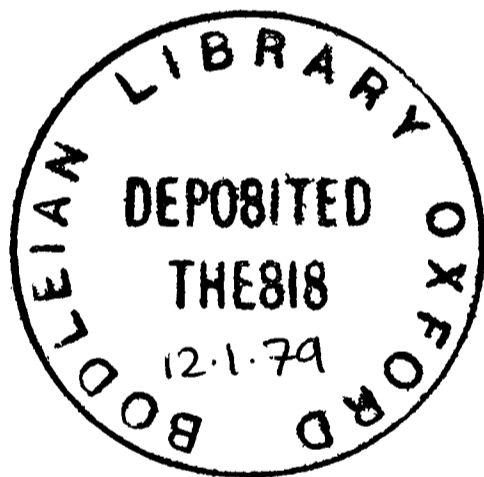


"A Study of the Jiao,
a Taoist Ritual, in Kam Tin,
in the Hong Kong New Territories."



A thesis submitted in Michaelmas Term 1977, [ie 1978]^{MT}
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College, Oxford to the Faculty Board of
Anthropology and Geography, Oxford University,
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

"A Study of the Jiao, a Taoist Ritual, in Kam Tin, in the Hong Kong New Territories."

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D. Phil.

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In this fieldwork study of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, Chapter 1 discusses the setting, showing the social system of Kam Tin, analysed in terms of genealogical and community aspects. The discussion of the genealogical aspects shows that Kam Tin does not conform to the standard model of the "lineage". The occupational structure of one of the Kam Tin villages is discussed, as well as the population of the local area. Finally, a brief introduction to the jiao, in Kam Tin a decennial ritual, is provided, showing the genealogical and community based aspects of its organisation and performance.

Chapter 2 treats the history and mythology of the Kam Tin jiao, explaining the circumstances of the early Qing history which led to its foundation.

Chapter 3 examines the organisation of the jiao in terms of committee membership, funding, and the ritual timetable.

Chapter 4 discusses the background and organisation of the ritual practitioners. These are the Ritual Leaders (chosen through a block throwing competition in the temple associated with the jiao) and the Taoist priests.

Chapter 5 discusses the preparatory rituals of the jiao, including the two rites of Memorial presentation. The relationship between the preparatory rituals and the main rites of the jiao is delineated.

Chapter 6 discusses the arrangement of the ritual area before the jiao's major rites.

Chapter 7 continues with a chronological description and analysis of the main rites of the jiao.

Chapter 8 discusses the jiao rites taking place after the period of abstention from certain kinds of foods and sexual relations. This chapter discusses the rationale for the collection and return of divinities from specific sites during the course of the jiao.

Chapter 9 concludes the discussion by analysing the Kam Tin jiao both comparatively and on its own terms.

The jiao is shown to be a worship of deities and an act of salvation and/or placation for hungry ghosts, aimed at securing well-being and fortune for the community. On another level of analysis, however, the rites in Kam Tin are a re-ordering of an imperfect society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the result of work in Hong Kong between 1974 and 1976, most of which was spent in Kam Tin. I consequently owe a special debt to the many members of the Deng lineage of Kam Tin who provided me with information necessary for my research, showed a great deal of hospitality towards me, and, finally, allowed me to participate in the rites of the jiao, worshipping alongside the Ritual Leaders of the community, a rare privilege. Without their understanding and cooperation, this work would not have been possible.

I am also grateful to the Taoist priests who discussed the ritual issues with me, often explaining at great length the particular rites of the jiao. Without this information or the texts which were kindly lent to me, my understanding of the jiao would have been much more limited.

In addition, I would like to thank those members of the Hong Kong Government who very kindly offered assistance and advice during my fieldwork. Mr. D. Akers-Jones, the Secretary for the New Territories, and his staff were especially helpful. However, my gratitude is also due to the Agriculture and Fisheries, Census and Statistics, and Education Departments for providing me with valuable information.

Finally, I owe a debt to many academic friends who have given much useful advice; I would like to mention Dr. E. Ahern, Mr. and Mrs. E. Ardener, Mrs. Y.Y. Brown, Dr. G. Dudbridge, Dr. M. Elvin, Professor P. van der Loon, Professor R. Needham, Mr. H. Nelson, Dr. M. Topley, Miss B. Ward, and Dr. J. Watson. However, I owe a special debt to Professor M. Freedman whose tragic death occurred during my fieldwork, and to Dr. H. Baker who took over the onerous task of supervision afterwards. My thanks are also due to the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, who gave me generous financial assistance during the preparation of this thesis; to the trustees

of the Bagby Fund who gave me supplementary grants while in the field;
and to my parents who, in one way or another, gave me invaluable help.

PRELIMINARY NOTES

The romanisation in this thesis has been carried out in a number of ways. With certain exceptions, place names within the boundaries of Hong Kong have been transliterated from Cantonese, according to the official "Gazetteer of Place Names in Hong Kong Kowloon and the New Territories"; names not appearing in the Gazetteer with the exception of those of ritual sites, are romanised according to the same official Cantonese romanisation system (Eitel/Dyer-Ball). Ritual sites, names of people, and titles, together with names of places within China, have been romanised according to the official system authorised by the People's Republic of China (hanyu pinyin), according to the principles set out by the Academia Sinica (P.R.C.)⁽ⁱ⁾, Ditu Chubanshe⁽ⁱⁱ⁾, the British Standards Institution⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾, and the Association Française de Normalisation^(iv); the exceptions to this are names of places and objects which are to be found in the sixth edition of the Concise Oxford Dictionary. Such names have been considered as English. Thus 'Canton', for example, has been preferred to 'Guangzhou', and 'cheongsam' to 'changshan'.

All terms which specifically involve discussion or use of Cantonese dialects have been romanised in Cantonese according to the Eitel/Dyer-Ball system. In addition, however, the terms 'Hakka' and 'Hoklo' have been used as these are in common usage in Hong Kong and are to be found in the official Gazetteer.

If a Chinese author or editor has published his own or his journal's name in English, his own transliteration has been adopted, regardless of

- (i) Xiandai hanyu cidian, Hong Kong, 1977, passim.
(ii) Hanyu pinyin "Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo ditu" diming suoyin, Peking, 1974.
(iii) British Standards Institution: Guide to the romanization of Chinese, London, forthcoming.
(iv) Association Française de Normalisation: Romanisation du Chinois: 2ème partie, La Pratique du Pinyin, Paris, forthcoming.

the system to which this conforms.

A glossary has been provided for Chinese terms at the end of the thesis. If an author or editorial committee has decided to use simplified characters, they have been given both in the glossary and the bibliography. This conforms with the standards now employed in the British Library.

* * * * *

Two sets of terms are not discussed at length in the thesis; these are Xin'an/Bao'an and xiang. Xin'an and Bao'an are used interchangeably as the names for the County (xian) out of which the Colony of Hong Kong was carved. Xin'an was the name of the County from 1573 to the time of the Republic when the name reverted back to Bao'an which it had been between 331 and the Sui dynasty (established in 581). Many of these details are set out in the introduction to the 1820 edition of the County Gazetteer (Chongxiu Xin'an Xianzhi).

Xiang is a term which is hard to define. In ordinary conversation it refers to an area. As such it can mean a group of villages, a country, or region.

* * * * *

Dates have been converted according to the Zhongguo lishi niandai jianbiao. This means that there are some inconsistencies with the western dates normally given. Thus the edition of the County Gazetteer mentioned above is, in fact, the same text as the 1819 edition cited in other works.

* * * * *

The unit of currency used in this thesis is the Hong Kong Dollar. During my stay the value of Sterling depreciated quite considerably against the H.K. Dollar, falling from \$11.60 to the Pound to \$8.15. At the time of the main sequence of jiao rites, the exchange rate was approximately \$10 to the Pound Sterling.

PREFACE

The research into this thesis was in many ways an accident. In 1973 I embarked on a study from literary sources of the Duanwu Jie or Dragon Boat Festival. I aimed to expand this research into a study of the annual ritual cycle in a New Territories village. With that aim in mind, I left the U.K. in September 1974 for Hong Kong to undertake a highly intensive language laboratory course at the Hong Kong University Language Centre. My goal was to find a fieldwork site during the time spent learning Cantonese at the University. It was not until it was suggested to me that I should observe the jiao performed in Ha Tsuen (see Map 1) that I thought of undertaking research on this topic. When I observed some of the ceremonies at Ha Tsuen, I realised that here was a highly suitable subject of study for a D. Phil thesis. It was immediately apparent that the jiao would lend itself to a multi-dimensional study: there was the possibility of research into the organisation of the jiao by the community, the symbolism of the religious artefacts, and the rites themselves. One particular point interested me; that was the possibility of a contradiction in the ritual system between on the one hand the religious ideology of the community of lay participants, and the beliefs and theology of the Taoist priests on the other. In addition, a study of a jiao seemed to me to afford a means of shedding new light on problems of social organisation in the area. Instead of an analysis in terms of the familiar perspective of rites and duties - the so-called 'jural' approach - there was the possibility of interpreting patterns of social organisation through the examination of actions performed in the course of the jiao.

I then heard that Kam Tin, a community ultimately sharing the same ancestors as Ha Tsuen, was to perform a jiao in 1975. Therefore, I made contact with Mr. D. Akers-Jones, the Secretary for the New Territories, who

invited the Chairman of the Kam Tin Rural Committee (a kind of parish council) and myself to a meeting in the Hong Kong Government New Territories Administration offices in Kowloon. The Chairman then arranged for a formal meeting between the elders of the Kam Tin community and myself at the Kam Tin Rural Committee itself. Following this meeting in February 1975, arrangements were made for me to move in to live with the Clerk of the Kam Tin Rural Committee, an immigrant from Taishan County in Guangdong Province, who lived on the bottom floor of a house owned by the Head of the Clan of the Deng lineage of Kam Tin. I thus entered Kam Tin in late February 1975. Living with Mr. Chen gave me an introduction to elders who visited the Rural Committee or were associated with it. However, after the first two months I was making my own contacts among people who were not necessarily associated with the Rural Committee.

Sometimes these contacts developed as a result of people wishing letters to be written in English to Colonial administrators.

During the course of this time, I became aware of the importance of the Deng community of Kam Tin during the pre-British days, how it had taken part in the anti-British resistance in 1899 ⁽ⁱ⁾, how it had controlled large areas of land, owning territory throughout the Pat Heung valley in addition to land to the west of Yuen Long, and indeed right down to Hong Kong island. In addition, I came soon to understand that the Kam Tin jiao was in many respects quite unique, in that, as far as the Deng community was concerned, it was an act of thanksgiving to the Zhou Wang er gong, the Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi and the Governor of Guangdong, for successfully petitioning the throne to allow the locals to return after a period of forced exile in the late 17th century. Though the cult of the two officials was well-known in the area, nowhere else was it associated with a jiao.

(i) Vide: Governor's Despatch No. 93, 15.4.1899; correspondence from The Government of Hong Kong to the Secretary of State, 28.4.1899; J.H.S. Lockhart, Sixth Minute of the 17th April 1899: in Sessional Papers, Despatches and Other Papers Relating to the Extension of the Colony of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 1899, pp. 20-36.

At the same time, I came to see the organisation of the jiao as a representation of certain underlying social processes in the community; the blending of organisation based on agnatic principles and relating to lineage segmentation with processes that were more strictly of a community nature and not directly related to lineage organisation. It was precisely because of this problem of the balance between the purely community and the genealogically based principles of social organisation that I had been confused in my first few months in Kam Tin. The existing corpus of ethnography ⁽ⁱ⁾ of the area had followed Maurice Freedman's lead in determining that agnatic organisation of what was defined as the lineage was paramount in local social organisation. Consequently, when, for example, I first enquired about where the ancestral hall of Kat Hing Wai, a Kam Tin village, was, I received confused replies. It was not until later that I realised my error in assuming that the segmentation of the lineage corresponded to the process of village formation, a system of social organisation that is to be found in Ping Shan according to both Potter's ethnography ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ and my own observations. Kam Tin, on the other hand, revealed a system of cross-cutting social relationships in which community relationships are quite distinct from those of agnatic organisation. I have discussed these problems in the first chapter of this thesis. However, this revelation that Kam Tin did not conform to the standard model or models discussed or implied by Freedman and his disciples made me wish to reconsider the whole system of relationships between agnatic organisation and the formation of community relations. I mentioned above that I came to Kam Tin with the aim of studying the 1975 jiao, attracted by its unique history. However, the

(i) Vide: J.M. Potter, Capitalism and the Chinese Peasant: Social and Economic Change in a Hong Kong Village, Berkeley, 1968, passim; H.D.R. Baker, A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui, London, 1968, passim; J.L. Watson, Emigration and the Chinese Lineage, The Mans in Hong Kong and London, Berkeley, 1975.

(ii) J.M. Potter, Land and Lineage in Traditional China, in M. Freedman (ed.), Family and Kinship in Chinese Society, Stanford, 1970, pp. 121-138.

initial revelation that the relationship between community and agnatic organisation was not to be taken for granted suggested to me that the jiao might be a ritual medium of expression of that relationship. Therefore, I determined to analyse the jiao against the background of the complex Kam Tin social structure, while at the same time engaging in a study of the annual ritual cycle; this study I felt would shed light on the relationship between the ancestors, the objects of veneration and worship in the ancestral cult, and the gods of the community.

From the outset of this type of enquiry, my studies revealed that previous ethnography had been undertaken with a blinkered perspective: what had been presented was a truncated world in which, ritually, women had little or no say, and in which only the worship or veneration of ancestors merited more than superficial attention; where the relationship between community and genealogy was expressed ritually, for example, on the domestic ancestral boards in Sheung Shui described by Hugh Baker ⁽ⁱ⁾, the connection was ignored. The emphasis in the previous ethnography was on the ancestral cult. The ethnographers themselves had become victims of the ideology of filial piety. Worse still, because social organisation was taken for granted, the concept of the lineage had become so woolly as to be of little use in making precise comparisons. No one had spent much time discussing whether 'lineages' in Guangdong are the same as 'lineages' in Taiwan.

These issues came to light during my preliminary research into the Kam Tin jiao. However, during the first four months of my stay in Kam Tin, I was also able to get to know the troupe of Taoist priests, the Lin Daotang, responsible for the performances of the jiao rites. In addition, staying in the house of the Clerk of the Rural Committee afforded me the opportunity of photo-

(i) H.D.R. Baker, A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui, London, 1968, p. 62.

copying the preparatory texts, since the Clerk, a good calligrapher and a highly literate man, was assigned the unpaid duty of copying these manuscripts. By August 1975, I had been allowed to contribute money to the Kam Tin jiao, and thus to have my name added to the lists of the faithful on the Memorial. The community also made arrangements for me to sleep during the time of jiao in the matshed along with the Ritual Leaders of the community. However, at the time of the jiao, because I was observing all the rituals, I was asked to take part in the worship, acting like a Ritual Leader, even though I had not taken part in the selection ceremonies. This afforded me the opportunity of understanding both the ritual procedures and rules enforced in the community as a whole, and undertaken by the Ritual Leaders in particular. My "conversion" into a Ritual Leader was later rationalised on the grounds that I was one of only two people who had participated in all the rites of the jiao, and that, therefore, the gods had wished me to participate, otherwise I would not have had the energy to perform in the ceremonies.

Once the jiao rituals were over, now living in a flat between the northern and southern halves of Kam Tin, I continued my research into its background and analysed the many slides taken during the ceremonies. Living by myself in a place where I could entertain guests allowed the opportunity of lengthy conversations with people of all generations who, in the privacy of my flat, were able to engage in detailed discussions with me. It was during these casual conversations that much rich unrequested information was told to me, including many of the myths related in the thesis. During the same period I had many meetings with Taoist priests, some casual, some rather more formal. Before these more formal meetings a set of questions would be prepared which related to points I had noticed on examining the slides of the jiao. These questions helped me to focus on issues of particular interest. At the more formal meetings with Master Lin, the chief Taoist of the troupe which performed the

1975 jiao, I often took with me a young Deng from Kat Hing Wai who recorded my questions and the priest's responses.

In May 1976, I was able to spend a week observing the Cheung Chau jiao performed by priests who were immigrants from the Huizhou area of Guangdong province. This allowed me to ask the Taoist priests further questions concerning jiao rites.

I left the field at the end of June 1976 having been given more sending-off dinners than I can count. However, my research continued in England where, because of the large Deng community in England, I was able to obtain the answers to questions which had only occurred to me on leaving the field.

The jiao, on first sight by a non-sinologist, may seem a rather narrow subject for a doctoral dissertation. From the participants' point of view, however, it is the greatest festival in the ritual calendar. The Kam Tin Deng regard their decennial jiao as their most important festival. The fact that they conceive the jiao as being part of a decennial ritual cycle of which the ten sets of annual ritual cycles form part, goes some way to explain why the local forms of social organisation, which inform the rituals of the annual cycle of festivals, are to be observed in the preparation and performance of the jiao ritual.

I have entitled the jiao as a Taoist ritual. My reasons for doing this were that this series of rites involved the performance of ritual specialists (the Taoist priests) who chant canons withheld from public observation, and who enact rites whose performance requires lengthy training. However, my main perspective in writing this thesis was to focus on the relationship between patterns of community organisation and ritual performance. This focus, however, brought to light information relating to the change in ritual knowledge in the community and the relationship between mythology and historical fact in the explanation of the jiao rites. In my examination of these themes, I have

tried to relate the results of my enquiries to the underlying social processes in the community, and to see how these processes are mediated through the religious ideology of the Kam Tin jiao. In one sense, therefore, my study of the Kam Tin jiao qua Taoist ritual is a misnomer for, as I have indicated above, a primary focus of the thesis is the expression of community social relations in the performance of the jiao rituals.

I have hoped by my examination of one complex series of rituals as performed today in the Hong Kong New Territories to establish the basis for a fundamental rethink about the theoretical perspectives employed by anthropologists examining the local social systems of southeastern China. I think that the time has come to reappraise the validity of models of explanation which ab initio predicate the overriding importance of certain aspects of Chinese rural life (for example, agnatic organisation and the ancestral cult) at the expense of other features of social life which, as I argue in the thesis, are expressed in community forms of ritual in which women participate. An example of the distortions which this biased perspective encouraged is shown by Freedman's suggestion, when I was about to leave for the field, that I might study jiao which were "periodic ancestral rites".

This thesis is consequently an attempt to move away from the glib acceptance of theoretical dogma about Chinese social organisation to a methodology in which the translation of the indigenous culture and the problems associated with that translation are considered paramount.

Chapter 1. Introduction.

1. The Setting: Kam Tin as a Lineage.

The site of the performance of this decennial jiao was Kam Tin, a group of Cantonese speaking villages spread out over an area of about four square miles between half and two miles east of Yuen Long, and about eleven miles north-west of Kowloon, as the crow flies (see Maps 1 and 2). These villages (see Maps 3 and 4) considered by Kam Tin Deng to be Kat Hing Wai, Ko Po Tsuen, Tai Hong Wai, Tai Hong Tsuen, Ying Lung Wai, Tsz Tong Tsuen, Wing Lung Wai, Kam Hing Wai, Shui Tau Tsuen, Shui Mei Tsuen, and Kam Kin Shi, (some people also adding Kat Hing Tsuen, a small hamlet outside the walls of Kat Hing Wai) contain the descendants of one ancestor, a man called Deng Hongyi, who was an adult at the time of accession of the first Ming Emperor (1368). (i)

On the face of it, then, Kam Tin is what has been called a lineage. It is worthwhile at this stage to pursue a discussion of this term as it has an important bearing on understanding the social context of the Kam Tin jiao. Freedman, who was responsible for developing the theory of lineage organisation as applied to the Chinese context, first gave the term "lineage" a content defined by relationship with networks of agnatic authority. (ii) In a later work, however, Freedman made the distinction between three sets of telescoping agnatic groups. (iii) First, he concentrated on the "local lineage", a term he applied to a group defined by descent from a common male ancestor, living in a specific and compact settlement area. Then, basing his analysis on studies of the Deng settlement in Ping Shan carried out by Potter in 1962-63,

(i) Sung H.-P.: Lingyun Si shi: in Lingyun Foxue Yanjiushe wu zhou jinian kan, Hong Kong, 1939, p. 85; also Deng H.Q. (ed.): Shijiantang jiapu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1966: sections on clan history.

(ii) M. Freedman: Lineage Organisation in Southeastern China, London, 1965, passim.

(iii) M. Freedman: Chinese Lineage and Society, Fukien and Kwangtung, London, 1971.

he defined the "sub-lineage" as a territorially confined segment of the "local lineage". (i) From these two definitions, Freedman went on to typify the "higher order lineage", to define that group of local lineages having a common ancestor, and which like the "local lineages" of which it is composed, is "focused on an ancestral hall, or other piece of property". (ii) After this, Freedman defined the clan as a group where

"lineages of like surname may be tied together genealogically but are not members of an enduring group with common interests and activities." (iii)

This contrasts with the earlier and less strong position, namely that:

"Nearly everywhere in China the more or less compact village formed a basic unit of rural society. The clan (as the lineage is often called in the literature) was usually but one section of a village. In the provinces of Fukien [Fujian] and Kwangtung [Guangdong], however, the lineage and the village tended markedly to coincide, so that many villages consisted of single lineages." (iv)

This was a more sensible position since it left open the balance and arrangement between village organisation and kinship-orientated structures based on common descent from an agnatic ancestor. I shall call these two bases, for want of better terms, the community basis and the genealogical basis. Separating these two potential bases of social organisation in this way, we can see that Freedman confused them by making village organisation dependent on agnatic kinship. Because he saw that settlements in specific areas could be established on the basis of agnatic descent, and encouraged by Potter's work, he assumed that divisions within such settlement patterns must be based on the same agnatic principle; since he saw that many communities were compact, he took this as a defining feature of his model. In other words, Freedman took the existing ethnography as the basis for his paradigm;

(i) Freedman (1971), pp. 19-20

(ii) Freedman (1971), p. 21.

(iii) Ibid.

(iv) Freedman (1965), p. 1.

he did this, instead of advancing from the more flexible position of his earlier monography to the postulation of different bases of social organisation potentially cross-cutting each other. The significance of these remarks will become clear in the discussion below.

We have seen that the Deng in Kam Tin's villages are descendants of a Yuan-Ming common ancestor. This, however, is far from the full story. The Kam Tin genealogies make a distinction between those ancestors who lived before the entry into Guangdong Province, and those who belong to the Guangdong division. They claim that Deng Hanfu who was originally classified as the first generation ancestor of the Guangdong division was the first to come to this Province from Jishui County, Ji'an Prefecture in Jiangxi Province. The genealogies record that in A.D. 973 this ancestor came and selected a settlement site at Kam Tin. (i)

However, the text adds that the Elders considered that the first ancestor to come to Guangdong Province was Deng Fuxie who became a jinshi graduate in 1069; these Elders considered that this ancestor was the first to come to Kam Tin, and drew on the text of the memorial stone of Deng Hanfu's son and the local gazetteers for evidence. Such lack of clarity was reflected in the oral information given to me in Kam Tin: some informants considered that Deng Hanfu was the first ancestor; others that Deng Fuxie had brought the bones of Deng Hanfu and the intermediate ancestors to be buried in the area surrounding Kam Tin. Some informants had never heard of Deng Hanfu. There are texts, however, produced by Kam Tin and Ha Tsuen Deng (who are also descendants of these ancestors), which state that Deng Fuxie came to Kam Tin at the beginning of the twelfth century; the Ha Tsuen text gives this date as 1103; the Kam Tin one gives the date as about 1106. (ii)

The genealogies counting system was later altered so that the seventh generation after Deng Hanfu was taken as the first generation. This switch

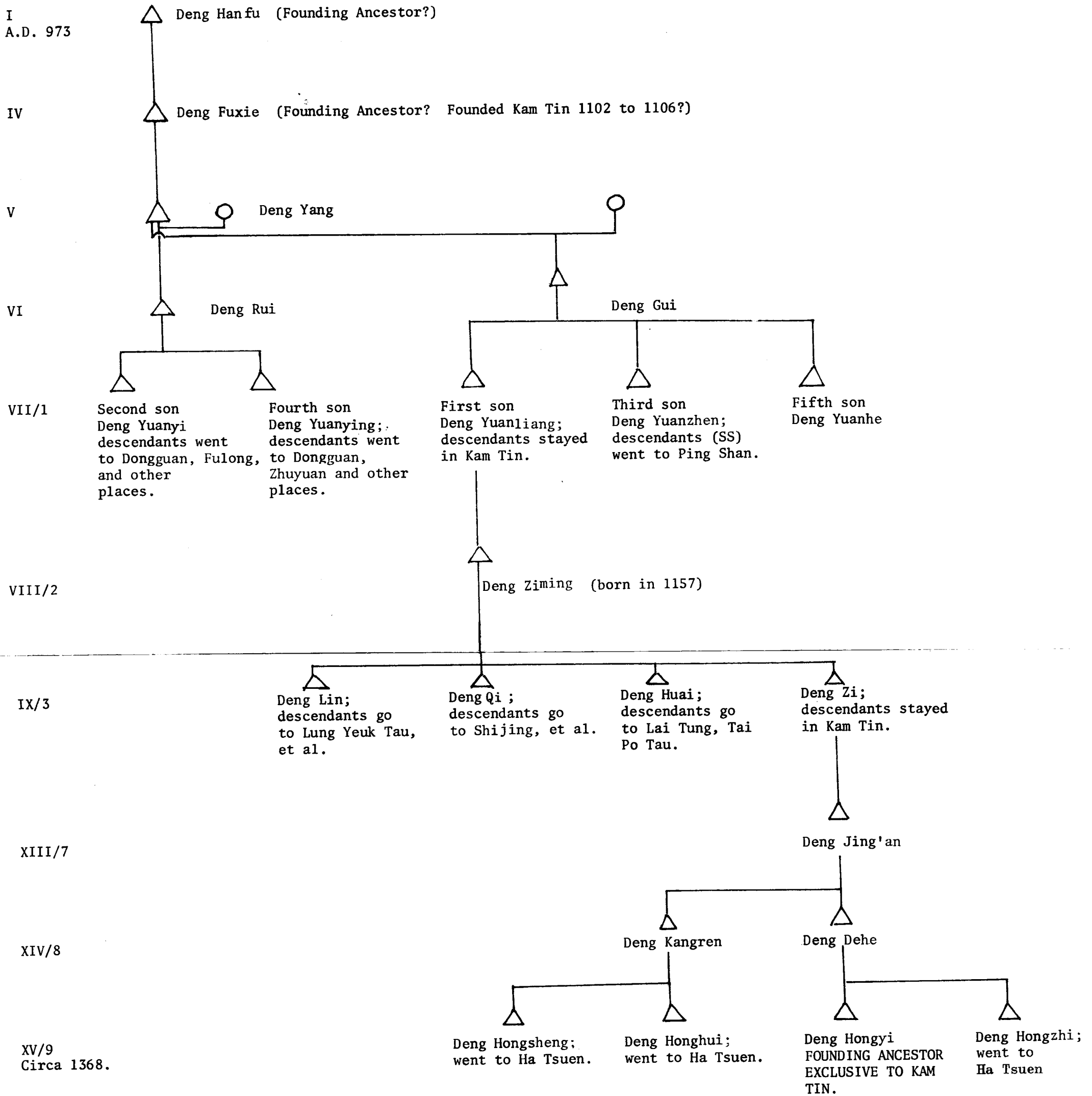
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- (i) Dengshi zongpu in Deng H.Q. (ed.): Shijiantang jiapu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1966.
- (ii) Xiacun Xiangyue jiayan nian jianjiao tekan, Ha Tsuen, 1974?; and Jintian Xiang Kangle Zhongxinji Shizihui Tushushi kaimu tekan, Kam Tin, 1972?

is of interest because there were five ancestors of this generation: the three sons of Deng Rui and the two sons of Deng Gui; Deng Rui and Deng Gui were both sons (by different mothers) of Deng Yang. The five ancestors who are the agnatic grandchildren of Deng Yang are called the Five Great Fang Ancestors (wudafang taigong). This is so because they are the ancestors of all the local Deng settlements whether within the New Territories or in the Mainland. Deng Yuanliang, one of the Five Great Fang ancestors, was the father of Deng Ziming born in 1157 ⁽ⁱ⁾ who married a daughter of Song Gaozong, who fled to Kam Tin as a result of civil war which had begun in 1129. Deng Ziming is credited with being the ancestor of the Four Great Fang (Sidafang) whose individual ancestors are Deng Ziming's four sons: Lin, Qi, Huai, and Zi. Only the fourth son's descendants stayed in Kam Tin, until one division moved to Ha Tsuen six generations later, leaving the descendants of Deng Hongyi as the only remaining Deng in Kam Tin.

These genealogical relationships are set out in the following chart which has been compiled from a variety of local sources. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾

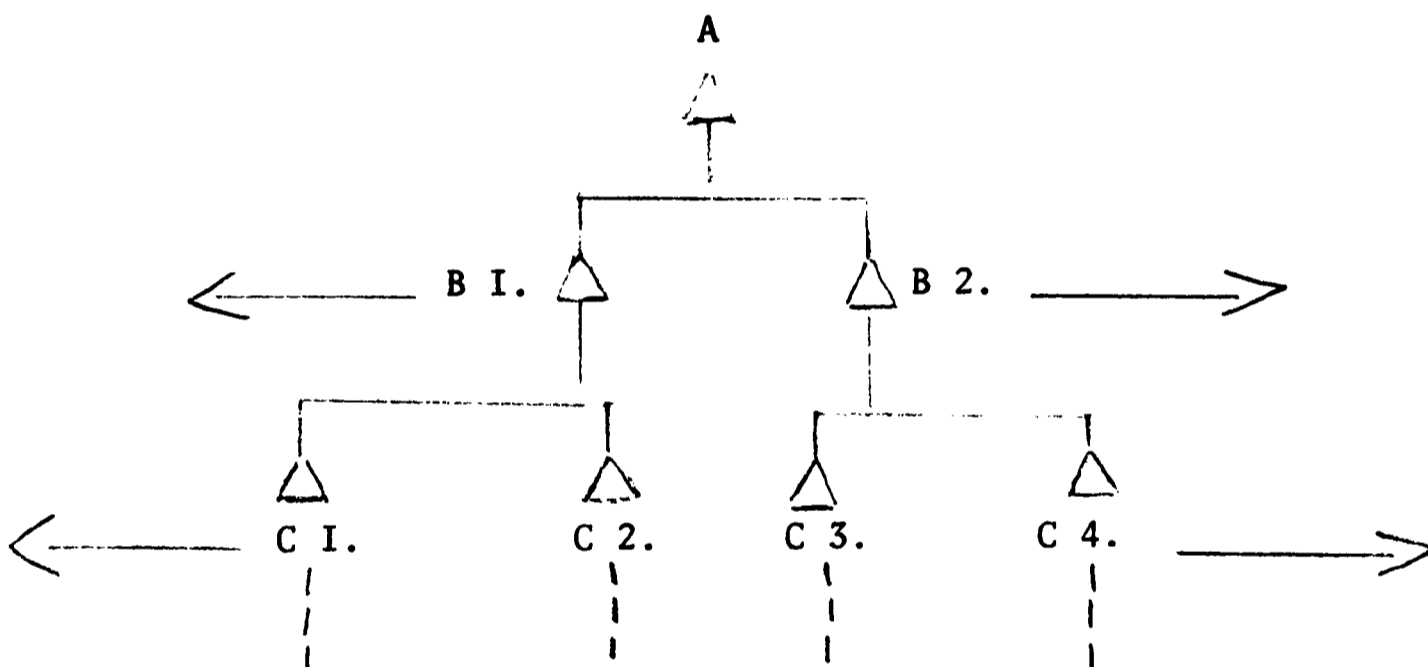
-
- (i) Wah Kiu Yat Po: Xianggang bai nian renshi xuanji; Song dai licun hua Jintian, Hong Kong, June 5th, 1975. This source is based on information supplied by Deng Yingqi.
- (ii) Deng H.Q. (ed.): Shijiantang jiapu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1966.
 Deng B.T.: Xinjie Longyuetou Dengzu yuanliu dalüe, Manuscript, Lung Yeuk Tau, 1976.
Ha Tsuen (1974?), op. cit.

Generation and date



The text in the diagram makes it clear that the Guangdong communities of the Deng are in a sense all branches of Kam Tin, since they split off from descendants resident in Kam Tin. This makes the Freedman-type distinction between local and higher order lineages difficult to apply in this case. For Freedman's model of segmentation to be applicable, there would have to be a process of segmentation of branches all moving to areas different from that of their focal ancestor. Such a model is set out in figure 2.

FIGURE 2

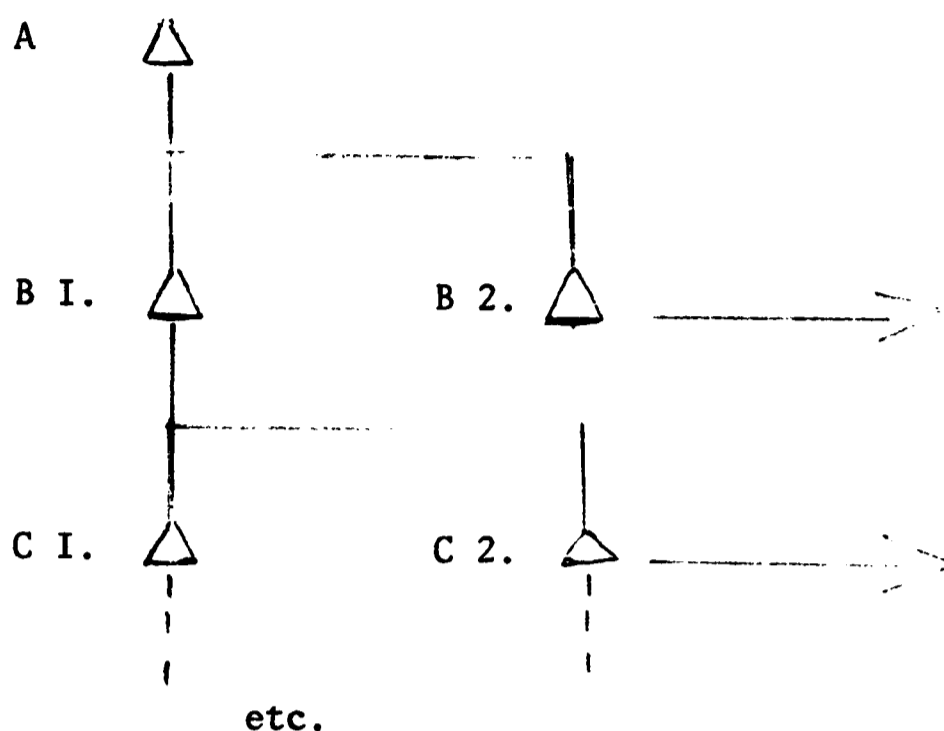


The arrows indicate the tendency of descendants to move out.

According to this model, geographically separated segments at levels B and C would be able to look on the focal ancestor at level A as someone who was resident in a place different from the groups of descendants. This is, in fact, what the Deng do when they refer to their origin in Jiangxi Province; they are establishing the grounds for unity with other groups not in Guangdong, but descended from the same line of Jiangxi Province Deng.

The model which brings out the basis of the Deng situation in Guangdong is set out in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3



Where A, B I, and C I continue to live in the same site (Kam Tin), B 2 and C 2 move out. In this case, the original ancestral home of B 2 and C 2 is the same as that of A, B I, and C I (Kam Tin).

It might be argued that this is an example of what Freedman calls a "dispersed lineage".⁽ⁱ⁾ Yet this is not the case, for those descendants who moved away from Kam Tin settled in specific areas in which they were the dominant surname group. In any case, these settlements were far from poor and did not regard Kam Tin as their "headquarters", preferring to recopy the names of any common ancestors on to the tablets placed in their individual ancestral halls.

Freedman acknowledged that several groups residing in different areas might combine together to establish property and build an ancestral hall⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ but he analysed this aspect of the problem in terms of rights and property:

"The ties of clanship may be almost devoid of significance. They may, on the other hand, be used for genealogical reference and for forming temporary alliances. But if several local or higher-order lineages in fact combine and establish a common ancestral hall or estate, then clanship has once more been condensed into lineage bonds"⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾

(i) Freedman (1971), p. 20
(ii) Freedman (1971), p. 21
(iii) Ibid

The Kam Tin genealogies provide evidence that the descendants of the Five Yuan (Yuanying et al.) built an ancestral hall to worship ancestors going back to Deng Hanfu, in Dongguan City, at that time the County Seat. This hall, built in the south of the city, was planned in 1598, and the Duqing Tang, another hall, was completed in 1732 on Xianzang Street in Canton, for ancestors going back to Deng Fuxie; and, finally, a third hall, the Jishan Shuyuan, planned in 1861, was built on Cangbian Road, Canton, by all the descendants of Deng Ziming, excluding those of his son Qi. This last hall was for ancestors dating from Yuanliang onwards.

It is true that these halls were built after the separation of the descendant communities. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the process involved was the transformation of such kinship based ties into lineage relations. The Kam Tin Deng consider themselves the superior Deng community because they live in the place from which all the other branches spread out. Consequently, the building of such ancestral halls, in the eyes of present day Deng is not so much the establishment of firm relations based on ownership of common property yet legitimated through genealogically demonstrated relationships, but rather an act of giving expression in more concrete terms to relationships which were always there. In this context, Freedman's distinction between local and higher-order lineages confuses the jural properties of kinship relationships with their underlying ideology.

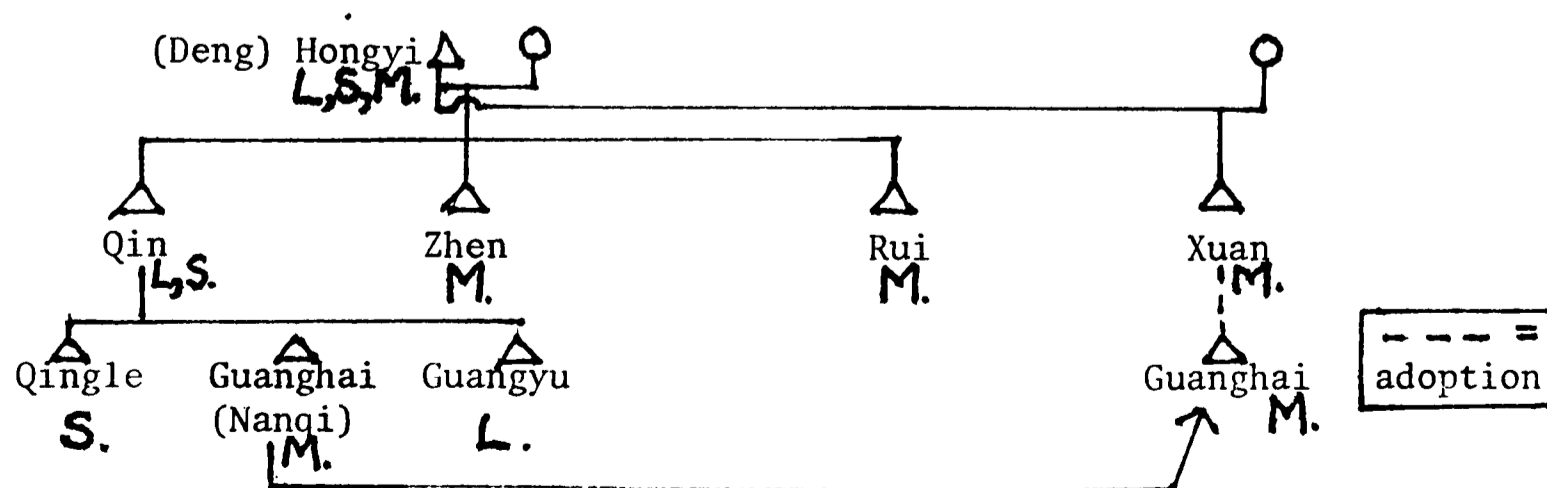
We have seen that Kam Tin has not one, but at least three, and possibly four founding ancestors; of these four, three are shared by other groups. We have also seen that Freedman's model of the local level lineage with its single and exclusive founding ancestor does not apply to Kam Tin. However, it is important at this stage to look at the groups established by the descendants of the one founding ancestor who was exclusive to the Kam Tin Deng: Deng Hongyi.

Deng Hongyi had two wives: from his first wife Zhang he produced three sons: Qin, Zhen, and Rui; by his second wife, he had one son, Xuan, who died while a boy, but who had Qin's second son Guanghai for a posthumous adopted son. These four sons of Deng Hongyi became the focal ancestors of the four fang (branches) of the Kam Tin Deng - referred to hereafter as the first, second, third, and fourth Fang - though Guanghai (better known locally by another name, Nanqi, is the important ancestor of the fourth fang.

The descendants of Deng Qingle, the eldest son of Qin, built their own ancestral hall, the Sicheng Tang, while those of the second, third, and fourth sons of Deng Hongyi built the Moujing Tang. The descendants of Deng Guangyu, Qin's third son, built the Laicheng Tang. In addition the Yingxiong Ci, known formally as the Youlin Ci, was dedicated to Deng Hongyi, as its colloquial name the Hongyi Gong Citang implies; however, since 1934, this hall has contained only the tablets of the Braves who died defending Kam Tin. (1)(i)

The relationship between the higher level descendants of Deng Hongyi and their ancestral halls is set out in figure 4 below.

FIGURE 4



(i) Deng H.Q. (ed.): Shijiantang jiapu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1966: Sections on clan history.

(In this diagram, L denotes those male ancestors in the Laicheng Tang ancestral halls; S those in the Sicheng Tang hall; and M those who are in the Moujing Tang ancestral hall.)

At first sight, the Kam Tin situation seems to conform to Freedman's criterion that there is a focal ancestral hall for the community: there is, after all, an ancestral hall dedicated to Deng Hongyi and used for worship on his grave ritual days (the first days of the third and ninth lunar months). However, there is no tablet for this ancestor in this hall, merely the two soul tablets for the Braves mentioned above. Furthermore, Deng Hongyi is an impoverished ancestor; the only property registered in his name is that of the Governors' Temple (the Zhou Wang Er Gong Shuyuan), of which more later, and this ancestral hall itself. I was told that there was an additional piece of land sufficient to yield only two piculs of rice per year.

