*) and rituals for well-being (*ping'an jing*) have become quite rare, though both are still sometimes performed in the winter. Thanking the Earth should be performed for illness or crisis, and for the pledging and fulfilling of vows—it was for individual households, not for the community. They did it frequently before Liberation, but it had rarely been required since the 1980s, and the accounts of senior Daoists were largely prescriptive. The sequence sounds like a combination of elements from both temple fairs and

[71] For more on various types of lantern rituals in north China, see Jones, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China*.

funerals, which are anyway not dissimilar. Scriptures include the *Laojun jing* 老君經, *Bafang shenzhou* 八方神咒, *Yuhuang jing* 玉皇經, *Yansheng chan* 延生懺, and *Xietu jing* 謝土經. On the first day they go on the Fetching Water procession in the afternoon, and perform Beholding the Lanterns in the evening. On the second day, after a *xiewu* 謝午 Noon Thanksgiving ritual, in the afternoon they recite the *Zhenwu chan* 真武懺 and play the *shengguan* suite *Mayulang* 罵玉郎. They then "depict the earth altar" (*hua tutan* 畫土壇, or "depict the citadel" *huacheng* 畫城), a type of mandala (earth citadel *tucheng* 土城); they recite the Earth Ritual (*tuke* 土科, or Earth Scripture *tujing* 土經) and pace the steps of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步). In the evening, after an Offering to the Stove (*jizao* 竈灶), they rest before Dispensing Food (*shishi*) and finally Escorting Away the Orphan Souls (*songgu*).

3. Conclusion

I have focused here on household Zhengyi Daoists, since they are common yet little-known in north China. But as my book further illustrates several different situations for ritual among the folk, I will conclude with some brief reflections on the overall scene.

While religious activity remains widespread in north China, and my book adds substantially to our list of Daoists (and other liturgical performers) there, I do not mean to overstate the presence of either general religious activity or Daoist liturgy. Daoist ritual specialists are very common in some areas, like north Shanxi, south Hebei, and pockets of Gansu; in some areas the performers we found seemed thin on the ground; and some areas seem to have no ritual groups at all. But the north Chinese ritual iceberg whose tip I have outlined was much larger only a few decades ago, even if both current and previous icebergs are smaller than those of the southeast.

I deduce that household occupational traditions, like those introduced above, are the norm, in north just as in south China. But until the 1950s there were also plenty of temple-dwelling priests (both Quanzhen and Zhengyi) throughout north China, mostly in small local temples whose staff was so small that in order to perform rituals among the folk they had to collaborate with priests from other temples, or train laymen. If local priests were Quanzhen, then they lived in temples, but mostly did rituals among the folk too; there were also Zhengyi temples, whose priests invariably did so. Neither Quanzhen/Zhengyi nor temple/

household statuses seem very significant issues for ritual practice. The central Hebei plain[72] is also of great interest. Though occupational practitioners are rather rare in this area, the ritual specialists of the many amateur village-wide associations learnt from temple clerics at various stages since the Ming dynasty; so here we can see paths of transmission from temple to lay practitioners, operating even as recently as the 1950s.

Goossaert, discussing late imperial China, has worthily attempted to trace a rough clerical geography for Buddhism and Daoism, Quanzhen and Zhengyi, and so on. He suggests regional patterns as well as finer gradations within a single province, and within a single county.[73] For south Fujian and Taiwan, scholars have been able to trace the diffusion of local ritual networks in modern times. Dean shows for Fujian how we might begin to comprehend ways in which early regional Daoist histories are etched into local modern practices.[74] I cannot yet see how we might undertake such a task for north china; these local traditions seem largely independent and self-contained. We always find different permutations of the diverse religious ingredients. Comparison of ritual sequences will be one useful method to trace regional connections and local characteristics.

Of course, the varied local conditions we find throughout China today are obscure heritages from imperial times, complex amalgams of factors such as topography (plains or mountains, and so on), ecology, population density, economy, poverty, proximity to major power centers and degree of penetration of élite literate culture, lineage customs, and historical migration. The Hebei plain was densely populated and near Beijing, while Shaanbei and Gansu were very sparsely populated and literati culture always had a more tenuous grasp; Shanxi Daoists may also be mainly based in the plains. All these elements are further complicated by local historical events in imperial, republican, Maoist, and reform eras. From where are stand now, the vexed history of modern times seems most germane—local politics and personalities, Japanese occupation, radical Communist leadership versus local protectionism, and so on—but imperial historians can doubtless contribute too. It is

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[72] Jones, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China*, 8.

[73] Goossaert, "Counting the Monks," 40–85, NB 63–70, and his conclusions, 78–79; cf. idem, "The Quanzhen Clergy, 1700–1950," 716–718, 734–741.

[74] Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China*, 21–45.

hard as yet to explain these variations, and we need a far more detailed body of work before anyone attempts to do so, but I look forward to such studies.

As we saw, whereas scholars of Daoism have quickly moved from privileging it as the pivot of local cultures towards identifying it as one element in a complex whole, for north China we still need to establish that it has even a basic presence in that whole. Thus while the "classical" *jiao*-type rituals are far from dominant in the southeast, even a fine summary of Daoist ritual like that of Dean[75] is virtually unrecognizable to me from my work in north China; indeed, generally the entries in both the *Daoism Handbook*[76] and the *Encyclopedia of Taoism* (ET) look more than ever like works on southeastern Daoism. It is rather as if our knowledge of Christianity in the whole of Europe were based almost entirely on Sicily and Puglia, with the odd footnote on the Vatican and Westminster Abbey. We may *like* what we find in those places, perhaps considering it more exalted, mystical, and ancient—but that is another issue. I would reinforce Dean's hint that we shouldn't take the Daoisms of south Fujian and Taiwan as some kind of standard.[77]

Detailed fieldwork is needed to reveal the diverse local terms for ritual specialists and the services they provide (my remarks on the *yinyang* are a notable case), and to put them within the context of more general religious activities. However vernacular this Daoist scene may seem, these local traditions are points along the spectrum of what Daoist ritual practice involves in China, which surely tallies with our broader modern interest in all manifestations of popular religion.

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[75] Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000).

[76] Ibid.

[77] Dean, "Taoist Ritual Today," 662.

陰陽：華北地區的在家道士與民間法事

鍾思第

摘要

對道教儀式的記錄與研究目前仍是整個道教研究的一小部分。雖然我們已經有不少有關道教儀式的田野報告，但它們大部分只涵蓋東南沿海地區（包括台灣）的伙居傳統。而在華北地區，道教往往被視為主要存在於全真宮觀內。筆者最近的專著對「民間法事在華北空空如也」這一種錯誤的認識提出質疑，田野報告顯示，民間／伙居／正一的華北地區性傳統直到二十世紀仍在傳承。

通過討論廟會與白事的法事次序，筆者的結論是，無論過去還是現在，跟華南一樣，典型的華北法事施行者，就是在家的伙居班社。而且，亦多過去住在小廟的道士，無論是全真還是正一，也是一樣如此為人做法事。

筆者注意到整個華北的北部通常以「陰陽」來稱呼民間伙居道士。本文專論晉北的陰陽伙居道士傳統，並對陽高縣東北一帶有關法師以及儀式過程細節做概述。

被認為是道教法事關鍵儀式的「醮儀」，在華北很多地方並未出現。而且，華北整個道教法事辭彙，跟長期以來壟斷我們對道教儀式印象的東南道教法事辭彙，有顯著差別。本文主要討論時至今日仍廣泛存在的華北民間道士活動。