The rites performed in this hall are not elaborate (simply involving the offering of incense and the kowtow) and are not even necessary; descendants who participate at the grave rites can send relatives to get their share of the ritual pork for them (this being divided in the hall), thus avoiding attendance at the subsequent hall rites. Nor are these hall rites performed at the Spring and Autumn equinoxes, considered the proper time for elaborate hall rites: in the Sicheng Tang and Moujing Tang an established litany is chanted, ritual texts are burnt, and ritual foods are offered. (2)

In any case, the grave rites of Deng Hongyi, though as elaborate as any of his descendants having wealthy trusts, are not well attended. Some participants complained that they got very little ritual pork by worshipping this ancestor. (3) Yet this is not the whole story. For one thing, the poverty of an ancestor's pork in the minds of informants is related to the poverty of his assets. This indicates that Deng Hongyi is merely a ritual focus defining the group of descendants living in Kam Tin. He is much more important as part of the ideology of segmentation as perceived by the local

Deng than as an ancestor whose assets benefit his descendants. This may explain why sometimes the Kam Tin Deng display a lack of knowledge which betrays a view of kinship relations interestingly at odds with the Freedman model; for instance, though Deng Hongyi was referred to as a "Central" or "Main" ancestor (Zongzu), and though the story of his exile in Northern China as a substitute for his younger brother is well known in Kam Tin and contained in the genealogies, one of the managers of Deng Qingle's property and the Village Headman of Shui Mei Tsuen forgot that the date of worship at Deng Hongyi's grave during Qingming is the first day of the third lunar month; one would have thought that this date, of all the worshipping dates, is the easiest to remember.

Freedman's model calls for a central ancestor who is important both ideologically and jurally. We have seen already that although Deng Hongyi is ideologically important, jurally, he is almost of no weight. This is further brought out by the fact that his ancestral hall has no tablets bearing his name, as we have seen; instead, as has already been implied in Figure 4, his name, together with those of the preceding ancestors going right back to Deng Hanfu, are replicated in each of the three higher-level segment ancestral halls in Kam Tin (the Sicheng Tang, the Moujing Tang, and the Laicheng Tang). As far as the tablets in these ancestral halls are concerned, Deng Hongyi is accorded the same treatment as the other two or three founding ancestors; in fact, he is ritually differentiated from them merely by being worshipped by the Kam Tin group of Deng alone, as he is an ancestor exclusive to this group.

We have seen that Kam Tin social organisation defined according to kinship relations depends on the organisation of those Fang whose focal ancestors are the four sons of Deng Hongyi. Yet even here the distinction between ideologically and jurally important ancestors must be maintained; for in the case of the fourth fang, the focal ancestor of the segment is not even important ritually; he is worshipped during the course of Deng Hongyi's

graveside rites, and all the descendants of Deng Hongyi can participate in this phase of the ritual; furthermore, Deng Hongyi's fourth son is given fewer ritual foods - three cups of alcohol and tea, a cooked chicken, a dish of pig's liver, and another of pig's lungs - than his father or his adopted son who are each given five cups of alcohol and tea, noodle soup, rice and meats set out in groups of fives, accompanied by whole roast pigs. In discussions with fourth fang members, it was quite clear that they considered Nanqi, the adopted son, as the most important ancestor of their segment.

The absence of a ritually important central ancestral hall, and of a jurally important central ancestor, places the weight of jural relations on the segments. Of these segments, the second fang's descendants emigrated "en masse" to Ying Lung Wai, about one and a half miles west of present day Kam Tin as it is defined by official maps (see Map 4). The third fang lost most of its members during the migration in the early Qing (1662 to 1669) which will be discussed in the following chapter, and numbered five males by the time I was in the field (the rest are supposed to be living in Zhongshan County in the Mainland). The strongest fang are, consequently, the first and the fourth; members of which indicated on numerous occasions that there was little love lost between the two segments. This competition between the two major segments, ritually represented by the reproduction of all the joint preceding ancestors on the tablets of each of their halls, was an important source of conflict in the organisation of the jiao.

Kam Tin, then, is not strictly speaking a lineage community in terms of the Freedman model. It does not conform to a pyramid - like structure of entities which, though discrete, are informed by a unifying system of recognised kinship relations. It is impossible to come to a neat definition of where Kam Tin - as a community defined according to genealogical criteria - begins; we have already noted the problem of identifying the founding ancestor, and when it was finally possible to find a founding ancestor who

is exclusive to the Deng living in Kam Tin, he was found to be impoverished, and lacking significant hall rites and a single repository for his soul tablet; it was found that one of the segments based on one of his sons lives in an area (Ying Lung Wai) just as close to the earlier Deng settlement at Ping Shan (considered by Potter, Freedman et al. to be a discrete local lineage) as it is to Kam Tin; an important point, because these people still consider themselves, with certain exceptions which will be discussed below, as Kam Tin people - after all, they are, as the Kam Tin Deng explained, the descendants of Deng Hongyi.

In a sense, the lack of formal distinction between those segments focused on ancestors at higher levels in the genealogy than Deng Hongyi and the segments formed by Deng Hongyi's sons, and first son's first son's sons, is shown by the use of the same term 'fang' to describe the segments. At the formal, ideological level, then, a continuity is affirmed between the present day descendants in Kam Tin and their ancestor Deng Hanfu.

Thus, in this thesis, the term "lineage" will be used in reference to that group of people descended from a common male ancestor who specify themselves by using a place name; for example, since the Kam Tin Deng are quite conscious of geographical demarcations, making the distinction between "We, the Deng of Kam Tin" and those Deng of other areas, I will refer to them as the Kam Tin Deng lineage. To refer to the Kam Tin Deng as a lineage, rather than as a group, is possible because these people themselves have a clear concept of the line based on agnatic kinship. The use of the term "lineage" in this thesis must not be taken to imply a correspondence with Freedman's definition, which merges the ideology of relationships with the jural properties of social organisation.

2. Kam Tin as a Community

In this thesis I propose to take the definition of Kam Tin as a community

from the Kam Tin Deng themselves. This leads to the inclusion of Ying Lung Wai into the geographical definition of Kam Tin. I have estimated the total resident population of Deng in these villages as 1,114 at the time of the 1971 census (the most recent date). The total population of villages within the Kam Tin census boundary in 1971 was 7,734. (i) However, this figure excludes Ying Lung Wai, which was not included in the Kam Tin census district boundaries for 1971. Moreover, in addition to including the Shing Mun San Tsuen residents (none of whom is a Deng), this figure comprises many other non-Deng residents, and recent immigrants. (4)

The total population for the Deng founded villages, including outsiders (Wai Ren, non-Deng) for 1971 was 5,032. These are set out in Table 1. (ii)

Table 1.

<u>Name of village</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Ying Lung Wai	77	92
Shui Mei Tsuen	198	168
Ko Po (Tsuen)	469	359
Shui Tau Tsuen	265	303
Kam Hing Wai	32	37
Kam Tin Shi	226	213
Kat Hing Wai	223	238
Tai Hong Wai	436	453
Wing Lung Wai	94	97
Tsz Tong Tsuen (including Tai Hong Tsuen)	521	531

(i) Hong Kong Government: Census and Statistics Department: Population in Kam Tin Census District by Place of Origin by Place of Birth by Sex - 1971 Census: Special Document, 1976.

(ii) Hong Kong Government: Census and Statistics Department: Kam Tin Villages: Population Size by Village Clusters - 1971 Census: Special Document, 1976.

With my assistance, Deng Leyi a resident of Kat Hing Wai, carried out a survey in 1975 of this village, concerning residents within the wall. His figures, therefore, are not directly comparable with those of the Hong Kong Government Census and Statistics Department who, in any case, excluded all those not resident at the time of the survey. Deng Leyi's survey (i) which was carried out as part of a social science project at Hong Kong University, merely distinguished between those working overseas and those who were not, in the population calculations. His survey of Kat Hing Wai shows a total resident population of 250, of whom 249 were Deng clansmen and one a non-Deng woman (not married to any of the other residents); 66 people were abroad: 39 of these in England, 24 in Holland, and 3 in the U.S.A.

Deng Leyi also carried out an occupation survey from which Table 2 has been compiled.

Table 2

Occupational Structure: Kat Hing Wai (December 1975).

Abroad (Waiters, Cooks, or Owners of Restaurants)	25
Tradesmen	4
Shopkeepers	6
Army Civilian Employees	2
Manual Workers	17
Mariners	5
Farmers (5)	13
Tea House Owners	4
Drivers	2
Artists	1
Government Servants	1
	80
Total	80

The rest of the population was classified as unemployed.

These occupational structure figures may be taken as indicative of the Kam Tin Deng population as a whole, since apart from the six shopkeepers

(i) Op. cit., Unpublished Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1975.

and the artist who now derive income from the tourist trade (Kat Hing Wai being the only Kam Tin village on the "package tour routes"), there is no other feature distinguishing this village from the other Kam Tin ones.

The spatial arrangement of the Kam Tin Deng villages is the result of a long historical process. The genealogies record that Deng Fuxie settled in the area at the foothills of Kai Kok Shan, to the north of the present site of Pak Wai Tsuen. Kam Tin Deng affirm this and can point to the remains of this site. This was the site of Kam Tin until Deng Gui's descendants (presumably Yuanliang, Yuanzhen, and Yuanhe) moved to the (Old) Northern Village (Kau Pak Wai) and Deng Rui's descendants (presumably Yuanxi and Yuanying) moved to the (Old) Southern Village (Kau Naam Wai).⁽ⁱ⁾ This division took place during the Song dynasty (that is, probably between 1103 and 1130, if we calculate from Deng Ziming's birthdate). The memorial volume for the opening of the Kam Tin Recreation Centre in 1972 states that Tai Hong Wai and Kat Hing Wai were first founded in the Ming Chenghua period (1465 - 1487).⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ There used to be a tablet explaining the history of Kat Hing Wai outside the village gate; but this has since been removed. However, Sung Hok-P'ang who visited Kam Tin in the 1930s recorded the tablet and translated it. The tablet explains that the formation of Tai Hong Wai and Kat Hing Wai resulted from the increase in population of the two (Old) Northern and Southern Villages; the walls around the two new Wai were built as a protection against robbers.⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ The history of the walls was confirmed by Kat Hing Wai residents. I was unable to find from present day residents the date of foundation of the village (Kat Hing Wai), though some informants volunteered the Qing dynasty. Sung states that the village was founded during the Ming Chenghua period (1465 - 1487) by three people.^(iv)

(i) Deng H.Q.: Shijiantang jiapu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1966: sections on clan history.

(ii) Kam Tin (1972?); Jintian fengguang: Jiqingwei.

(iii) Sung H.-P.: The Hong Kong Naturalist, Hong Kong, 1936, p. 255.

(iv) Sung (1936): ibid.

Yet it seems that this was on a site slightly to the south of the present walled village. A Kat Hing Wai Deng pointed out the site of the altar to the Community God (She Gong) for this village; this gives a good indication of where the village was. It seems (for reasons which will be made clear in the discussion of Tai Hong Wai) that the village must have been refounded during the early Qing dynasty, since this does appear to be the time when the wall was built causing housing to be rebuilt on a square plan.

It is not clear when Wing Lung Wai was founded, though Sung concludes that the wall was built in the same period as Kat Hing Wai's. Elders from both Pak Wai Tsuen (Shui Tau Tsuen and Shui Mei Tsuen) and Wing Lung Wai affirmed that Wing Lung Wai's founders had been the first to move out of the (Old) Northern Village. After leaving, these people had set up a village to the south of the present site. Another Elder stated that originally this village, the site of whose altar to the Community God was worshipped during the jiao procession through Kam Tin, was divided into two halves called Sha Ling Wai and Sha Ling Wai Mei; the former division comprising a group of first fang descendants, and the latter, third fang descendants. Afterwards, Wing Lung Wai was founded on its present site. It seems that this took place during the Qing Kangxi period (1662 - 1722) at the latest, for the earliest board set up in the entrance to the present village commemorates Deng Wenwei who died in 1692 (according to a duplicate set of ancestral tablets kept in the Guangyu Tang ancestral hall).

Tai Hong Wai's walls were built in the early part of the Qing dynasty (in the Shunzhi or Kangxi reigns: 1644 - 1722). This is borne out by a story still quite current in Kam Tin today, that Li Wanrong, who rose against the Manchus in the Shunzhi Emperor's reign and was not suppressed until 1656 according to the 1820 edition of Xin'an Gazetteer ⁽ⁱ⁾ gave Deng Wenwei then

(i) Wang C. X., et al.: Chongxiu Xin'an Xianzhi, 1820, juan 13.

living in the (Old) Southern Village details of the exact wall measurements necessary to defend Tai Hong Wai. If this is so, the present Tai Hong Wai was founded sometime around the middle of the seventeenth century. (6)

Tsz Tong Tsuen and Tai Hong Tsuen were later developments; Tai Hong Tsuen comprising houses belonging to Tai Hong Wai members who had decided to live outside the wall. Tsz Tong Tsuen was named after the Guangyu Tang ancestral hall, which was delapidated when I was in the field but has since been restored. As has already been indicated, some informants stated that this was built by Deng Wenwei. This means that the foundation of Tsz Tong Tsuen took place during the first part of the eighteenth century at the earliest. (7)

Kam Hing Wai was founded about the same time as Tai Hong Wai according to Kam Tin informants who stated that when Deng Wenwei moved out of the (Old) Southern Village, (on the site of the present Kam Tin Shi), he allowed the Kam Hing Wai founders to settle on the present site of the village just to the north of the (Old) Southern Village.

Ko Po, intially a fully walled village, was founded by 1688, since it was recorded in the County Gazetteer of that date. (8) (i)

The present Pak Wai Tsuen is to the south of the (Old) Northern Village whose altar to the Community God can still be seen and is a place of worship. The (Old) Northern Village which had a wall around it was resited, according to informants, in the Ming -early Qing period. The refounding of the (Old) Northern Village as Pak Wai Tsuen took place simultaneously with the separation into Shui Mei Tsuen (literally the Village at the Tail of the Water) and Shui Tau Tsuen (the Village at the Head of the Water). The division between these two villages consists of a lane running east-west, separating the area into a north section (Shui Mei Tsuen) and a south one (Shui Tau Tsuen), though, in fact, some people regarded as Shui Tau Tsuen residents live north of this line. The oldest Elder in Shui Tau Tsuen

(i) Jin W.M., et al.: Chongxiu Xin'an Xianzhi, 1688, juan 3.

stated that the earliest residents were the descendants of Deng Xingqin, Deng Hongyi's eldest son, and of Deng Yungu, Deng Hongyi's eldest son's eldest son's eldest son, but that these descendants of Deng Yungu originally came from Shui Mei Tsuen. This Elder added that at this time, Deng Huafang (the fourth son of Deng Hongyi's grandson Nanqi) settled in Shui Tau Tsuen. This Elder's own ancestor (Deng Zhijia) had apparently come from Tsz Tong Tsuen during the Qing Daoguang period (1821 - 1851). It seems that settlement in the present Pak Wai Tsuen first took place in the Ming Chenghua period (1465 - 1487) or thereabouts. (9)

Ying Lung Wai was, as we have seen, founded by the descendants of Deng Hongyi's second son Zhen. Sung states that the village was founded by Deng Shu and eight others. (i) As Deng Shu was the second son of Deng Zhen's eldest son (and later the adopted son of Deng Zhen's fourth son), there seems no reason to dispute this, though I was unable to find out by asking Ying Lung Wai villagers who their founders were. Nevertheless, if this is the case, the village would have been founded some time around the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The estimated historical development of Kam Tin as a community is set out in Table 3 below.

Table 3.

Circa 1103.	The first Northern Village (under Kai Kok Shan).	
After 1103 but before 1130.	(Old) Northern Village	(Old) Southern Village (including the beginning of the present day settlement of Kam Tin Shi).
1465 - 1487		Old Kat Hing Wai, Old Tai Hong Wai, Old Wing Lung Wai (Sha Ling Wai, Sha Ling Wai Mei).
1465 - 1521	Ying Lung Wai, Shui Tau Tsuen, Shui Mei Tsuen.	
1644 - 1722		Present Tai Hong Wai, Present Kat Hing Wai, Present Wing Lung Wai, Ko Po, Kam Hing Wai (considered by some to be a "northern" village).
1720 +		Tsz Tong Tsuen, Tai Hong Tsuen.

(i) Sung (1936), p. 256.

The major distinction in the spatial organisation of Kam Tin from the early twelfth century onwards has been the division of the community into north and south; though as we have seen people were crossing the line (generally reckoned to be the Kam Tin river) as late as the early nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this divide - formerly between the (Old) Northern and Southern Villages, and now between Pak Wai Tsuen and the rest of Kam Tin, excluding Ying Lung Wai and possibly Kam Hing Wai - is a significant feature of the local topology. The two areas are separated by a road of about a quarter of a mile, off which is situated Kam Hing Wai, considered by some "southern" Deng to be in Pak Wai Tsuen, but by many not to be so. At the time of my fieldwork, there was clear evidence that the younger generation (say those up to thirty years of age) and women of all generations would know only the people living in their half of the divide - unless they had been secondary school-mates or were contemporaries at work with people from the other side. It seems that men who were older than this younger generation had networks of relationships which crossed the divide, largely as a result of the management of ancestral trusts whose members lived in both the northern and southern sections of Kam Tin.

This apart, there were at times acrimonious discussions about Pak Wai Tsuen by "southerners", some claiming that the "northerners" were "devious"; though I did not hear any by "northern" residents against "southerners", save one comment by an enterprising Shui Tau Tsuen Deng that since all the historical relics were in Pak Wai Tsuen, there was no reason why the tourist coaches should go to Kat Hing Wai. I also heard criticism about how a Shui Tau Tsuen Deng, a "northerner", who would normally have been forbidden by his "southern" relatives to build housing on the south side, was allowed to do this by one of the Village Headmen of Kat Hing Wai; even then, it transpired, this Shui Tau Tsuen Deng had to use the name of a Kat Hing Wai Deng who, it was alleged, pocketed some of the money with which he was entrusted by the "northerner"; this caused great amusement in Kat Hing Wai.

Yet, as we have seen, this division into north and south does not conform with the genealogical pattern of organisation; lineage segments do not correspond with village settlements, as the Freedman model assumes. The Kam Tin Deng recognise this and quote as the reason for this state of affairs a conscious plan on the part of the ancestors to mix the fang up with each other in separate villages, in order to reduce the inter-segmentary sources of conflict.

In fact the relationship between the various segments and the present day Kam Tin villages is set out in figure 5 below.

Figure 5.

Northern Villages

Shui Mei Tsuen (1st fang; one family (jia) of 4th fang members)	Shui Tau Tsuen (1st fang; 4th fang)
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Southern Villages

Kat Hing Wai (1st fang; 4th fang (emigrated to Holland).)	Ko Po (1st fang)	Tai Hong Wai/Tsuen (4th fang)	Tsz Tong Tsuen (1st fang; 4th fang.)	Wing Lung Wai (1st fang; 3rd fang.)
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Kam Hing Wai
(1st fang)

Ying Lung Wai
(2nd fang)

From this diagram it can be seen that only in Kam Hing Wai, Ko Po, Tai Hong Wai/Tsuen, and Ying Lung Wai do segments correspond with village boundaries. However, only in the case of Ying Lung Wai is the segment unique to the village.

Moreover, within the walled villages, apart from Tai Hong Wai whose residents are descended from an ancestor sixteen generations from Yuanliang, there was no tendency of the descendants of different segments either at the

level of Deng Hongyi's sons or below, to group together in clusters, although within the unwalled villages there were some signs of this; the most obvious example being that of Shui Tau Tsuen where the Shijiantang (tang being a group of descendants belonging to a segment of a lower order than a fang), the Zhijiatang, the descendants of Deng Zhijia's fourth son, and the Senzhaitang all live in separate areas.

Thus, the distinction between Kam Tin as a village organisation and Kam Tin as a line of descendants is clear in the minds of the local Deng. The relationship between the community and genealogical aspects of Kam Tin social organisation is most clearly delineated in the rite of registering male offspring, called Walking the Lantern (xingdeng)..⁽¹⁰⁾ These rites are performed in Kam Tin during the few days before the fifteenth day of the first lunar month; in fact in 1976, the earliest rites started on the tenth day of the first lunar month, though each village decided its own starting time. The rite of Walking the Lantern is the ritual side of registering a male child as a ding, that is, one having a share in Kam Tin as a polity and consequently in its property. Ying Lung Wai apart, all these rites involve worshipping in the hall of the offspring's ancestors on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month; this is clearly an act of gaining recognition by the ancestors of their newly registered descendants. At this ceremony, fathers of the newly registered ding, have to provide a meal of dingzhou congee to which one adds relatively expensive hors d'oeuvres such as oysters and duck meat, for all the descendants. This meal is clearly a form of exchange for the recognition of the new ding by other descendants of the ancestors concerned.⁽¹¹⁾ Prior to this, however, in 1976, from the start of the rite (kaideng) onwards, the ritual took three forms: first, there was recognition of the Ding as a particular ancestor's descendant; in Shui Tau Tsuen, for example, the rite was performed at the site of the altar to the Community God founded by Deng Jintian (Deng Qihua) who was born in 1494;⁽ⁱ⁾ this rite was for the descendants of this particular ancestor, and

(i) Senzhaitang jiapu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, n.d.

the ritual was presided over by the most senior descendant (the oldest person of the earliest surviving generation). Second, there was recognition by the village in which the child's father lived. This took the form either of participation at a special ceremony or a period of continuous worship at the ritual sites of the village. In the case of the first form, the Deng Huahui in Shui Tau Tsuen - an association established about a hundred years ago apparently - registers those children who are descended from the founders of the association. However, this is done in the Shui Tau Tsuen temple (the Hong Sheng Gong), and the association is formed of Shui Tau Tsuen Deng only. In the case of the latter form, to which Ying Lung Wai, Kat Hing Wai, Shui Mei Tsuen, and Wing Lung Wai conformed in 1976 - not all villages performing the rite during this year - worship would not only include all the abodes of divinities outside the house (village shrines if any, temples if any, gateways, Community God altars, and wells) but also domestic sites, (the kitchen and the divinity tablets in the house). Hence in this rite, divinities of the community are worshipped together with the ancestors of the family; this is because the domestic divinity tablets consist of the names of divinities on top (or just the name and image of Guanyin) and ancestors below, all transcribed onto a single board.

The third type of Walking the Lantern ritual was that performed by Tai Hong Wai and included those Tsz Tong Tsuen residents who were descendants of a common ancestor, Deng Wenwei; in this rite the gods and ancestors of the father of the ding and those of Tai Hong Wai were worshipped according to a ritual which began in the house, went to the village shrine, the gate of Tai Hong Wai, the altar of the Community God for this village, the well, and then the Guangyu Tang ancestral hall. This worship of both divinities and ancestors underlies the need for recognition by both village and segment, the complementarity of which was emphasised by the fact that the continuous period of rites in Tai Hong Wai from the eleventh day to the sixteenth day

of the first lunar month, alternated the direction of this route, beginning first in the home of the father of the ding, and then in the Guangyu Tang ancestral hall.

The prestations offered during these rites demonstrate this balance between the community and genealogical aspects of the registration. While the ding's father had to distribute roast pork and fried doughnut-type sweetmeats called *jiandui* to all the households of his village, in the case of Kat Hing Wai he had to do this to all the households of Ko Po as well, since the founding ancestor of Ko Po was, allegedly, a person who had come from Kat Hing Wai. Ko Po was seen as an extension of Kat Hing Wai because of genealogical connections. Hence, these prestations were not only given to such residents in return for recognition of community membership but also for recognition of segment membership.

The practices of Ying Lung Wai during the rites of Walking the Lantern bear mention because they show the present day separation of this community from the rest of Kam Tin. The ending of the ceremony (*Yuandeng*) took place on the seventeenth day of the first lunar month in the Dawang Temple in Wong Uk Tsuen in the company of the non-Deng villages in the area surrounding Ying Lung Wai (for example, Wong Uk Tsuen, Tai Wai, Shan Pui). However, the remaining villages of Kam Tin in 1976 ended the ceremony on the sixteenth day of the first lunar month, not in this temple but in the ancestral halls and villages of the Ding. Moreover, Ying Lung Wai residents did not go to the Moujing Tang ancestral hall on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month; they claimed that the *huapao* or rockets, which used to be fired as part of the day's events led to too much violence. This was in spite of the fact that nowadays, the order of the *huapao* is decided by lot. This lack of registration of the descendants of the second son of Deng Hongyi in their ancestral hall demonstrates a growing separation from the affairs of the present day Kam Tin, in favour of closer association with the nearby villages of the

Shap Pat Heung, at whose Rural Committee Ying Lung Wai is represented. In fact, Ying Lung Wai cooperates with other villages of the Shap Pat Heung in joint acts of worship such as the Lidou, or Worship of the Bushel, ceremonies during the first lunar month in the Er Di Miao Temple in the Yuen Long Old Market (Yuen Long Kau Hui); the Dawang Festival, when a joint Ying Lung Wai and Shan Pui association worship in the Dawang Temple in the Yuen Long Old Market; and the Festival of the Emperor of the North (Beidi dan) when joint ceremonies take place in the Er Di Miao Temple. In addition, Ying Lung Wai cooperates with Kai Tei (a small mixed surname hamlet near the chicken market on the eastern outskirts of Yuen Long New Market) forming the Kai Tei Huapao Association (Jidi Huapaohui) which takes part in the Shap Pat Heung Tian Hou Festival in Yuen Long on the twenty-third day of the third lunar month. (i)

There is in Kam Tin ritual practice a distinction between festivals for non-ancestral supernatural entities, that is divinities or ghosts, for example the Tian Hou Festival and the Yulanpen, and festivals set aside for the worship of ancestors (the Spring and Autumn equinoxes for the hall rites, Qingming and Chongyang for the grave rites). During festivals for non-ancestral supernatural beings, whereas the abodes of divinities in the vicinity of the village and the local Amitabha stones (the shrines of malevolent ghosts of people who have died in road accidents)⁽¹²⁾ are sites of worship, ancestral rites only take place in front of the domestic tablet board, never in an ancestral hall.

Reciprocally, on the days of ancestral worship, divinities are only worshipped in front of the domestic tablet board - and then only on the specific days of Qingming and Chongyang and other days during the third and ninth lunar months set aside for the grave worship of ancestors whose names are transcribed on the domestic board, and regarded either as extensions or

(i) Jidi Huapaohui: in Yuanlang Shiba Xiang ji ge huapaohui qingzhu Yimao Nian Tian Hou Baodanhui jing xunyou tekan, Yuen Long, 1975.

substitutes for these specific days.

Moreover, ancestral halls and graves are foci of worship which are based on genealogical considerations and only open to men on ritual occasions. Village (that is, community) temples and shrines on the other hand, are open on such occasions to both sexes, though, in my experience, predominantly worshipped by women. This distinction replicates that between the genealogical and community bases of social organisation. The fact that the domestic ancestors are open to worship by either sex shows the merging of the community and genealogical domains at the level of the home. This is because the home is at once a household (hukou), the lowest subdivision of the village, and a family (jia), the lowest point of segmentation of the lineage's kinship structure. The merging of the concepts of jia and hukou is achieved in practice, by the notion that each ia must have its own Stove God (Zaojun), and thus must be a residential unit having a kitchen in common.

It is apparent, therefore, that the distinction between the genealogical and community domains entails in its ritual aspects a corresponding distinction between a world in which only men can participate, and a world open to both sexes, but in particular women.

However, as far as the "political" aspects of this distinction are concerned, this is not so; (the term "political" is used here in a loose sense to refer to the management of village affairs and properties). ⁽¹³⁾ In this context, however, there are parallel organisations, coping with the management of issues in both the community and genealogical domains. For the community social organisations, the example will be that of Kat Hing Wai, though the same principles of organisation occur in other villages. The village council (hui) of Kat Hing Wai consists of all the male Deng residents of the village; its titular head is the Head of the Village (weizhang), the most senior person (the oldest person of the earliest surviving generation) who in the case of this village is a feeble old man in his eighties who is not able to exercise

much authority; this lack of authority, however, is far from true throughout Kam Tin. Apart from the Head of the Village, there are volunteer Trustees (sili) who are responsible for checking the accounts of the village, a Treasurer (shousi) responsible for the accounts and elected by the male villagers, and, now, two Village Representatives (cundaibiao) (also known as Village Headmen (cunzhang)) who are elected by the male villagers and are the village's representatives at the Hong Kong Government sponsored Kam Tin Rural Committee.

This form of organisation is true for other Kam Tin villages, except that Shui Mei Tsuen and Shui Tau Tsuen village councils do not meet in public rooms within the village but in temples (the Tian Hou Miao and the Hong Sheng Gong respectively). In addition, in Wing Lung Wai the Head of the Village is also the one and only Village Representative.

The genealogical domain, on the other hand, has an organisational system called a zu to cope with the properties and affairs of ancestral trusts. Each trust is centred around a focal ancestor, and thus is the property of a lineage segment. This segment has its head, called a jiazhang if the segment is a tang, a fangzhang if it is a fang, and a zuzhang (translated in this thesis as Head of the Clan) in the case of the Kam Tin lineage as a whole. These people are ascribed their positions by virtue of the chuanbei rule of seniority conferring leadership, as we have seen in the case of the Head of the Village, on the oldest person of the earliest surviving generation. The extent to which a segment head can exercise authority will depend to a great extent on his personality and individual circumstances. The Elder who was the fangzhang of the fourth fang was poor, and not respected; the zuzhang on the other hand, was a wealthy man with a forceful personality who had at the time of fieldwork been Head of the Clan for 44 years, a considerable period of time in which to build up his authority.

Apart from the segment head, in the organisation of any branch having

property, there is a zhili; this role, which rotates, is that of a manager of the ancestral property who is responsible for the rents. In addition to the zhili there are Trustees (sili) who perform an identical role to the Trustees in the village organisation; sometimes, there is also a Treasurer (shousi) who may replace the zhili, and takes on the responsibility for property rents and the distribution of scholarship money distributed to school and university pupils.

It has been shown, then, that Kam Tin has two modes of social organisation; the genealogical and community forms. These overlap each other on the same space. It has also been shown that these two modes inform the ritual practices and organisation of the society. The question now is the extent to which the Kam Tin Jiao makes use of either mode or domain.

3. The Kam Tin Jiao in Relation to its Setting

The Kam Tin genealogies sometimes contain the couplets put up outside buildings during the jiao. However, there is no other record in the genealogies about items relating to the performance of the jiao, though, as will be shown in the next chapter, the history of the origins of the Kam Tin jiao is often given. The explanation of this situation offered by the Head of the Clan (zuzhang) was that "a genealogy is a genealogy, and a jiao a jiao". This view was repeated by other Kam Tin Deng who argued that the jiao was not about ancestors. On the face of it, then, the jiao does not belong to the genealogical domain. Moreover, as we shall see, the basic organisation of the participants in the Kam Tin jiao is in terms of gu, Divisions. There are six of these Divisions corresponding to villages or groups of villages: the Ying Lung Division contains Ying Lung Wai; the Shui Tau Division, Shui Tau Tsuen; the Shui Mei Division, Shui Mei Tsuen; the Kat Hing Division comprising Kat Hing Wai and a small group of houses of Qingdynasty origin, known by some as Kat Hing Tsuen and consisting of non-Deng and Kat Hing Wai

Deng living outside the wall; the Wing Lung Division contains Wing Lung Wai and people living around the football pitch outside this village; finally, the Tai Hong Division contains Tai Hong Wai, Tai Hong Tsuen, Tsz Tong Tsuen, Kam Hing Wai, and Ko Po. The example of this latter Division is sufficient to show that the Divisions do not conform to lineage segments; the Tai Hong Division contains first and fourth fang members, and such an arrangement was created, according to members of this Division, to balance numbers.

As far as the ritual of the jiao is concerned, the focus is on the gods of the Taoist pantheon, prayed to in Taoist chants, the divinities of the community and certain outlying areas, who are invited to attend the sacrifice, and hungry ghosts in the underworld. Hence, the concentration is on supernatural beings which either already belong to the community domain, or are capable, unlike the objects of worship in the ancestral cult, of being defined within its framework.

While the only ancestor invited to attend the jiao is Deng Hongyi, the Kam Tin jiao does not otherwise exclusively concentrate on the community domain. It is true that in the arrangement of the area inside the large matshed, and in the siting of the poles welcoming the hungry ghosts, the rites replicate topological features of the Kam Tin community: the division into north and south, and the distinction between the five major settlements (Wing Lung Wai, Kam Hing Wai, Tai Hong Wai, Shui Mei Tsuen, and Shui Tau Tsuen) which make up the core of the five major Divisions (the sixth being the Ying Lung). However, the jiao also, in important respects, overrides the distinction between the community and genealogical domains. For instance, in 1975, during the Procession of Incense (jinxiang) through Kam Tin, both ancestral halls and temples and shrines were sites of worship. Moreover, as far as the ritual foods and their categories are concerned, the Kam Tin jiao, as we shall see,

takes over categories normally reserved for Great Ancestors (taigong) who have many descendants (and normally property), and transposes these categories to a ritual context concerned with the worship of divinities and the salvation of ghosts. It does this by arranging the food of the major rites in groups of fives, the most complex form of organising ritual foods reserved in the normal ritual system for such Great Ancestors. Furthermore, as we shall see, the jiao entails the introduction of an image of the Head of the Taoist Church, Celestial Master Zhang (Zhang tianshi) into the Moujing Tang ancestral hall, thus failing to distinguish between ritual categories that are normally kept quite distinct outside the home: the ancestral cult, and ritual practices concerned with non-ancestral supernatural beings. In other respects, the jiao entails not so much a negation of the distinction between the genealogical and community domains, as a balance between them. For instance, as far as the practitioners of worship are concerned, the public ritual acts, performed by the Taoist priests and the community representatives, (the Ritual Leaders (yuanshou), reflect certain aspects of the genealogical domain; this is the case, insofar as these rites are performed, and can only be performed, by males; the acts of worship performed by individuals which take place throughout the jiao, on the other hand, reflect aspects of the community domain, since they were open to women and largely performed by them.

In addition, in its organisation, the Kam Tin jiao makes use of both domains. The initial meetings to decide the type of organisation of what afterwards became the Jiao Association (the Jintian Xiang Shi Nian Li Jiao Weiyuanhui) were called in 1974 by the Head of the Clan (zuzhang) in his capacity as xiangzhang, or Head of the Area, a role based on his seniority in the genealogical domain. After the Jiao Association Committee was formed, however, this role was paralleled by that of the Chairman (zhuxi) whose credentials were his previous service in the community, including his Chairmanship of the Heung Yee Kuk, or New Territories Council.

The funding of the jiao also displays this ambiguity; for while much of the money came from ancestral trusts, those funds set aside for jiao rituals "per se" were paid directly to the Divisions, to be transferred afterwards to the Jiao Association. In other words, ancestral money was channelled through the community system. However, payment for the jiao opera which followed the rites was made directly from ancestral funds to the Association; the first Ritual Leader, the head man among sixty Deng chosen to represent the community during the jiao rituals, made the distinction clearly when he stated that the Ritual Leaders (each representing a Division, and thus a particular village or group of villages) had no authority over these operatic performances, since ancestral trusts were paying for them, and not the Jiao Association.

Thus, in important aspects, the Kam Tin jiao overrides the distinction in the local community between the community and genealogical domains, or balances these categories. As this thesis will show, it does this to recreate the community's moral boundaries which are infringed by everyday practices. As such, the jiao entails the renewal of a community in cosmological terms, and a reckoning up of social relations; this latter aspect is shown, for example, by the census that is taken of all the Kam Tin Deng who in any case have to subscribe to the performance and those outsiders (wairen: non-Deng) who voluntarily subscribe. This census, whose results are set out in the Memorials and Registers of the jiao, is in the eyes of informants a definition of their place in the world, a conscious statement of where their loyalties belong; a declaration that they, whether Deng or non-Deng are "Kam Tin people". (14)

It is only through this series of esoteric Taoist rites, considered the most important rituals in Kam Tin, that the community can attempt successfully to achieve those rewards of fortune, peace, and longevity, which it is in the power of the gods to grant, and for which, also, the jiao is performed as an act of thanks.

Chapter 2.

The Foundation of the Kam Tin Jiao, The Rite's History and Mythology.

1. The Different Types of Interpretation

Members of the Kam Tin Deng lineage when asked about the purpose of the Kam Tin jiao gave as the primary explanation the commemoration of the two officials Zhou Youde, the Viceroy (Zongdu) of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces, and Wang Lairen, the Governor (xunfu) of Guangdong for their obtaining the return of the Kam Tin people to their homes after forced migration during the early period of the Qing dynasty. However, the Kam Tin Deng interpreted the events associated with this period in different ways. Some, who were considered scholars in the local community, based their interpretation of the events leading to the establishment of the Kam Tin jiao in 1685 on the available historical records. It was this method of analysis which led one local scholar to include an extract from the thirteenth juan of the 1820 edition of the Xin'an Gazetteer in his genealogy (the Shijiantang jiapu, compiled by Deng Huiqiao), which following its compilation in 1966 became the basis for all subsequent versions including that of the Head of the Clan (zuzhang). The people in Kam Tin who accepted only this interpretation of the events associated with the migration, rejected the popular mythologies on the grounds that they did not accord with factual knowledge. The concept of "fact", however, did not necessarily seem to be developed from any 'scientific' notion introduced through the modern educational system; rather, it seemed to have its roots in Confucian concepts of historiography, possibly taught in clan schools. One Elder, a man of seventy, who subscribed to these views, denied the mythologies (which will be examined below) on the grounds that "Confucius had never talked about such things".

There were those then in the local community who supported the historically orthodox description of the events, while others gave mythological explanations; the latter term is defined for the purposes of this study by characteristics

that are strictly ahistorical, either as a result of the contraction of historical time spans, or because of relationships between the natural and the supernatural. In this context, it is important to note that there has been a tendency in recent anthropological discussion of the underlying causes of different ritual interpretations and explanations to see in these differences a reflection of the class or occupational structure of Chinese society. (1)

By judging this perspective in the light of the problem of why Kam Tin informants, though unified in their assessment of the Kam Tin jiao as an act of commemoration for the two Governors, differed in their interpretation of the events, we can see that this kind of analysis offered is, to say the least, simplistic, and, for the most part, incorrect. Kam Tin informants did differ in occupational status and in wealth, though how much they differed in class is a difficult question, given the trouble of applying a problematic concept to people of a non-western culture who are members of one group defined by kinship, the lineage. Moreover, the occupational differences among the specific Kam Tin Deng who offered detailed descriptions of the circumstances associated with the foundation of the jiao were minimal: all had been farmers for most of their lives, and although their relative wealth differed, this bore no relation to the kind of explanation adopted. This kind of evidence encourages caution about strictly sociological explanations of ideology. The explanation as far as Kam Tin is concerned, is to be found in the fact that supporters of only the historically orthodox interpretation seemed, by their conversations and discussions, consciously to adopt a model of the "Chinese Scholar" with all its implications of a Confucian heritage; those who gave mythological implications did not adopt such models, though a few were as literate as the scholars. The conflicting interpretations, then, are understandable in terms of the classical Chinese problem of learning and the ideological system defining the criteria of scholarship.

The conflicting interpretations by the Kam Tin Deng are easier to

understand if all the detailed explanations together with the historical records of the times are set out. This also enables the analyst to make further conclusions about the relationship between the explanation of the Kam Tin jiao as an act of commemoration for the two Governors, and the content of the jiao rituals (which will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters). It also permits an analysis of the relationship of the figures of the two Governors with the lay belief system underlying the Kam Tin jiao.

2. The Historical Circumstances

The basic causes of the migration were the activities of Zheng Chenggong, also known as Koxinga. The authority Xie Guozhen attributes three causes to the migration which affected the five Provinces of Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Shandong; these were: the fear the Manchus had of Koxinga, the severity of Koxinga's military discipline, and third, the maintenance of maritime communications by Ming loyalists. (i) The Ming loyalists after the fall of the mainland retreated to Taiwan, established as a base by Koxinga's father Zheng Zhilong. (ii) The threat of Koxinga's forces was demonstrated when in 1659 he organised a successful northern expedition, taking Chongming, Guazhou, Zhenjiang, while his ally Zhang Huangyan took the Prefectures of Wulu, Taiping, Ningguo, Chuzhou, Hezhou and Huizhou. Twenty-four districts including Dang xuand Fangchang subsequently surrendered. Ming loyalists at Hangzhou and Jiujiang also rose up in rebellion. (iii)

The migration was a direct response by the Qing authorities to this state of affairs. As far as Guangdong was concerned, the migration area stretched from Raoping in the east to Qinzhou. However, the migration affected the two Prefectures of Huizhou and Chaozhou the most severely, also hitting Canton, Gaozhou, Leizhou, and Lianzhou. (iv)

(i) Xie G. Z.: Ming-Qing zhi jie dangshe yundong kao, appendix 2, Taipei, 1966, p. 291

(ii) Ibid.

(iii) Op. cit. p. 292.

(iv) Op. cit. p. 316.

Xin'an County which included Kam Tin, was, therefore, involved. The County Gazetteer for 1820 has a section on the migration which was recopied into the Kam Tin Deng genealogies cited above; it gives the history of this County during these times. The text states that in 1661 :

"as the seas had not yet been pacified, a proposal was made to move the people to prevent them from suffering harm. The zongzhen (Ng (1961) p. 235 translates this as Grand Commissioner) Zhang came to inspect the coastal boundary. In the second month of the first year of the Kangxi Emperor's reign [1662] the daxian [Ng (ibid.) translates this as Brigadier General] inspected the [coastal] border and established a boundary, deciding that two thirds of the district was to be moved. In the third lunar month of that year, he dispatched zongzhen Cao and zongtong [which may be translated as Brigade Commander] Ma. These men, commanding garrison troops, carved out the boundary and drove the people a distance of fifty li inland. At first the people did not know about the migration, that they had to move, until soldiers had arrived, although there had been a proclamation; so, many abandoned their property, and taking their wives and leading their children, they set off. Living in the open in desolate places, many died. Some sought refuge in Dongguan and Guishan others scattered far abroad, not mindful of the distance ...

"In the eighth month of the Kangxi Emperor's second year [1663], daxian Yi and Shi came to inspect the [coastal] boundary of Guangdong again, intending to extend the boundary, with the aim of completing the migration there. Viceroy Lu perceived the hardship of the local people during the course of the first migration, and memorialised begging the Court to avoid completely moving the people and to stop the forced migration of the twenty-four Xiang of Donglu and Xilu.

"In the third month of the third year of the Kangxi Emperor [1664] the chengshou [Captain] Zhang Hongrun and the District Magistrate Zhang Pu drove the people from the twenty-four Xiang of Donglu and Xilu behind the boundary. Afterwards the Grand Commissioners came to inspect the boundary every year during all seasons. At the beginning, many people from the first migration longed to return, and still could not bear leaving their wives and children. When they had been in exile for some time, however, they had no way of supporting themselves, and so, husbands came to abandon their wives, fathers left their sons, and elder brothers separated from younger ones, without looking back. Untold numbers drifted away and perished. The Provincial and District officials all the time made plans to organise relief. However, because there were many migrants and little land, they finally had no means of helping ...

"In the first month of the seventh year of the Kangxi Emperor [1668], the Governor, Wang Lairen, sent a memorial petitioning about the boundary. The Court sent a Special Commissioner (tepai) called Qin Shihui who with the Viceroy, Zhou Youde, went to investigate the boundary, and to build defences. The coastal people greeted them; thronging the road, all welcomed them from far away.

"In the tenth month [of 1668], Viceroy Zhou memorialised the Throne, asking that fortifications be henceforth built at the site of the original boundary. In the first month of the eighth year of the Kangxi Emperor, [1669] they visited the boundary and permitted the people to return to their occupations, allowing those people not willing to return to act according to their own wishes; but the people leapt for joy and returned as if they had obtained a new life ..." (i)

The 1668 Gazetteer for Xin'an County, on which this account is based, and which was in part edited by a Kam Tin Deng, Deng WenWei, describes the hardship in greater details, relating how people had to become the menials of other clans to stay alive, how rich families obtained the children of the migrants without money, how people lived in poverty stricken and despicable conditions, and how some were so ashamed about having to beg, that they poisoned themselves. (ii)

The hardship caused by this scorched earth policy and the gratitude towards the two officials became a justification for building the Zhou Wang Er Gong Shuyuan translated as the Governors' Temple (see Photograph 1), and establishing the Kam Tin jiao. This is described both in the genealogies based on the Shijiantang 1966 compilation and on a plaque put up at the time of the fourth restoration in 1965. The plaque narrates that the Governors' Temple was built in 1684 to commemorate and worship (si gong chong si) the two officials and to make a return for their meritorious action (baode), as they had put an end to the boundary and allowed the people who were in extreme poverty, to return. The genealogies, while commemorating the two officials' great act of merit in gaining the restoration of the people to Kam Tin, mention that the descendants of Deng Hongyi, the founding ancestor exclusive to the Kam Tin Deng moved village from 1663 until 1669, and then in 1685 built a Hall (ci) (the Governors' Temple), and set up an altar for a Jiao with the purpose of saving (chaodu) lost souls (wanghun), and putting on theatrical performances in order to obtain felicity. The passage states that Kam Tin has performed

(i) Wang C. X. et al.: Chongxiu Xin'an Xianzhi, 1820, juan 13.

(ii) Jin W. M., et al.: Chongxiu Xin'an Xianzhi, 1668, juan 11.

the rite every ten years starting from 1685, a fact which was supported by statements from Deng informants. (2)

By building the Governors' Temple near Shui Tau Tsuen, the Kam Tin Deng became part of a pattern which was widespread throughout Guang Dong Province. As far as the local area is concerned, the 1820 edition of the Xin'an County Gazetteer lists temples at Xixiang, Shatou Xu, and at Shek Wu Hui; in addition, both men were deified in the Minghuan Ci, the Temple to famous Officials in the County seat at Nantou. (i)

Nevertheless, it seems from the evidence available that Kam Tin was the only community to establish the tradition of performing a jiao at the time of building the temple. In fact, the interrelation between the performance of the jiao and the restoration of the Governors' Temple is very close; the restoration of the Governors' Temple has always taken place just prior to a jiao, the money being raised by public subscription from the Kam Tin Deng; restorations of the Temple took place in 1755, 1824, 1935, 1965, and 1975.

3. The Mythological Explanations

Informants who explained the reasons for the foundation of the jiao only in terms of the historical explanation added that the community was moved inland as a result of marauders from both land and sea. While they characterised the sea marauders as Koxinga's invaders from Taiwan, the land robbers in the local area were followers of Li Wanrong who was not pacified until 1656 according to the Xin'an Gazetteer. (ii) Deng Wenwei is supposed to have made a pact with Li to protect Kam Tin. (3) Li, according to local informants, established a camp at the foot of Tai Mo Shan, about two miles to the south-east of Kam Tin.

(i) Wang C.X. et al.: Chongxiu Xin'an Xianzhi, 1820, juan 7: temples.

(ii) Ibid, juan 13.

This evidence provides the connecting pin for the first version of the mythological explanations concerning the foundation of the Kam Tin jiao. This story was told by the Head of the Village (weizhang) of Kat Hing Wai, an Elder of eighty-two at the time of fieldwork.

(Version 1.)

There was a man called Li (4) who lived in Sheung Tsuen and who owned certain houses (in Shui Tau Tsuen) where the Hong Sheng Gong Temple is now. Now, the Kam Tin people were very ferocious and powerful - they were a Great Clan (dazu) and they came, and wanted to build a temple to Hong Sheng where Mr. Li owned a few houses, because it was the central geomantic (fengshui) position of the area; its fengshui position was the best. So the Kam Tin people built the temple and installed its divinities. Li then came to Shui Tau Tsuen and entered the temple. After this, the Kam Tin people completely surrounded the whole area with matchwood and prepared to burn Li out of the temple. But what was surprising was that he did not move and was not harmed; it transpired that Li had become possessed (shangshen) by the Tudi Gong of the temple. The god Hong Sheng was involved in fighting with him; Hong Shen was defending the area, as Li had destroyed the temple guardian. (5) However, in the southern part of Kam Tin there was a xiucai who was sent to consult [about means of resolving the conflict] and went backwards and forwards, during which time the Governors Zhou and Wang were informed and deliberated a plan to solve the problem.

This myth has several noteworthy aspects: the first of these is the transformation of the whole historical basis of the migration into a myth probably based on a rebel who was suppressed before the migration took place. In other words, the Taiwan problem of the early Qing was completely left out. This has the result of localising the conflict, of transforming conflict which affected the whole of southern China's coastline into an intra-Xiang, inter-village dispute over land rights, and their control. That this is the major issue

is shown by the fact that the Kam Tin Deng were determined, in the story, to build a temple dedicated to their divinity on the site with the best geomantic properties; properties which would establish fortune, power and influence for them. By stealing Li's geomancy they were establishing control and ascendancy at the expense of Li. The fact that Li in the myth, became possessed by the Tudi Gong, the Earth God of the area, the spiritual ruler over the local territory, who fought with Hong Sheng, the divinity to whom the new temple was dedicated, also emphasises that property and thus political control was at issue. The conflict between the Deng and Li is represented by conflict between divinities who represent the interests of the parties.

Seen in this way, this version of the mythology surrounding the events leading to the foundation of the Kam Tin Jiao proposes the relations of conflict that existed between Kam Tin and the Pat Heung as the basis of the rationale for this jiao. I have considered the mythological Li to be a transformation of the rebel Li who lived in the Sheung Tsuen area. This was because informants from the same village, Kat Hing Wai, who offered historically orthodox interpretations, singled out Li Wan Rong as the bandit par excellence during this "time of troubles". However, it is possible that the mythological Li is a merger of Li Wan Rong and another Li who was the first ancestor of the present-day Li of Sheung Tsuen. In fact, the Kam Tin Elder who gave me this myth later related a different version which would seem to interpret this Li as the ancestor discussed by Nelson. ⁽ⁱ⁾ This later version states that Li had built a tomb for his ancestors in Shui Tau Tsuen on a site having good geomantic characteristics. The Deng wanted the site and built the Hong Sheng Gong Temple on it, driving Li away. Later the Li lineage complained to the yamen officers in Nantou the seat of Xin'an County, stating that the Deng had taken away their ancestral burial site; the mandarin investigated the matter [presumably, to no avail].

(i) H.G.H. Nelson: Ancestor Worship and Burial Practices, in Wolf (ed.) (1974), p, 256.

This subsequent version would seem to involve the Li ancestor, whom Nelson romanises as Lei Wui-Wan, who moved from Kam Tin and settled in Sheung Tsuen, and is considered by Sheung Tsuen oral tradition to have been badly treated in Kam Tin. Nelson calculates that this ancestor must have arrived in Sheung Tsuen at about 1600, a date which is only just over half a century before the migration.

If this is so, this subsequent version given by the Kam Tin Elder highlights conflict between two lineages in the same area, thus bringing out relations of opposition between Kam Tin and the people of the Pat Heung.

However, the mythological status of the first account of this story lies not only in its transformation of conflict rife along the whole of the south-east Chinese coast into a local dispute, and in the supernatural relations which this transformation entails, but also in the historically incorrect nature of the myth. While the Elder who related this story affirmed that the events took place in the Kangxi Emperor's reign, which corresponds with the time of the migration, records in Kam Tin state that the Hong Sheng Gong Temple was built in the Ming Chenghua period (1465 to 1487). (ii)

The second version of the story explaining the foundation of the Kam Tin Jiao depends on a different set of relationships. The myth is as follows:

(Version 2.)

Lü Dongbin [one of the Eight Immortals] acted as the geomancer for the Small Ancestral Hall descendants [the descendants of Deng Guangyu]. He selected the date for them to put up their ancestral hall. But the Shui Tau Tsuen descendants did not dare to accept the Immortal's advice. The reason was that the site that he had chosen would bring the Three Calamities (sansha), that is, three years, three months, three days, and three hours of misfortune before benefits would ensue. Now, the Eight Immortals defend people against evil beings, and so, shortly after the refusal of the villagers to accept Lü

(i) Ibid.

(ii) Kam Tin (1972?): Jintian fengguang.

Dongbin's advice, a Dragon Boat, transformed into a dragon, took off from Kam Tin, went to the Emperor's treasure chest, and stole jewels and treasures including a chicken made of gold. The Emperor then sent the Governors Zhou and Wang to search out and find which village was responsible. This was how the Governors Zhou and Wang came to Kam Tin. However, in those days, not one person would be punished, but the whole village. Yet the Governors Zhou and Wang defended the people of Kam Tin on the grounds that not all of them were bad and most were good; in doing so, they committed suicide. So the Governors' Temple was built and the jiao established to commemorate them for their goodness.

This story was told to me by a fourth fang Elder in Shui Tau Tsuen and is significant for a number of reasons; the first is that the mythological nature of the story is established at the beginning: the origins of the trouble lie in a failure to heed the words of advice of an Immortal. The social and political relationships at the beginning of the Qing dynasty which were the background for the migration are here transformed into the consequences of not trusting the advice of a geomancer.

The second point is that this myth is a reinterpretation and collation of other myths having no relation with the jiao. It is in fact one of a number of transformations of a basic story pattern which ascribes miraculous events to the building of the Laicheng Tang ancestral hall, referred to locally as the Small Ancestral Hall (Citangzi). (6)

It is noteworthy that the Laicheng Tang ancestral hall is involved in this second version of the myth of the circumstances leading to the Kam Tin jiao's foundation. In the first version, the ritual building involved was the Hong Sheng Gong, the village temple of Shui Tau Tsuen. As the first version was told by a southern Kam Tin Elder, this element stresses the conflict between the northern and southern sections of the Kam Tin Xiang, particularly since blame was ascribed to the Shui Tau Tsuen Deng. In this second version, told by a Shui Tau Tsuen Elder, blame for the malevolence is

ascribed to the first fang descendants of Deng Guangyu. This is significant as the Elder who told this story was a fourth fang descendant, an important point since the first and fourth fang are in a state of subdued conflict, which manifested itself during the preparations for the jiao which will be discussed below.

Both of these myths express in story form the structural oppositions within the community. In the first case, the opposition is based on the community segmentation into north and south; in the second, the opposition reflects the conflicting interests of the two major segments of Deng Hongyi descendants in Kam Tin. In the second version of the myth, however, the intervention of the dragon boats bridges the gulf between the theft originating in Kam Tin and the Imperial Throne. This is because the dragon boat is both representative of the crocodiles which threaten to eat the body of Qu Yuan in the legend associated with the Duanwu Jie (Dragon Boat Festival) known throughout China and cited locally, and, at the same time a symbol of the Emperor - again a form of representation acknowledged in Kam Tin. This implies that the moral status of the theft is ambiguous: on the one hand, it is a theft by threatening monsters; on the other, the rightful possession of his own property by the metaphorical representation of the Emperor.

Although the second version of the myth describes the intervention of the Emperor in the local situation as a result of stealing jewels, this is not in itself a culpable action, but rather the result of disregarding a divinity's advice. It is the disregard which is blameworthy. This provides the justification for the assertion that the community is, as a whole, good, and unworthy of punishment.

The third version of the explanatory myths is much closer to what has been termed the "orthodox" version of the history. It is as follows :

(Version 3.)

During those times, there were many robbers, and the people were moved inland as a result. The Governors Zhou and Wang were responsible for moving the people inland, but they knew that the people of Kam Tin were good; so they petitioned the Emperor to move the people back to their original site. Yet the officials knew that if the submission of the petition went awry, the Emperor would cut off their heads; thus the officials poisoned themselves by eating the ginkgo nut (baiguo).

This version was told by a Shui Tau Tsuen Elder and is similar to the fourth and fifth versions which are as follows :

(Version 4.)

Now, the jiao is not about Kam Tin as a village. In those days, there were many brigands, so the Emperor sent the Governors Zhou and Wang to find out who were the robbers. The officials came, but did not know which people were brigands and which were not. Thus they moved the people inland for many years. However, the Emperor was annoyed, since he had sent the two officials to sort out who were brigands and who were not, not to have the people sent inland.

In those days, officials used to carry poison in their belts to prevent the Emperor from cutting off their heads. By means of this, the Governors committed suicide. For this reason, the Kam Tin people on the nineteenth and twenty-first days of the fifth lunar month worship the Governors [in the Governors Associations' rituals]. Moreover, after casting blocks, we found that a ten year period was satisfactory for performing a jiao.

This fourth version was told by a Kat Hing Wai Elder and is similar to the fifth version which follows :

(Version 5.)

In those days, there were many brigands and so the Kam Tin people were moved inland. However, the Governors Zhou and Wang seeing that the people were innocent, submitted memorials to the Emperor. Afterwards, fearing that the memorials would be ineffective, they committed suicide by eating gold pieces. So the jiao was founded and the Governors' Temple built to commemorate the two officials.

This version was told by the now deceased fangzhang of the third fang, a Wing Lung Wai man.

The third, fourth, and fifth versions of the explanatory myths, differ from the preceding myths in that they do not involve relations between the natural and the supernatural. The common element in their explanations is the suicide of the two officials. It is around this element that the history of the times is reinterpreted. There are, in fact, documents which might lend themselves to this interpretation. A copy of Governor Wang's address to the Throne was included in the revised Kam Tin genealogies mentioned above as well as in 22 of the 1820 edition of the County Gazetteer. This petition, stressing the hardship of the people, the throwing away of land and population taxes worth more than three hundred thousand taels, and the innocence of the people, opens with the statement :

"Your insignificant servant receives overwhelming benevolence, to which he cannot reply even if he sacrifices his life ... your servant would beg your wise consideration, and then could die in peace."

Sung quoting from another (unnamed) source, gives the following translation :

" ... I have received information from Peking that the ministers of the Board have reported badly of me, and having the Imperial degree [sic (decree)] dismissing me, I may die at any moment ... but as I am on the point of death, I pour out my blood to write this suggestion as my will before my death. Though I have done nothing for my country, since I can have this matter put before you I can die without regret." (i)

Sung, moreover, gives this interpretation :

"Wong [Wang] died, whether before leaving Kwangtung [Guangdong Province] or on his arrival in Peking, is uncertain, and there are many private records that state that he did not die a natural death, having taken poison by his own hand, as a protest to the throne." (ii)

(i) Sung (1938), pp. 40-41.

(ii) Op. cit., p. 40.

There seems to be some evidence, then, that Wang committed suicide; however, there is no evidence that Viceroy Zhou did so. The mythologies, therefore, transform the alleged suicide of Governor Wang into a joint suicide by both officials. The word "alleged" is used here since the inconsistency between Sung's version of the Memorial and that in the Kam Tin genealogies cited above tends to cast some doubt upon the affair, particularly since the texts differ most in the sections dealing with Wang offering up his life.

The notion that the two officials committed suicide provides a rationale for making them the subject of ritual in Kam Tin. If their suicide is interpreted as a protest, this approximates the story to models of noble and upright officials who took their lives as a protest to a deaf Court; the archetype of the model is Qu Yuan, the fourth century B. C. Minister of the state of Chu who eventually committed suicide as a protest against the Court not taking his advice. Qu Yuan later became the subject of the story explaining the Duanwu Jie, or Dragon Boat Festival, established, supposedly, to commemorate him. It seems that the use of the notion of self-sacrifice as a protest was used in the same way by the Kam Tin Deng to provide a rationale for both the jiao and the rituals of the Governors Associations (Xunfuhui) set up to commemorate the two officials.

The story that the Governors committed suicide out of fear of the Emperor's retribution, while not approximating to the model of political morality typified by Qu Yuan, establishes that the Governors were willing to give up their lives either at their own hands or at those of the Emperor to defend the interests of the people. This transforms the basic historical plot into a supreme act of merit, worthy of thanksgiving by the people.

In the course of this chapter, a division has been made between historical explanations, dependent on documentary evidence, and mythology, in the rationales provided by the Kam Tin Deng for the inauguration of their jiao. Yet these stories, whether the historical or mythological, both attempt to provide a

justification for the performance of the jiao. They both belong to a common Chinese model of explanation in terms of an entity's origins. However, the different perspectives - what I have termed the "orthodox" and the mythological - each reflect different attitudes towards belief in general, and the status of the two officials in particular. In fact, the conflict between the "orthodox" and mythological explanations reflects a historical tension between Confucian orthodoxy and the more popular religious cults. As far as the local area is concerned, this tension is reflected in the comments at the end of the section dealing with local ritual customs in the 1688 Xin'an Gazetteer where the compilers emphasised that as well as such practices, Confucian rites were maintained. (i)

The difference between the "orthodox" historical explanations and the mythological ones reflects a difference in the interpretation of the *raison d'être* of the Kam Tin jiao that is deeper than the content of the stories would seem to imply. During the time of fieldwork in Kam Tin, the "orthodox" explanatory system was associated with the interpretation of the Governors as men, who on death became ghosts (*gui*), but whose actions are worthy of commemoration. The mythological system of explanation was associated with the interpretation of the Governors as divinities (*shen*); the foundation of the jiao, in itself a ritual dealing with supernatural relationships, was thus explained by mythological circumstances which involved the supernatural.

In practice, it was possible for some Kam Tin Deng to attempt to bridge the gap between the systems of explanation. Thus, the Elder who related the story about Lü Dongbin and the failure of Deng Guangyu's descendants to heed his advice (version 2), was able on another occasion to propose the story of the suicide of the officials by eating ginkgo nuts (version 3) as the explanation. This story is one of the mythologies that conforms quite closely

(i) Op. cit., juan 3.

with the historical record. Therefore, if the division between the two systems of explanation was quite clear, in that certain informants subscribed to one set of beliefs rather than another, many themes from both systems could be identified in the discourse of others.

To some extent this lack of uniformity in the belief system is concomitant with ambiguities in the ritual system. The theological ambiguities of the objects of devotion, the Governors Zhou and Wang, are better demonstrated by an analysis of the rites of the various Kam Tin Governors Associations. There are three such Associations in Kam Tin. These Associations perform annual rites with the express intention of commemorating the Governors Zhou and Wang. The rituals of one of the Associations take place on the nineteenth day of the fifth lunar month in the Governors' Temple, and those of the remaining two Associations on the twenty-first day of the same month; one of these two worships in the Governors' Temple, and the other in the village shrine (shenting), in Kat Hing Wai; details of these Associations are set out in Appendix I.

The ritual patterns of these three Associations reflect two different but (within the total belief system) complementary approaches to ritual which have already been discussed in the introduction to this thesis: these are the ancestral cult model and the non-ancestral worship model.

The Associations which worship in the Governors' Temple enact a ritual which is very similar to ancestor worship. The ritual functionaries of the Association (the lisheng); or people who read the ritual text, the zhishi, or attendants who bring ritual goods forward, and the zhuji, or Head of the Rites, who performs the kowtow in front of the altar are the same as those for the rites of a Great Ancestor (taigong). This is in contrast to rites in front of non-ancestral supernatural beings which do not have such functionaries. In addition, the ritual foods were, with certain exceptions, similar to those of the rites at the grave of a Great Ancestor (taigong). (7)

The system of ritual was the same as for ancestral Hall rites, with

worship at the Tudi Gong shrine in the Governors' Temple first, and the remainder of the rite consisting of kowtowing in front of the Governors' soul tablets on the main altar. Moreover, as in ancestral rites for a Great Ancestor, a Ritual Text (zhuwen) was read during the course of these performances.

The Association which meets in the Kat Hing Wai Village Shrine follows the normal ritual practices of worshipping divinities (shen); the ritual foods are coded into groups of three, as opposed to foods for a Great Ancestor whose basic code is five. (8) The ritual practitioners are the largest shareholder and his wife; the presence of a woman differentiating this rite from the ancestral-type performances conducted in the Governors' Temple. As in worship on a divinity's birthday, no ritual texts are read out.

These Associations demonstrate in ritual form the contradictory themes of the Governors considered as ancestor-like figures on the one hand, and as divinities on the other; a distinction which replicates that of the historically "orthodox" and mythological interpretations of the foundation of this jiao. This distinction is important, because according to the first interpretation, the Governors are supernaturally powerless individuals, whose benefits for the present population of Kam Tin now have their source merely in the geomantic siting of the Temple. (9) Some of the informants who gave only this kind of interpretation, considered that the activities performed by Taoist priests, during the jiao, though necessary to commemorate (jinián) the Governors, were nonetheless superstitious (mixin). This indicates the problem about the "orthodox" explanation of the foundation of the Jiao. The rite itself represents a system of relations between the natural and the supernatural incorporating both these elements into a single cosmology where divinities can intercede on behalf of men. In this context, a rationale which proposes that the jiao is exclusively an act of commemoration of or thanks to meritorious but mortal beings, the morality of whose actions is depicted in Confucian terms

clearly does not fit. This is because the rationale does not suggest the complexities of the cosmology underlying the jiao. Admittedly, the history of the migration contains episodes when people were isolated, and died of starvation and poverty in villages outside their home area. All these methods of death, according to the belief system underlying the jiao and set out in the texts, would be sufficient to transform the victims into malevolent ghosts, whose placation is one of the objects of the rites. However, this link depends on the very cosmology which this type of rationale does not entail.

Some informants who used this rationale certainly believed in certain aspects of the jiao cosmology; by referring to the Governors as ghosts (gui), they accepted the concepts of the jiao's cosmology. Yet, by referring to the Governors as ghosts, they designated them as relatively powerless supernatural beings, worthy of commemoration. The crux of the issue is that no matter what

belief system to which any one informant who gave this rationale might subscribe, to explain the jiao as an act of commemoration, does not explain the significance of the jiao as a ritual system; nor does it explain why a jiao was established, as opposed to a collective act of worship by the Kam Tin Deng, akin to the rituals of the Governors Associations.

The interpretation of the Governors as divinities contrasts analytically with the preceding rationale. From the Kam Tin Deng's statements, the Governors belong to a set of divinities, including Guanyin, whose good acts in this life led to their deification. ⁽¹⁰⁾ This provides a connection between the historical events of the migration and the cosmology of the jiao. In fact, as we have seen above, those who interpreted the Governors as divinities gave mythological explanations which either rewrote the history of the times in terms of a cosmology incorporating natural-supernatural relationships, or transformed the possible self-sacrifice of Wang into a suicide by both of the Governors, thus providing the grounds for the deification of both of them. Whereas in the case of the first rationale, there is the contrast between

history - that is, events taking place merely on the plane of the natural - and a cosmology which involves both natural and supernatural in one system, in the case of this second system of explanation, no conflict exists; the historical events have been reinterpreted in a setting which implies those aspects of the cosmology of the jiao common to both Taoists and laymen. This connection between the cult of the Governors and the introduction of the jiao is, furthermore, strengthened by other myths, quite common in Kam Tin today which informants used to explain why the Kam Tin jiao was set up according to the wishes and prescriptions of the Governors themselves.

The versions which I heard are listed seriatim :

(Version 1.)

Originally, because communications were so bad, people had to go to Canton to hire actors for operatic performances. So it was with the jiao opera, except that the Governors Zhou and Wang had signed the contracts for the actors, and paid for them with gold and silver. This was thought to be very strange by the Deng, but when the actors saw the pictures of the Governors in the [Governors'] Temple, they recognised who had been their customers.

(Version 2.)

After the first performance of the jiao, when the time came to pay the workers who had put up the matshed and the operatic actors, both these groups of people said that it was not necessary to pay them, as they had already been paid. This was thought to be very strange, but when the pictures of the two officials were brought out, the workmen and the actors recognised the portraits and said that these people had paid for the plays.

(Version 3.)

In those days, materials for a matshed started appearing in Shui Tau Tsuen which had been brought there by cart. This was thought to be very strange as in those days nothing could be brought from canton by cart but only by boat. So the Elders asked what it was all about and it transpired that

these were materials for a jiao. So they went and cast blocks and while doing so were informed by the Governors Zhou and Wang that the jiao was to take place every ten years and was to be for five days and six nights.

(Version 4.)

After the two officials had died and before any jiao had taken place, the people of Shui Tau Tsuen saw a matshed being built by the side of the river. Baffled by this, they went to find out what had happened. They saw that the contract had been signed by people who were paying for the workers and the construction of the matshed. The [Kam Tin] people asked themselves who it had been that had paid. Eventually someone brought the pictures of the two officials out for the people to see, and the constructors immediately recognised them saying, "That's right! It's them!" Furthermore, the two officials laid down the regulations for the jiao, stating that it should take place every ten years. There was no avoiding putting the Governors' tablets in the Scholars' Hall (Shuyuan) [in other words, the Governors' Temple].

In addition, Sung Hok-P'ang recorded another version of the myth which he described as follows :

"A story tells how on the first of these occasions [that is, a jiao], after five days and nights of festival the Kin Tsiu [jianjiao] was finished, and the matshed about to be pulled down. Suddenly a lot of Hei Shuen [xichuan] ships for carrying actors and their properties arrived at Hung Fan T'aam, a pool near the Kam Shui [Kam Tin Shui Tau Tsuen?]. The actors' manager went on shore to see the elders of the village to arrange matters and were [sic] surprised to be told by them that he was not expected as they had not ordered any theatrical performance. He declared that ten days before two very grandly dressed men had come to him and made a contract to have a play performed in Kam Tin for five days. He then displayed the contract, and the elders found two signatures on it, one being Chau [Zhou] and the other Wong [Wang]. Much surprised the elders led the man into the hall, where the man gave a cry on seeing the portraits of the Viceroy and the Governor. "Those are the two gentlemen who made the contract with us", he said, "are they not some of your elders, and where are they now?" So the Kam Tin people decided that it was the souls of Viceroy Chau [Zhou] and Governor Wong [Wang] who wanted them to have the performance, and being without money ready to pay the actors they decided to appropriate some money from the ancestral funds of Naam K'ai [Nanqi] and Ts'ing Lok [Qingle] to pay the expenses." (i)

This set of myths integrates the circumstances of the migration and the return to Kam Tin into the cosmological system of the jiao. By doing so, it signifies the gap between the "orthodox" historical rationale of the jiao, and the jiao itself; it does this by removing those obstacles which prevent explanatory completeness: the jiao was established not so much as a mere act of commemoration, according to the contents of these myths, but as an act of divine intervention.

This chapter has discussed the rationales given by the Kam Tin Deng for the foundation of their jiao. However, these rationales were not only explanations of the foundation of the jiao, but of the jiao as a whole. By giving these rationales, the community was explaining in its own terms the purpose of the rites. As the description has shown, there was no unified system of collective representations, even if the concepts in the explanations offered belong to ideological systems recognised by all members of the community.

Moreover, it is tempting to state that the differences of interpretation are the result of "more modern" education (including instruction in science), contrasted with the conservatism of people either educated in the classical system, or barely educated at all; and to add that these "modern" influences have been accentuated since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, by the spread of atheistic ideas. While it is hard to assess the influence of these historical processes, it is also hard to deny that the conflicts in interpretation reflect the age-old ambivalence of Confucianism and self-styled Confucianist scholars towards the popular religious culture. I have suggested that this is the major reason for the distinctions in the explanations offered; for, as noted above, some of those who gave mythological explanations were also educated men; however, these men, although educated in traditional classics, did not see themselves as classical scholars. It has been suggested that at the root of the divergence is the question of models of education consciously adopted by informants.

Chapter 3.The Organisation of the Jiao.I. The Committee Structure.

The present day organisation of the Jiao Association dates from the 1965 performance; the organisation itself consists of a series of categories which are not discrete in that any particular person might be in any number of them. These categories are as follows: first, the Heads of the Committee (huizhang), then the Chairman (zhuxi), the Vice-Chairmen (fuzhuxi), then the Ritual Leaders (yuanshou: the representatives of the Community during the performance of jiao rituals), and the Committee Members (weiyuan); this structure is set out in Figure 6 which follows the order given to me by the Kam Tin Deng. In addition to this there was a cross-cutting organisation of the personnel in terms of Sub-Groups (bu), each coping with a particular management problem. These were classified as the General Group (Zongwuzu), the Treasury (Caiwuzu), the External Relations Division (Jiaojizu), the Secretariat (Wenshuzu), the Public Security Organ (Gong'an zu), the Comptrollers' Division (Jihezu), and the Health Authority (Weishengzu).

Further details of the committee structure are given in Appendix 3.

FIGURE 6.

Heads of the
Committee

Chairman

Vice-Chairmen

Ritual
Leaders

Committee
Members

(a) The Heads of the Committee.

The category of Heads of the Committee contained people selected according to various different criteria. These people were nominated in December 1974, the time of selection of all the jiao officials, except the Ritual Leaders. Among the Heads of the Committee was the Head of the Clan (zuzhang), the most senior man in the lineage according to the traditional system. His authority's legitimacy lay in the fact that he was the oldest man of the earliest generation dating from the founding ancestor. This is the traditional method of allocating formal authority, known as the chuanbei system.

Another group consisted of some of the Village Leaders (cunzhang), people elected to represent the various villages of Kam Tin, who met in the Kam Tin Rural Committee (a Hong Kong Government sanctioned body, equivalent to a parish council, and dealing with welfare, local education, and health); this group included the Rural Committee's Chairman. (1)

The Group of Village Leaders who were Heads of the Committee in the 1975 Jiao Association, thus derived their status from participation in an organisation (the Rural Committee) set up on modernistic lines, that is, with a bureaucratic mode of organisation. In fact, this Committee maintained the traditional power balance between the Deng and the Outsiders in a new guise. This is partly because the Deng in the Rural Committee have limited both Electors and Nominees to Deng in the Deng-founded villages.

This partial continuity with the past in political relations is also shown by the membership of the new bureaucracy.

The Rural Committee between 1974 and 1976 was composed of five prominent Elders, including the Head of the Clan, acting as the village representative of Wing Lung Wai. The remaining six, including the Chairman, were all youngish men in their forties and fifties, who were of means and had established themselves through business.

Consequently, the Rural Committee members who were elected as Heads of the (jiao) Committee derived their status either from wealth acquired through business, and/or being an Elder, in other words, from the more traditional system of accrediting authority, dependent on age.

The remaining group of Heads of the Committee consisted either of Lineage Segment Leaders (for example, the fangzhang of the third major branch of the Deng lineage in Kam Tin), Elders who were believers in the cosmology of the jiao, but who otherwise had little status, Elders who were Managers (sili) of major ancestral trusts, Elders who derived their status from being the oldest person in the earliest generation in their village, Elders who were not only old but had acted as Rural Leaders (xiangzhang) prior to the Rural Committee system and finally youngish men, who, though not members of the Rural Committee, had been successful either in business, or who were prominent in local school education. Apart from these, the Chairman of the Jiao Association was a wealthy man owning both land and property which included a restaurant and a cinema in Yuen Long.

(b) The Chairman and Vice-Chairmen.

The Chairman of the Jiao Association, and that of the Rural Committee during the 1974-1976 session, were half-brothers who provided foci for different factions in Kam Tin, on the basis of a disputed inheritance from their father who in turn had represented the community in relations with the Government during his lifetime. This rivalry had asserted itself during the initial meetings of the provisional committee set up to discuss both the organisation and composition of the 1975 Jiao Association, when these two half-brothers had contested the position of Association Chairman.

The group of Vice-Chairmen was divided into two groups. The first group consisted of people who were either prominent in business, or in local education, or even in local politics (for example, the Chairman of the Kam Tin Residents Association, a pro-Taiwan rival to the Rural Committee). These men were asked

to perform this role though some rarely attended the Jiao Association meetings. The second group comprised the top five Ritual Leaders.

(c) The Remaining Members of the Committee

Both those discussed above and the Committee Members were selected by people who took part in the initial "provisional" meetings convened by the Head of the Clan. These were attended by the Village Leaders, the Heads of the Major Lineage Segments (fangzhang), and the Elders. In other words, the effective decision-making, even at this stage, was done by those who could lay a claim to status, first in terms of the traditional system, through being Elders or having positions, according to the chuanbei system, as heads of various lineage segments and second, in terms of the modern system, the post-1960 Rural Committee, whose members' legitimation is based either on wealth or on more traditional sources of authority, as we have seen. The Ritual Leaders, however, were not selected at the initial meeting, but later, on February 15th 1975, by a different process which is described fully in the following chapter, consisting of throwing blocks in the Governors' Temple.

The criterion for selection of the Committee Members seems to be the ability to manage problems; such an ability is shown in a number of ways: by making wealth, by involvement in local politics or local schools, by managing ancestral funds, or by demonstrating capability in less precise ways in the course of living in the community. In fact, many of these men were young.

Though the criteria for selection of the Committee Members and the Ritual Leaders were different, the composition of the two groups was not discrete, thirteen of the Committee Members also being Ritual Leaders. The reason for this was that they were selected first as Committee Members and then, through throwing the blocks, as Ritual Leaders.

The adoption of the "modernistic", bureaucratic, form of organisation of the committee after the 1955 jiao, was seen by Deng informants very much as a conscious effort to come to terms with the complexities of running a full-scale jiao. The problems of administration were seen as insurmountable without the

division of the Jiao Association's organisation into the (secular) Committee Members, selected on grounds of expertise, and the Ritual Leaders, now seen more as ritual representatives of the community. The burden of work on the top five Ritual Leaders, and especially the first, was seen as requiring the adoption of the modern system of committee management. One Committee Member contrasted the distinction between the pre-reformation jiao committee and the post-reformation form as one between feudalism (fengjian shehui) and democracy (minzhu shehui). . . This was, in fact, a gross exaggeration for reasons which will become clear during the discussion of the committee meetings. Nevertheless, it does indicate the conscious nature of the transformation which took place from one mode of management to another.

The integration of Committee Members represents an attempt to modify a system of organisation based on traditional styles, where the Elders and those in positions of authority through the chuanbei system, aided by the gongming (those who had degrees), maintained order in the community, even to the extent of invoking the death penalty (for example, adulterous couples were incarcerated in pig's cages and dropped into the river to drown). In practice, however, as the discussion on the method of holding meetings will show, the transformations were far less radical than they might seem. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to see the reasons for the changes. The process of throwing blocks, though resulting in the right choice in the eyes of believing participants, could well result in the selection of people without administrative experience; an example in the 1975 jiao was the second Ritual Leader. There would, however, tend to be a group of Ritual Leaders with previous experience of such administration. Furthermore, there have been cases where a prominent Ritual Leader performing for the first time, has had experience in the management of (non-jiao) financial trusts; the first Ritual Leader in the 1975 jiao was such a man. Still, there was no guarantee under the old system of organisation that people with the right administrative background would become Ritual Leaders.

The Sub-Groups (bu) of the Jiao Association were each filled with Committee Members and Ritual Leaders. In general, these Sub-Groups did not make use of any particular expertise, with the exceptions of the Treasury and the Secretariat. In the former, the Chairman's brother's son, who acted as the Chairman's financial advisor and accountant for his private business assets, took the role of accountant for the jiao, aided in this by the Head of the Clan; the latter was thus guaranteed a prominent position in the organisation of the committee. The Secretariat made use of people who were either teachers or clerks in local schools, or who were considered to be particularly literate by members of the local community; this latter category included people who had acted as Village Leaders.

2 . The Process of Committee Meetings.

The formal organisation of the committee meetings followed the binary organisation of the jiao as a general group containing both Ritual Leaders and Committee Members on the one hand, and a set of Sub-Groups on the other. Most of the administration was handled through the public meetings involving the general group. The Sub-Groups, with the exception of the Secretariat, rarely, if at all, met, since most of their problems were aired publicly at the general meetings.

At a third level, there were Village Committees organised in the central village of each Division (for example, in the case of the Tai Hong Division, Tai Hong Wai);⁽ⁱ⁾ these involved the Treasurer of the village property (shousi), Village Heads (weizhang, cunzhang), and the Ritual Leaders for their particular village. The Village Committees dealt with specific problems concerned with each village during the time of the jiao: public security, raising money for the banners (huapai) to decorate the village, and similar problems.

On the other hand, the general meetings of the Jiao Association were composed of members of all the Sub-Groups. They, consequently, dealt with all problems: dutch auctioning contracts to Taoist priests, to matshed constructors,

(i) Vide infra: Chapter 4: Section 1.

paper-makers, and to temple restorers, raising money (a continual source of contention), working out a list of invitations to local notables (to attend either the celebration dinner given on the day of the Opening Ceremonies of the jiao, or the Central Day (zhengri) of the theatrical performances), making sure that the means of access to the jiao area were satisfactory, arranging kylin and lion dances from Ying Lung Wai and Shui Mei Tsuen respectively.

The non-publicised meetings of the Secretariat, often held in the local primary school, were very similar to this, and were often attended by members of the Jiao Association who were not strictly members of this Sub-Group.

Therefore, in spite of the present bureaucratic system of allocation and specialisation of management tasks, exemplified here by the division into Sub-Groups, at the level of operations, as opposed to the formal level, the system of management was generalist in nature. This generalist nature indicates the traditional basis for the mode of organisation of the meetings. The meetings, held once or twice a month, in the Governors' Temple, though under the formal authority of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen, were subject to the influence of those who had "face" or prestige in the local community. These people's views formed the basis for the prevailing opinion on a particular point which would only become sanctioned by the committee when opposition had given in. There was no question of a voting procedure. Now, prestige in this community is, as we have seen above, not only founded on wealth and the ability to make wealth, but also on authority defined in terms of the traditional system. Thus, the Head of the Clan was able to exert influence to a remarkable degree in matters dealing with finance, such as the increased payments in the ninth lunar month of the yimao year, to the matshed contractor following destruction of the matshed by a typhoon. However, merely traditional bases of authority could not justify "presence" at a meeting: the Head of the fourth major fang who, as we have seen, was a poor man, had limited acumen and held no sway during such discussions.

Another indication of the fact that the Jiao Association was rooted in traditional patterns of decision-making was the substantial evidence of factionalism based on the division in the community between those who belonged to the first fang and those who belonged to the fourth fang. This rivalry between the two major branches in Kam Tin (the second fang being confined to Ying Lung Wai, and the third to two households belonging to Wing Lung Wai) was embedded in day-to-day relations in the community and was expressed in the idea that the grave-site dates of the most important ancestor of the fourth fang, Deng Nanqi, must always clash with an important first fang ancestor's dates. (2)

As far as the Jiao Association was concerned, this rivalry was expressed in the accusations by first fang members that the fourth fang members were slow in paying their contributions out of ancestral trusts, both for the jiao itself, and, later for the opera performances. In turn, certain fourth fang members commented that the leadership of the committee, referring to the Chairman of the Jiao Association and the Head of the Clan (both first fang members), was corrupt and took bribes.

More latent was the rivalry between supporters of the faction of the Chairman of the Rural Committee, and that of the Chairman of the Jiao Association. This rivalry was present during the meetings and expressed itself in criticisms of the plans of faction partisans. However, it really came to the fore over the suggestion by supporters of the first faction, who were also members of the Jiao Association, that the Chairman of the Rural Committee should dot the eyes of the new kylin (a mythical beast) of the Tongqingtang, a kung fu and kylin dancing group based in Pak Wai Tsuen. This ceremony, which took place on the seventh day of the tenth lunar month (November 9th 1975), was in preparation for the forthcoming jiao, though not part of the actual jiao preparatory rituals. In the event, the suggestion was in vain; rather astutely, the Rural Committee Chairman declined the invitation.

We have seen, therefore, that although the Jiao Association was based on

a composite system of organisation, comprising people selected on secular as well as ritual criteria, that although its modern form of organisation represents an attempt to come to terms with difficult administrative problems, its basis was substantially rooted in traditional criteria both in selecting its personnel, and in its decision making processes. It remains now to discuss the system of payment and to analyse the bases of this.

3. The Funding of the Jiao.

The public accounts of the jiao drawn up by the Treasurer and circulated at a meeting of the Jiao Association (after the performance of the rites and the subsequent opera) show that the total expenditure on ritual up to the end of the major sequence of jiao rites was HK\$214,829.20, total receipts being HK\$268,708. Of the total expenditure, excluding 'red packets' the construction of the matshed cost HK\$41,000 (19.1% of the total); the Taoist priests HK\$34,000 (15.8% of the total); the Hand Puppet Theatre HK\$15,000 (7%); the paper work (including the construction of the effigies of the divinities) HK\$29,000 (13.5%); the construction of the lanterns (including those for the villages participating in the jiao) HK\$3,946 (1.8%); the fee of Mr. Cai Boli, the geomancer, ⁽ⁱ⁾ for date selection was HK\$300 (0.1%); and finally the wages of the manual workers associated with the project were HK\$5,575 (2.6%). These items, which were the major ones, constituted 60% of total expenditure, the rest being spent on sundries such as red packets, ritual foods, ducks for the Taoist rites, roast pigs, and so on. The public accounts, however, do not fully show the cost of restoring the Governors' Temple; this was \$7,750. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ A fuller statement of these accounts is shown in Appendix 4.

As far as the collection of the money is concerned, there is no way of assessing, for the 1975 jiao, the proportion of funds coming from private trusts and from purely individual contributions. This is because the general accounts merely list the number of ding, or people, belonging to each Division; it being the responsibility of the Ritual Leaders of each Division to ensure that the money from their particular Division was collected.

(i) Vide infra: Chapter 3, Section 4.

(ii) Vide: Jintian hexiang jianjiao zongbu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1975.

This levy was responsible for 96.4% of the total funds for the jiao (as opposed to the opera), the remainder being made of donations, sale of ritual goods after the ritual performances, and sale of the householders' lanterns.

The principle of the levy was as follows: all the Divisions with the exception of that of Ying Lung Wai, required every male Kam Tin Deng to be charged HK\$100. The same rate applied to every female member of the lineage who had not married, and the wives and concubines of Kam Tin Deng lineage members. Widows were charged HK\$50. Ying Lung Wai paid only HK\$50 per head, since it had been decided that the village was too poor to pay the full amount; otherwise, the principles were identical. Outsiders, no matter what the Division, were charged HK\$50 per head; it being customary to charge the non-Kam Tin Deng subscribers to the jiao half the full rate. It seems likely that the categories of Believing Farmer (xinnong) and Believing Sojourner (xinqiao) which are used to describe non-Kam Tin Deng subscribers to the jiao are derived historically from the presence of ximin or xiafu, the group of hereditary menials, who, in return for land, wives, and sometimes limited wages, had to defend their Deng overlords' land, and serve them, working both agriculturally and domestically. These menials were allowed to attend the jiao upon payment of the necessary per capita fee. They would have constituted the major group of outsiders living in the Kam Tin Area at the turn of the century.

The general levy on subscribers was supplemented by an additional fee of HK\$50 per Ritual Leader for those in the top fifteen positions, and a fee of HK\$20 for those in the remaining positions. These figures were stated separately from those of the general levy in the jiao accounts.

There are a number of points to make about the general levy, as opposed to the Ritual Leaders supplements. The first is that it distinguishes between groups of people who are central to the performance of the jiao, and those who are marginal. The first group is, with the exception of widows, composed of HK\$100 payers, and consists of the five major Divisions of the jiao organizations; the second group consists of Outsiders and the Division which did not

take part in the block-throwing competition for the Ritual Leadership, did not usually take part in the administration of the Jiao Association, and did not contribute to the opera expenses: the Division of Ying Lung Wai.

The second point is that, although the funds levied were paid from both individual incomes and in the case of the Kam Tin Deng, ancestral trusts, the money was formally levied through the Division system, based on the village or community, as opposed to the genealogical (ancestral) organisation of Kam Tin. That is the reason why for the jiao expenses there is no itemisation in the public accounts of ancestral contributions; these are recorded in the confidential Division account books.

The third point is that, though the jiao was, as we have seen, open to Outsiders, the differential contributions and the small number of Outsiders subscribing were enough to ensure that the Kam Tin Deng made the bulk of the financial contributions. The public account states that there were a total of 2,506 Kam Tin Deng ding who were charged, of whom 290 belonged to the Ying Lung Division; whereas there was a total contribution of HK\$21,350 by Outsiders, equal to 427 people subscribing. ⁽³⁾ The figure for Kam Tin lineage members includes those not resident in Kam Tin, for example Deng living in Europe.

I have stated above that a particular individual's contribution, irrespective of sex, might be partially or completely paid out of ancestral funds, provided that individuals had ancestors whose trusts could afford payments. As an example of the composition of this type of funding, as far as the 1975 Jiao is concerned, I shall take one of the Committee Members. Of his HK\$100 contributions, HK\$20 was paid out of the Deng Nanqi trust, HK\$10 from that of Deng Heisha, HK\$5 from that of Deng Jintian, and HK\$5 from that of Deng Junan, all of whom were ancestors of this particular individual. HK\$20 was met out of this Committee Member's private funds. The same contributions and deductions were made for his family members.

It was not possible to obtain the 1975 Division account books, which would

have given the full breakdown of the proportion of private to ancestral fund contributions per subscriber to the jiao. Nevertheless, it was possible to copy the 1965 Kat Hing Division book. Here, although the figures are different from those of 1975, the principles are the same for both 1975 and for all the Kam Tin Divisions.

In the 1965 jiao, the contribution for Kam Tin Deng lineage members was HK\$40 per head, with widows being charged HK\$20. Of this figure, the Division book reveals that the first Ritual Leader (a Kat Hing Division man) paid 0.03% of the total expenses out of his own funds, the rest being paid out of ancestral trusts. For the sixth Ritual Leader, the proportion was 28.3%; for the eleventh, 54.9%; for the seventeenth, 62.5%; for the twenty-third, nothing (with HK\$120 to spare from ancestral funds); for the twenty-sixth, nothing; for the twenty-eighth, 100%; for the thirty-second, nothing; for the thirty-third, nothing; for the thirty-sixth, 21.3%; for the thirty-eighth, nothing; for the forty-third, 58.3%; for the fifty-sixth, nothing; and for the fifty-seventh, 46.2%. The total proportion of leviable funds from Kat Hing Division Deng, met out of ancestral funds in 1965, was 71.7%, where the total amount was HK\$14,460.

These 1965 accounts for the Kat Hing Division reveal that in the case of this Division, the contributions from ancestral trusts were not made equally to males and females alike. Nor were the contributions made out of a particular ancestral trust divided equally amongst descendants. Taking first fang members it was normal practice for Deng Qingle's descendants to have all the contributions for the male offspring paid out of this ancestor's trust. The women's fees would be deducted from other ancestors' (Deng Qingle's descendants') funds. The exception was when either a Ritual Leader or Head of Household had only female children. However, the amounts paid were not the same, Deng Qingle's

trust paying HK\$36.65 for each male in one case, and Deng Yunjian's contribution towards the women's expenses varying from HK\$22.50 to HK\$25.50 per head.

We see, therefore, that although the collection of money for the jiao

rituals is organised through the community system, the financial basis is predominantly genealogical, in that it rests on funds contributed out of ancestral trusts on behalf of subscribers. Here, therefore, as in other aspects of the Kam Tin jiao, is a blend of both the genealogical and the community bases of the social organisation of the area. Ancestral money is channelled through a community-based system: the Jiao Association Division.

This distinction between community and genealogy becomes clearer when it is seen that the opera accounts list those ancestral trusts contributing to the expenses. Total funds during the period after the main rituals, including opera, were listed as HK\$64,880.05, of which HK\$36,000 came out of ancestral trusts (constituting 55.5%). Of this HK\$36,000, half was paid by first fang trusts, and half by fourth fang ones. Of the first fang trusts, Deng Qingle's contributed HK\$15,000, and the trust of his father, Xingqin, HK\$3,000; of the fourth fang contribution, the total was paid by the trust of Deng Nanqi. (i)

Although, therefore, the expenditure on ritual "per se" and the ritual opera that followed it are listed in the same set of accounts, and although both sets of performances were largely dependent on the same type of financial source, the system of articulation of the funding was different. The ritual funding made use of the community social system, the opera did not do so.

4. . The Timetabling of the Jiao and the Ordering of the Rites.

The timetabling for the major rites of the jiao and therefore, for the preparatory rituals was set out by Cai Boli, a Hong Kong specialist who had originally been based in Canton before the 1949 revolution. His text for timetabling for Kam Tin was calculated according to the principles of the various celestial bodies following the methods which led to the compilation of his annual almanac. According to this scheme which is astrological, the timing of the performance of the jiao bore a direct relationship with the years of birth of the Ritual Leaders. Consequently, the astrological schedule gives

(i) Vide infra: Appendix 4.

details of the years of birth which clash with the otherwise propitious times for the various rites. If a Ritual Leader was born in one of these years, then he was advised not to attend. The schedule itself was posted in public places, for example at the entrances to the walled villages in the Kam Tin Xiang, and on public notice-boards in other cases. As far as the ritual of the Second Presentation of the Memorial was concerned, a notice was expressly written out. The consequences of attendance at a ritual should a Ritual Leader be born at such an inappropriate time were never set out nor discussed in great detail, but were thought to be harmful or non-beneficial.

The calculation of the clashing birth dates was carried out according to the sixty-year cycle system. This schedule, like all schedules or almanacs dealing with worship in the Chinese context, was, therefore, calculated according to the Chinese system of lunar months. As a result, we find that for, say, the performance of the Presentation of the First Memorial (fafeng shang tongbiao), those born in the yisi, yisi and xinsi years were warned not to attend.

Examination of the remainder of the schedule reveals that what is important in the calculations is which of the ten "stems" the unfortunate years are in, and then which of the twelve "branches" coincide with the "stems" to denote the specific years concerned. For each rite there are three years of birth which are considered to cause misfortune and they all belong to the same group of "stems": in the case cited above si. According to this system the unfortunate dates of birth will vary according to the dates of performance of the ritual.

While the timetabling of the rites was carried out by a specialist according to astrological considerations, the sequence of the rites was laid out by the Deng lineage of Kam Tin in the texts dealing with preparation for the jiao. These list in detail the kinds of ritual articles which are necessary for the performance of each aspect of the jiao, the names of the Ritual Leaders for

(i) Jintian hexiang jianjiao zongbu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1975.

the particular performances of the rites taking place, the places from which the divinities are to be collected, the texts of the contracts with the Taoist priests, the matshed builders, furnishers and painters, and such comments as exhortations to eat "vegetarian" food.

The detailed requirements set out in these texts ensure that changes from one decade to the next, would primarily result from different interpretations, by different groups of Taoist priests, of the rites to be performed. Thus, in Kam Tin, as in other places where the types of rites and their sequence are stipulated by the community, the actual ritual content of the jiao is much more of a compromise between the lay tradition and that of the ritual specialists.

Chapter 4.

The Organisation and Background of the Ritual Practitioners.

I. The Ritual Leaders (yuanshou).

The Ritual Leaders, as we have seen, were not selected at the initial meetings, which were to choose the Chairman and the Committee members. Instead, they were chosen at a time selected by the Cai Boli, a Hong Kong geomancy and astrology specialist. This time turned out to be the sixth day of the first month of the yimao year (February 16th, 1975). The process of selection of the Ritual Leaders involved throwing wooden blocks inside the Governors' Temple. This was the same process, according to informants, as that for choosing the frequency of a jiao in a village.

The villages allowed to participate in the selection of Ritual Leaders for the Kam Tin jiao include all the major settlements founded by the descendants of Deng Hongyi, the ancestor to whom the Kam Tin Deng lay exclusive claim as a founder. These villages for the purpose of the jiao are organised into six Divisions (gu) in the following way: Tai Hong Wai combine with Tai Hong Tsuen, Tsz Tong Tsuen, Kam Hing Wai, and Ko Po Tsuen to form the Tai Hong Division; the remaining villages: Shui Mei Tsuen, Shui Tau Tsuen, Kat Hing Wai, Wing Lung Wai, and Ying Lung Wai form their own Divisions, including those people who live outside the walled villages but on land belonging to the village in question.

These six Divisions act as an organisational basis for the selection of the sixty Ritual Leaders. Of these sixty positions, the last three were given to the Ying Lung Division which did not contest the positions in the Governors' Temple. The actual positions for Ying Lung Wai were decided in a meeting connected with the jiao held in Ying Lung Wai and with only people from this village allowed to attend; at this meeting the Village Headman (weizhang) of Ying Lung Wai acted as the chairman.

The remaining five Divisions contested the Ritual Leadership in the following way: the candidate's intention, while throwing the blocks, was to score the highest number of shengbei, or "completing blocks"; shengbei occurs when, of the two concave blocks, one lands face up, and the other face down. This is referred to as achieving the unity of yin and yang. To calculate the score, the sequence of shengbei has to be consecutive so that, for example, five combinations of yin and yang, followed by two yin, or two yang, would count as a score of five. Once the sequence of consecutive shengbei is broken, that candidate has to make way for a rival who tries to get a higher score. Furthermore, if a candidate is beaten by a rival in the contest for one position, he can always try again for another. In this way, in 1975, some participants tried unsuccessfully all day for the position of Ritual Leader; the competition itself went on into the night.

The system for the first fifteen positions is that if a candidate is successful for the first position, no one from his Division can compete until the sixth position is to be filled; if his Division also happens to obtain that position, then no one from that Division can compete until the eleventh position; in turn, if the same or any other Division obtains that place, it cannot compete until the sixteenth position is open for competition. The same rules apply to the other Divisions, in the case of the intermediate numbers. This system allows each of the five major Divisions three Ritual Leaders each amongst the top fifteen positions. These positions are the most important, and carry the most responsibility. The sixteenth to the fifty-seventh positions inclusive, were freely contested irrespective of Division ties. However, the Ritual Leadership, like the Committee positions in general, is only open to Kam Tin Deng and not to Outsiders.

The criterion for selection of the Ritual Leaders is, in the participants' eyes, finding favour with the Governors Zhou and Wang, interpreted as divinities,

in whose temple, and in front of whose tablets the ceremony takes place. In practice, there is an element of random probability in this process of selection, because although choice of the Ritual Leadership depends on the cast of the blocks, the random nature of the selection is limited by the kinds of people who compete. Many of the Ritual Leaders had performed this role as many as three or four times in previous Kam Tin jiao. In this case, therefore, there was a strong tendency for certain people always to participate in the competition.

Once selected, the Ritual Leaders each led a group of people called a "Pillar" (zhu). It was said that these Pillars were based on a group of shubo xiongdi, the descendants in the male line of a common paternal grandfather. Thus, it was explained that the members of a Pillar were the members of one's family (jiatingren). The first Ritual Leader even went so far as to say that the principles of forming a Pillar were the same as those for forming or dividing a family (fenjia), and that, consequently, brothers often formed separate Pillars because they did not get on with, and mistrusted, each other. He stated that in the 1965 jiao he had belonged to his Father's younger brother's Pillar but that they had grown apart and now each had his own Pillar. These remarks help to reveal the principle of organisation of the Pillar, which was that it was headed by the oldest man of the earliest generation of any particular family group; the leader had to be male, although the Pillar might contain married-in women of a generation senior to him. In fact, all women married to members of the family group whether now dead or alive were included; as were unmarried daughters.

It is clear from informants' remarks that the Pillar could be formed after the competition for the Ritual Leadership; yet, in the eyes of the first Ritual Leader of the 1975 performance, it was better that grouping should take place before this competition.

Nevertheless, many people clearly did form a Pillar around a successful candidate in the block-throwing competition. If this was the case, and if

that candidate turned out to be junior according to the criteria of generation and age, he would have to cede the position of head of the group, and, therefore, the position of Ritual Leader, to the man most senior according to these rules. In fact, when the competition took place in 1975, it was not the first Ritual Leader himself who threw the blocks, but his Father's younger Brother's Son. However, as the first Ritual Leader's father was senior to that of the contestant the Pillar was not formed around the latter.

The explicit purpose of these Pillars was to form a group of people who would, if male, represent the Ritual Leader who was their head, and stand in for him during the course of the ritual performances. The principle, which was by no means always followed in practice, was of substitution of the Head of the Pillar by its male members in order of seniority: that is, the more senior members substituting first. However, at another level of analysis, the Pillars of the Ritual Leaders and the family groups of the other subscribers (called zu and translated in this thesis simply as Groups) replicate aspects of the genealogical basis of social organisation in the community.

The Pillar and Group systems are seen to be sub-divisions of the Kam Tin Deng defined according to genealogical criteria; as we have seen, informants consciously affirmed that the Pillar corresponded to the jia. ⁽¹⁾ It is thus important to analyse the correspondences between these jiao organisational units and the jia.

To carry out this analysis, it is necessary to pay attention to three factors: first, the number of generations actually encompassed among members of any one Pillar or Group; second, the number of "relational" generations encompassed, that is, that number of generations from the most junior generation in the group to the lowest generation at which all the members of the group have a common ancestor, whether dead or alive; and third, the number of actual people in either of these kinds of kinship groups. The first factor reveals the number of actual generations; the second, the degree at which segmentation

of the kinship group takes place; the third, gives some indication of the discrepancy in size between the two forms of kinship group. The discrepancy between the first and second factors shows the extent to which each form of group has an actual basis or is merely a grouping, based on principles of kinship, of people who are normally separate, which would be the case, for example, if distant relatives are united through descent from a common Father's Father's Father, long since dead.

As far as the 1975 jiao is concerned, the analysis of the kinship group organisation from the List of Subscribers ⁽ⁱ⁾ reveals that the "actual" generation span of the Pillars was a mean of 3.5 generations, the "relational" span being a mean of 4.5. Of the "relational" generation spans, 10% were based on Ego (the actual Ritual Leader) as the person in the most senior generation (this amounted to 6 cases), 31.7% (19 cases) on Ego's Father, 48.3% (29 cases) on Ego's Father's Father, 6.7% (4 cases) on Ego's Father's Father's Father, and 3.3% (2 cases) on Ego's Father's Father's Father's Father. As far as the size of the Pillars is concerned, the mean was 28.1.

On the other hand, the statistics for the subscribing Deng who were not part of the Ritual Leadership, the xinshi, were, first, an "actual" mean generation span of 2.6 per Group, and second, a "relational" mean generation span of 3.1 per Group; third, the mean membership of a Group was 11.8 members; of the "relational" generation span statistics, Groups based on Ego were 35.9% (23 cases), on Ego's Father 40.6% (26 cases), on Ego's Father's Father 21.9% (14 cases), and on Ego's Father's Father's Father 1.6% (1 case).

Now, it is possible to argue that the xinshi statistics would conform to normal jia organisation, given that, first, there is no ulterior motive (such as sharing in the greater responsibility of the Ritual Leadership) to make them conform to a different pattern, and that secondly, the jia tends to be thought

(i) Jintian Xiang chou en jianjiao dingkou zongce, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1975.

of in Kam Tin as an economic unit as well as a familial one, and it is this economic role, necessitated by the collection of funds for the jiao, which obtains here. In any case, informants identified the Groups of subscribing Kam Tin Deng who were not part of the Ritual Leadership, that is the xinshi, as founded on existing family divisions.

Granted this argument, and that the disparities in statistics between the two types of kinship groups, the Pillars and the Groups, are quite obvious (the former has considerably greater generation depth, both "actual" and "relational", and size), the conclusion must be that the Pillar while making use of pre-existing genealogical relationships, does so to construct larger sized kinship groups not normally operating outside the context of the jiao. This is supported in particular by the greater disparity between "actual" and "relational" generation depths for the Pillar statistics than for the Group ones (1.0 as opposed to 0.5).

Thus, what emerges is that, on average, the Pillars did not in fact in 1975 always conform to the pattern of relationships denoted by the term shubo xiongdi, the descendants of a common agnatic grandfather. As we have seen, for the Pillars, the mean number of "actual" generations was 3.5; to ensure that in all cases Pillar organisation was based on the shubo xiongdi, this figure would have to be 3.0 (taking Ego to be in the lowest generation, the three generations are Ego, Ego's Father, and Ego's Father's Father).

Therefore, the Jiao organisational division, the Pillar, while based on genealogical criteria, is a distinct form of segmentation in that it does not necessarily, pace informant's remarks, conform to existing patterns of family segmentation and division. Rather, it is an attempt to make use of genealogical relationships, and the principle of segmentation to spread the responsibilities, concomitant with the role of Ritual Leader, among a wider group of males.

In any case, the Pillar, and for that matter the Group, although based on

agnatically defined genealogical relationships, reflect the community basis of the social structure since women (provided that they have not married out) are included as well. This is in contrast to the normal pattern of defining significant genealogical relationships, represented by the genealogies where women are only mentioned if they are the mothers of ancestors, never as offspring. The fact that for the jiao financial system, all the women mentioned are considered as ding, normally meaning adult male, adds emphasis to this point. Here, then, as in other aspects of both the jiao organisation and its performance there is a blend of the community and genealogical modes of organising the social structure.

II. The Taoist Priests.

The people translated here as Taoist priests were the specialists called in from outside by the Jiao Association to perform the very complex rituals of the jiao. They were essential to the performance, as they alone could perform the necessary ritual actions, and as they were the sole possessors of the necessary ritual canons.

These Taoist priests were, in the case of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, introduced to the Jiao Association through one of the prominent Ritual Leaders from Tai Hong Wai, who knew the leaders of the priests' group, having witnessed their performance in the small Tai Hong Wai jiao. In addition, the posts of Taoist priests had previously been advertised in three Hong Kong newspapers. In 1975, as there were no bids for the contract for the ritual performances by other groups of Taoist priests, the contract was awarded to a group called the Lin Daotang, two of whose leading members signed it.

It seems, in fact, that this sequence of events followed the usual practice whereby a Taoist priests would get offers for work (literally for "acts of merit" (gongde)) through a circle of acquaintances, friends, or relatives, either by blood or marriage. In the case of the Lin Daotang, which before 1949 had been based at Shenzhen, in Bao'an County, this area of practice and of connections extended over most of Bao'an county and Hong Kong.

These Taoists are called in Cantonese naam moh lo, or more infrequently naam mo lo. More politely, they would be referred to as naam moh sin shaang, being given the title "Mr." instead of "Fellow". These titles are reserved in popular usage (and used by these Taoists themselves) among Cantonese speakers to refer to the non-monastic, non-celibate group of specialists who eat ordinary foods outside of ritual performances. These are people who live in the local community, like any other ordinary citizen. They do not, as a rule, live together except when members of one family. Furthermore, they are distinguished from ordinary members of the community merely by their specialist expertise and training. (2)

As a result, the tang, or group, referred to above, does not imply any physical grouping of the priests into a unity. Nor does it necessarily imply that the priests who claim a relationship with a specific tang would live in the same area. In fact, the Lin Daotang, although now based in Sheung Shui, basically consists of a core of four members living in Sheung Shui plus other Taoists living in other areas of the New Territories, to whom some work at a major festival may be sub-contracted. During such a festival work may also be sub-contracted to Taoists having little or no prior relationship with the tang.

In 1975 in Kam Tin, there were Taoist priests from Tai Po, and from Yuen Long. Moreover, at least two of the priests did not know Master Lin, the head of the Lin Daotang, before the performance; their names had been suggested to him by other Taoists who had been hired from outside.

Given the fluid nature of such relationships, what then constitutes a Tang? In the case of the Lin Daotang, the core members were united in that they had been trained by Masters (shifu) who were in turn pupils of a common Master. Lin, the head of the group, had been trained by his father, also a Taoist, who in turn had been trained by his Taoist father. Zhang, Lin's chief assistant, had been trained by his father, who in turn had been trained by Lin's father's father. Jian had been trained in a similar manner, and the fourth

member was a recent pupil of Lin's. The basis for this tang was, therefore, the recognition of, and training in, a single tradition.

This basis was reinforced in a number of ways: first, periodic, informal meetings by a member of the group with other members of the same group, at the tea house, or at each other's dinners when a member of one of the Taoists' households was being married; second, more formal meetings, such as the annual ones which now take place in a tea house in Sheung Shui on the nineteenth day of the fifth lunar month, the birthday of the Celestial Master, Zhang tianshi. These latter meetings seem to be concerned principally with promotion up the hierarchy, according to Master Lin. Consequently, there is, thirdly, recognition of the same hierarchy.

This ritual hierarchy was defined by Master Lin in the following way, and in the following order of seniority: the first grade (the highest) was called zhuke, the Master of the Texts, the second, daoguang, the Way is Expansive; the third, zhitan, the Guardian of the Altar; the fourth zoujing, the Memorialist of the Canon; the fifth, lican, the Ritual Attender; the sixth, chuande, the Messenger; the seventh, zouxiang, the Presenter of Incense; and finally, the eighth and ninth grades, lisheng, the Acolyte.

These are formal titles whose acquisition depends on continual improvement. There is, however, another set of titles denoting the temporary hierarchy of a group of Taoists while in performance. These were set out during the course of the jiao itself by the signatures of the Taoists on the Public Proclamation (Bang). In this hierarchy, the highest grade is the keshi, which I will translate as the Minister of Texts (the term "Minister" or "Servant of the Court" (Chen) appears immediately below the phrase keshi).. The next grade is that of jiangshi, the Minister of Speeches; then there is the jingshi, the Minister of Canons; then the chanshi, the Minister of Atonement; and finally, three xueshengshi, or xueshi, Students. The keshi, the Minister of Texts, is referred to both orally and in documents as the gaogong the Exalted Merit,

short for the title gaogong fashi, the Master of Exalted Merit.

This second hierarchy ⁽³⁾ is based on the relative experience and training of the constituent Taoists of any ritual performance (in this case a jiao). Since, therefore, it is a relative hierarchy, whereas the first one is absolute, it offers a potential source of conflict, based on the lack of recognition of a single chain of authority. Conflict in the Lin Daotang arose between the two most senior members Mr. Lin and Mr. Zhang and was present during the time of the performance of the 1975 jiao in Kam Tin. Mr. Lin who is a sixth generation descendant of the line of Taoist priests which had founded the tang, was seventy-six in 1975 and found his leadership contested by Mr. Zhang, a man in his sixties. Zhang based his claim on a number of points. The first of these, the fact that he had often taken the role of gaogong, the Master of Exalted Merit, while Lin had been simultaneously in charge of performances elsewhere, is of interest because it bears directly on the ambiguities implied by the two hierarchies of authority, the absolute and the relative. From this developed other charges: that Mr. Lin was too old to perform the complicated ritual sequences well, that he should give more of this kind of work to those who were competent, which he did not, and that he was, therefore, selfish, and, moreover, did not divide up the money equitably.

This suggests another basis for conflict. The non-celibate, non-monastic life-style could encourage the Taoist to pursue his own claims and his own ends at the expense of his colleagues. The irony of Zhang's claims was that he in turn was unwilling to hand over work which had been assigned to him; for example, when discussing the right of Proclaiming the Pardon (barshe), analysed below in the discussion on the jiao rituals, Zhang stated that he would never give the work to colleagues, because they could not read the text clearly.

However, as we have seen, in addition to the core members of the tang, there are other members; these people's identity varies from one performance to another. These Taoists recognise the formal authority of the tang

during the performance for which they agree to assist; this recognition in the case of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, was expressed in a number of ways: first these other Taoists accepted Master Lin's verdict on the kinds of canons that were to be used during the performance of the rites; secondly, they accepted his authority in the delegation of responsibilities, as far as particular rituals were concerned; thirdly, they referred to the head of the Tang, Mr. Lin, as Master (shifu); fourthly, they used fictive kinship terms such as shu, (FyB), to assign seniority and respect, while simultaneously affirming that they were a part of one group.

Nevertheless, these "ad hoc" members of the tang had undergone different training from different Masters (in three cases, in a different county, that of Dongguan). Therefore, the unity of tradition to be found among the core members of the tang was lacking. Moreover, in discussions with these "ad hoc" members, I was soon made to understand that the relationship between them and the core members was predominantly contractual.

In sum, therefore, as far as the organisation of this group of priests is concerned, the relationships are essentially fluid; however, their theological traditions and normal ritual practices are more fixed.

This group of Taoist priests saw themselves as members of the school of Right Unity (Zhengyi), which claims descent from Zhang Daoling, the first tianshi or Celestial Master, and acknowledges the authority of the Celestial Masters, who from 1016 to 1949 were established at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan) in Jiangxi province. (4)

The popular style in Cantonese of these priests, naam moh (mo) lo, however, gives further indications of the priests' heritage. Taking the term naam moh, the title can mean a Chanting Fellow, naam being a term meaning to chant canons or sutras. This interpretation also makes sense since naam moh are the first two characters for the Chinese transliteration of the phrase "I put my faith in the Amitabha [Buddha]". Some lay informants thought that this affirmed a connection between these priests and ritual practices, particularly those which

derived from a Buddhist tradition. This is, however, as the discussion of the authority of the Celestial Masters shows, not true. Nevertheless, if "Buddhist", in this context, is interpreted to mean "general religious practices", and many Kam Tin Deng lay informants quite clearly held this syncretist interpretation, the connection does make sense. In fact, it is this syncretist interpretation of "Buddhist" which provides the conceptual framework in which stones marked with the phrase "Amitabha", and put up along the road side, must be placed. These tablets are put up in places where there have been road accidents involving death and act as shrines to the hungry ghosts causing the accidents and to those who have died an abnormal death as a result (the yiwai siwang). This, therefore, links the term "Amitabha" with the exercise of saving or placating such ghosts, which is very much part of a Taoist priest's role.

The characters naam mo lo, as opposed to naam moh lo, can be taken to mean Chanting Shaman. The mo character minus the mouth radical means a type of shaman or sorcerer, and the character is often written this way in the context of descriptions about naam mo lo. The naam moh lo are specialist intermediaries operating between the hierarchies of heaven and hell. Consequently, members of the Lin Daotang carried out the following rites: enacting exorcism when putting in the main beam of a house (shangliang); exorcising by blowing jets of ritually purified water and by tinkling bells, in the case of illness; exorcising a house where there had been children who had died, prior to a marriage; making charmed potions (normally consisting of a burnt charm whose ashes would be added to water); setting up contracts with the spirits of the unfortunate dead who had died on ground on which there was to be construction (the ceremony of yinqi); performing mortuary rites (either dazhai or sangshi); and carrying out the more complex rites of Worshipping the Pole Star (lidou) to ensure a better fate for the worshipping congregation. All these rites were

carried out by members of the Lin Daotang, in addition to the more lengthy and more spectacular rituals of the Yulanpen (the seventh lunar month Hungry Ghosts Festival) and the jiao.

These activities clearly indicate that the Taoist priest is an intermediary between the This-Worldly and the Other-Worldly; what they do not indicate is the nature of the relationship: that is, whether it involves technical skills. While the fuller examination of the ensuing chapters provides greater understanding of the types of relationships involved in the rites, an examination of the content of a Taoist's training gives important indications.

Both Master Lin and other Taoists described the content of the training as the accomplishment of certain skills. These were listed as, first, Playing a Stringed Instrument (tan), second, Writing (xie), in particular Writing Charms (xie fu), third, Singing (Chanting) (chang), fourth Beating the Gong (da luogu), and finally, Painting [pictures of divinities] (hua). This implies a technical view of expertise, since these are skills which are to be assessed. Indeed, in conversations with the Taoists, it became clear that colleagues were primarily criticised on the grounds of technical ability. We have already seen that Mr. Lin was criticised by Mr. Zhang on the grounds that he had grown too old adequately to perform the complex rites. However, pupils were criticised as well as Masters; this time, on the grounds that they were unable to intone properly. In addition, it became clear from such conversations that advancement up the hierarchy of the tang organisation, depended not so much on the perfection of one's spirit and its purity, but on one's ability to acquire these techniques, and the rate of acquisition.

Yet, what part did morality play in this scheme? Master Lin argued that he did not take on pupils who did not have a "Meritorious Heart" (gongde xin): moreover, Zhang criticised Lin on the grounds that he had no such heart,

whereas all who knew him (Zhang), thought otherwise. Nevertheless, it seemed that in discussions about the Taoist's training, such considerations were secondary. Furthermore, the notion of a "Meritorious Heart" did not differ in practice from the lay moral notions of good and bad (destructive) acts (haoshi, huaishi) and people (haoren, huairen). At any rate, the notion of a "Meritorious Heart" was not articulated either in terms of Taoist philosophy as a whole, or any stream of it.

What emerges, then, is the fact that Taoists are essentially technical specialists of particular kinds of arts, a notion not only revealed by the Taoists themselves, but also by members of the lay community who pointed out that naam moh lo, as opposed to shenjiang, a type of shaman, merely learn their job and do not have to have the Bones of an Immortal (xiangu), that is, innate divine abilities. These members of the lay community assessed the expertise of Taoists on technical grounds: for example, how well they performed certain steps, and how well they juggled with flambeaux. However, as will become clear in the analysis of the rites of the jiao, the aspects of the relationship between the This- and the Other-Worldly which involved prayer, as opposed to technical arts, were important.

Chapter 5.

The Preparatory Rituals of the Jiao.

It would seem fitting to divide the discussion of the ritual performance itself of the jiao into three sections: first, the preparatory rites; second, the major segment of the rites; and, thirdly, what I shall call the post-abstention rites which take place after the final pudu, that is to say, the final "mass" for the souls in Hell. This division follows discussions with Mr. Lin, the Taoist Master, or gaogong fashi of the Lin Daotang, the group which contracted to perform the 1975 jiao in Kam Tin.

The first section will, therefore, deal with the exposition, and interpretation according to informants, of the rituals up to the performance of the jiao itself. It is easiest to present this and the remaining two sections dealing with the description of the rites themselves in chronological order.

The first section of rituals comprises the Presentation of the Memorials announcing the forthcoming jiao, the rituals associated with the setting-up of the matshed, and the individual rites of thanking the divinities and renewing the domestic altars; all these rituals took place prior to the main performances of the jiao itself.

I. The Presentation of the Jiao Memorials.

The first rite in this preparatory section of the jiao rituals was the First Presentation of the Memorial, fa feng shang tongbiao, also referred to as tou tongbiao. This took place on the twenty-eighth day of the second lunar month of the yimao year, April 9th 1975. These rites involved five Taoist priests dressed in robes, together with the musicians who provided the accompaniment. According to Cai Boli's timetable, the propitious time for sending the First Memorial was 4 p.m., although this was calculated according to the traditional Chinese way of reckoning daily time also based on the "Heavenly Stems" and "Earthly Branches"; the document was to be transmitted to

the Jade Emperor and to the Heavenly Divinities (tian shang shen) according to Master Lin. The Taoist Master Lin explained that by sending the Memorial to Heaven and to the Jade Emperor in particular, both he and the Heavenly Divinities would be informed about the forthcoming jiao, and of the fact that the people of Kam Tin were responsible for its performance.

The ceremony which was preparatory to the transmission of the Memorial began at 2 p.m. and all the Ritual Leaders attended, bar those whose birth dates clashed (xiangchong) with the time for the transmission for the memorial. Before this all three categories of ritual actors: the priests, the Ritual Leaders, and the remaining subscribers to the jiao ate "vegetarian" food (zhaicai) abstaining from all foods having blood (excluding oysters and clams which are considered as plants), and from sex. These regulations are called jiezhai muyu. Before the arrival of the Ritual Leaders at the ritual area surrounding the Governors' Temple, the people of Kam Tin first worshipped in the house before the board on which their ancestors' names were written. The mode of worship there was the same as for domestic worship on festival days of the annual ritual cycle. After worship in the household, the worshippers then went to the Governors' Temple to repeat the ritual using the same ritual goods which they had used to worship in the home. However, in contrast with all religious festivals enacted in the Kam Tin Xiang apart from the first day of the Chinese New Year and with some exceptions the festival days of Guanyin, the ritual foods were composed of "vegetarian" foods (zhaicai). The foods were however, arranged in groups of threes: that is to say, they involved three bowls of tea, and three sticks of incense for the Officials. This numerical coding of the ritual foods shows that this individual ritual aspect of an otherwise public performance was part of the same set of ritual performances as take place on ordinary festival days, as opposed to the rites for Great Ancestors (taigong), who are worshipped both in the ancestral hall and at the graveside with foods arranged in groups of fives.

The ritual foods included fruit (bananas, apples, and oranges) and dishes of chaguo, a sweetmeat made of glutinous rice covered in a thick sugar paste. chaguo are used in the local context by the Kam Tin Deng lineage members on the specific days of Qingming and Chongyang when, as we have seen above, an individual's close-generation ancestors are worshipped both at the tomb and in the house, in front of the domestic ancestral tablet. In this use chaguo affirms a symbolic continuity between an aspect of ancestor worship and worship of the Governors (Zhou Wang er gong) in and around whose temple the jiao and its rituals take place. In this context, worship of the Officials by individuals that is not only worshipping individually, but paying for the ritual goods on an individual basis, is to be likened to individually worshipping one's immediate forefathers and their wives.

Paper money was burnt after incense had been placed in the various receptacles inside the Governors' Temple.⁽²⁾ The people worshipped with three sticks or groups of three sticks of incense for the Governors and two for the Tudi Gong at the entrance, and two and one sticks respectively for each of the door gods, in accordance with the normal numerical distinctions existing in the area for burning incense.

After such individually enacted acts of worship, the privately bought ritual foods were added to those bought by the Jiao Association from the money raised for the performance of the rites (see Photograph 2, where the foods for the Presentation of the Second Memorial are set out). This was also in "vegetarian" foods but included specialities such as bean curd cooked in the form of a leaf, called fuzhu. This kind of food is associated with chaodu or pudu rites of ghost propitiation also performed by naam moh lo.⁽³⁾ However, in addition to this, the public foods, bought out of the collective funds and paid for by the Jiao Association, included other sweetmeats, fruit (in particular oranges), and a New Year box (quanhe) contained crystallised fruit. Crystallised fruit and oranges though usual throughout the year as general ritual foods, are especially used during the New Year period, when orange shrubs are bought as a

decoration and mandarins (pronounced kam kat in Cantonese) are used as ritual foods and are eaten. As kam kat also means "golden fortune", mandarins and by extension oranges (in the view of local informants they are of the same category) are symbolic puns. More directly, oranges are noted for their golden colour which implies wealth. Red apples, which were also present amongst the fruit, imply fortune (fu). In addition, I was told by one informant that during the New Year one should use red apples as the colour implies warmth, conviviality and the other qualities associated with good fortune.

The next factor to note was that the public ritual foods were arranged in groups of fives; that is to say, five bowls of tea, five pairs of chopsticks, and groups of five dishes of sweetmeats. As seen above, the use of the number five or in one case a multiple of it also occurs during the worship of a Great Ancestor, a taigong. Admittedly these latter rites which take place at the grave involve non-vegetarian foods. Nevertheless, this numerical coding was explicitly recognised by informants as being a hierarchical code: ancestors

deemed taigong and buried in tombs are given food and eating utensils coded into groups of fives, though in the case of grave sites, the wine, the tea, soup and/or cooked rice tends to be in three bowls, two bowls of each of these foods being subtracted for worshipping the guardian Tudi Gong of the tomb. (4)

In sum, by analysing the ritual foods of the presentation of the first Memorial, we can deduce a variety of statements not only about the ceremony of the Presentation of the Memorial itself, but, it can be argued, about the whole of the jiao as performed in Kam Tin. That this is so can be shown by the internal relationship between the sending of the Memorials and the main rituals of the jiao; this relationship is demonstrated by the nature of the prohibitions that are in force at the time of sending the Memorials and during the main rituals of the jiao, as well as by the nature of the ritual actors involved: both groups of performances require the intervention of Taoist priests.

Given this, it seems possible to state that by analysing the ritual foods involved, the Presentation of the Memorial (the performance of which on both occasions was practically identical) treats the Governors individually as private ancestors or gods and collectively as taigong.

The second major point to note about ritual foods of the rite of the presentation of the memorial is that they emphasise the ji yang characteristics of the jiao as a whole: that is the worship of divinities and particularly heavenly divinities. It has been shown that the fruits and crystallised sweets used are particularly involved in New Year rituals though they may be used as ritual foods for worshipping shen throughout the year. Furthermore, the Presentation of the Memorial takes place in "gods' time" (shenshi), during the daytime when yang forces in the form of the sun, the taiyang, are dominant.

The third point is that these ritual foods, being vegetarian, indicate that the jiao rituals involve abstention from acts of violence, in particular the killing of animals.

By refraining from the acts of violence, merit is created by the worshippers as an act of restitution or correction for previous acts. The act of not killing was interpreted to me by informants as an act of purity, a notion that became mixed with newness, because as they pointed out, in Kam Tin, on the first day of the Chinese New Year, the annual day of renewal when clothing has to be either new or fresh, and "red packets" given by married couples to the unmarried should preferably have clean new bank notes in them, the Deng lineage eats "vegetarian" food. Hence it is possible to see that "vegetarian" food in the context of the jiao in Kam Tin, and in the rite of the Presentation of the Memorial in particular, corresponds with the notions of ji yin: worshipping the yin entities (the ghosts, particularly the ghosts of those in torment in the underworld as a result of particularly unpleasant deaths, or of killing others), purification, the creation of merit, and ritual renewal. (6)

All the ritual foods were finally put together on a table (the *Xiang'an*) outside the Temple, the receptacle for joss sticks nearest to the Temple. After this, followed the public ritual food with bowls of tea first, then the individually bought foods, and finally a receptacle containing the Taoist priests' *wuqidai*, five tablets each with the name of one of the Five Star Lords (*Xingjun*). According to Mr. Zhang, Master Lin's assistant, these Star Lords are astrological deities taking as their theoretical reference point the Five Elements, in its transformation into a Five Regions system, whereby the Five Elements: Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water correspond to the Five Directions: East, South, Centre, West and North respectively, and in the same order, to the Five Planets: Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, and Mercury. ⁽⁴⁾ The Five Planets form part of the Seven Governments (*qizheng*), or Seven Luminaries (*qiyao*) which are composed of the Sun, the Moon and the five great moving stars (that is the Five Planets). ⁽ⁱ⁾ These stars were traditionally related to human action. ⁽⁷⁾

These Star Lords are, then, the divinities of the Five Planets. Thus, in a way which lies at the heart of the Taoist ritual and belief systems, the abstract celestial bodies are transformed into anthropomorphic divinities. It will be seen below that many of the divinities worshipped during the *jiao* are in fact such astrological entities.

In addition to these tablets there was also a block inscribed with characters meaning "Commander of the Five Thunders" (*wulei haoling*) placed in the same receptacle. According to Master Lin, by this block *Zhang tianshi* a title which refers both to the incumbent Taoist Celestial Master and the first one, *Zhang Daoling*, could command the gods of the Five Thunders.

(i) Zheng, W.G. and Xi Z.Z., Zhongguo lishi shang de yuzhou lilun, Peking, 1975, p. 90.

Furthermore, there was a sword. Master Lin told me that this was a female sword, and continued with the story that originally Zhang tianshi had had two swords, one male and the other female, but when he crossed the Poyang Lake in Jiangxi Province, a flood dragon suddenly appeared, whereupon the Celestial Master took out his male sword and stabbed it, causing the dragon to vanish, and with it the male sword. As a result, he said, Taoist priests always use the female sword. (8)

These utensils were in fact owned and provided by the Taoist priests performing the rites, which began with the Ritual Leaders lining up roughly in order of rank in front of the Temple, with the most senior at the front and the most junior at the back: seniority being determined according to the numerical position attained during the block-throwing ceremony of the selection of the Ritual Leaders.

The ceremony then began with music and with three Taoist priests including Master Lin present. Master Lin called on the Ritual Leaders to perform the kowtow, the standard way to worship divinities and, in the Imperial period, to pay respect to those in superior positions of power and authority, for example, a senior mandarin or even the Emperor.

Master Lin then raised a dish of the "vegetarian" foods made out of beancurd. After this, two assistant Taoists joined the group of three priests, and the Ritual Leaders, who had formed up against the door of the Temple, divided into two groups; one group composed of the top five Ritual Leaders

was situated at the right-hand side of the Temple, forming a right-angle with the remaining Ritual Leaders who were still lined up with their backs to the Temple door. The five Taoist priests then invited the top five Ritual Leaders to drink a small cup of wine with them. Mr. Zhang, Master Lin's chief assistant, interpreted this aspect of the ritual as stress on the co-operation between the Taoist priests and the Ritual Leaders that was to take place during this rite and the performance of the jiao as a whole. During this time fire crackers were set off and paper money of the type having both silver and gold was burnt. Fire crackers in this context serve not only to frighten spectres away, but also as a time demarcator: they help to divide the ritual performance into discrete units. An informant once indicated this sense when he told me that when fire crackers are used in ordinary ritual and are set off, they indicate that the act of worship is over, the god or gods have taken their fill, and the ritual foods can be taken home and eaten by mortals; in other words, the sacred phase is over with a return to secular time.

In the context of the rite of the Presentation of the Memorial, fire crackers demarcated the introductory rituals described above from the main parts of the performance, beginning with the Ritual Leaders washing their hands in a basin of water filled with pomelo leaves. Pomelo leaves are regarded as a purifying agent and are thus used in washing basins in Kam Tin during the periods of abstention of the jiao. They are also used, having been dipped in water, to purify when the Kitchen God is sent to report to the Jade Emperor in Heaven on the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the twelfth lunar month. Nevertheless, though the role of pomelo leaves in ritual practice in Kam Tin is clear, the symbolic exegesis is not. It seems, however, that pomelo leaves which are green are of the same set as the willow branches gathered locally at the time of the Qingming rites to be put inside a house and outside it in the incense receptacles, and also during the course of the jiao to be placed in the incense burners. These willow branches are both symbolic of purity, they are

called ch'ing (greens) in Cantonese having the same sound as the character for clear, itself part of the name of the Qingming, and representative of Spring, a yang season. Moreover, these branches are consciously seen by informants as an evil-expelling agent.

After the Ritual Leaders had washed their hands, they and the Taoist priests resumed their former positions. The Taoist priests, now in front of the incense burner, then presented their tablets of office (hu) as an act of salutation to the divinities. Such tablets of office were formerly used by ministers in audience with the Emperor. One reason was that they were used to prevent the minister from seeing the Emperor's face; one informant told me that the tablet was representative of the attitude that ministers should have in audience with the Emperor: great sincerity and great fear (dacheng dahuang). Another explanation is that the tablets contained brief notes on the subject which the minister wished to present to the Emperor.

From the use of the tablet it can be seen that the Taoist ritual makes use of archaic etiquette, shared with Court life, to regulate relations between inferiors and superiors. The model which also used to regulate relations between ministers and the (earthly) Emperor is used to regulate relationships between the heavenly deities and their ministers on earth, the Taoist priests; just as in the past common people could not claim an audience with the (earthly) Emperor, but had to use mandarins as intermediaries, so in the Taoist ritual of the jiao in general, and in the ritual of the Presentation of the Memorial in particular, the local population uses the Taoist priests as ministerial intermediaries when dealing with complicated relations relating to celestial hierarchies, defined during the course of this rite in Taoist terms. Just as in the Imperial bureaucracy the transmission of a Memorial to the throne was seen as an aspect of the role of a minister, so in the celestial hierarchy the sending off of a Memorial is seen as an aspect of the role of the Celestial Emperor's ministers on earth; i.e. of the Taoist priests.

The presentation of the tablets of office was followed by Master Lin

dancing the steps of the seven stars of the Southern Bushel, or Southern Pole constellation (nandou), one of the constellations in the traditional astronomic system, there being five such Bushels corresponding to the Five Directions.

The Southern Bushel was interpreted by the Taoist priests and by Deng informants alike as the Controller of Life; yet in Master Lin's charts it was associated paradoxically with the Great Yin (taiyin). This may be analysed in terms of the complementarity of opposites; as yin is associated with death so it becomes the Controller of Life. Similarly the Northern Bushel, or Northern Pole constellation (beidou), is regarded as the Controller of Death and is typified in Master Lin's charts as the Great Yang symbolizing life.⁽⁹⁾ The Controller of Death can be seen to be the controller of one's life span and hence may be associated with life forces summarised under the category yang.

After Master Lin had completed dancing these steps, he was followed by his assistants. The first to follow held his tablet of office and the female knife while performing the rite; Mr. Zhang, Master Lin's chief assistant, then followed with his tablet and the "Five Thunders" block. After all the five Taoist priests had danced the steps, Master Lin presented his tablet in front of the ritual table and then proceeded to dance the steps of the seven stars of the Northern Bushel, with his assistants following him. While he danced these constellation steps, Master Lin scattered water taken from a bowl containing pomelo leaves, with the aim, as he stated later, of purifying the area.

The sequence of dancing the steps of the constellations varied from performance to performance. In fact, I interviewed Master Lin three times about this subject and each time received a different sequence for each of the constellation patterns stepped in the performance of the jiao.⁽¹⁰⁾

After all the five Taoist priests had danced these constellation patterns, they returned to a line in front of the ritual table. Master Lin then performed the kowtow on his own and then later was followed by all the Taoist priests, the Master having his head raised and taking his place in the centre of the

groups of priests. It was during this time that the introductory text of the Memorial (shu) was chanted. The text of the Memorial proclaimed that :

"The people are ashamed of their mediocrity and are thus [themselves] not able to submit a report referring to the performance of the jiao. [However], their sincerity consists in the previous year's united piety in preparing all the rites [of the jiao]...

"In front of the incense burner we will burn incense, and chant, proclaiming the pure jiao, performed as an act of perpetual thanks for five nights without interruption. [We will worship] the ghosts with roast pig, imperial clothes, and colourful banquets."

This is an odd list since the jiao foods were all "vegetarian" until after the performance of the final pudu. The text continues, stating that :

"this document humbly memorializes the Heavenly Capital concerning the time of performance of the jiao, and begs the Dragon Jade (Longyu) [a title of the Jade Emperor, the Emperor of Heaven] to brush away the cloudy mists and to stop the winds and the rain [so that] in the midst of broad sunlight we may respectfully welcome the sages who ride through gracing us with their presence and are respectfully received.

"After the merit of the jiao feast has been completed, under a benevolent fate, the Exalted Truth [the Taoist] will issue a statement to the Immortals who are in charge of the jiao, asking them to proclaim the sincerity [of the people], and to permit those who record good acts to register the merit of this year's jiao, [so that] once the report is completed there may be limitless fortune.

"We request that the benevolence of the gods spread out and cover all of us, bestowing mercy.

"The divine virtue towers above and educates the common masses, spreading grace, perpetually destroying the fear of unexpected misfortune, so that we may enjoy great felicity, scholars may be brilliant, farmers have bumper harvests, commerce be abundantly prosperous, and every art and craft be a source of wealth. May a united community attain fortune and the people be at peace; may men be calm, women tranquil, and the old secure." (i)

The text of the Memorial was written in Chinese address form, giving the Province (Guangdong), the Prefecture (Canton), the County (Bao'an), the division of the County (du), and then the name of the place putting on the jiao. This address style, going from big to small, was the same that was used in all the written documents connected with the jiao. The dating was in the Republic style, this last term (Minguo) being a substitute for a reign title in the

(i) Dao'antang chongchao, Manuscript, Sheung Shui, 1963; pp. 45-47.

post-imperial political situation. The sixty year cycle system of "branches" and "stems" was used to denote the year.

Mr. Zhang began reading the names of the contributors on the Memorial by first giving details of the date and place according to the rubric discussed above, then announcing the names in order of importance. First, there were the Ritual Leaders who were announced in the order in which they had obtained positions in the block-throwing contest. They were announced with their wives, male and female children first, and then the male members of their Pillar (zhu), followed by their wives, male and female children. These male relatives were announced in order of their proximity by kinship to the Ritual Leader who was the head of their particular Group. After the names of the sixty Ritual Leaders and their Group members had been read out, Mr. Zhang, with the aid of other Taoist priests announced the remaining Deng lineage members who were listed with the Head of the Family (jiazhu or jiazhang) coming first, their respective families being announced in the same way as for the Ritual Leaders' Pillars. Then came the Outsiders, the people who were subscribing to the jiao at the reduced rate of fifty Hong Kong Dollars per head, and who did not belong to the Deng lineage of Kam Tin. These were, as we have seen, divided into the category xinnong for people whose source of living was farming, and xinqiao for other categories.

The jiao Memorials are of interest for a number of reasons. First, they classify the faithful into groups which reflect insider-outsider boundaries that are associated with the dominant lineage's claim to prior possession and political control over the Kam Tin area, a control reinforced not only by economic relationships such as those between landlord and tenant, but also by the ideology of prior settlement during the Song dynasty, giving historical legitimation to their presence in the area. Consequently Outsiders are

assigned a position in the Memorials which agrees with their actual political status in the community and, according to the Deng point of view, their normative position. As seen above, this inferior position also entails the reduced responsibility of not being able to compete in the Kam Tin contest for the role of Ritual Leader; this is in distinction to Ha Tsuen, where in the 1974 Jiao the first Ritual Leader was a non-Deng. The inferiority of such Outsiders is reinforced by the voluntary nature of their payments, as opposed to the compulsory contributions of the Deng.

The second point worth noting in connection with the jiao Memorial is that they mention all the members of a household, in contrast with genealogies which only mention women in so far as they are wives or mothers of ancestors. The emphasis in the Memorial texts is on women and hence people in general, as members of a community system, rather than as producers of male children for the line of descendants.

Yet in the case of Kam Tin, these people are arranged in familial groups in the text, and there is division between those who are and are not members of the lineage. Here, in fact, lies a paradox which is at the heart of the organisation of the Kam Tin jiao. We have already seen that the funding of the jiao, as far as the Deng contributions are concerned, is heavily dependent on ancestral trusts, and that the mode of organisation of the Jiao Association derives key elements from the paradigm of organisation in the pre-modern system with its definition of formal authority vested in the lineage hierarchy; yet, at the same time, the notion of Kam Tin as a community of people, rather than as a kinship-based group of people descended from one ancestor, is maintained through the system of village Divisions, and, in the case of the Memorial texts, by including all the women in the lists of the faithful.

During the course of chanting the names of the faithful in the Memorial,

one of the Ritual Leaders helped Mr. Zhang dip the beak of a live chicken in water and use it to dot the Memorial. A Taoist priest informant, who had participated during the jiao, and a member of the Kam Tin Deng community gave conflicting interpretations as to the significance of this aspect of the ritual. On the one hand, the Taoist priest stated that the chicken (a cock) was a visual pun, and that the message was "sin tin sheung kaai", (in Cantonese pronunciation) meaning "the Former Heavens, the Upper Realm", where the chicken stood for "realm" since chicken is pronounced "kai" in Cantonese. The aim was to demonstrate that the Memorial was being sent to the heavens, there being three realms according to the Taoist classification; Heaven, Earth, and Water, of which Heaven is the Upper Realm. At the lay level, a Deng informant told me that the red comb and the tail feathers of the cock expel evil. The yang nature of the cock was emphasised by the Deng informant's conception of the cock as the signaller of day and of the end of the time when ghosts (yin creatures) can roam the world. (11)

When the Memorial had been read, it was placed on a paper horse which had a paper rider called a Meritorious Official (gongcao), a messenger of the gods. The first Ritual Leader then poured wine in front of the horse from a small cup, thereby providing both horse and rider with sustenance on their journey to the heavens. After this rite, all the Taoist priests with the exception of Master Lin took off their robes and joined the musicians, who with the exception of one percussionist, were priests in any case. Master Lin, presenting his tablet of office and blowing purifying water from a bowl, then proceeded to perform the steps of the Eight Trigrams (bagua), in order, that is starting with kan

then going to gen, to qian, to zhen, to dui, to kun, to li, and finally to xun. These steps were danced according to the pattern shown in Figure 7, reproduced from Master Lin's manuscripts. The patterns, therefore, differ from the ones Saso noted in Taiwan, namely the Luoshu. ⁽ⁱ⁾ This difference reflects difference in tradition passed on by Taoist Masters in the course of training their disciples. It should be noted, however, that Master Lin's order does not conform to the standard arrangement in which qian is taken as the first Trigram and kun as the eighth.

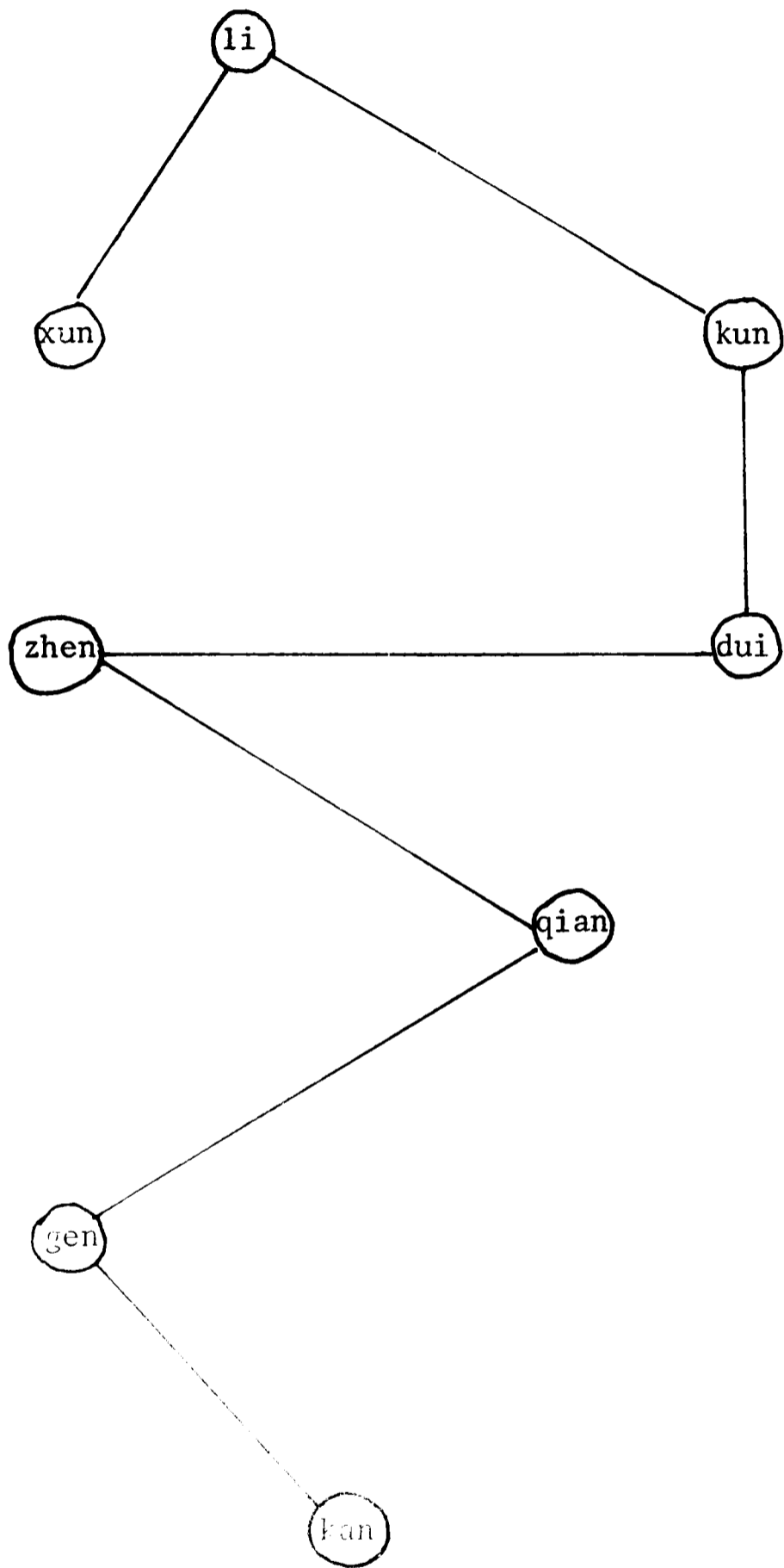
Saso has drawn attention in his discussion of the Taoist priest's steps to the difference between the Eight Trigrams seen as static according to the scheme of Fuxi, the mythical Emperor of the East, and the Eight Trigrams of Change according to the chart of the Luoshu, arguing that both are complementary and needed in the jiao. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ In the Kam Tin 1975 performance, however, notwithstanding that Master Lin later followed the pattern of the Luoshu in performing the Walking the Eight Gates (zou bamen) ritual, the only pattern in his personal documents was that set out above. Furthermore, another Taoist priest who was present, but who was from Dongguan County in Guangdong Province, also showed from his texts the same pattern as Master Lin's.

After this solo performance of stepping out the Eight Trigrams by Master Lin, the horse was burnt and thus sent on its way to the heavens. This was the responsibility of the fourth Ritual Leader. Master Lin then disrobed and joined his colleagues by playing music interspersed with calls in guanhua (the language of Imperial officials). When this had ended, the ceremony was over.

The Second Presentation of the Memorial was performed on the sixteenth day of the seventh lunar month, (August 22nd, 1975), this date being selected by Cai Boli and written into his schedule of propitious events. The ritual was the same as that described above (see Photographs 2, 3, and 4), and the Memorial had to be

(i) M. R. Saso, Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal, Washington, 1972, pp.58-59
(ii) Op. cit., pp. 55-57.

FIGURE 7. The Eight Trigrams (bagua).



transmitted at the same time according to the traditional system of time reckoning; however, because Hong Kong had changed to daylight saving time, the transmission took place an hour later in terms of the modern system of time reckoning. Time reckoning was thus calculated according to Chinese Standard Time, one hour behind Hong Kong Daylight Time.

At this Second Presentation of the Memorial, the clothing of the Taoist priests remained the same as for the first performance of the rite. The gaogong fashi, Master Lin, wore red clothing with a blue-black silk edging embroidered with silk and gold thread, decorated with pink lotus flower patterns; on the back of this coat were the four trigrams of li, kun, qian, and kan, this set representing yin, yang, yin, yang, respectively; ⁽ⁱ⁾ the two principles representing the unity of the cosmos. In the centre of these trigrams and in the same colours as them, namely the blue-black silk embroidered with gold thread was the Great Unity (taiji) of yin and yang. However, unlike the Trigrams which were surrounded by patterns of pink lotus flowers, a Buddhist theme, the Great Unity was surrounded by the emblems of the Eight Immortals, Taoist divinities. These Immortals are represented by a gourd, castanets, a bamboo tube and rods, a lotus, a fan, a sword, a flower basket, and a flute. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾

The Master had long white sleeves, wore Chinese cloth shoes and, on his head, had a crown with five reddish balls set on a golden lotus flower. This crown was called the Lotus Flower (lianhua mao) or the Furnace which Communicates to the Heavens (tongtian lu); on the top of this hat, was a curved golden pin called the Precious Fungus (lingzhi cao). The Ci hai, a Chinese dictionary, states that this was considered a divine medicine guaranteeing immortality. ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾

Master lin told me that the lotus flower hat would normally be worn by only the top five grades of Taoist priests, and on ordinary occasions, not including jiao, he alone would wear it. The pin, which was "S" shaped was

(i) Xu Q.T.: Yijing yanjiu, Taibei, 1974, p. 16.

(ii) V.R. Burkhardt, Chinese Creeds and Customs, vol. 3., Hong Kong, 1958, pp. 139-140.

(iii) Op cit., Shanghai, 1936, p. 1458, s.v. lingcao.

always worn with this crown.

The remaining priests at the Presentation of the Memorial wore different clothing from the Master, namely red clothing with plain black edging, white sleeves, and the same four Trigrams in light gold and black with the Great Unity symbol in the centre with black representing the yin half, and light gold, the yang, as opposed to the Master's clothing which had silver for the yin half, and gold for the yang; silver in this latter case being a sign for yin since the moon, the supreme yin celestial body, is silver, and gold being a sign for yang since the supreme yang celestial body is the sun.

The assistants, in the case of those Taoist priests, who were not core members of the Lin Daotang, but who lived locally and, therefore, were hired specially for the job, wore plain box-like hats each with a silver dot; those core members of the troupe wore Lotus Flower crowns with either three or four multi-coloured balls indicating relative rank.

The clothing of the priests therefore indicates a number of aspects connected with their hierarchy. First, within the context of the rite of the Presentation of the Memorial, and of the jiao as a whole, permanent members of the Lin Daotang were distinguished from assistants who were hired by Master Lin to give temporary cooperation during the 1975 Kam Tin jiao. The former group wore Lotus Flower hats, and the latter the ordinary, square boxed hats of the naam moh lo, as we have just seen.

At the same time, such hat styles also denoted a rank order based on assessment of skills and techniques. A recent pupil of Lin's who did not participate in the rites of the Presentation of the Memorial, except as a musician, during the main rites of the jiao wore the plain style hat. The Master, on the other hand, was distinguished from his colleagues both by the style of clothing worn and by his more ornate crown.

As a whole, the relatively ornate style of clothing worn by the Taoist priests during the rite of the Presentation of the Memorial shows that the

priests were in the process of preparing for a highly elaborate festival. It is possible to deduce this from Master Lin's statements about clothing styles: that smartness and ornateness reflected the degree of importance of the rite. In this context, a five day jiao requiring preparatory rituals, performed once every decade would be more important than a three day Yulanpen (Ghost) festival performed every year, and requiring no preparatory Memorial. Master Lin, who performed a Yulanpen at Tai Kong Po village, just outside of Kam Tin, on the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of the seventh lunar months (August 19th - 21st, 1975), wore pink vestments with white sleeves, and blue-black and gold edging with Trigrams and Great Unity patterns on the back similar to the clothing for the Presentation of the Memorial of the jiao, but wore a four-balled crown with a pin. His assistants, all regular members of his troupe, wore black boxed hats and clothing with blue and gold Trigrams and Great Unity patterns. This is, according to Master Lin, "ordinary" clothing.

Clothing, as a symbolic medium, thus serves to organise the hierarchy of priests within any given set of ritual performances, for example, a Yulanpen festival or a jiao, and in the set of ritual performances as a whole, a rank order of importance of the individual rites themselves. By virtue of this, clothing is of crucial importance in understanding the relative weight attached by the priests to any particular rite in a set of performances.

2. The Rites Associated With Starting Work on the Matshed.

The worship at the time of starting work on the matshed was in response to a request put on behalf of the contractor at the Jiao Association meeting in the Governors' Temple. The ritual involved only the top ten Ritual Leaders and no Taoists. It thus belongs to the category of public rituals performed by the community subscribing to the jiao only. The first Ritual Leader in

fact had to ask the members of the meeting about the type of ritual foods and worship involved. Moreover, in the event, on the day selected by Cai Boli, the twenty-eighth day of the seventh lunar month (September 3rd, 1975), only seven of the top ten Ritual Leaders turned up at the Temple. The rituals started at 11.30 a.m., after a delay of thirty minutes at the suggestion of the first Ritual Leader. The rite, one of kowtowing in front of the soul tablets of the Governors, burning incense and gold and silver coated paper money, was performed by the Ritual Leaders who did not wear cheongsams, in contrast with the rite of the Presentation of the Memorial. The ritual foods were simple: five dishes, each containing one piece of fruit, a single bowl of tea, and a quanhe, or eight-sided box, of crystallised fruits. Here, therefore, the numerical category of five was maintained while the contents of the ritual food were simplified.

After these brief ceremonies inside the Temple, the external ceremonies took place where the matshed was to be built according to the directions selected by Cai Boli for maximum fortune, that is at the qian position facing xun - from Northwest to Southeast. At the external rites, the Ritual Leaders, all of whom save one had now donned cheongsams, were joined by two workmen and the contractor for the matshed. The latter helped to construct the stakes marking the site of the work, which had the four character phrase xingong daji meaning "prosperous work and great fortune", which is customary, written on red paper attached to them. The ritual foods used in the Temple were brought out, but this time three small cups of tea were used. Incense, in eight groups of three sticks each, with one group of seven sticks and another of eight which were not counted but merely constituted a large number, was burnt in front of the stakes which faced the direction selected for the construction of the matshed. The Ritual Leaders and workmen worshipped and then burnt paper money both in the form of jinyinqian used to worship all supernatural beings as noted above, and pink strips of xiqian used to give to hungry ghosts,

normally in the funeral procession to the grave, or at the grave rites in the third and ninth lunar months. After this, the ceremony was over.

At the analyst's level, this ceremony, although not involving the mediation of Taoist priests, belongs to a set of rituals concerned with construction : for example, that of shangliang, Putting up the Top Beam [of a house], when the Taoist priest writes a charm with the inscription "the Emperor Stars are in command" (dixing zaiwei) to be placed over the beams, and asks the celestial bodies, as divinities, to drive away the malevolent spirits of those who have died in the place. Another example of this category is the ceremony of Sealing the Yin Covenant (yinqi) which is also performed by Taoist priests to worship and feed the ghosts of those who have died on a site where construction is due to begin. In the ceremony prior to the construction of the matshed, the xiqian form of paper money indicates that the spirits of the unfortunate dead are also involved in this rite.

3. The Rites of Thanking the Gods and Altering the Domestic Ancestral Tablet Board.

The two remaining rituals were both of an individual nature, and were performed by people at times of their own choice selected according to the almanac. The first of these was that of Thanking the Gods, or returning what is due to them (huanshen), a rite normally, that is in a year without a jiao performance, enacted during the twelfth lunar month at a time taken from the almanac. The pre-jiao rites which were performed by many but not all households subscribing to the jiao, were seen either as a substitute for or a duplication of the pre-New Year rites undertaken on an individual basis, and not of the different public rites also undertaken at the end of the old year to thank the gods of the public domain, the divinities of the villages concerned.

The pre-jiao rites of huanshen were identical with the "individual" pre-New Year rituals: the same sites were worshipped, namely the abodes of

divinities of all kinds within the area of a village: Amitabha ghost shrines, shrines to the Community God (She Gong), temples, village shrines, and domestic altars. Furthermore, the same kinds of food were involved, normally consisting of three cups of wine matched with three pairs of red chop sticks, three bowls of hongfenwan, an expensive red and white coloured type of noodle, fried bean curd and sweet potatoes with boiled meat in a dish, in addition to which any or all of a cooked chicken, a dish of fruit, and three bowls of tea might be added depending on the inclination, or financial resources of the supplicant, or even on the fortune which the gods has brought during the previous year. There is a tendency in Shui Tau Tsuen to omit the noodles, on the grounds that the rite is not of crucial importance. The food is, as we have just seen, coded into groups of threes, the standard number for individual worship of gods apart from Tudi Gong.

From the analyst's point of view, the reason for the substitution or duplication of the individually enacted pre-New Year rituals of huanshen lies in the notion of a jiao as a time of renewal, a time for starting a new period, in fact a grander version of the New Year. Conversation with informants did reveal notions approximating to this. Moreover, the Chairman of the Jiao Association, in reply to questions about the consequences of not performing the jiao, replied that there would be disasters caused by Heaven; this was a common opinion which was confirmed for example by a Ritual Leader who stated that an Elder had in 1975 lost his second wife and son's son as a result of opposing payment to the Jiao Association. This type of discussion suggests a notion of the jiao as a kind of celestial insurance policy, a ritual which, according to informants, must be renewed every ten years in Kam Tin to gain the protection of the gods.

This notion of the jiao as a time of renewal, a time for putting things into their proper categories and proper context, is also supported by the pre-jiao ritual of the alteration of the domestic ancestral tablet board, which was

carried out by many households in all the villages of Kam Tin. In those households where the alteration took place, worship was in conjunction with the huanshen rites referred to above. An example of this ritual is given by the following description of the rite in a Deng household in Kat Hing Wai.

At about 3 p.m. on the eighth day of the eleventh lunar month (September 13th, 1975), the ceremony of changing the domestic altar board of both the Head of the Family's own house and that of his first son, at present running a "take-away" restaurant in England, began. In the house of the Head of the Family, the old board was taken down and a new board with Guanyin at the top and the Head's ancestors beneath was added; this board differed from the old one in that the previous one had a list of eleven divinities on top which were, in order of importance, as placed by the board: Guanyin, the Emperor of the North (Beidi), the Queen of Heaven (Tian Hou), Wenchang, Guan Di, the God of the Flood (Hong Sheng), the Great King the Marquis Yang, the Stove God (Zaojun), the Child of the Years and Months who Brings Wealth and Gold (Nianyue Zhao Cai He Jin Tongzi), and the Heavenly Officials (xianguan). All this was replaced on the new board with a painted image of Guanyin, together with the Head of the Family's father's father's third wife added to the list of ancestors at the bottom.

The ritual was performed with the aid of three sticks of incense in the Head's house and in the incense container opposite the door outside, with the door gods getting one stick of incense each. Foods of the huanshen type discussed above were used but elaborated in view of the changes taking place. These foods, which were placed in front of the altar where two red candles were lit, included three bowls of alcohol and tea, a dish containing a chicken and some cooked pork, a dish of four oranges, and three bowls of the red and white expensive noodles referred to above in the general discussion on the pre-jiao huanshen rites. When worship had taken place in the form of the wife of the householder requesting blessings in front of the new board, paper money of the

jinyinqian and xiqian types was burnt, followed by the burning of paper clothing for Guanyin, together with the remains of the old board.

The ceremony was then repeated for the replacement of the old board in the eldest son's house, and, then, afterwards, worship of the type described above, but with no burning of paper clothing, took place in the house of the second son. As this particular family does not usually worship at the village shrine or in the gateway or at the outside shrines and worshipping sites, the rites were then over.

In the context of domestic worship, it appears that the time of the jiao is both one of renewal and of purification. Burning dirty or worn ancestral tablets or boards is seen as destroying things which no longer give respect to the ancestors concerned since they have become polluted (wuhui); this act of changing the boards is therefore one of restoration to former purity. The ancestors and the gods are given a tablet which is commensurate with their dignity. This act of changing the boards, therefore, acts as a precursor to the major jiao rituals in which both the community of the faithful is purified and the environment in which the community lives is made clean.

However, in addition to the purificatory aspect of this ritual of changing the domestic ancestral boards, it should be noted that the jiao acts as a major demarcator of the time for such changes. I was told by informants that it is, in fact, only at the time of a jiao or at a marriage that such changes can take place.⁽¹³⁾ Given that this is the case, the jiao has been responsible for the timing of the changes in the style of domestic representation of the ancestors and gods, which have taken place in Kam Tin. Informants related that before the Japanese Occupation, people kept individual tablets of their ancestors which would often go back six or seven generations in genealogical depth. These tablets are still kept today in a very few households, and usually in old, unrepaired, houses at that. But at about the time of the Japanese Occupation or shortly afterwards, probably the time of the 1945 jiao, such

tablets were regarded either as unsightly, or polluted, or even as a nuisance because they cluttered the place up. So they were burnt with paper clothing for the ancestors concerned and the names were recorded. The tablets were then replaced by a single board with eleven gods on top, whose selection depended on the householder but tended to conform to the traditions of worship of the area, and the ancestors, who were now reduced in number, below. These tablets have in recent years tended to be replaced by the single Guanyin referred to above, a change which is variously interpreted by the Deng as a reform in line with modern thinking, or as a reduction of unnecessary and burdensome numbers.

The preparatory stage before the main ritual performances of the jiao, therefore, goes some way towards revealing the conceptual nature of the whole performance of the rites. Both in what have been termed individual and public rituals, themes associated with the jiao as a whole have been raised. The preparatory rituals, though, by definition, prior to the reconstruction of the ritual area and the major rites of the jiao, are nevertheless conceptually integrated with the major stage of the performances. They indicate the semantic sense, and the purpose, of the reconstruction of the ritual area and the consequent rites.

Chapter 6.

The Arrangement of the Jiao Ritual Area.

Before the major period of the rituals of the jiao, there were changes in the performance area in order to make it suitable for such performances. The last chapter discussed the ceremony of the start of the building of the ritual matshed in and around which the majority of the performances of the jiao took place. Since this matshed and its surrounding area were of key importance, it is necessary at this stage to describe their arrangement, set out diagrammatically in Figures 8 and 9.

The dimensions with which the building contractor complied were set out in the contract signed between him and the Jiao Association. These conditions in turn were taken from the preparatory texts written by the Kam Tin Deng lineage and kept in the care of the first (chief) Ritual Leader since they had been recopied in 1975. The matshed was two hundred feet long and a hundred and seventy feet wide, with an apex a hundred feet high and an entry area sixteen feet wide. It was situated to the south-west of the Governors' Temple with its entrance facing south-east. Inside the matshed at the end furthest from the main entrance, there was a raised platform which was the ritual area during part of the performance of the jiao rituals and afterwards converted into a stage for the performance of Cantonese opera. This ritual area was called the daochang. In this area Master Lin and his associates on the fourteenth day of the tenth lunar month (November 16th, 1975) (the day before the major sequence of rites was due to begin) had arranged for the Lingcan Daotang from Kowloon to put up the paintings and scrolls. This was a financial arrangement between Master Lin and the Taoist tang concerned; the pictures were put up in public by the latter.

FIGURE 8

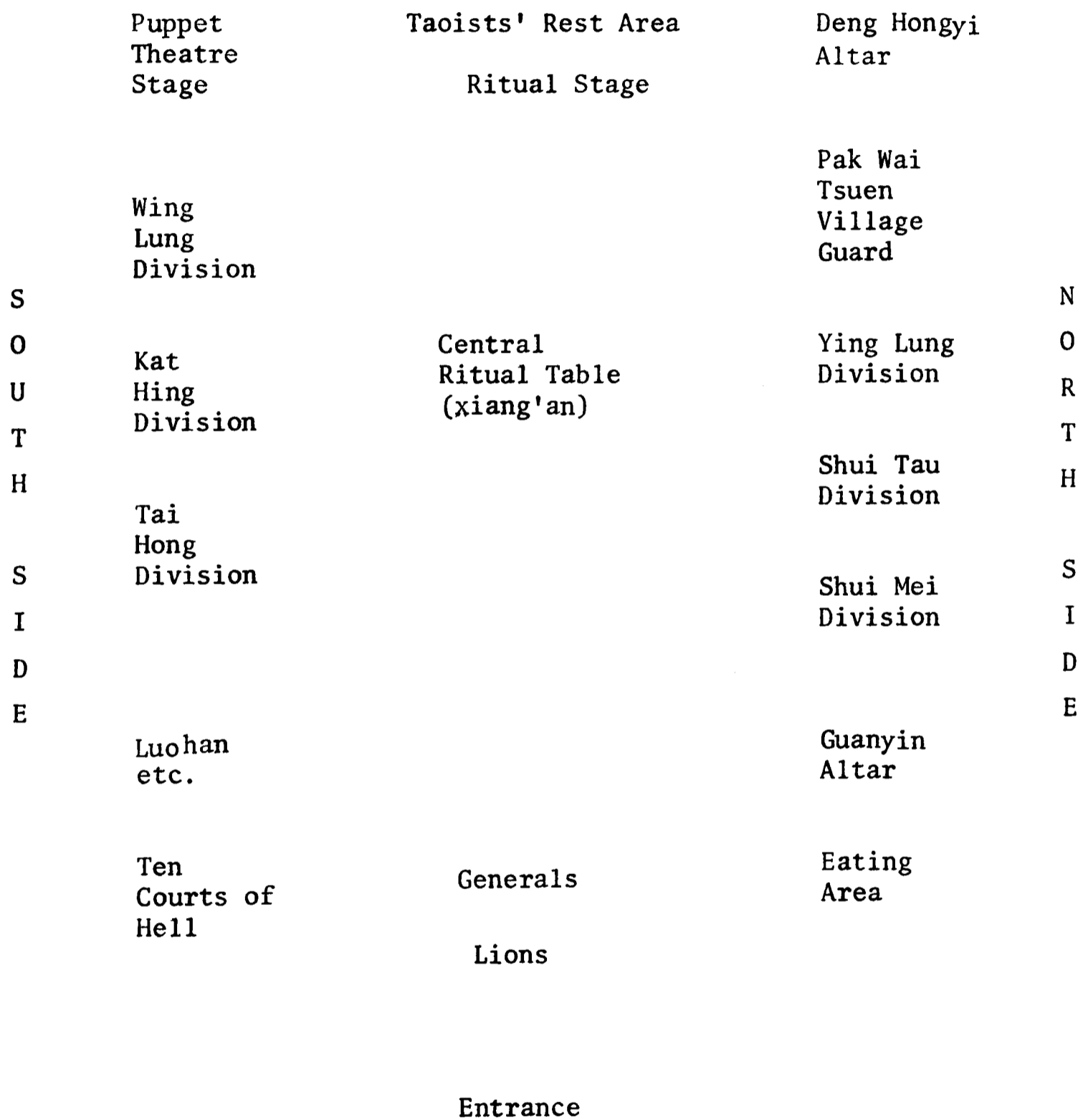
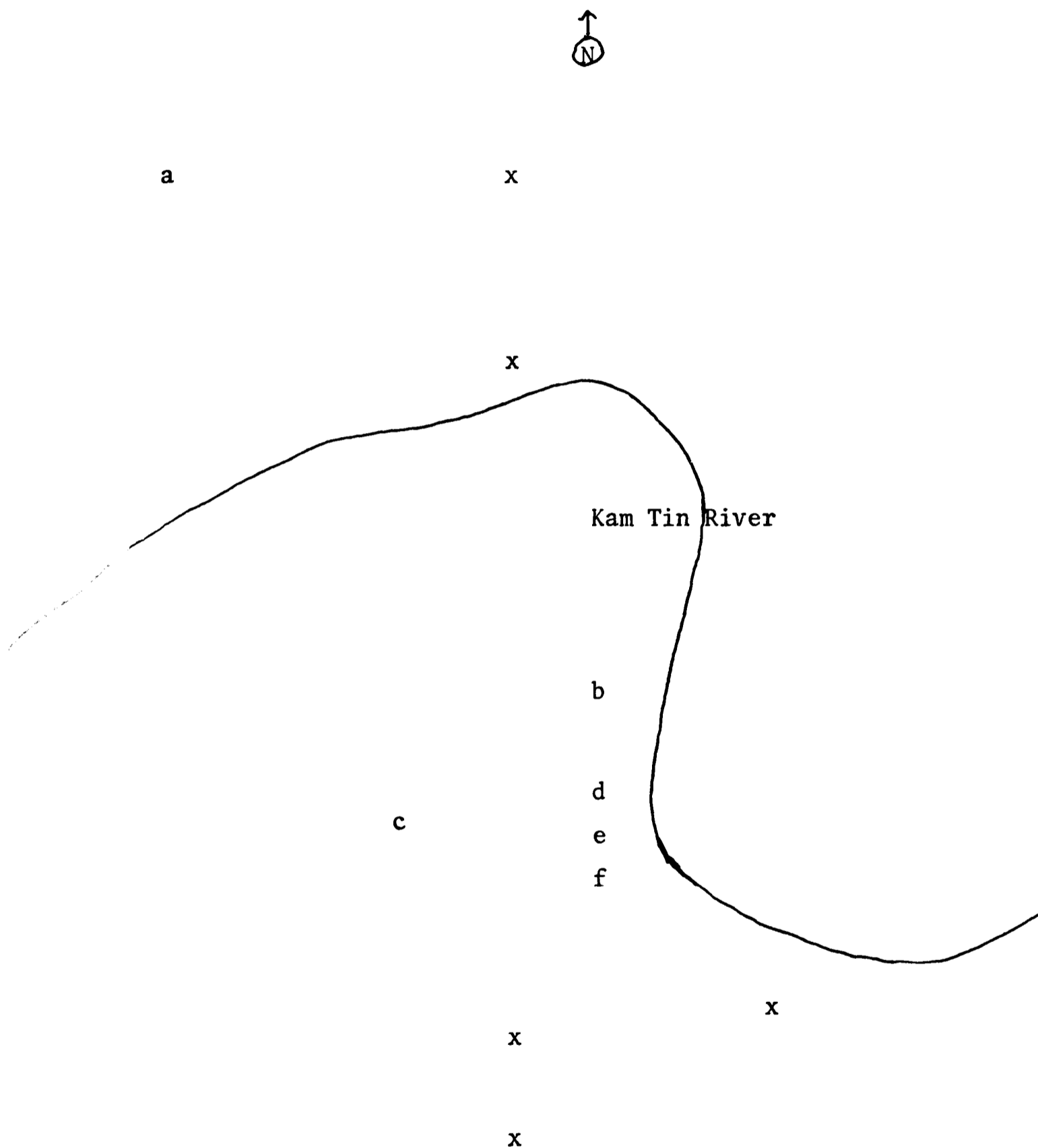
Main Matshed (Arrangement During Jiao Rituals).

FIGURE 9

Diagram of Jiao Ritual AreaLegend

- x Banner Poles
- a Moujing Tang Ancestral Hall
- b Governors' Temple (Zhou Wang Er Gong Shuyuan)
- c Main Matshed
- d White Unpredictable One (Bai Wuchang) Altar
- e Pantheon Altar
- f Great Knight (Dashi) Altar

The scrolls of the Three Pure Ones (Sanqing) were placed in the centre (see Photograph 9). Mr. Zhang stated that the Three Pure Ones were all transformations of Laozi, and quoted the phrase of the Feng shen yanyi, the Saga of the Establishment of the Gods, stating "A single breath was transformed into the Three Pure Ones". (i) The Three Pure Ones were then described as Yuanshi Tianzun, the Primordial Divinity, in the centre, Lingbao Tianzun, the Precious Jewel Divinity, on the left (looking in the direction of the entrance), and Taishang Laojun on the right.

Master Lin gave an identical description of the Three Pure Ones as the Primordial Divinity in the centre, Laozi on the right, and the Precious Jewel Divinity on the left. (1) However, another Taoist priests, originally from Dongguan County, characterised the Three Pure Ones as, respectively, Taishang Laojun, the Supreme Venerable Lord, in the centre, Yuanshi Tianzun on the right, and Tongtian Jiaozhu, the Heavenly Master of the Universe, on the left.

I interviewed some of the Taoist priests who performed the 1975 jiao in Kam Tin about the identities of the divinities depicted on the scrolls to the left and right of the portraits of the Three Pure Ones. Although Master Lin was able to give their names, none of the other priests was able to do so with any certainty. Mr. Zhang, Master Lin's chief assistant, claimed that he did not have the time to study the divinities on the scrolls, and that he did not know who they were; this was an odd confession for someone who took part in most, if not all, the rites inside the matshed during the jiao. Both

(i) Op. cit., ed. by Xu Z. L., Hong Kong, 1970, hui 77.

Master Lin and Mr. Zhang concurred in saying that the order of the divinities was not fixed and that one should consult the Saga of the Establishment of the Gods to find out who they were. In the end, Master Lin specified that the series of large scrolls on the left side were of Literary (wen) divinities, and that those on the right were Martial (wu) ones. Both classes of divinities were classified by him as Heavenly Generals (tianjiang). There were eight in all; four on either side, each series being flanked by a Heavenly Mandarin presenting an incense burner shaped like a pipe: a red one on the Literary side, and a blue one on the Martial side. In addition, the innermost Heavenly Generals were given red and blue faces and hair for the Literary and Martial sides respectively. This arrangement in fact conforms to one of the modes of lateral symbolism in the culture: Left is to Literary and to Red, as Right is to Martial and to Blue. This sequence of oppositions was, moreover, recognised by the more learned informants among the Deng lineage in Kam Tin.

Furthermore, Master Lin characterised the innermost Generals on the left as the Water General or more literally as the Great Water One (Shuida) who controls water, a source of calamity, and the innermost divinity on the right as the Fire Tiger (Huohu) controlling fire, another source of disaster. These two divinities were characterised by the Master as the protectors of the Three Pure Ones. The remaining left hand divinities were identified as Yin, Zhao, Ma, and Kang who were in Master Lin's view Propitious Stars (jixing), and those on the right as Unlucky Stars (xiongxing), Fei, Lu, Liu and Fan. According to this scheme, the division of Water and Fire is super-imposed on that of Literary and Martial; on top of this is added another dualism: that of Unpropitious Gods (who arrest evil spirits in Master Lin's view) and Propitious Gods. The scheme is set out in diagram form below:

GENERALS AWARDING FORTUNE

GENERALS AWARDING CALAMITY
TO THOSE (INCLUDING SPIRITS)
WHO ARE EVIL.

(PROFITIOUS STARS)

(UNPROFITIOUS STARS)

WATER

FIRE

LITERARY

MARTIAL

LEFT

RIGHT

RED

BLUE

However, as we have seen, this is but one of the Taoist Master's characterisations of the scrolls, the other one being that they are characters taken from the Saga of the Establishment of the Gods. In another identification, Master Lin added the name of Field Marshal (yuanshuai) Wang to the list of the other Field Marshals; the latter is not one of the characters mentioned in the Saga. In the end, Master Lin admitted that the individual identities of the Generals were not important.

It is clear that in the religious consciousness of the Taoist priests performing the jiao in Kam Tin, the individual identity of the Heavenly Generals was of minor importance compared with the role they collectively perform. They are more important as representatives of the Heavenly Host. This point also derives emphasis from Master Lin's statement that in spite of the division into Martial and Literary following the traditional scheme of classification of individual talent and occupational structure, the order of arrangement of the Generals' scrolls is not fixed and does not matter.

It is, therefore, clear that the category of Martial Divinity in this scheme is more abstract than specified; it is more important as a method of imposing order on this hierarchy of heavenly divinities than of designating which particular General has which of the two, that is Martial or Literary,

characteristics. This is so because if the order of the Generals is not fixed they could be placed in either one of the two series representing the Martial and Literary distinction. Secondly, in the traditional system, generals belong to the Martial category, and not to the Literary one, which was set aside for scholars and officials. However, in the jiao, the Generals were equally divided between both categories. There is, thus, a paradox which shows the lack of fit between an attempt to apply a traditional mode of binary symbolism to an equally traditional series of deities.

In the 1975 jiao at Kam Tin, the Taoist priests' ritual stage demonstrated the supremacy of category over content, of abstraction over specification. The very lack of system in the identifications of the Three Pure Ones adds emphasis to this point: the fact that there are three supreme celestial beings is much more important than who they are.

This system of thought was also applied to the lesser portraits: the four pictures in the centre just beneath the pictures of the Three Pure Ones, and the two sets of twin portraits on either side. These portraits, framed in glass, were identified by a participating Taoist priest as representing the four Original Heavenly Masters, the ancestors of Taoism as a religion. These were depicted as riding the mythological Chinese unicorn, the kylin, which indicates their celestial nature, dressed in the robes of literati, given halos to indicate their holy nature, and flanked by assistants. However, in a study of the 1967 performance in Shulin near Taipei, Liu noted four figures of men dressed as generals riding kylin; Liu characterised these figures as the four Great Field Marshals, Wen, Kang, Gao, and Zhao to whom reference has been made above. (i)

In the case of the other smaller portraits, all of which were identical, Deng informants identified these as representations of the Eight Immortals.

(i) Liu C-W., Essays on Chinese Folk Belief and Folk Cults, (Zhongguo minjian xinyang lunji), Taipei, 1974, p.88.

In the Songshan (Taibei) case observed by Liu in 1963, the corresponding pictures included four scrolls representing the Deities of the Four Realms (Heaven, Within the Earth, Water and the Temporal Realm).⁽ⁱ⁾ As in the pictures reproduced by Liu, these divinities, (the Eight Immortals in the case of the 1975 Jiao in Kam Tin) were arranged in diagonal lines across the paintings.

These comparisons show similarity as far as the categories are concerned, but differences in content. This relative lack of emphasis on the content of the ritual scrolls and paintings, including those of the Three Pure Ones, is borne out by the description in characters next to these scrolls. These specify only the Three Pure Ones, and even then not their individual identity, proclaiming that, "The Original Chaos out of one breath created the Three Pure Ones" and adding, "The Three Pure Ones, the Three Realms, the Three Precious Ones [a Buddhist characterisation of the Triad], Heavenly Lords". The remainder were characterised as the "Ten Thousand Primordial Masters".

Behind the scrolls was a partition separating the ritual stage from an area where the Taoist priests could rest and where they put up the tablets to the Three Pure Ones on a table. This was a semi-private area, but one was permitted to enter and even to eat with the Taoist priests if one wished. The "lay" people ate on their own, tending to keep away from the Taoists who were at all times regarded as the specialists in the performance.

Next to the ritual stage, an area to the right (that is, facing the matshed entrance) was set aside for puppet theatre which was put on as a form of entertainment for everyone, but in particular for the wandering ghosts. On the left was a similar, though smaller, section set aside as an altar for the ancestral tablet of Deng Hongyi, the founding ancestor exclusive to the Deng lineage of Kam Tin. The tablet was not to be collected from the Sicheng Tang ancestral hall until the morning of the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month (November 17th, 1975) The whole raised ritual area was entitled "The Scholars' Hall" an approximation of the Chinese term Wenlindi;⁽²⁾ these

(i) Liu, C. W.: Great Propitiary Rites of Petition for Beneficence at Sungshan, Taipei, Taiwan, (Taibei Shi Songshan qi an jianjiao jidian), Nangang, 1967, pp. 106-107, and Plate 5.

characters being put on a pair of large lanterns which, suspended above the area, also had the character for Deng, the name of the clan, on the opposite side.

This representation of the ritual stage as a scholars' hall adds emphasis to an underlying theme, to which attention has already been drawn, namely the use of an archaic system of etiquette as a means of defining relationships in ritual performance between the lay community and the supernatural hierarchies. We have already seen that the Taoist priests stand as intermediaries, acting as ministers on behalf of the supplicant community.

The remaining area inside the matshed was divided up in the following way: in the centre at ground level was a large altar with incense burners, having a small doll of Zhiwei, a red haired red-faced monstrous divinity. The Taoist priests told me two separate mythologies connected with this divinity. One stated that Zhiwei used to eat people for seven days and that this continued until Guanyin corrected him. The other noted how Zhiwei was transformed into a midget and given to a lion which had already eaten three tigers. Zhiwei then locked the lion up causing it to roar in annoyance.

These two stories bring out the paradoxical nature of Zhiwei as a divinity. He is first a monster: his eating of human beings underlines this, as does his physical appearance, his long red coarse hair (in fact he has on his head hair of the animal or human body type called mao in Chinese) combined with a pink face. Yet he has the power to check danger, represented here by the lion. In his ritual use, therefore, Zhiwei as the monster god is nonetheless used as an evil expeller. His presence frightens hungry spectres away.⁽³⁾

The north and south sides of the matshed were divided up in the following way; nearest to the stage, on the north side, was the space set aside for the Pak Wei Tsuen village guard which is now only formed during the period of the Kam Tin jiao, but was in operation up to and including the Japanese Occupation. The responsibility for this guard fell to its leader

who was designated by a dutch auction in the village temple of Shui Tau Tsuen, the Hong Sheng Gong. The money was paid from village funds, derived primarily from this temple's property; this was not lineage property since it did not involve any ancestral trusts. The leader, the person who gave the lowest bid, then spent part of the money to hire other able-bodied men from this village. Although, therefore, it claimed to represent Pak Wai Tsuen, this guard was a Shui Tau Tsuen organisation funded by Shui Tau Tsuen, and recruiting its labour from that village. The role of the guard was to keep an eye on property, especially at night, during the time of the jiao, when, it was argued, more opportunities would be available for theft, as people would be occupied with worship. Next to the section for the Pak Wai Tsuen village guard were the sections of the matshed granted to the individual Divisions of the jiao organisation to display their objects of value, and to provide a resting place for their Ritual Leaders between performances. Going from the stage in the direction of the main entrance, these were as follows; on the north side: Ying Lung Wai, Shui Tau Tsuen, and Shui Mei Tsuen. On the south side: Wing Lung Wai, Kat Hing Wai, and Tai Hong Wai. The arrangement of space for the individual Divisions of the jiao, with the exception of Ying Lung Wai (the village near the Old Market in Yuen Long), represented the major division in the community structure of the Kam Tin Xiang between north and south; a division which, as we have seen in Chapter 1, has led to animosity, particularly noticeable when the villagers of the south side discuss those of the north.

The arrangement of the matshed, therefore, reproduced in topological form the geographical distribution of the Kam Tin area, that is those villages which were founded by the descendants of Deng Hongyi. The later transformation of the matshed into a theatre for the Jiao opera maintained this difference by placing Pak Wai Tsuen's seating on the northern side of the matshed, and the southern villages' on the south side; the difference at this time was that Ying Lung Wai, which belongs to neither division, was not given special seating

as it had not paid money for the opera "per se", and had only contributed fifty Hong Kong dollars per capita, half the normal rate for a Deng village.

On the north side of the matshed, beyond the spaces set aside for the jiao organisation Divisions, was a raised area which was to be an altar for the image of Guanyin, to be collected on the morning of the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month (November 17th, 1975) from Lingyun Si, a Buddhist convent.

On the south side, beyond the partitions given to the Divisions based on villages on the south side of Kam Tin, and near to the main entrance, was space set aside for a display of the Ten Courts of Hell, each presided over by its respective king, but ruled as a whole by Yanluo Wang, the President of the Fifth Court, and the Chinese translation of Yama, the Vedic ruler of the dead. Each of the Ten Courts had its own partition divided into two layers; while the mandarins and the king of the Court were on the top layer, the second layer depicted the gruesome punishment meted out by that Court; in the case of the Fifth Court, the punishment of being eaten by tigers, and in the Third, that of being impaled. The punishments in all cases were inflicted by minor functionaries of the Courts, blue- and grey-faced beings. On the level below was a continuous scenario, undivided by the Court partitions, of life in the underworld for those not undergoing punishment for their misdemeanours in the land of the living. It depicted ghosts, who throughout were given pink faces, dressed in Chinese clothing, and seen going about the ordinary business of existence; there were shops and a school; the Fourth Court is shown in Photograph 8.

Life in the underworld is, therefore, depicted as two-fold in nature: for those who have committed misdemeanours in this life, it represents a series of trials and punishments of an extremely gruesome nature; for those who have not done so, it is depicted as a replication of life on earth. This latter representation is consistent with other conceptions in the ritual system: the burning of paper money and the worship of ancestors with human foods is only plausible if it is accepted that life in the underworld involves the same

experiences and needs as life on the plane of the living.

The second point to note is that whichever aspect of experience in the underworld is analysed, the system of punishment, or the replication of everyday life in the world above, it duplicates the traditional mode of social organisation and political control in the Imperial system. Hell is ruled by an Imperial bureaucracy just as much as China was until the end of the Qing dynasty in 1911. With the change of political organisation in the post 1911 period, the Infernal, and for that matter the Celestial, hierarchies cease to match the present mode of political control.

At right angles to the display of the underworld was another exposition, that of the Eighteen Luohan, or the famous disciples of Sakyamuni, the Buddha. The number eighteen is the one generally accepted in the Chinese schema. The term "Luohan" derives from the Sanskrit Arhan or Arhat, that is, one who has travelled the Eight-Fold Path, has reached enlightenment, and is saved for all eternity.

Both below and interspersed with the Eighteen Luohan were figures of the Eight Immortals crossing the Eastern Seas, represented by a green dragon, green (qing) being the colour corresponding with East in the Five Elements classificatory system; the dragon was assisted by gui, ghosts, with red bodies. We have already seen that the Eight Immortals are Taoist divinities.

Both the display of the Ten Courts of Hell and that of the Luohan and Eight Immortals are representative of the degree of syncretism in the local belief system; the religious cosmology has elements both of a Buddhist and a Taoist nature. In this specific instance the Buddhist elements are represented by Yama, in the form of Yanluo Wang, and by the models of the Arhats. The more specifically Chinese-Taoist contribution is to be seen in the portrayal of the underworld and in the dolls of the Eight Immortals.

On analysis, these displays not only act as representations of otherworldly entities, but are also simultaneously an encouragement and a warning.

They are a warning in that they depict the consequences in the after-life of wrong conduct in the world of the living. The displays of infernal punishment in the Ten Courts of Hell have the same role of admonition as traditional Christian sermons about the fires of hell. At the same time, there are representations of those who, through good conduct, have achieved Enlightenment, in the case of the Buddhist Luohan, and immortality, in the case of the Taoist Eight Immortals. The display of life in the underworld as a whole also underlines the fact that one of the key purposes of the jiao is not only to worship the celestial hierarchies but also either to bring comfort to, or save, those in torment in the underworld.

Near the entrance to the matshed were two generals, each having altars in front of them; the general on the right (facing the doorway) had the White Tiger under his left boot, while the general on the left had the Azure Dragon. Deng informants were not clear about the identity of these two generals, but it seems clear that they correspond to Marshals Heng and Ha who in the Taoist context become the Azure Dragon and the White Tiger, spirits of the Azure Dragon Star and the White Tiger Star respectively. In this capacity, they act as temple guardians. The Azure Dragon and the White Tiger are mythological beings representing the Left and Right quadrants of space; as such they are constantly referred to in geomantic theory. Each of these generals had his own horse and equerry. Just inside the main entrance on both left and right hand sides were green guardian lions. These complemented the generals just described above.

Finally, the matshed, like the Governors' Temple, was decorated with huapai, colourful boards indicating, in this case, the aim of the jiao was to thank the gods for their benevolence (see Photograph 7). Facing the main matshed were three smaller matsheds, the central one directly in front of the main matshed's entrance. The small matshed to the north contained a wealth god called locally "One Glimpse Creates Wealth" (the characters yi jian facai were on his hat). He was considered by some as a filial son who

was given the role of wealth god. However, he is a functionary of hell whom the text Yu li bao chao quan shi wen which describes the underworld, characterises as the White Unpredictable One (Bai Wuchang).⁽ⁱ⁾ He was dressed in a white gown with hemp over it, and with a tall white hat (see Photograph 6). It is his clothing, in fact, which highlights his status. With its white vestments and hemp overlay, his clothing is similar to that worn by an eldest son at the funeral of a parent. White is in any case a colour symbolizing death.

The central small matshed next to that of the White Unpredictable One, served as a shrine, in which the images and names of the gods to be collected on the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month (November 17th, 1975) were to be put.

The southern small matshed contained a large effigy of the Great Knight (Dashi) in the centre, holding in his right hand a fan with the statement "Divine Clothing, Contribute Food" on it, and a register of names (presumably of souls of the dead) in his left hand (see Photograph 5). The Great Knight was seen by both Taoists and local informants alike as the Ghost King (Gui Wang). Informants also regarded him as a monstrous male transformation of the female Guanyin, the Buddhist salvationist deity, whose normal appearance is too soft to control ghosts. This relationship between Guanyin and the Great Knight explains why his effigy has a small doll of Guanyin on his front.

On the left of the Great Knight was a paper effigy of the Jade Emperor, and on the right Panguan, the Judge of Hell, dressed in red mandarin's robes with a black official's hat. These two were assisted by minor officials, designated by the doll makers as Horse Face (Mamian), and Ox Head (Niutou), but bearing the characters for "Brave" signifying that they were soldiers. In between the Jade Emperor and Panguan were two dolls of ghosts in hell, given red faces to emphasise this.

With the exception of the Jade Emperor who is a celestial divinity, and

(i) Op. cit., Shanghai, n.d., p. 17.

who it seems was placed on the left hand side of the Great Knight/Ghost King to complement Panguan on the right hand side, the small matsheds flanking the central one both housed supernatural entities from the underworld. These altars, like the exhibition of the Ten Courts of Hell inside the main matshed, set out in concrete terms one of the key underlying purposes of the jiao, to pray to those in authority in the underworld to release worthy souls from torment.

The external boundaries of the ritual area were represented by a set of Banner Poles (fangan). These each consisted of a long pole, to which a hat, a lantern marked "Salvation" (chaodu), and a branch of bamboo were attached. The jiao poles in the interpretation of Deng informants were considered as landmarks to attract hungry ghosts; one informant compared the lanterns marked "Salvation" with the traditional Chinese lanterns which used to mark the way for guests at festive occasions, including marriages. At no time were they considered as pointers demarcating an area for gods to descend into. This is in marked contrast to Liu's material from Songshan, Taipei, where the poles were regarded as identifiers for both divinities and hungry ghosts. (i)

In fact, the Banner Pole, in a simpler form without the lantern or hat, is used during a funeral procession in the Kam Tin area to represent a deceased male, if made of bamboo, or a female if made of other wood. However, in the Kam Tin jiao, the base of these poles served as ghost feeding sites, having small paper houses to accommodate those attending the feeding session performed during the rite of Walking the Audience (xingchao)..

These five poles were divided into two groups. One group of three poles was sited in a triangle to the south of the matshed, and the other group was sited to the north in Pak Wai Tsuen: both groups placed (at different distances) opposite the path leading to the Tian Hou Temple in Shui Mei Tsuen.

(i) Liu C.-W., Great Propitiary Rites of Petition for Beneficence at Sungshan, Taipei, Taiwan, (Taipei Shi Songshan qi an jianjiao jidian), Nangang, 1967, p. 81.

Informants of all kinds, that is to say, both Taoist priests and the Kam Tin Deng, gave two contradictory explanations about the siting and the number of the poles. The first explanation, which was supported by some of the Ritual Leaders and by Master Lin, was that the five poles were indicative of the Five Directions, which as we have seen above, are a transformation of the Five Elements paradigm. The Ritual Leaders who gave this explanation added that the Five Directions, in the case of the Kam Tin jiao, were exemplified by the five major villages of the five important Divisions of the Kam Tin jiao organisation: that is, Kat Hing Wai, Tai Hong Wai, Wing Lung Wai, Shui Mei Tsuen, and Shui Tau Tsuen.

The second theory which was supported by other Ritual Leaders and by Master Lin's chief assistant, Mr. Zhang, was that the number of poles, five, referred to the number of days it took to perform the major rites of the jiao. Some of the Kat Hing Wai and Tai Hong Wai Ritual Leaders could point out that, in their villages, the jiaozi, or scaled down jiao, both of three days duration, made use of three poles.

The difficulty with the first explanation is that the Kat Hing and Tai Hong Divisions are multi-village organisations, as we have seen above; in any case, there is a complete omission of the Ying Lung Wai Division which, although not as important as the remaining five in that it contributed funds to the Jiao Association at half the normal rate for a Kam Tin Deng community and no money to the fund for the opera performances, nevertheless contained all the members of the second fang of Deng Hongyi's descendants. On the other hand, this explanation by the participants does tally with the spatial arrangements of the two sets of ghost-attracting poles. As we have just seen, these two sets were divided between north and south. Those who supported the explanation that the five poles were representative of the five villages stated that the poles each belonged to one of the villages concerned. In fact, as far as the poles to the north were concerned, one was placed within Shui Tau Tsuen's

village boundaries, and the other within those of Shui Mei Tsuen. The poles to the south were arranged in such a way as to conform roughly to the distribution of the southern villages.

According to this scheme, there is an attempt to relate a microcosm, the village organisation of the Kam Tin Xiang, as represented by the Kam Tin jiao system of Divisions, to a macrocosm, literally the universe, which is conceptualised in terms of the Five Elements system with all its correspondences. The macrocosm is reduced for the purposes of the performance of the Kam Tin jiao to the confines of the topological model of Kam Tin represented by the five poles.

As far as the microcosm is concerned, the division of the poles into a northern and southern set reflects the major division in the Kam Tin Deng lineage seen as a community; it thus in turn parallels the geographical distinction between north and south discussed in the analysis of the interior of the matshed.

The difficulty with the second theory is that the correspondences between the number of days of major performances and the number of poles do not always exist in jiao and jiao-type rituals. An example of this lack of correspondence is shown by the annual Yulanpen performances, taking place over a period of three days at Tai Kong Po, a village near Kam Tin. Here six poles are used. Mr. Zhang who as a member of the Lin Daotang performed these rites in 1975, explained this objection away in terms of differences in rural customs, an explanation which contradicted his theory of correspondence.

In contrast with the rites in Taiwan analysed by Saso⁽ⁱ⁾ the Governors' Temple was not ritually altered in any significant way. The soul tablets of the Governors Zhou and Wang, were not taken out to make way for other divinities introduced by the Taoist priests. The only ritual alterations that happened were

(i) Op. cit., pp. 38-39.

on a minor scale: the installation both within and without of giant lanterns bearing the Governors' surnames and status, and the pasting up of a red paper with the statement "As one Wishes" (ruyi) in the kitchen of the Temple. This latter notice affirmed the existence of the Stove God of the Temple's kitchen. In addition to this, a pair of scrolls depicting the two Governors loaned from the Governors Association which worships in the Temple every year on the twenty-first day of the fifth lunar month, was hung up. Outside the Temple, the building contractor had put up a festive signboard (huapai), the money for which, in common with the remaining boards, had been raised by Kam Tin Deng lineage members, independently of the Jiao Association funds.

Master Lin stated that in the context of the Kam Tin jiao, the division between the Prior and Posterior Heavens did not apply; he also denied the presence of the corresponding distinction between Inner and External Altars (neitan, waitan). This is in contrast with Taiwan, where there is a replacement of the gods of the people, that is the gods of the Posterior Heavens, by the gods of the Taoist priests, the gods of the Prior Heavens; ⁽ⁱ⁾ Heaven consisting of nine layers, divided into two major segments, Prior and Posterior, in the Taoist scheme.

These remarks made by Master Lin were, to a certain extent, borne out by the actual arrangement of the ritual area in Kam Tin, and its relation to the performing Taoist priests' concepts of the division between the Prior and Posterior Heavens. The conception of the division of the Heavens given by Taoists performing in the 1975 jiao in Kam Tin was that the division took place when Pangu (the creator of the universe out of chaos) rent the Heavens: nevertheless, the distinction between Prior and Posterior was interpreted as spatio-temporal, the Prior Heavens being the abode of the first dai, a term which not only means "generation" but also "order", or "rank". The first dai

(i) M.R. Saso, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

divinities include Pangu, the Divine Husbandman (Shennong Huang), Taishang Laojun, and the Jade Emperor. Posterior Heaven divinities include the Celestial Master Zhang (Zhang tianshi).

We have seen how the ritual stage inside the main matshed contains divinities not normally worshipped by the lay community but by the Taoist priests. We have also seen how in the centre of these are the portraits of the Three Pure Ones, one of whom is Taishang Laojun. It might, on first analysis, be possible to regard the stage as representative of Prior Heaven divinities, and the external altars, which are reserved for the gods of the community, as representative of the gods of the Prior Heavens. This would conform with Saso's description, particularly since the gods which the community was to collect on the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month (November 17th, 1975) were to face the Taoist divinities.

There are, however, certain problems. First, the ritual area contains divinities which although regarded as specifically Taoist, nevertheless, in the description of the division of the Heavens, were placed in the Posterior section; these are the Four Original Celestial Masters.

Secondly, neither Guanyin nor the Luohan belong to the scheme of Prior/Posterior Heavens at all. Being Buddhist divinities, they are relegated by the Taoist priests to the Western Heavens (xitian), which in the mind of Master Lin and his associates, have no means of contact with either the Prior or the Posterior Heavens.

Thirdly, the altar to the Eight Immortals and the Dragon King of the Eastern Seas does not readily fit into this scheme either. These were expositions put up by the paper work contractors, in conformity with the requirements set out in the preparatory texts for the jiao in Kam Tin.⁽ⁱ⁾ In fact the Deng Community had very little notion of the rending of the Heavens into two sections, and they interpreted the Prior and Posterior distinction, if they understood it at all, in terms of its modern connotations; pre- and post-natal experiences; these connotations entail a relationship between the division of the macrocosm into the Prior and Posterior Heavens and the separation of the experiences of the individual (microcosm) into experiences before and after birth.

(i) E.g. Jintian hexiang jianjiao zongbu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1975.

Fourthly, the representations of the hierarchies of hell displayed inside the matshed in the form of models of life in the underworld, and externally by the White Unpredictable One, the Great Knight, Panguan and his subordinates, for obvious reasons cannot be said to be characterisations of the nature of the heavens.

Fifthly, it has been noted above that the Jade Emperor (interpreted here as a Prior Heaven divinity) was put in the same shrine as Panguan and the Great Knight. However, if the arrangement of the altars had corresponded to the Taoist division of the heavens, the Emperor would have been placed with the Taoist divinities.

Sixthly, in the discussion on the poles demarcating the ritual area of the jiao, it was noted that the method of explanation was either based on the Five Elements system with all its ramifications, or on numerical correspondences with the number of days required to perform the major rites. However, neither of these explanations has any a priori relationship with the Taoist description of the rending of the heavens.

In fact, it seems more plausible to view the arrangement of the ritual area as being based on several, often separate, systems of ordering; the term "separate" is used here with reference to basic systems of thought, or models whose terminology is different, so that any one model or system of thought either cannot include the others, or at best includes them with great difficulty. It has just been shown that there is a rough correspondence between the Prior and the Posterior distinction and the arrangement of the altars; nevertheless, the establishment, inside the matshed, of altars to both Guanyin and to Deng Hongyi indicates that both the cult of a Buddhist divinity (Guanyin) and that of the ancestors are being represented. The Taoist division of the heavens does not entail these aspects of the community belief systems; nor does worship of Buddhist divinities, for that matter, necessarily entail ancestor worship, or vice-versa. These two latter elements are examples of actual lay religious

practices, and as we have seen, are both represented on the domestic divinity boards.

The representations of the hierarchies of hell draw attention to the point that the jiao is not only about relations with the celestial orders, but also with the infernal ones. This aspect conforms to the lay belief system, but has heavy Chinese Buddhist overtones. As we have seen, the Great Knight/Ghost King is a transformation of Guanyin, a Buddhist divinity. Yet, the notion of punishment in the underworld is recognised by both Taoist and Buddhist sects, and in the case of the 1975 jiao in Kam Tin was chanted at great length, principally at the time of the final Mass for the souls of the dead. The basis for these conceptions seems to lie in a syncretist Chinese belief system, and not in a set of explanations specifically and exclusively developed by Taoists.

The alterations in the actual villages of Kam Tin which took place at the same time as those of the ritual area of the jiao were of a minor nature as far as ritual significance is concerned. Couplets were put up outside the entrances to the walled villages, as they had been outside the sections of the main matshed granted to each Division, and also outside the external altars opposite the main matshed. Boards proclaiming that the jiao was to offer thanks for (the gods') benevolence were put up outside Tsz Tong Tsuen, Kat Hing Wai, Wing Lung Wai, and at the entrance leading to the road to Kam Hing Wai and Pak Wai Tsuen, this last board being funded by Deng from Pak Wai Tsuen living in Holland. Many individual households bought the special jiao lanterns with slogans requesting peace and prosperity; these were hung outside the door. They came in two sizes, sold at thirty and fifty Hong Kong dollars, and were a way in which the Jiao Association was able to make money in addition to the general levy. However, in contrast to the general levy, purchase of lanterns was not compulsory. No rites were carried out in co-ordination with these changes.

The major alterations thus concerned the ritual area's rearrangement

which encapsulates one key issue in the ideology of the jiao: the syncretism of basically different systems of cosmological description and explanation. This is, in fact, a consequence of the representation of the belief systems of quite different groups of people: the specialists (the Taoist priests), and the lay community (the Deng lineage of Kam Tin). It is this inherent basis for contradiction in the belief system of the jiao that is also the basis of the elaborate nature of the rites as a whole.

Chapter 7.

The Main Sequence of Jiao Rituals.

Day 1. The Fifteenth Day of the Tenth Lunar Month (November 17th, 1975). The Rite of Fetching Water.

The first rite of the jiao which took place after the rearrangement of the ritual area was that of Fetching Water (from the well) (qushui). According to Cai Boli's schedule of propitious times, this rite was to be performed at 12.30 a.m. on the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month. In practice, however, the ritual began at 11 p.m. the previous night.

The ceremony began at the well to the north of Shui Mei Tsuen. A large earthenware bowl was brought on a table covered with red cloth. Ritual Leaders then arrived and prepared a table on which ritual objects including foods were placed. As necessitated by the period of abstention, the ritual foods were "vegetarian": five bowls of bean-curd cooked into a leaf-like form with mushrooms and thin white noodles, five bowls of rice, and five bowls each of wine and tea respectively, set with five pairs of chopsticks. A branch of green leaves (qing) with a piece of red cloth was placed at the end of the table furthest from the ritual foods and red candles were lit. As seen in the analysis of the jiao preparatory rituals, the branch of green leaves not only is a symbol for newness but also expels evil (which, in any case, threatens the purity of the untarnished, the new, so that the two concepts of newness and evil expulsion are interrelated). The red cloth is a standard symbol for fortune (fu), the colour red (hong) representing this; furthermore, the greenness of the branch of leaves symbolises the fortune obtained from office, since, in Cantonese, Luk meaning fortune derived from office is a homophone of luk meaning green. The two different "green" colours, lü (luk in Cantonese) and qing, are assimilated in the symbolism because the colour qing is represented by the name for the branch, also called qing, and the colour lü by the contrast with the red of the cloth. If red and green were contrasted, for example, at funerals, informants

always considered the green colour to be lü.

We have already seen that the numerical category five when used in the ordering of ritual foods places the rites with those of worship for a Great Ancestor (taigong). It was noted in the discussion of the Presentation of the First and Second Memorials that such an ordering of ritual foods placed the Governors Zhou and Wang in the same category as a Great Ancestor worshipped in extra-domestic situations. This represents the most elaborate category of worship in the Kam Tin ritual system.

Given this, the ritual foods signify that the rite of Fetching Water was a major one. Moreover, the elaborate rituals of the jiao, such as the rite of Fetching Water, were those rituals that had no redundancy in that they were performed only once. Furthermore, those rituals required the attendance of the full complement of Ritual Leaders.

After the Ritual Leaders had arrived at the site of worship, nine Taoist priests assembled between the Ritual Leaders and the ritual table described above. As for all the rites of the main sequence of the jiao, the first Ritual Leader carried the yizhe ting, a small model of a pavilion with a miniature knife in the centre which was placed above the Register of Jiao subscribers (see Photograph 29). This pavilion according to both Taoist and Deng laymen was to protect the record of names against harmful elements, in particular hungry ghosts. Deng informants added that the knife was an expulsion agent. All the priests, with the exception of Master Lin, were dressed in red clothing with a blue silk border around the neck and down the front; the sleeves were in plain black, and the Four Trigrams and Great Unity (taiji) symbols were executed in gold, surrounded by traditional brick patterns and the symbols of the Eight Immortals; these were on the back of the robes. Master Lin was dressed in a red gown with light gold edging, except for the neck which had a border of red silk. The Trigram and Great Unity symbols on the back were embroidered in gold and silver, with a light gold ring around both colours. As for the rituals concerned with the Presentation of the Memorials, the Taoist priest's rank was indicated by the

type of hat he wore. The hats worn during this ceremony were the same as those for the previous rituals. However, with the exception of the Master, the clothing of the priests was more lavish than that of the preparatory rituals of Memorial presentation, where, as we have seen, these Taoists wore simpler red gowns with black edging and white sleeves and with the Trigram and Great Unity patterns in yellow, white, and black silk; the Master wearing more elaborate clothing with black and gold edging. This contrast in the elaboration of the Taoist priests' clothing serves to highlight the fact that this rite, at the beginning of a period of continual abstention from non-"vegetarian" foods and from sexual intercourse, was considered by the Taoist priests to be more significant than the Memorial transmission rites. As we have seen, Master Lin stated that the elaboration of costume was in relation to the significance of a ritual.

After the Taoist priests had assembled, they began the ceremony by chanting and by presenting their Tablets of Office (hu) in a manner identical to that of the Memorial presentation rituals (see Photograph 10). Master Lin, situated in the centre, then knelt down and bowed his head, and Mr. Zhang, his chief assistant, read the list of the Faithful, that is of the subscribers to the jiao, from the red coloured Register compiled by the Kam Tin Deng. Then the zhitan, the third Taoist priest, burnt paper charms and put them into the earthenware jar, after which, paper money of the jinyinqian type was burnt under the ritual table by one of the Deng assistants. Firecrackers were then set off by another of the Deng assistants, this serving as a time demarcator as well as an evil expellent. Following this, water was ladled from the well by the third and fourth Ritual Leaders, to be put into the earthenware jar which had already been covered with charms with two inscriptions. The first of these was "The Primordial First Breath with the ten thousand divinities of the Bureau of Thunder during this month and day seal." This inscription refers to the First Breath which corresponds to the first of nine cardinal points. This first cardinal point corresponds to the North which in turn correlates with Water since both

are yin entities. (i) This Breath, corresponding to a yin cosmological position, together with the Taoist celestial Bureau of Thunder thus guaranteed the yin water inside the earthenware jar, much as Chinese wine jars are sealed with a guarantee of authenticity; the second inscription mentioned "The Phoenix Water Charm", the phoenix (feng) being a mythological bird representative of female, and, therefore, yin qualities (see Photograph 11).

The filling of the earthenware jar with the well water was performed by the fourth Ritual Leader, while another Deng (not a Ritual Leader) burnt another charm which was then added to the solution in the jar. The jar was then sealed down with the aid of two Ritual Leaders including the fourth, and three Deng assistants.

The Taoist priests then turned to the Ritual Leaders and chanting, terminated the ritual. The earthenware container was later taken back and installed under the table on which the tablets of the Three Pure Ones were sited, in the area set aside for the Taoists in the matshed, to the rear of the ritual stage.

Ritual Leaders and Taoist priests explained the rite as one of purification of water from the well. One Ritual Leader added that this rite involved the removal of "germs" (weijun). This seems to be an ambiguous interpretation, since if simple sanitation of the village well were involved, sanitation experts would presumably be called in as the local inhabitants quite realised that technical problems defined in terms of modern science required scientific solutions. The Taoist priest Mr. Zhang described the ritual more fully as one of getting rid of the "bad" (xie) elements in the water and making it "clear" (qing). However, the term just translated by "bad", xie, has a variety of meanings and connotations; these are: "bad", "evil", "impure", "unorthodox", "depraved", "abnormal", and "relating to malevolent entities in the underworld". "Clarity" or "clear" (qing) on the other hand, in the Taoist context means freedom from xie. Mr. Zhang in the course of his discussions about ritual also made constant reference to the distinction between "muddiness" (zhuo) and "clarity" (qing). It seems, therefore, that the idea of water is used to construct a simile (both zhuo and qing have Water (shui) radicals) to express

(i) M. Granet: La Pensée Chinoise, Paris, 1934, pp. 187 and 193.

the same distinction as that between xie and qing. Examination of the two images shows that "depravity" is purity seen in the form of clear water, invaded by dirt. The use of the image of water to express a distinction between purity and impurity brings into play the set of binary oppositions between ordered divinities which are consciously ascribed to the qing category, and unpredictable hungry ghosts. These, as we have seen above, are interpreted as transmitters of all kinds of misfortune.

The relationship of these infernal entities with water is borne out by the accepted interpretation of the Taoist cosmology of the Three Divisions (sanjie) Heaven, Earth and Water as the corresponding Divisions of Heaven, Earth, and the Underworld. This aspect of the Taoist cosmology was also known to some of the older Ritual Leaders. We shall see later that the rite of Releasing Water Lanterns (fang shuideng) was intended to grant the hungry ghosts of both land and sea attending the jiao a means of exit from the community; here then, the theological connection between ghosts and water is reaffirmed.

On the other hand, in a community which until only recently had no adequate running water supply, the importance of the well must have been paramount. Given, then, that up till thirty years ago, according to informants, naam moh lo would be called in to purify people suffering from ill health, that is, to expel the xie elements, in the context of the traditional society, purification of the well would have constituted an important part of the purificatory aspects of the jiao as a whole.

In fact, it is this gap between the methods involved in coping with illness in the past, reiterated in this rite by the involvement of Taoist priests, and the historically later realisation of the benefits of western medicine that explains the ambiguity in the use of the term "germ" (weijun): that it implies western medicine in a traditional context.

The rite of Fetching Water was immediately followed by that of Erecting the Banner Poles (shu fangan), though we have seen that this nomenclature is

not strictly appropriate as the poles had been erected already.

Erecting the Banner Poles.

This rite was the first act of worship in the jiao at the sites where the poles had been put up. For this ritual, Mr. Zhang changed into the same clothing as that worn by Master Lin during the rite of Fetching Water ⁽¹⁾ (see Photograph 12). The ritual itself was not complex and involved chanting to the hungry ghosts at the pole sites. The ritual goods under the poles varied from three cups of wine, three pairs of chopsticks, three small dishes of "vegetarian" food including the leaf-like bean-curd and mushrooms mentioned above, and three bowls of rice, to wine, chopsticks, and rice in threes, with a dish of thin noodles with dried oysters and edible fungi. The ritual foods were thus coded into groups of threes, the ghosts being treated in the same way as divinities and ancestors worshipped in the domestic context.

No specific chants for this rite, nor for that of Fetching Water were written down. In fact, local Taoist priests both within and without the Lin Daotang claimed that the rites of Performing the Audience (xingchao) - very similar to those of Erecting the Banner Poles in that they both involved visits to the pole sites ⁽²⁾ - "were very easy-going indeed". In the ritual texts relating to the jiao belonging to Master Lin, there is only one chant for the pole sites. This indicates that this rite must have used the same chant as for the rite of Performing the Audience (discussed below).

After this rite, people worshipped individually during the night according to the pattern of worship before the Presentation of the Memorials; that is, people started worshipping individually in their households, and then in the Governors' Temple and at the various altars and the banner poles discussed above. However, they did not worship in the area at the centre of the matshed where the incense burner made of paper was placed.

The Collection of the Divinities.

The next major event was that of the Collection of the Divinities (jieshen)

which took place at about 10 a.m. I was told by a Ritual Leader that there were ten parties for the collection of divinities from temples and shrines in the surrounding area. However, the process was organised according to different criteria. The first five Ritual Leaders or deputies from their Pillars were to go to Lingyun Si, a local Buddhist nunnery. However, the journey to Lingyun Si to collect a statue of Guanyin included a number of other stops: the Pat Heung temple at Sheung Tsuen, the temple at Yuen Kong, and the Tongfu Tang, a Buddhist nunnery.

Apart from the top five Ritual Leaders or their deputies, each Division of the Kam Tin jiao organisation sent its Ritual Leaders to collect the divinities from the temples or shrines within its defined boundaries. The tablets of the Governors were collected by a miscellaneous group of Ritual Leaders, and that of Deng Hongyi, the founding ancestor exclusive to the Kam Tin Deng, by the Head of the Clan (Zuzhang).

The Jiao preparatory texts in Kam Tin list all the collection sites apart from the village shrines (Shenting) of Wing Lung Wai, Kat Hing Wai, Tai Hong Wai, and Kam Hing Wai; copies of the village shrine divinities boards were made on red paper and taken from these sites. Moreover, the actual method of dividing the responsibility for the collection of those divinities attending the jiao was clearly a traditional practice; this was so because members of southern Divisions could not identify the collection sites that were the preserve of Ritual Leaders from the northern villages; the reverse was also the case.

The process of collection, which did not require Taoist priests, involved bringing back either the actual statues or images of the divinities concerned, or red paper tablets with their names on. The worship during the process of collection of the two kinds of representations was the same: it involved burning sandalwood placed on the altar of the particular temple or in front of the particular shrine concerned; incense was offered (in threes) and paper money of the jinyinqian type was burnt either internally, or externally in

the ritual incinerator; the Ritual Leaders performed the kowtow in front of the divinities to be collected; the divinity was then taken away. In the case of the red paper tablets, however, each would be brought by the Ritual Leaders concerned to the temple where the divinity whose name it bore was sited, and after a performance of worship such as that just described, each tablet would be taken away from the altar of the divinity which it represented. The collection of these divinities (and for that matter their sending off after the jiao) was accompanied by beating the gong (while in the lorry, in the case of those who took the trip to Lingyun Si). Beating the gong is the traditional way of announcing both the collection and sending back of divinities during a festival.

All the divinities except Celestial Master Zhang (Zhang tianshi) were installed in the small matshed directly facing the major matshed of the Jiao. Celestial Master Zhang whose portrait was taken from the small altar in the gateway to Tai Hong Wai was installed in the Moujing Tang, the ancestral hall dedicated to the ancestors and descendants of the second, third, and fourth fang of the Kam Tin Deng lineage. The installation of the Taoist Celestial Master, Zhang tianshi, in an ancestral hall, poses certain problems in analysis. The third Ritual Leader who was, after all, the senior Ritual Leader representing the Tai Hong Division explained that his village's portrait of the Celestial Master had been placed in the ancestral hall because the Celestial Master controls thunder, presumably thus ensuring good weather during the jiao. Another Ritual Leader, from a different Division, argued that the Celestial Master was placed in an ancestral hall to avoid the rain, and therefore, to protect him. These statements by informants seemed to be surface explanations of a problem which, at a higher level of analysis, is more complex. First, it should be noted there is no necessary logical relationship between placing the Celestial Master so that he can order thunder or avoid the weather, and putting him in an ancestral hall; after all, the Celestial Master could, if these two contradictory reasons are to be justified, have been placed on any one of the altars

discussed above.

At this stage, it should be noted that the Moujing Tang is one of the ancestral halls in which the tablets of the ancestors of villagers of Tai Hong Wai are installed. This explains why the Sicheng Tang ancestral hall was not used. Furthermore, an ancestral hall near to the jiao site had to be used because of the problem of proximity to the major marshed; this would exclude the use of the Guangyu Tang built for the reputed founder of Tai Hong Wai, Deng Wenwei, and situated in Tsz Tong Tsuen. Moreover, there are four fourth fang families in Tai Hong Wai who are not descendants of Deng Wenwei, but of his brother; so, the only ancestral hall in which all the members of Tai Hong Wai have a share is, in any case, the Moujing Tang.

Yet, this does not explain why the Celestial Master was placed in an ancestral hall. At an analytical level, the answer seems to be that Celestial Master Zhang, being both a divinity of the Taoists and a specific deity of Tai Hong Wai, could be assigned neither to specifically Taoist altars, nor to those of the community gods. He thus, "invaded" the space of an ancestral hall, an action which in itself confused categories normally kept quite apart in the Kam Tin Deng ritual system. As we have seen, ancestral halls are not places of worship at the time of ordinary religious festivals, such as divinities' birthdays; divinities, on the other hand, are not worshipped at the time of the Spring and Autumn Rites when with the exception of the Guangyu Tang, ancestral halls become centres of worship.

At this point, it is important to note that the ancestral tablet of Deng Hongyi was collected by the zuzhang at this time and placed on the altar specifically reserved, to the left of the Taoist priests' ritual stage. This represents the other aspect of the same problem. Deng Hongyi gong's ancestral tablet "invaded" the territory of the divinities. Granted that this particular ancestral tablet represents the Kam Tin Deng not as a community of residents divided among various villages, but as a body of descendants

of an exclusive ancestor, we can see that two actions have taken place: in the case of the portrait of the Celestial Master, community has "invaded" lineage group; in the case of the ancestral tablet, the reverse is true. This swap symbolises the jiao's dualistic dependence on both the lineage and community aspects of the social structure of Kam Tin. This is particularly so since temples, the abodes of divinities, are set up as independent (non-ancestral) trusts in which Deng households of the villages where the temples are situated, each have an equal share, whereas ancestral halls are established as places in which only the descendants of the ancestors installed have any claim. Thus, temples (divinities) are to the Deng organised as a community as ancestral halls (ancestors) are to the Deng as a lineage.

Making the Texts Fly.

The next ceremony was that of Making the Texts Fly (fei wenshu). This was the name given to the ceremony by the Taoist priests, some of whom argued that there were only two Memorial presentation rites. The Kam Tin Deng, on the other hand, called this rite "the Third Presentation of the Memorial" (di-san ci tongbiao), a term that was not only used in conversation but also in public notices put out by the Jiao Association (for example, the public announcement on October 21st, 1975). Although this rite involved the presentation of a Memorial, the difference in title may reflect differences in conception, for the Taoists regarded this ceremony not as preparatory but as one of Opening the Altars (qitan), in other words as part of the main ritual. This may explain why the timing of the ritual did not follow Cai Boli's schedule. The rite was scheduled for 12.30 a.m. but began at 1 p.m.

The ritual of Making the Texts Fly was an elaborated version of the previous rites of Memorial presentation; the differences will be apparent from the following description. Before the beginning of this rite, Kam Tin people began to worship individually in a manner identical to that described above for the rituals of the presentations of the two Memorials. That is to say that they

worshipped in their houses before the domestic altar, in the Governors' Temple, and before the ritual table on which was placed the incense burner, the ritual foods bought by the Jiao Association, and the artefacts of the Taoist priests. The difference was that the ritual table with its associated objects was in the centre of the major matshed, the place where the rites were to take place. In addition to this, people worshipped at will in front of the altars (tan) set up for the gods who were attending the jiao; they did not worship at the banner poles for the hungry ghosts.

The ritual foods were similar to those of the first and second Memorial presentation rites, and were, likewise, coded into groups of threes for individually bought and used foods, and into fives for those publicly bought and used.

The artefacts of the Taoist priests included the receptacle which had contained the Taoists' ritual objects during the presentation of the first two Memorials; this had the designs of the same four Trigrams as the Taoists' clothing. This receptacle now contained two Notices (biao), together with the Five Thunders Block and the five tablets of the Five Star Lords. After this had been laid out, Ritual Leaders put three very tall and thick sticks of yellow incense in front of the paper incense burner. The Ritual Leaders then prepared for the rite by washing their hands in a basin containing water and pomelo leaves; this basin was placed at the centre-right (facing the entrance) of the area between the incense burner and the ritual stage. At this point, the Ritual Leaders also put on cheongsams as in the previous Memorial presentation rituals.

The first five Ritual Leaders then lined up in front of the main ritual table facing the main entrance of the matshed, the remaining Ritual Leaders keeping to the sides. The Taoist priests next began by worshipping on the ritual stage in front of the scrolls of the Three Pure Ones. Here, the ritual foods were also arranged in groups of fives: five bowls of wine, five bowls of tea, five bowls of rice, and five of "vegetarian" foods including the leaf-like bean-curd. Here, Mr. Zhang, Master Lin's chief assistant, offered wine

to the divinities, wearing a Lotus Flower Crown and the same red clothing as for the rites of Fetching Water. He was assisted by two relatively junior Taoist priests who were dressed in pink clothing with black and yellow edging and the Trigrams in turquoise, silver, and gold, with the Great Unity symbol in turquoise segmented by a silver wavy line, signifying the distinction between yin and yang. Of the remaining Taoists, five wore the same red clothing as Mr. Zhang; but of these Taoists only three wore the Lotus Flower Crown, one with four balls similar to that of Mr. Zhang, and two with three balls. Master Lin wore clothing identical with that of the previous Memorial presentation rites. The pattern of clothing for Making the Texts Fly thus is that same demonstration of internal rank among the Taoist priests which has been noted for the jiao rituals already described; only here, with the exception, as always, of Master Lin, the clothes were more lavish than those of the preceding Memorial presentation rituals. There was a distinction in the quality of the clothing since the Taoists considered that the jiao had now begun. This more elaborate type of clothing was to be worn throughout the period of abstention.

The Ritual Leaders followed the Taoist priests on to the ritual stage, beginning a separate part of the ritual. Flanked by two top-ranking Taoist priests Master Lin knelt in the centre reading the list of the Ritual Leaders' names. During this time, Mr. Zhang presented Master Lin with three sticks of incense to place on the altar. Master Lin then took the yizhe ting (described above in the rite of Fetching Water), and raised it, offering up the names to the divinities above. After this brief ritual, Master Lin, together with the two top-ranking Taoists, returned to the central area of the matshed and stood in front of the ritual table. The remaining Taoist priests followed. Master Lin then knelt while one of the senior Taoist priests added three sticks of incense to the incense burner on this altar. Meanwhile, a Ritual Leader had put three sticks of incense into each of eight incense "pipes" called Hammers (chui) by the Deng laymen, and censers (shoulu) by the Taoists; these had been placed on this central altar; of these Hammers,

three were black and more carefully carved than the remaining five which were red. These Hammers were interpreted by Deng informants as symbolic of fortune, since the Cantonese for hammer (ch'ui) and wealth (ts'oi) are near homophones. (3)

Master Lin then knelt again and began to chant the text of the Memorial which was the same as in the previous presentation rituals. Following this, the Taoist priests led by Master Lin danced the steps of the Eight Trigrams while the Ritual Leaders stood on either side. The Taoist priests then returned to the central area and lined up facing the top ten Ritual Leaders who were now on the left hand side (facing the main entrance of the matshed). After this, one of the junior Taoist priests dressed in pink gave out wine in cups to the top ten Ritual Leaders and then to the Taoist priests. The Taoist priests then danced the steps of the Eight Trigrams once more, and placed themselves with their backs to the ritual stage. Afterwards, following Master Lin, they lined up once more, again facing the top ten Ritual Leaders, but this time in the opposite direction: that is facing the matshed sections granted to those Divisions whose villages are on the south side of Kam Tin. After both the Taoist priests and the Ritual Leaders had raised cups, drunk, and then raised clenched fists to each other in salutation, Master Lin broke through the ranks of the Ritual Leaders, going to the washbasin containing water and pomelo leaves; Master Lin, together with the remaining Taoist priests who followed him, then washed his hands. The priests, in turn, were followed by the Ritual Leaders who proceeded to the washbasin in order of rank.

After this, both groups returned to the central area where the incense for the Hammers was renewed, Taoist priests and Ritual Leaders being given three sticks each. The Taoist priests (ten in number) lined up in front of the ritual table. Mr. Zhang then ordered the Ritual Leaders to perform the kowtow; while the Ritual Leaders kowtowed, the Taoist priests remained standing. The Taoist priests then continued the chant and presented their Tablets of Office. Following this, Mr. Zhang took the Register of Subscribers from the first Ritual

Leader and proceeded only to read out the names of the Ritual Leaders. The book was then given back by another senior Taoist priest to the first Ritual Leader.

While the remaining Taoist priests continued to chant, Master Lin began to walk to points characterising the Five Directions (East, South, West, North, and Centre) blowing a lit charm (fu) at each point and in each direction. This rite was an act of purification of the Five Directions of the cosmos.

When he had completed this series of walks, Master Lin began walking the patterns of the Southern and Northern Polar Constellations (nandou, beidou) which he terminated by bowing to the remaining Taoists who were in front of the incense burner. Master Lin then rejoined the remaining Taoist priests, taking up a position in the centre. After this, he took the Five Thunders Block and his Tablet of Office, while five of the remaining Taoist priests each took up one of the tablets of the Five Star Lords. These priests thus each represented a section of the cosmos. Mr. Zhang then started dancing the steps of the Eight Trigrams, presenting his Tablet of Office at each stage of the ritual; he was followed in this by Master Lin (see Photograph 13). These Taoist priests returned to the centre in front of the ritual table. The three top Taoist priests then started off for the ritual stage, followed by the remaining Taoist priests and the top five Ritual Leaders. After they had worshipped in front of the scrolls, this group went outside the matshed and entered the Governors' Temple to worship there. The group then returned and worshipped at the altar where Deng Hongyi's ancestral tablet had been placed. This rite was similar to the acts of worship inside the Governors' Temple during the previous Memorial presentation rituals, except that then the ancestral tablet of Deng Hongyi was not worshipped. In the context of this rite, however, the worship of both the Governors and the common ancestor exclusive to the Kam Tin Deng indicates that the jiao was an act of commemoration by all the Kam Tin Deng of these two officials.

The Taoists returned to the ritual table in the centre, where the ritual objects had been placed at the beginning of the rites. Mr. Zhang then began reading the text of the Notice. This Notice was addressed to the Three Original Ones (Sanyuan), equivalent to the Three Officials (Sanguan), who are the Emperors of the Three Divisions of Heaven, Earth, and Water discussed above. In the minds of the Taoist priests participating, the Three Original Ones were interpreted as the Three Pure Ones. However, their characterisation is different, and the Three Realms of the Three Pure Ones are considered to be in the Former Heavens (xiantian). These Three Original Ones are in the text of the Notice (i) described as follows: the Upper Original First Grade Heavenly Official and Great Emperor who Bestows Fortune (Shangyuan. Yi Pin Ci Fu Tianguan Dadi), the Central Original, Second Grade Earthly Official and Great Emperor who Pardons Crime (Zhongyuan Er Pin She Zui Diguan Dadi), and the Lower Original, Third Grade Water Official and Great Emperor who Relieves Distress (Xiayuan San Pin Jie E Shuiguan Dadi). The Three Original Ones are characterised by the Notice as always being in charge of the Thunder Ministry which

"bestows pardons and shows benevolence, stops the Suffering of the Three Ways [physical suffering, emotional suffering, and suffering due to transient circumstances], (ii) so that relief is offered to the lost. Thus, those who have shunned the Canons, who suffer and are troubled, can ascend sooner to the place of the living".

This is a reference to the hungry ghosts, condemned to perpetual darkness (here contrasted with the light of morning) who are now offered liberation through rebirth.

The divinities of Notice are those of the Taoist priests, not of the lay community. In fact, while the Taoist priests were aware of the laymens' divinities, and could discuss them, the laymen including the Ritual Leaders were only dimly aware of the Taoists' hierology. The first Ritual Leader, for example, referred to the Three Pure Ones as the 'Taoists' Bodhisattvas'

(i) Dao'antang chongchao, Manuscript, Sheung Shui, 1963, pp. 85-86.
 (ii) Ci hai, Shanghai, 1936, p. 14, s.v. sanku.

(naam moh lo po shaat). (4)

After Mr. Zhang had finished reading the Notice, Master Lin burnt another charm and continued to chant the text of the Memorial (which was the same as for the previous ritual). The Taoists, including Master Lin then knelt once more. Following this, Mr. Zhang stood up and intoned the full set of names on the Memorial; he was aided in this by one of the Taoists dressed in pink. The Memorial was dotted with a live cockerel exactly as in the previous Memorial presentation rituals.

It was at this stage of the performance that a group of Ritual Leaders went up on to the stage and brought down a paper model of a steamship which they took down to the riverside and burnt, an action which replicated the annual rite of pa tianji (Scaling the Tianji Constellation) which takes place in Kam Tin on the nineteenth day of the first lunar month. The rite enacts the destruction of xie. (5)

Mr. Zhang meanwhile continued to read out the list of names of the Memorial assisted by other Taoists (see Photograph 14); this was a final attempt to inform the Jade Emperor of the Kam Tin jiao and about its subscribers. When the Memorial had been read, one of the Ritual Leaders placed it in a paper horse situated to the side of the central ritual table. There were five of these paper horses and the Memorial was placed in the central one, coloured red; the remaining four horses, coloured yellow, were filled with Notices identical in content to the one discussed above. This colour scheme thus corresponds to the distinction between the Memorial and the Notices, though Master Lin regarded these two different types of text as essentially the same.

Both Master Lin and Mr. Zhang explained the use of the five paper horses and their riders, the Meritorious Officials (gongcao), in terms of the distinction between a Great Jiao (dajiao) requiring five days of abstention and a smaller one (jiaozi) requiring fewer days when only one horse would be used. Master Lin when questioned about whether the five horses corresponded

to the Five Directions of the Five Elements system, replied that this was not the case. His explanation was that Laozi's temple is situated at the North-East and faces South-West, so that when he comes from the temple, he must come from the East, which is on his left hand side and must always be so; furthermore, that whichever way he turned, the horses would be on the left hand side, so they would be facing East. This argument rests on the non-sequitur of equating absolute directions (North, South, East, West, and so on) with relative ones (to my left, to my right, and so on). In spite of this discussion about Laozi, in Master Lin's description it was the Jade Emperor who directed the horsemen to the different sections of the Hall of Heaven (tianting).

At this stage, Mr. Zhang retired from the ceremony, taking off his outer robes. The remaining Taoists continued the rites in front of the central ritual table, with Master Lin holding the Five Thunders Block, while the Ritual Leaders knelt. The Taoists with some of the top ten Ritual Leaders then went outside where the horses had been repositioned facing the entrance to the matshed (see Photograph 15). Their direction was thus the same as for the previous rites. However, Master Lin argued that the horses were to travel in all directions. The horses were given wine for their journey and then burnt, thus transmitting their messages. The Taoists then returned, took off their outer robes, and joined the musicians. After they had performed for a short space of time, the priests turned to the person acting as the first Ritual Leader (the first Ritual Leader's second son) and terminated the ceremony. The first Ritual Leader's second son then went to put the yizhe ting on the ritual stage, and the Taoists returned to their area behind the scrolls.

The rite of Making the Text Fly thus corresponds quite closely with the previous rituals of Memorial presentation; the same methods of symbolically demonstrating the co-operation between the Ritual Leaders and the Taoist priests were enacted (that is, the presentation of cups of wine), the same patterns were used by the Taoist priests to mark out the relations of the cosmos, and the same

Memorial was used and presented for the third time. This explains the Deng laymen's use of the term the Presentation of the Third Memorial to describe the rites. However, the Taoist priests' interpretation of the rite as an integral part of the jiao is justified by the holding of the rite in the matshed, by the elaboration of the rites in general, and in particular by the number of paper horses, as well as by the introduction of the Notices which set out important aspects of the cosmology of the jiao. The Taoist's conception of the rite as one of Opening the Altars makes sense since this was the first rite of the jiao inside the matshed.

After this ceremony, there followed the "secular" opening rites, at which the Secretary for the New Territories, the Yuen Long District Officer, and local dignitaries, such as the Head of the Fire Brigade, the local Superintendent of Police, and Headmasters of schools were invited to attend. The Head of the Clan (zuzhang), the Chairman of the Jiao Association, and the top five Ritual Leaders, together with certain highly respected Elders sat on the ritual stage with the Secretary for the New Territories. The remainder sat below. The rite basically involved speeches from the Secretary for the New Territories, the Head of the Clan, and the Chairman of the Jiao Association; the latter drew attention to the origins of both the Jiao and the Governors' Temple, narrating a brief version of the "orthodox" history as recorded in the lineage genealogies. After this, the local dignitaries were invited to eat a dinner of specially prepared "vegetarian" food, having watched a lion dance performance outside the Governors' Temple. This concluded the day's rites.

Day 2. The Sixteenth Day of the Tenth Lunar Month (November 18th, 1975).
The Three Audiences and Three Rites of Atonement.

The sixteenth day of the tenth lunar month saw the introduction of the daily sequence of the Three Audiences (san chao) and Three Rites of Atonement (san chan) which was to be performed until the conclusion of the period of abstention. All these rites involved the participation of both the Taoist priests and the Ritual Leaders. The first Rite of Atonement took place at

5 a.m. and was performed by a single Taoist, who originally came from Dongguan County, and the Ritual Leaders at GuanYin's altar. The Ritual Leaders were divided into two groups, one composed of senior Ritual Leaders (that is those who held the top fifteen positions) in front of the altar, and a second group consisting of the remainder of the Ritual Leaders lined up below at ground level. The ritual foods consisted of a New Year Box (quanhe) containing crystallised fruit, a large bowl of water, three cups each of tea and wine, and three bowls each of "vegetarian" foods and rice.

The Taoist priest wore elaborate garments (a red coat with black sleeves and blue and gold edging around the neck, with the Trigram and Great Unity emblems executed in gold and green). His hat, however was the ordinary black boxed type, and not the Lotus Flower Crown, which this priest was entitled to wear because of his rank. The rite, therefore, while considered important because of the priest's clothing, nevertheless did not warrant full displays of rank.

The rite began with the Ritual Leaders kowtowing while the priest chanted the standard Rite of Atonement (chan) canon for this jiao, "The Jade Emperor's Precious Announcement" (Yuhuang baogao).⁽ⁱ⁾ While this was chanted, the Ritual Leaders also assisted by burning jinyinqian paper money and pouring tea. Afterwards, the names of the first ten Ritual Leaders were read by the Taoist priest; these names were taken from the Register given to him by the first Ritual Leader's deputy. After the priest had intoned a section of the canon, he turned to the left hand side of the altar, and repeated the text, striking his Wooden Fish (muyu), a wooden spherical block which gives a hollow sound. When he had completed this, the rite was at an end.

The second Rite of Atonement which followed after a space of about two hours involved the same Taoist priest, but this time the rites took place before the scrolls and portraits on the ritual stage (see Photograph 16). The Ritual Leaders assembled behind the Taoist priest, kowtowed following musical signals, in the form of drum rolls, given by the drummer; the musicians, in contrast to the previous Rite of

(i) Yuhuang baogao, Manuscript, Shenzhen, n.d.

Atonement, were now present. This took place while the Taoist priest chanted the Jade Emperor Canon cited above. The priest then purified the ritual area by spraying water from a bowl containing pomelo leaves, and, afterwards, led the group to the Governors' Temple kitchen where he sprayed the area, burnt a charm, and placed incense at the shrine of the Stove God. The group then worshipped in front of the altar of the collected divinities, facing the main matshed. Following this, the group returned directly to the ritual stage to continue the previous rites. The worship in the Governors' Temple kitchen and in front of the collected divinities was not repeated during subsequent performances of the Rite of Atonement.

After the Ritual Leaders and the Taoist priest had returned to the stage, the Ritual Leaders remained behind the priest, performing the kowtow, while one of their number poured wine into the five wine cups situated near the ritual foods (these were five cups of wine and tea, five bowls of rice and "vegetarian" foods, the latter including the leaf-like bean-curd and mushrooms, and a New Year Box of crystallised fruit laid out with five pairs of chopsticks). The priest then read the names of the Ritual Leaders from the Register. Following this, he returned the book to the first Ritual Leader's father's younger brother's Son who was acting as the first Ritual Leader. The Ritual Leaders then kowtowed and the priest raised his head and presented his Tablet of Office (hu). The Taoists then signalled the Ritual Leaders to stand by pointing one of his drum sticks (used with the Wooden Fish) upwards. Afterwards the priest repeated the text of the canon (the Jade Emperor Canon cited above), hammering out the rhythm thus bringing the rite to a close.

This rite therefore differs from the preceding Rite of Atonement, not only by its incorporation of the acts of worship in the Governors' Temple and at the ancestral tablet of Deng Hongyi, but also because it involved worship in front of the scrolls of the Three Pure Ones; in addition, the Taoist priest's clothing differed in that he wore a Lotus Flower Crown, though the robes remained

the same. From an analytical point of view, this change in clothing reflects the change in location of the second performance of the Rite of Atonement: its change from worship in front of Guanyin, an important deity for the laymen, but a secondary deity for the Taoist priests, at least when compared with the Three Pure Ones.

The second performance of the Rite of Atonement was followed by the first instance of "Performing" or "Walking" the Audience (xingchao). This involved a procession to the ritual sites of the jiao, accompanied by a gong. It started with worship at the major altar of the Governors' Temple where one set of soul tablets had been left (the other set had been collected by the Ritual Leaders); the rite continued by worship at the temporary shrine of Celestial Master Zhang in the Moujing Tang ancestral Hall, where Mr. Zhang who led four other Taoist priests burnt a Notice. Mr. Zhang and the other priests were dressed in the same clothing as for the rite of Fetching Water. The ritual foods and objects set out in front of the portrait of Celestial Master Zhang were coded into groups of threes and included one dish of oysters and thin transparent noodles, a dish of crystallised fruit, three pairs of red chopsticks, and three cups each of tea and wine. There were nine sticks of grey "cheaper" incense, a number which in the Kam Tin ritual context normally symbolises the wish for longevity; this being based on the punning phrase in Cantonese "ch'eung ch'eung kau kau", literally meaning "Long, long; lasting, lasting", where the kau of Lasting is an exact homophone of the kau of Nine.

The offering of ritual foods coded in threes both to the Taoists' divinities (that is, their private tablets of the Three Pure Ones) and to Celestial Master Zhang conforms with the ordinary ritual practice in Kam Tin whereby divinities are offered food in groups of threes. These foods were set out by the community, and not by the Taoist priests.

After worshipping in this ancestral hall, the group of Ritual Leaders and Taoist priests worshipped at all the Banner Poles, starting with that of Shui

Mei Tsuen, and then performing rites at those of Shui Tau Tsuen and the three Divisions representing the south side of Kam Tin (see Photograph 17). The ritual foods for the Shui Mei Tsuen pole were the same as those for Celestial Master Zhang; those for the Shui Tau Tsuen pole simply involved three cups each of tea and wine and three pairs of chopsticks. The poles on the southern side, however, had only one cup of tea and wine each with a dish of crystallised fruit, a dish of "vegetarian" foods, and a bowl of rice. The differences in the numerical coding of the ritual foods at the poles reflect inconsistencies in the lay-out by the servant who was paid to do this job. In any case, they showed it was possible to give the hungry ghosts food coded into "ones". One, therefore, is a minimal category for this type of supernatural being.

After worshipping at the pole sites, the Taoist priests, followed by the Ritual Leaders, returned to the kitchen of the Governors' Temple and the altar of this temple. Next, the group worshipped at the external altar to the collective divinities, at the altar of the Great Knight, and at that of the White Unpredictable One (Bai Wuchang). Then they returned to worship at the altars of Guanyin and Deng Hongyi. Both these altars and the external ones previously worshipped had their ritual foods coded into threes (three cups each of tea and wine, and crystallised fruit). We have seen how Deng Hongyi, as a Great Ancestor (taigong), normally has food coded into groups of fives. However, during both the preparatory rituals of the jiao and the main rites themselves, the category of five is reserved for entities who are more important either because they are the reason for the foundation of the rite (the Governors), or because they are the gods of the specialists who are required to perform these rites (the Taoists' divinities). Coupled with this is the fact that, according to the Taoists, the Audience rituals are commonplace; therefore, it is not surprising to find the ritual food codes of the divinities of the laity changed from three to five during the more elaborate, and more distinctive, rites of the jiao (such as that of Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng)). The ritual

code of three used for foods at these altars during the Audience rituals thus suggests the junior status of the laity's divinities when compared with the specifically Taoist ones, and the relationship between the more ordinary Audience rites and the special rites of the jiao performed only once. The exception to these arguments is that the tablets of the Three Pure Ones kept in the priests' area of the matshed were given foods grouped into threes (wine, tea, "vegetarian" foods, and rice, with three pairs of chopsticks). However, this is explicable because this altar was a private one at which only the Taoist priests worshipped and thus was not the subject of the special rites of the jiao.

The mode of worship at the external sites during the rite of Performing the Audience was for the Taoist priests to chant at each of the sites tapping a small gong and presenting their Tablets of Office, while the Ritual Leaders would bow. During this time, requests for fortune would be made, the requests being prefaced by the address of the area set out in traditional style, naming the Province, Prefecture, County, District, and xiang. In the case of worship before the tablets of the Governors, reference was made to their merit. Each act of worship required the chief Taoist to take the Register of Subscribers from the first Ritual Leader, or his substitute, who normally held it under the yizhe ting. At the external sites, paper money of the jinyinqian type was burnt.

The first rites of Walking the Audience always ended in a return to the altar in the centre of the main matshed, where the priests would divide into two groups, with two of the priests putting on pink clothing and ascending the ritual stage from opposite ends. When they had done so, they waved the Immortals' Broom (xiansao).. Taoist priests interpreted this action as one of clearing the area of xie (evil) elements. Kam Tin Deng informants, however, characterised these whips as the Dust Flails (chenfu) used by Han dynasty ministers. At the level of analysis, we can see that the laymen interpreted the rituals of Taoist priests as being in conformity with a model of social relations formerly shared with the Imperial bureaucracy.

After waving these Brooms, a senior Taoist, dressed in red, would ascend the ritual stage, perform the steps of the Eight Trigrams, and then bow in front of the scrolls of the Three Pure Ones.

After this ritual, another Rite of Atonement (chan) would follow. On the first day of the performance of these rituals, this Rite of Atonement involved the burning of a Notice but apart from this was similar to the previous performances. The remaining two sets of Atonement and Audience rituals which were performed at mid-day and mid-afternoon respectively began with Atonement (chan) rituals and ended with the Walking the Audience (chao). These rites did not involve the ritual with the Immortals' Broom on the stage.

On closer analysis, there were five chan-type rituals and three chao, or Audience, rituals involving worship at all the altars in the ritual area. This, however, does not tally with the requirement to perform three chao and three chan. In fact, as is apparent from the description above, it was very difficult to separate Atonement-type from Audience-type rituals; the ritual performance for the mid-morning sequence of rites was continuous. Given that both the priests and the Kam Tin Deng were adamant about the formula of "Three Atonements and Three Audiences" (san chan san chao), it seems more plausible to view chan and chao as aspects of the same ritual performance. Seen from this perspective, the daily rituals were divided into discrete units defined by the particular period of the day during which they were performed. These discrete units can be described as follows: early morning Chan; mid-morning chao (involving chan-type rituals); mid-day chan and chao rituals; mid-afternoon chan and chao rituals. Characterised in this way, the actual performances correspond with the descriptions of the rites.

The Taoist priests were adamant about the performance of three Audience rites per day because in their view each of the Audiences was addressed to a different set of divinities (defined in Taoist terms); these divinities were also arranged in a hierarchy: the most senior being worshipped at the first

Audience and the most junior at the third. The groups of divinities were, in order of seniority, as follows; the Three Pure Ones, (the Divinities of) the Golden Palace of the Posterior Heavens (houtian jinqe) who according to Master Lin were all divinities "who were the Jade Emperor's advisors" (Yuhuang menxia), and the Myriad Venerables who Usher in Longevity (yingshou zhongsheng).

The fact that the Taoist priests classified the divinities worshipped during these rituals only in terms of the Audience rites supports the view that the Atonement rituals, though separate in their nomenclature, were seen as part of the Audience rituals.

The characterisation of the first Audience as being directed towards the Three Pure Ones is of some interest. None of the Ritual Leaders with whom I discussed the problem were aware of this interpretation. Here, therefore, is an example of different interpretations being put on the same rite by different groups of participants. However, not only were the lay community not aware of the system of classification of the Three Audiences by the Taoist, but also they were ignorant of the content of the canon chanted. They constantly complained that the priests chanted incorrect tones making it impossible for them to understand. (6)

In spite of the division of the Three Audiences in terms of the divinities to which they were directed, the canon for the chan part of the rites remained the same. This canon (the Yuhuang baogao) was addressed to the Jade Emperor with the aim of pardoning the crimes of the people, and also the Primordial Divinity (Yuanshi Tianzun), the Precious Jewel Heavenly Worthy (Lingbao Tianzun),

and the Heavenly Worthy who Bestows Life (Jiangshen Tianzun), as well as other Taoist Divinities. The themes of this text involve an appeal principally to the Three Pure Ones, the Rulers of the Three Divisions who as we have seen were originally associated with the Three Original Ones, to pardon those who have committed crimes; in this respect pages 17 to 20 of the text

give typical passages, for example, the statement

"we pray that all evil practices be completely absolved". (i)

These crimes (zui) include turning one's back on the Dao [Way] and going against the truth, (ii) and following the bad (xie) and discarding the right. (iii)

These indefinite errors are then specified. We learn of the sins of not respecting the Three Precious Ones, (iv) killing, and stealing wealth, (v) depraved licentiousness and false words, (vi) not having a respectful heart, (vii) uttering slander, (viii) pollution, (ix) and of talking in a common way; (x) then follows a request to pardon the crimes of those who encourage ridicule and laughter, (xi) and those who do not comply with the dictates of hell, (xii) as well as the crimes of the dead hungry ghosts, and of dead animals committed while alive. (xiii)

The pardon of these immoral acts is addressed to both the community of the living and that of the dead. As far as the community of the living is concerned, failure to follow the True Way has led to a situation whereby

"the country is not able to move peacefully through [the cycles of] the years and [the cycles of] the years cannot give rise to harvests. Weapons, lances, water, and fire, famine, and opacity [lack of clarity, and so pollution] have come about. But if you have already observed the doctrine, then you should repent to get rid of disaster." (xiv)

This will bring salvation to the suffering and an end to calamity, with the result that the world will be at peace.

While pardoning of the human community will bring the restoration of plenty and the removal of calamity (zai), pardoning of those in torment in the

- (i) Op. cit., p. 18.
- (ii) Op. cit., p. 19.
- (iii) Ibid.
- (iv) Ibid.
- (v) Ibid.
- (vi) Ibid.
- (vii) Ibid.
- (viii) Ibid.
- (ix) Ibid.
- (x) Ibid.
- (xi) Op. cit., p. 20.
- (xii) Ibid.
- (xiii) Ibid.
- (xiv) Op. cit., p. 29.

underworld will bring salvation to those who are imprisoned there. Page 18 records the request repeated elsewhere in the text for the divinities to show a special kindness in causing (these ghosts) to leave the prisons of hell.

Moreover, throughout the text this point is reiterated by the statement that

"The Minister [the chief Taoist] and his associates in all humility earnestly request that [the ghosts] are saved and pass over to the ancestors ... that the solitary souls of the long night in the depths of hell with sincere hearts are converted and believe."

Restricting the Altar.

The major rite of the day was that of Restricting the Altar (jintan) which took place about 8 p.m. Although the Deng participants were not clear about the aims of this specific ritual, the Taoist priests described it as a ceremony of altar purification. Master Lin explained the ceremony as one which invited Taisui, the divinity of the planet Jupiter, to put the Malevolent Divinities (shashen), an expression for wandering ghosts, in order; these ghosts, who were also called Evil Devil Spectres (yaomoguiguai), were put in order and forbidden to enter the altar area which became a zone belonging to the Three Pure Ones. Master Lin, in fact, quoted the example of adults who do not like children disturbing, stating that the restriction on or sealing off of the altar was like this; divinities were annoyed by, but not afraid of, the spectres. The Taoists, furthermore, saw the purification of the altar as a preliminary to the later ritual of Welcoming the Divinities (Yingsheng) .

This ritual of Restricting the Altar was very brief, lasting about twenty minutes; it involved the presence of the Ritual Leaders with Master Lin and four other Taoists present. The rite began with kowtows in a manner similar to those of the Rites of Atonement, but was followed by the performance of the steps of the Northern and Southern Polar Constellations and Eight Trigrams patterns by Master Lin. Master Lin's steps were followed by the other Taoists in turn. The group of priests then resumed chanting the canon which they had begun at the start of the rite. This continued until Master Lin took a

cockerel and shook it on the floor. This cockerel, while having the same symbolic connotations noted in the description of the Memorial presentation rites (namely both purification/expulsion of evil, and the Heavens) was referred to in the Restricting the Altar Canon (jintan ke) as follows

"[We] place you on the road of longevity to fly away". (i)

The cockerel, therefore, in the context of these rites, represented the ambition of the community to attain long life.

After this use of the cockerel, the steps of the Northern and Southern Polar Constellations were then performed once more by Master Lin. During the course of these patterns, Master Lin took each of the Tablets of the Five Star Lords (wuqidai) in sequence of direction (Centre, East, South, West, and North), each one having attached to it a cloth whose colour corresponded to its direction, according to the Five Elements system (see Photograph 18). Thus, the green cloth was attached to the Eastern Star Lord's tablet; the red cloth to the Southern Star Lord's tablet; the yellow cloth to the Central Star Lord's tablet; the white cloth to the Western Star Lord's tablet, and, finally, the black cloth to the Northern Star Lord's tablet. The tablets were each placed in a red rice bushel (midou) containing uncooked rice, each bushel bearing the name of one of the top five Ritual Leaders. The rice bushels were positioned on the ritual stage in a way that made them represent the order of the Five Directions. For the 1975 performance, the order of Directions did not correspond to the order of the Ritual Leaders. Moreover, while the second Ritual Leader stated that these orders should have conformed to each other, many Ritual Leaders denied any such relationship.

The Taoist priests, on the other hand, stated that while the placing of the tablets in the rice measures was a representation of the correspondences between the Five Elements, Five Colours, Five Holy Mountains of China, and Five Directions, there was no necessary relationship between this set and the group of the top five Ritual Leaders.⁽⁷⁾

(i) Lin Daoguan jintan ke, Manuscript, Shenzhen, 1903.

However, from an analytical point of view, it is possible to see the five rice measures of the top five Ritual Leaders as having symbolic content. In this context, it should be noted that the requirement to use the rice measures belongs to local custom because it was laid down in the Kam Tin jiao preparatory texts; it was, in other words, incumbent on the Taoist priests to perform the rites of Restricting the Altar in this way.

Given this, it is important to realise that a full rice measure is a significant part of the local symbolic lexicon. Such rice measures are used in the Walking the Lantern (xingdeng) rites at New Year formally to register a new-born son either as a descendant of a particular ancestor, or as a member of his village community. These rice measures are also present in the domestic sequences of the marriage rites, and, in addition, in those of Dividing the Family (fenjia). However, in contrast with Ahern's material from the Taibei basin in Taiwan, they are not used during funeral ceremonies. (i) From this comparison, therefore, it is clear that in Kam Tin, the rice measure is associated with the major rites of passage experienced by an individual during his lifetime.

On talking to Deng informants about the rice measure, the reply given was that it represented the life of the individual concerned, symbolised in the minds of informants by the lit wick passed through a cash indicating the life and fortune of the individual. Though the jiao rice measures used during the rite of Restricting the Altar did not have this wick and cash, informants spoke of them in the same breath as rice measures in general. Furthermore, they drew attention to the fact that rice was a staple of life, and thus symbolised it. One informant, who had been first Ritual Leader twice in previous performances of the Kam Tin jiao, stated that the rice measure was the seat of a man's soul (rensheng luwei).

Given then that the top five Ritual Leaders each represented one of the five major Divisions of the jiao organisation, Ying Lung Wai being a passive

(i) E.M. Ahern: The Cult of the Dead in a Chinese Village, Stanford, 1973, p. 197.

participant in the proceedings, it is possible to see that the lives of the community were offered up in symbolic form through this ceremony.

Following this part of the rites, Master Lin took a sword and while burning charms in positions corresponding to the Five Directions (see Photograph 18) quickly wrote out the characters for Beat the Evil Ghost (da sha) on the floor. After this Master Lin resumed chanting the canon, during the course of which Ritual Leaders came forward one by one to place candles on the altar: to give light according to the Taoists. Light in the ritual context is the opposite of darkness which is the quality of the underworld; this association brought out by discussion with informants is also supported by an analysis of the texts of the jiao, where throughout there are constant references to brilliance and light being qualities associated with divinities. The text of the canon for this rite (jintan ke) refers for example to the glorious golden brilliance of the White Tiger ⁽ⁱ⁾ in the context of placing the celestial divinities.

When the Master had chanted the canon, the rite was over.

However, page 21 of the jintan ke used by Master Lin implies that this rite leads into that of the Division of the Lamps (fendeng). Moreover, Master Lin later referred to the whole rite as the Division of the Lamps and the Restricting of the Altar (fendeng jintan). The rite of the Division of the Lamps has been described by Schipper from evidence from Tainan in Southern Taiwan ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ and is described as the ritual creation of fire followed by the lighting of the lamps in the sacred area, at the beginning of the great liturgical services. ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ From Schipper's ethnography, it is clear, however, that in Tainan the Division of the Lamps preceded the Restricting of the Altar, and did not follow it, as in the case of Master Lin's texts. The failure to perform the Division of the Lamps during the Kam Tin jiao is to be attributed to the contraction of the ritual by the Taoists; as the lay community did not

(i) Op. cit., p. 17.

(ii) K.M. Schipper: Le Fen-Teng, Paris, 1975, *passim*.

(iii) Op. cit., p. 1.

require the rite to be performed, the onus was on the Taoists to perform these rituals. It is possible, on first analysis, to regard the bringing forth of candles by the Ritual Leaders as a substitute Division of the Lamps ritual; yet it should be remembered that Schipper's material clearly shows that the rite was performed by the priests and not the lay community.

The canon for the rite of Restricting the Altar, the jintan ke, sets out in detail the votive content of the rite. The main aim of the rite is purification; this is set out at an early stage in the text with the statement that,

"Holy water dispels pollution. Turbidity [a metaphor for impurity, as we have seen above] goes, and clarity comes; perpetually clear, perpetually pure." (i)

This request is made in the context of addressing the Taoist divinities, for example those of the Pole Star, the Great Holy Heavenly True Worthies who Expound the Teaching (Dasheng Jinzhen Yanjiao Tianzun), the Immortals who govern Thunder, the Emperors of the Three Regions of Heaven, Earth, and Water. (ii) There are habitual requests for conversion to the True Way and for salvation, which are coupled with the statement that,

"If you do not take refuge in the Three Precious Ones, then the way of the Canon of Goodness has no basis." (iii)

This passage indicates that part of the basis of the rite is belief, and it is not based merely on technical action although such elements are present in the form of the use of the cockerel, the sword (used for slaying evil), and the ritual dance steps of the Taoist priests.

The astrological nature of the Taoist cosmology is set out in the passage relating to the first session of dancing the patterns of the Northern and Southern Polar Constellations and the Eight Trigrams. This passage states that:

(i) Op. cit., p. 3.
(ii) Op. cit., pp. 3-6.
(iii) Op. cit., p. 7.

"The yang Constellations of Seven Stars [each of the Bushels has seven stars] are the Heavenly Gate. The altar retains the Eight Trigrams. Inside is stored the Pole Star. Above, the Gate of Heaven opens up; below, the Earth closes; in front, remains the Gate of Man; behind, the Road of Ghosts is blocked." (i)

This passage indicates that for this rite, as well as for those of the rest of the jiao which required the performance of these Celestial patterns, the Taoists performing these acts are recreating on the ritual stage the map of the cosmos as defined in Taoist terms. Given that the divinities of the Taoist priests have an astrological foundation, the pantheon of the gods is brought into the ritual area by means of these acts.

This aspect of the rite is given emphasis in the text before the placing of the Tablets of the Five Star Lords in the rice measures. This passage invites the Divinities of the Five Regions in the following manner:

"We respectfully invite the Eastern Green Emperor, the Green Dragon Lord; the Southern Red Emperor, the Red Dragon Lord; the Western White Emperor, the White Dragon Lord; the Northern Black Emperor, the Black Dragon Lord; the Central Yellow Emperor, the Yellow Dragon Lord. The Five Dragon Lords come to the altar. The Left Green Dragon, the Fierce General, is on the left of my [i.e. chief cantor's] altar; the Right White Tiger, the Inspector General, on the right of my altar; the Anterior Pearly Magpie's spiritual radiance in front of my altar, the Posterior Mysterious Warrior who blocks brightness behind my altar. The Left Green [Azure] Dragon stops speech; the Right White Tiger eliminates calamity. In front, the Pearly Magpie brings in wealth and riches; behind, the Mysterious Warrior establishes fields and houses. Great Fortune, Great Profit, Great Prosperity." (ii)

The last four beings starting with the Green Dragon are mythological entities denoting the four quadrants of space. Spatial relations of the cosmos, in terms of divisions either into five or four units, are thus given a less abstract form by their transformation into mythological beings. In addition to this, the ritual area in the perception of the Taoists is transformed into a scaled-down version of the cosmos whose divisions now take the altar for their centre. This is another example of the reduction of the macrocosm into the defined space of the microcosm.

(i) Op. cit., p. 8.

(ii) Op. cit., pp. 9-10.

This mental population of the ritual area prepares the way in the text for the invitation of the Field Marshals (yuanshuai) to come into the ritual area. These are invited to enter one by one; the invitation is preceded by an invocation to destroy the evil ghosts. The tools of destruction are variously swords, (i) whips, (ii) hammers, (iii) and axes. (iv) The destruction of the evil ghosts or sprites (jing) is repeated throughout the remainder of the text.

The Walking of the Five Directions is interpreted in the text as an act of structuring the Five Directions, so that the East is united with the South, South with West, and so on. This order parallels the cycle of creation in the Five Elements system, and the Taoist priests interpreted this aspect of the rite as the establishment of a boundary which would contain the divinities and protect the purity of this area from the impurities outside. Mr. Zhang stated that this boundary was represented by the five rice measures which defined the limits from which the gods once summoned would not escape.

Playing With Fire.

The rites of Restricting the Altar were followed by juggling acts by the Taoists who threw lit flambeaux. The Taoist priests did not attribute any ritual significance to this, stating that it had been performed as an entertainment, since in traditional communities in the past sources of entertainment were few. Some Deng spectators regarded the acrobatics (called wanhuo, or da huopen) as a show for gui (ghosts). To both of these interpretations, can be added another: that these acrobatics are a survival from an era in which the Taoists, acting as fashi (magicians) used fire as a means of demonstrating their arts and their prowess against the powers of evil. However, the Taoists' explanation does reveal why these actions were performed in ordinary clothing: they viewed the acrobatics as being outside the normal sequence of jiao rituals.

(i) Op. cit., p. 11.
(ii) Op. cit., p. 12.
(iii) Op. cit., p. 13.
(iv) Op. cit., p. 14.

Day 3. The Seventeenth Day of the Tenth Lunar Month (November 19th, 1975).

The rituals of the next day (the seventeenth day of the tenth lunar month) were the same as far as the Audience and Atonement rituals were concerned, except that the last Rite of Atonement was performed in the evening at about 7 o'clock, a pattern that was standard during the rest of the jiao. However, the evening performances after the last Rite of Atonement were those of the Worship of the Small Ghosts (ji xiaoyou) and Worship of the Dipper (lidou).

The Worship of the Small Ghosts.

In this ceremony, the Small Ghosts were defined as the ghosts of the community, rather than those of the cosmos (designated Great Ghosts (da you)). The ceremony took place at about 8 p.m. outside the main matshed to the south. In this area, a table was arranged with "vegetarian" food grouped into "fives". The officiating Taoist was the senior man from Dongguan County; he was dressed in a black gown which had yellow and white diagonal edging (see Photograph 19). The priests said that this was because this Taoist was to save (chaodu) the spirits of the underworld where colours are reversed; black, for the Small Ghosts, therefore, is equivalent to white, the funerary colour. The aim of the ceremony was to invite these ghosts to attend the ritual banquet of the jiao and the puppet theatre which was being put on for their benefit as well as that of the divinities, and furthermore, to invite them to take new clothes. Afterwards, in the explanations of both Taoists and local inhabitants alike, they were to be sent back to their place of origin (hell) having been given (through burning) Transit Visas called huanglu or lupiao. In the event, this was omitted, thus providing an explanation for the reperformance of the rites discussed in the next chapter.

This performance of the rites of Worship of the Small Ghosts consisted of chanting the pushi ke, the pudu text, in curtailed form;⁽ⁱ⁾ throwing sticks of incense to the ghosts, and burning charms. The Taoist in these rituals was accompanied by the Ritual Leaders who kowtowed at appropriate moments. During this time, blue-faced officials of hell were brought forward from the altar

(i) Dao'antang pushi ke, Manuscript, Shenzhen. 1917.

containing the Great Knight; white paper clothes were also laid out in a line corresponding to previously ordered columns of candles and incense. This method of providing incense (fragrance), candles (light), and clothing to hungry ghosts followed the standard pudu, or ghost salvation, rites as performed in the community.

After these ritual goods had been arranged in this way, Master Lin's two most senior assistants then improvised a dialogue while the paper figures were brought to the altar table in pairs. The conversation centred around the following subjects; first, the first Taoist (Mr. Zhang) asked the second Taoist (Mr. Jian) whether the life of these blue-faced officials was comfortable. The reply to this was that life below was acceptable, with the exception that there were no women, but only men. This brought laughter from the Ritual Leaders and spectators. The second Taoist then continued that these blue-faced beings were the sons of Buddhist monks. This is in fact a reiteration of quite a common theme in conversations with the priests, namely, an attack on (supposedly celibate) Buddhists; for example, the Taoist priests on separate occasions described Buddhist monks as fugitives from justice - in comparison the glorious history of Taoism, from whose ranks the Imperial Ministers had at times been chosen.

The dialogue continued with questions about the solitary ghosts, explaining that these had gone around the neighbourhood, and were cold and hungry to the extent that their hearts trembled; this again brought laughter since the statement included a recognised pun: "the heart trembles" and Shenzhen, the town from which the core members of the Lin Daotang had originally come, have the practically same pronunciation in Cantonese (sam chan and Sam Chun respectively). The ghosts, it was said, wanted food and clothing. They were then invited to the jiao. After the paper clothing had been burnt, the ritual was over.

The rite in this form, as already indicated by the lay-out of paper clothing and other ritual goods, can be interpreted as an elaboration of the standard pudu ritual performed outside the context of the jiao. The texts which will be

described in the context of the later rite of the Worship of the Great Ghosts (ji dayou), are the same as those of a standard pudu rite. The elaboration in the ritual consists of the use of the papier mache dolls of underworld officials and the conversations between the Taoists. As the analysis in the next chapter will show, Master Lin's repeat of this ceremony did not involve these aspects, and thus conformed to the standard pattern.

The Worship of the Dipper.

The rites which followed on immediately after those of Worship of the Small Ghosts were those of the Worship of the Dipper, (lidou), called more colloquially the Worship of the Northern Polar Constellation (bai beidou). These rites in the local context are omitted during a three day jiao, and are performed quite separately within the fortnight following the fifteenth day of the first lunar month in local temples. (8)

The ritual area, for this performance, was laid out to the north of the Governors' Temple with a table in the centre, a flag inscribed with words to the Pole Star, at the end, and the Twenty-eight Stars and the Stars of the Northern and Southern Polar Constellations, each represented by a lantern, arranged on the three sides around the table (see Photograph 20). In addition, there was a lantern with the inscription, "May One's Original Fate be Fortunate" (ben ming yuan chen), and another lantern with the inscription, "On the Left the Fu [star] and on the Right the Bi [star]", both these terms Fu and Bi meaning "help" or "assistance".

At the end, next to the flag, was a lantern of the Primordial Lady, the Bushel Mother (Doumu Yuanjun). This divinity according to the Taoists is an alternative characterisation of the popular divinity Tian Hou, the Empress of Heaven.

The ritual table was arranged in the following way: at the back was the first Ritual Leader's rice measure used in the Restricting of the Altar rites. This now had two long red charms (fuyou) in it, one asking for long youth for

each family, and the other asking for the longevity of the first Ritual Leader. In addition, the rice measure contained yellow chrysanthemum flowers which in the context of the jiao were interpreted by the Deng as Longevity Flowers (changshou hua) and by the Taoists as representing the principle of Increase Sons Create Wealth (tianding facai).

The rice measure, in addition to being filled with uncooked rice, contained a pair of white chopsticks placed vertically. This emphasised the connection of the rite with the forestalling of death, because white chopsticks whose colour symbolises death and which are not normally used in Kam Tin in a ritual context, red being preferred, are placed vertically in green urns containing grain and rice during the local funeral rites.

In front of the rice measure was a New Year Box (quanhe) of crystallised fruit, five dishes of fruit, and a dish containing two packets of cigarettes: one "Peony" Brand in a red packet (the colour of the packet symbolising for tune (fu)) and one of "Lucky Strike" Brand, or as it is called in Chinese "Facai" ("Create Wealth") Brand. "Lucky Strike" cigarettes have in recent years also been smoked at New Year because of their Chinese name and its suitability for this time of the year. There were, in addition, five bowls of rice and five of "vegetarian" foods, with three cups each of wine and tea. The numerical categories for worshipping Great Ancestors and divinities were, therefore, mixed.

In addition to these foods, uncooked rice was used to make patterns on the table. These patterns were, first, a tortoise, signifying longevity in view of the animal's reputed long life, and honour since in Chinese the characters for a tortoise and honour have similar pronunciation (gui); second, a Mongolian crane (he) which is thought to have a very long life, and has, thus, throughout China, become a standard symbol of longevity; and, third, a deer (lu) which symbolises fortune derived from official position (lu), as these two terms are homophones. Added to these rice animals were twenty-two oblong shapes with burning oil in dishes on some of them. These abstract shapes are standard

ritual representations of Longevity (shou).

Mr. Zhang, Master Lin's chief assistant, stated that these arrangements were similar to the ones at the Festival of the Emperor of the North (Beidi dan) in the Two Emperors' Temple (Er Di Miao) in the Old Market town of Yuen Long. There, a Longevity Character together with the shapes just described was made of uncooked rice. This analysis brings out the unity according to the Taoists (and some laymen), between the Emperor of the North and the Northern Bushel, or Big Dipper. In addition, these shapes in rice show the aim of the ceremony to pray to the Constellation which controls death, for long life and fortune.

The Kam Tin rite took place at the table described above. It consisted of four Taoist priests chanting the text of the Northern Bushel Canon (Beidou ke), (often translated as the Pole Star Canon).⁽ⁱ⁾ The Taoist priests were dressed in red clothing with blue edging around the neck, and blue and gold Trigram patterns on the back. The chanting formed the major part of the rite and took six hours to perform, including two intervals. The rites involved the participation of the Ritual Leaders.

Apart from the chanting, there were four major ritual elements; these were in the following order: first, a quick sequence of worship in the Governors' Temple by both Taoists and Ritual Leaders who kowtowed in front of the tablets of the Governors; second, following this, the Ritual Leaders offered three sticks of incense at the ritual table; third, the first and other Ritual Leaders wrote out the first Ritual Leader's name on printed charms which were subsequently burnt (these charms stated that the Primordial Divinity (Yuanshi Tianzun) had said that the Lower Realm (xiajie), referring to the Realm of Water, of hell, through acts of worship would obtain felicity); fourth, the full list of contributors to the jiao was read out.

When the rite was over, some Ritual Leaders burnt paper clothing to the divinity of the Northern Pole Star (the Bushel Mother), following which, the Taoists stripped off their external robes, and, taking their musical instruments,

(i) Beidou ke, Manuscript, Shenzhen, 1950.

accompanied the first Ritual Leader back to his house in Shui Tau Tsuen. The first Ritual Leader, helped by his eldest son, carried the rice measure back to his house, and then put it on the domestic altar, to the accompaniment of music. Food and cigars were then distributed by the first Ritual Leader to those attending these domestic rites, the Taoists in the meantime telling the assembled company that there would certainly be longevity.

The text of the rites used by the Lin Daotang addresses itself to a number of major points: the abolition of pollution and the expulsion of ghosts; the salvation of souls in hell; and the guaranteeing of prosperity, position, and longevity to the faithful. Although other Taoist divinities are addressed, notably the Three Precious Ones, Tian Hou, and Gouchen, the principal divinities are those of the Northern Polar Constellation. These, in the text, are either seven in number, which conforms to the standard Chinese arrangement, or nine, including the Stars Fu and Bi. The Star Lords of the Northern Bushel Constellation are first addressed collectively, in the company of the local tutelary deities (Tudi Gong, Chenghuang, Zaojun (the Stove God)), and then addressed individually, later in the text. (i)

The Nine Star Lords, or Nine Emperors of the Bushel are credited with the powers of absolving previous misdemeanours while

"[the faithful] pray that the brilliance of the divinities will shine down and do away with the evil of murdering brigands, and that profligate and filthy conduct is abandoned." (ii)

This theme of the purging of evil is reiterated throughout the text.

Yet the necessity for atonement and the destruction of evil is also linked with the Great Knight in a passage on page 7 of the text. This is one of the few mentions of Buddhist divinities in the jiao texts. The passage is as follows :

"[In] Xitianzhuguo [an ancient name for India], in the midst of the brilliance of great wisdom, [there is], in the True Vacuity,

(i) Op. cit., p. 9.

(ii) Op. cit., p. 15.

the Sovereign Master of the Way, with the beautiful countenance: the Mother of the Original Heavens, the Highest of the Highest. Her brilliant spirit follows the mortal world and the attendant sages drive through the Southern Continent (Yanfu, Jambu). The multitudes of the living who suffer torment call out her name. The Great Knight seeks their voices and comes to rescue them from adversity. Great Compassion, Great Desire, Great Sage, Great Mercy."

Yet this Buddhist deity who belongs to the Western Heavens is transformed into Tian Hou, and then the Mother of the Dao (the Bushel Mother). The Great Knight is thus incorporated into the general hierological framework of the Northern Bushel.

These stars are not only implored to destroy evil, but also to protect against evil, and by doing so, guarantee the three desires of fortune, office, and longevity (fu, lu, shou) which as the text makes quite clear are within the power of the Nine Emperors to grant.

From the analyst's point of view, the rite as a whole involves an arrangement of the ritual area different from the rites discussed above and below, to conform to a different, though equally standard picture of the cosmos; this arrangement provides the ritual setting for those requests chanted in the canon. The ritual area was, as we have seen, rearranged into a model of the cosmos defined in terms of the traditional patterns of constellations, not in terms of more abstract divisions of the cosmos such as those derived from the Five Elements or Eight Trigrams systems. We, moreover, find that in this rite the more specific aims of longevity, position, and fortune, but particularly longevity are added to the usual requests for pardon of offences and expulsion of evil.

Day 4. The Eighteenth Day of the Tenth Lunar Month (November 20th, 1975).

On the eighteenth day of the tenth lunar month, apart from the Audience and Atonement rituals, the rites were the Proclamation of the Scholars' List (bangshi) which took place during the morning, the Procession of Incense (jinxiang), and the rite of Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng) which took place in the evening.

The Proclamation of the Scholars' List.

The Proclamation of the Scholars' List replicated the traditional Chinese ceremony of putting up the lists of successful candidates in the Imperial examination system; it was, however, significantly similar in certain aspects to sections of the Memorial presentation rituals. Ten Taoist priests lined outside the Governors' Temple in front of a ritual table. This table had the usual incense burner on it with the qing, the branch of green leaves, symbolising purity. There were "vegetarian" foods arranged in "fives" with a New Year Box of crystallised fruits.

The Ritual Leaders lined up behind the Taoist priests, facing the front wall of the temple. The Taoists then arranged themselves on the right-hand side (looking outwards from the temple) in a line at right angles to the temple, while the Ritual Leaders maintained their former positions. Two Taoist priests gave wine to the Ritual Leaders and afterwards to the other priests (see Photograph 21). Cups were then raised, and the Taoist priests and Ritual Leaders changed positions once more to the accompaniment of fire crackers. Following this, the priests placed themselves on the right. The first Ritual Leader drank a cup of wine in front of the ritual table, after which the Ritual Leaders moved off to wash their hands in a basin of water containing pomelo leaves. The Taoist priests then, one by one, assembled in front of the Ritual Leaders, going to the table and "initialling" the List by circling words of the text on the way. Afterwards the Taoist priests assembled in front of the table, Master Lin taking the central position. By this time, Golden Flowers (jinhua, leaves made out of gold paper which are used to decorate shrines or ancestral tablets) and red cloth had been placed on top of the List, now held by Master Lin. The Ritual Leaders put the List up on the temple wall. Afterwards they encircled the List with sixty lanterns put up around the wall, one for each of the Ritual Leaders of the Kam Tin jiao.

The List contained a number of different texts which are worth analysing

for the light they throw on the conception of the jiao in the minds of the Taoists. The List is also of interest, because, although few members of the lay community studied it, it was the first and only disclosure in public of the world-view and explanatory system of the Taoists.

The List was divided into four sections: first, a section devoted to describing the contents of the rites in poetic form. This was called the Five Day [Jiao] Notice (wu zhou kuanbangwen). From the analyst's point of view, it fails to describe the rites in detail, merely enumerating the rites with scant delineation (the rite of Fetching Water was described as involving a request to the Bureau of Thunder to maintain order and a collection of the water of the Five Dragons Pool). The next section was the Ghost List (youbang); the theme of this text, which was one to which Master Lin drew special attention, was the futility of great deeds on this earth and the tragedy and inevitability of death. The opening section of the text sets the theme:

"The Heavens open, the Earth is rent; sorrowfully, they sigh about the vastness of the Three Kings and the Five Emperors [referring to the Three Realms and the Five Directions of the cosmos]. From time immemorial, they have sighed about the loneliness of the Six Paths of Life and Four Methods of Birth [a Taoist expression summarising the cycle of creation].⁽⁹⁾ Life becomes death; death becomes life and then life becomes death again; ghosts become men; men become ghosts and then men again. It is this which is the Wheel of Creation. Who can escape from this?" (i)

The text then records a series of mythical and non-mythical events, all of which show up the futility of man's endeavours. Qin Shihuangdi built the ten thousand li Great Wall which could not keep Xichou and Julu closed off; Wu di [Sun Hao] assembled a thousand xun [that is, eight thousand Chinese feet] of iron implements but could not keep out the Eastern Sea or the Yangzi River. (ii) After this follows a passage about Qu Yuan and his suicide in the Miluo river. Both these examples and the ensuing argument describe the tragic nature of life and its inevitable end, whatever the pleasures of this life. One passage, for

(i) Dao'antang chongchao, Manuscript, Sheung Shui, 1965, p. 8.

(ii) Op. cit., p. 9; cf. San Guo yanyi, compiled by Luo G.Z., Peking, 1972, hui 120, pp. 964-965, and 967.

example, narrates the story of the:

"whitening old man [who] much hankers after alcohol and physical pleasures, yet [who] in the morning is alive, in the evening dead";

the text then adds,

"How can we pity the three hun and seven po [the division of the soul]" (i)

Indirectly, we understand that the true aim is avoidance of the contradiction of opposites; the List makes this clear in the passage;

"It is hard to return to the state of no value and no valuelessness, no old age and no youth." (ii)

In this way, the Buddhist notion of the inevitability of the Wheel of Creation becomes the basis of an expression of the Taoist philosophy of return to a state where there is an absence of categories, of wuwei' in fact.

The text then goes on to describe those who have died tragically and have been forgotten; those for example who have died outside their native area (taxiang); orphans, whose graves are desolate; those who have submitted to the wiles of others, and whose anger has not been calmed; those who waded in water; those who climbed mountains; those killed by tigers or snakes; those who are buried in barren fields, on the boundary of cities, and suffer perpetual cold; those who are starving, and often in sorrow. (iii)

The text states that it is these who come to the jiao, adding later those who are thirsty and in financial straits to the list of the needy. (iv)

The relationship between feeding these ghosts and their salvation (entry to another plane) is set out in the final section:

"The Spiritual Emperor, the Precious One, personally implores [corrected in the text to "comes to"] [the ghosts] to receive food, make an early journey to salvation, and to achieve sudden enlightenment about past wrong-doing. With two hands he breaks

(i) Op. cit., p. 10.

(ii) Ibid.

(iii) Op. cit., pp. 10 - 11.

(iv) Op. cit., p. 11.

open the Road of Life and Death and washes away the old calamities. Singing in unison the song of Great Peace, the bodies leave the Sea of Lamentation, returning for perpetuity to the country of Absolute Felicity." (i)

The third document in the set of Lists was the Great List (dabang)..

This document, for the purpose of analysis, may be divided into two sections. The first section contains passages of narrative at the beginning and the end of the document. This text was addressed to Celestial Master Zhang (Zhang tianshi). It stated that

"The overwhelming benevolence of the Mysterious Heavens recompenses our gratitude entirely. With overflowing gratitude we reverently set up offerings of thanks." (ii)

The benefits of such merit are many: the text cites many offspring, longevity, success in scholarship and in the official examinations, full granaries, craftsmanship achieving renown, commercial prosperity, and plenty of money.

The central section of this List sets out in detail the list of subscribers to the jiao. It follows exactly the same order as that of the text of the Memorials, analysed in chapter 5.

The Procession of Incense (I)

The rite which followed immediately after putting the Lists up was that of the Procession of Incense (jinxiang), also known as Walking with Incense (xingxiang). In this rite, the participants in the Kam Tin jiao set out, grouped into the five major Divisions. Ying Lung Wai Deng did not take part in this rite. The Divisions were ordered by the sequence of the first five Ritual Leaders in the block-throwing competition. Thus Shui Tau was first and Wing Lung last. Each Division was preceded by a banner giving its name and carried empty sedan chairs normally used to transport effigies of the gods.

The first ten Ritual Leaders went first with ten Taoist priests, and stopped to worship at every type of ritual site, on the way: that is, ancestral

(i) Op. cit., p. 11.

(ii) Op. cit., p. 13.

halls, (see Photograph 22), shrines to the Community God (She Gong or Sheji), village shrines (shenting), and temples; with the exception of the Amitabha stones dedicated to hungry ghosts. The route included all the villages of Kam Tin, save Ying Lung Wai. After this procession, worship continued immediately with the third Audience rite for the day.

The Procession of Incense is an affirmation of the *ji yang* (worship of yang entities) aspect of the *jiao*; the ghosts were not worshipped as the Amitabha stones were conspicuously avoided. Secondly, this rite might have constituted an inspection, by the divinities attending the *jiao*, of the boundaries of the local community; yet, in the event, this was not so. In Ha Tsuen the sedan chairs carried by each Division during the *jiao* contained divinities' effigies. In Kam Tin, as we have seen, this was not the case. Nevertheless, the rite may be interpreted as a definition, in ritual terms, of the boundary of the worshipping community.

This leads on to the third point; Ying Lung Wai, the sixth Division whose limited participation in the *jiao* has been discussed above, did not take part in this rite, nor was it one of the places visited. This village was, in fact, visited on the following day as part of the procession to Yuen Long. This implies several issues. First, that there was a tension between the notion of Kam Tin as a community existing in the context of a fairly well clustered area, and Kam Tin as that group of villages which contains descendants of Deng Hongyi. The incorporation in the *jiao* of Ying Lung Wai at all, affirms the latter perspective; the arrangement of the procession schedule, the lack of contest for the selection of the Ying Lung Division's Ritual Leaders: the former. This tension, which there seems no reason to interpret as a particularly unique characteristic of Kam Tin's social organisation, has important implications for the theory of lineage organisation in China developed by Freedman and others (discussed in the first chapter of this thesis), in which it is assumed that villages of the lineage or sub-lineage should be closely clustered.

Welcoming the Divinities.

The third important rite of the day was that of Welcoming the Divinities (Yingsheng), a rite of about six hours' duration, starting at 9 p.m. Both Taoists and Deng laymen characterised this rite as one of offering welcome to deities attending the jiao, as the name implies. However, informants, that is to say Taoist priests, Ritual Leaders, and participants in general, were not unanimous about the significance of this particular rite. An Elder who was a Ritual Leader in 1975, and had been first Ritual Leader twice before, thought that this was the major rite of the jiao. To support this conclusion, the analyst could draw attention to the length and complexity of this rite, and the fact that it took place on the Central Day (zhengri) of the jiao. Taoists, however, were quick to point out that locally this particular rite was neither included during a three day jiao, nor performed during the Yulanpen rites. Other informants did not attach particular importance to the rite.

The ritual took place in an area between the large ritual table in the centre of the matshed and the ritual stage. One of the preparatory texts for the 1975 Kam Tin jiao (i) mentions the ritual tables which were set up for the ceremony, in the following order: at the back, on the central ritual table were to be placed the tablets of the Three Pure Ones seated on chairs; these tablets were brought from the Taoists' area behind the ritual stage by the first Ritual Leader. In the direction of the stage, on the near left and right hand sides the gods of the pantheon, the collective gods of the community, were now to be placed on two tables facing each other. Furthermore, down on the left hand side, a table was reserved for the tablets of the Governors, facing another table (on the right hand side) on which the tablet of Deng Hongyi was to be placed. The preparatory text omits to mention that there

(i) Jintian hexiang jianjiao zongbu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1975, pp. 66-67.

was a table in the centre, on which was placed the Tower for Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng lou), a paper tower in which a Memorial was kept and protected from evil. This tower corresponded to the yizhe ting (the pavilion with a small knife in the centre, under which the Register of Subscribers was kept).

We have already seen that the first Ritual Leader was responsible for the collection of the tablets of the Three Pure Ones. The second, third, fourth and fifth Ritual Leaders were responsible for the collection of those remaining divinities, including Guanyin, whose names were listed in the preparatory texts for the jiao kept in Kam Tin; these divinities are analysed more fully in the following chapter.

Yet, in addition to this division of responsibility, the Ritual Leaders collected those divinities for which they had been originally responsible and prepared the tables nearest to the section of the great matshed which belonged to their particular Division.

The ritual foods were again "vegetarian" and were arranged in groups of "fives" according to the pattern described above, with the addition of yellow chrysanthemums in a dish, and New Year Box of crystallised fruits, and a pair of Buddha's Hands (foshou) (a pyramid of red and white buns with a sweetmeat hand on top), together with a pair of pyramids with pagodas on top.

Such ritual foods are reserved normally for very important ancestors such as Deng junma gong. (10)

However, the Taoists explained the use of the Buddha's Hand as an evil expellent. This, at an analytical level, also makes sense because of the theme of Buddhistic salvation reiterated throughout the jiao. Furthermore, in other areas, such as Cheung Chau, the Buddha's Hand is used during the final pudu, or Mass of Salvation, of the jiao. These examples emphasise the link between this type of ritual food and the threat from the underworld of the wild malevolent ghosts.

In addition to these ritual foods, Notices (biao) were placed on the central ritual table as well as the other ritual tables, and were addressed to Their Excellencies in the Jade Heavens (yutian gexia), the destination of the previous Notices of the jiao, with the exception of those of the ceremonies of Making the Texts Fly. These Notices were the same in content as those transmitted during the rest of the jiao; these texts have, therefore, been analysed during the discussion of Making the Texts Fly.

The ceremony of Welcoming the Divinities started with most of the Ritual Leaders worshipping near the table which corresponded to their own Division's section of the matshed. However, a small group of Ritual Leaders together with the Taoist priests worshipped the Three Pure Ones at the main ritual table in the centre of the matshed.

Master Lin and other Taoists flanking him then began to chant the texts of the ritual (the yingsheng ke ⁽ⁱ⁾, the Welcoming the Divinities Canon; the dongban, ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ the Eastern Group Canon, used by those Taoists on the right hand side of the Master of Exalted Merit, Master Lin; and the xiban, ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ the Western Group Canon, used by those Taoists on the left of the Master). This chanting of the texts was conducted in front of the Tower for Welcoming the Divinities. When a section of these texts had been chanted, Master Lin, followed by other Taoists in turn, went over to the basin containing pomelo leaves; then each Taoist performed the steps of the Southern and Northern Polar Constellations; during this performance, every priest had his coat changed from the red robes with blue neck lining worn during the previous Rite of Atonement, to new clothing which, in the case of Master Lin, was red with green lining around the neck, and in the case of his chief assistants, Messrs. Zhang and Jian, plain red clothing with black lining. Master Lin's interpretation of this change was that the colours of the clothing were of marginal importance. What was important was the change. The change of clothing was seen by this Taoist as an act of purification; failure to change being polluting (wuhui)

(i) Dao'antang yingsheng ke, Manuscript, Shenzhen, 1910.
(ii) Dao'antang dongban, Manuscript, Shenzhen, n.d.
(iii) Dao'antang xiban, Manuscript, Shenzhen, n.d.

to the divinities attending the jiao, and causing them to avoid the area.

As far as the star patterns are concerned, there was some variation in performance; this seems to depend on the place of origin of the Taoist concerned. Master Lin denied categorically that the steps of the Eight Trigrams would be performed during this ritual. However, Mr. Ye, a Taoist from Dongguan County, who performed during this rite, later told me that he had been taught by his father to dance the Eight Trigrams. Clearly technique and performance depend on the teachings of the Master (shifu) concerned.

After this sequence of the performance, Master Lin went up on to the ritual stage to fetch the red, white, and blue flagged Tablets of the Star Lords and brought them back to the Tower for the Welcoming of the Divinities, whirling each of the Tablets in turn. By this time, the Ritual Leaders were assembled around this Tower. The two Taoists Zhang and Jian then surrounded Master Lin while facing the central small table, on top of which the Tower was placed; these Taoists knelt and continued to chant, while Master Lin performed the kowtow (see Photograph 23). The text chanted by the Taoists at this time was the Welcoming the Divinities Canon (yingsheng ke). While this took place, the top five Ritual Leaders situated behind the three Taoist priests performed the kowtow; the remaining Ritual Leaders kept to the sides.

After he had worshipped in this direction, Master Lin and the two Taoists, now situated in front of the Tower, faced the main entrance to the matshed, Meanwhile, the Ritual Leaders kowtowed in the opposite direction, facing the ritual stage. Master Lin and a local Taoist from Yuen Long (of Dongguan origin) then faced the Tower as before. Mr. Zhang interpreted this as an act of worship of both phases of the totality of the cosmos: yin and yang.

After this, Master Lin's two chief assistants worshipped in front of the large ritual table in the middle of the matshed on which had been placed the large incense burner. In addition, the top five Ritual Leaders performed the kowtow here; the remainder of the Ritual Leaders kept their distance,

standing nearest to the table which was closest to their Division's section of the matshed; they thus faced inwards on the general ritual area.

Following this, the Ritual Leaders united in front of the tablets of the Three Pure Ones, and then once more separated into groups, worshipping the divinities on the table associated with their particular Division. Incense was added to the receptacle on the large table in the centre of the matshed, three sticks being offered; meanwhile, five Taoist priests moved to this table and started to chant, while two Taoists went together with Master Lin over to the Tower and presented their Tablets of Office. After this, Master Lin began once more to chant from the Welcoming the Divinities Canon.

Afterwards, the Ritual Leaders returned and again faced the tablets of the Three Pure Ones. Master Lin's chief assistants Zhang and Jian then passed in front of the Ritual Leaders and began chanting out the text of the Memorial including all the names of the subscribers to the jiao. The text of this Memorial was the same as those transmitted in previous rites.

In the meantime, the Ritual Leaders prayed again to the Three Pure Ones and then to the paper effigy of the Jade Emperor who, before the whole ceremony had begun, had been placed to the right of the ritual area (the observer looking from the entrance of the matshed). Mr. Jian then continued to chant the Memorial. After this, Master Lin went up to the ritual stage, to the beat of a drum, to bring down the Tablet of the Star Lord to which there was attached a yellow flag.

During this time, Messrs. Zhang and Jian each brought over dishes containing red packets (hongbao) and the yellow chrysanthemum flowers mentioned above. These were regarded as gifts from the Bodhisattvas (pusa), a term not used in its strict sense in the local ritual system, but implying all divinities. The meaning of this section of the rite according to Master Lin was summarised in the axiom "Increase Sons, Create Wealth" (tianding facai); red packets are in fact the conventional way of distributing money gifts.

After his return to the central ritual area, Master Lin took the Tablet of

the Star Lord with the blue flag, and whirled it through the air. All the Taoist priests then lined up against both sides of the table in the centre of this ritual area, which had now been covered with a white cloth. It was at this time that the Ritual Leaders pushed each divinity along the table, beginning with the Three Pure Ones, then proceeding with the gods of the community, and finally passing the Jade Emperor; this was done to the accompaniment of beating the gong. The passing of the divinities over the table with the white cloth enacts the passing out of the community of the divinities who have been summoned and invited into the sacred area to renew their bond with the members of the community, represented by the Ritual Leaders. The ritual of Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng) may be seen as a re-ordering of relations between men and gods and between the gods themselves. The passing of the divinities over the table demonstrates that the re-ordering, which is a central feature of jiao, has been concluded.

During the process of passing the divinities one of the priests held up the Tablet of the Star Lord with the black flag (symbolising North: the region governed by the Northern Bushel), thus completing the full set of the Five Colours at the time of sending the divinities back. The Ritual Leaders were then given the chrysanthemum flowers by the Taoist priests, and after worship in front of the tablets of the Three Pure Ones, the rite was over.

The rite's votive content is set out in the texts. The Eastern and Western Group Canons merely contain invocations to the divinities of the Taoist pantheon to attend the rite; in the case of the "Eastern" text, there are the Heavenly Worthies of the Jade Vacuity who abolish pestilence and danger, and respond with concern, in fact all the Heavenly Worthies, including the Celestial Masters Zhang of all time, the Upper and Lower of the Three Originals (sanyuan), the Gods of the Thunder Ministry, the Heavenly Worthies of the Northern Bushel, the Field Marshals (yuanshuai), the Jade Emperor, the Northern Bushel Mother, the Emperors of the Realm of Water, the Officials

of the Realm of Water who control solitary ghosts, the four Meritorious and Valuable Officials of the Three Realms, and Taiyi who according to one system of astrological thought is the highest star in the Universe and therefore the most important. This star is supposed to exist in the Northern Bushel and exercise sovereignty over the Five Emperors who are equivalent to the Five Star Lords. ⁽ⁱ⁾ Taiyi, however, does not fit easily into the other schemata represented by the division of the cosmos into Realms or into celestial quadrants; this divinity thus represents a different set of astrological assumptions.

The "Western" text has a different set of Taoist divinities. Again, these divinities are a rather heterogeneous lot. The list includes the Great Venerable Lords of the Absolute Profundities of the Ten Regions, and again Taiyi and continues with the divinities of the Nine Heavens, and the divinities created by the Jade Vacuity (yuxu sheng shen, jiutian shang shen). It mentions the Eastern Lord of the Way (daojun) who corresponds to one of the set of Five Colours, Elements, and Directions, namely East, green, and wood, these correspondences being set out in the text; and then, the Heavenly Lords of the Three Breaths (presumably referring to the Three Pure Ones), and of the Five Breaths. In addition, the following deities are mentioned: the Celestial Masters and certain of the True Men (zhenren: a class of Immortals) for example Zhao, the Middle of the Three Originals, the True Lord of the Northern Bushel, the Northern Bushel Mother, the Emperors and Divinities of the Water Realm, and of Hell, the Field Marshals, the Immortal Officials Li and Zhu, thunder gods, and gods of the local area, the Chenghuang.

The Welcoming the Divinities Canon gives the basic instructions on how to perform the rites. The text invites substantially the same group of divinities

(i) Li X. Z.: Daojiao jiaoyi de kaizhan yu xiandai de jiao, in Chūgoku Gakushi, Vol. 5, Tokyo, 1968, p. 215.

as those just described above, including the Three Pure (Precious) Ones and the Bushel Mother. The content of the rite is described as the divinities temporarily leaving the realm of heaven and coming down to the plane of common mortals, radiating kindness and merit, and agreeing to carry out acts of merit. (i)
 Fortune and longevity are also requested. (ii)

This text and the two preceding ones indicate one fundamental factor about the objects of worship in these rites in particular, and in the jiao in general. The deities of the Taoists barely overlap those of the lay community. In the rite of Welcoming the Divinities the divergence between the two sets of deities becomes a contradiction. For while the lay community interpreted the divinities welcomed during the rite as those collected by the Ritual Leaders, the Taoists' hierology was radically different. In fact, apart from references to the Three Pure Ones and Guanyin, there was no overlap; moreover, as shown above, the Three Pure Ones were considered by the lay community to be Taoists' divinities in any case. This contradiction in cosmology was maintained by the inability of the lay community to understand the priests' chants.

However, the texts themselves do not make as clear as the ritual performance the conceptual framework of the rite. This is, basically, the Five Elements system. The Taoists, in fact, admitted that the use of the Five Colours attached to the Tablets of the Five Star Lords was the same as for the rite of Restricting the Altar.

In the rite of Welcoming the Divinities, the number five is replicated at several levels. First, the ritual foods were arranged in groups of "fives"; however, it is more plausible to argue that this has to do with symbolic codes

(i) Op. cit., for example, pp. 11 and 16.
 (ii) Op. cit., for example, p. 23.

relating to food "per se", rather than the general framework of the rite. This is because the coding of ritual foods was described by informants in a broader ritual context, not limited to jiao rites.

Second, there were five altars, the responsibility for which was divided among the top five Ritual Leaders, and hence the five major Divisions of the jiao. This, as we have seen, is a representation of the microcosm of the local community. However, this arrangement also divided the welcomed divinities into five segments; this number of segments corresponding to the totality of the universe, according to the system of Five Regions. As we have seen, during the course of the rite, the participants at certain points divided into five groups corresponding to the Divisions of the jiao, in order to worship at these five altars. These ritual actions unite the votive content of the rite with the traditional Five Regions (Five Elements) system of spatial organisation. In addition, apart from the Five Elements system being used to organise ritual space, the distinction in cosmic space between the Prior and Posterior Heavens was also represented by the way the tablets of the Three Pure Ones were arranged; these tablets were placed higher than the divinities arranged on the five tables serving as altars.

It can be said, therefore, that the rites of Welcoming the Divinities manifested significant cosmological relationships inherent in Taoist teaching, and more widely, the ancient theoretical systems on which these teachings are based. The matshed became the area in which these relationships were translated into physical representations.

We have also seen that the rites of Welcoming the Divinities involve the bringing down of divinities into the sacred area, and the presentation of offerings by the community to the invited deities. In this sense, therefore, the Welcoming the Divinities rituals encapsulate the ji yang characteristics of the jiao as a whole: the worship and sacrifice to yang entities, in particular

the divinities. In fact, after the rites of Welcoming the Divinities, with the possible exception of the fangsheng, the major rites of the Kam Tin jiao which took place in the matshed area, led up to the pudu, the Worship of the Great Ghosts, a ceremony of the ghosts' salvation. The rites of Walking Through the Eight Gates and the Proclamation of the Pardon (discussed below in this chapter) are both to be related to the release of ghosts in torment in the underworld.

Day 5. The Nineteenth Day of the Tenth Lunar Month (November 21st, 1975).

The Procession of Incense (II).

The performances on this day included the usual three Audience and Atone-ment rites. In the morning, however, there was a Procession of Incense (jinxiang) of an identical type to that performed in Kam Tin the day before, except that the destinations were Ying Lung Wai and the Old and New Markets of Yuen Long. At Ying Lung Wai, those in the procession were greeted by the lion dance team from this village. Ying Lung Wai is, as we have seen, a Kam Tin Deng village, while Yuen Long, until the building of the New Market during the First World War and the concomitant rise of the Hop Yik Company, had been controlled by Kam Tin Deng clansmen.

This procession in one sense, therefore, was a demonstration of previous patterns of political control; previous because the Deng lineage of Kam Tin no longer has unrivalled political control over the area. Nevertheless, informants commented during the course of this procession that all the stops en route were "Kam Tin places".

The Taoist Priests' Operatic Performance.

That evening, a troupe of actors hired by the Taoists performed the

"Shandong Bandit" (Shandong xiangma), an opera concerning Mouren Si (literally, the Evil Plotters Monastery). This opera was performed for the benefit of gods, ghosts, and men, and involved a plot about a Buddhist monastery containing cunning and wicked monks, as well as a "Robin Hood" type character.

Both the play and the performance are noteworthy for a number of reasons. First, Mouren Si is used in Cantonese slang to mean a "den of thieves", and could thus be used to refer to any group of people, religious or not. Second, since, in the context of the play, the term does refer to what it literally means, a Buddhist monastery, the opera becomes a theatrical demonstration of the anti-Buddhist themes evident in the Taoists' conversation.

As far as the performance was concerned, the Taoist priests stated that the hiring of actors was a recent development. Formerly, the Taoist priests themselves used to perform. In fact, the Jiao Association did not pay for this opera; the Taoists did so. This indicates that the onus was on the Taoists to hire substitute actors. The traditional custom was for the Taoists themselves to perform, as is shown by the phrase used by lay Kam Tin informants: "The Taoists perform plays" ("naam moh lo tso hei").

The previous history of Taoist priests performing as actors underlines, in turn, a number of other points. First, certain local Taoists continually affirmed that Taoist priests and actors belong to the same occupational group. Second, the performance of the jiao as a whole had a theatrical element. There were some types of step patterns which were not danced according to any astrological plan, and yet were highly stylised, as were many of the gestures of the Taoists. Third, the close relationship between the two occupational groups is supported by their terminology; for example, actors of Cantonese opera and Taoist priests attach importance to pollution caused by contextually invalid decoration. The Taoists, on the one hand, changed clothing between rites or in them (in the case of the ritual of Welcoming the Divinities) to avoid pollution caused by what seems to be the wearing of clothing already used in a

different ritual phase; on the other hand, it is polluting to the gods for an actor to wear his make-up outside the context of an opera performance, and particularly outside in broad daylight.

These are merely surface indications of a point about the Jiao as a whole; seen from this perspective, the jiao is not only a ritual process "per se", but a dramatic, theatrical re-enactment of certain cosmological relationships, in which one of the source materials, or paradigms, for the drama would be a system of social rules and etiquette formerly shared with the Imperial bureaucracy.

Walking Through the Eight Gates.

The performance of the "Shandong Bandit" was followed by the rite of Walking Through the Eight Gates (zou bamen). According to Master Lin, this rite belongs properly to the context of dazhai rites, but Lin was required to perform it since it was one of the Kam Tin jiao rites laid down in the preparatory texts.

The preparation for these rites consisted in the arrangement of the Eight Gates (of the universe); these Eight Gates were represented by hoops made out of bamboo strips. They made up the following rectangular figure :

kai men	xiu men
jing ¹ men	sheng men
si men	shang men
jing ² men	she men

These Eight Gates each correspond with one of the Eight Trigrams, so that xiu corresponds with kan, sheng with gen, shang with zhen, she with xun, jing with li, si with kun, jing with dui, and kai with qian.

The pattern of these Gates reflects the organisation of cosmic directions. Consequently, the Gates cannot be arranged at will; for example, jing² is South, and jing¹ is West, and must be so; the compass direction points of the other Gates are in a corresponding order.

However, these directions, though in themselves fixed and constant, are in

turn relative to the absolute axes of the cosmos. The Eight Gates, like the Eight Trigrams which correspond to them, rotate through the heavens, changing their absolute position. There are thus two sets of compass directions, one absolute, and one relative. Master Lin claimed that the (relative) positions of the Eight Gates all change one place every three days. ⁽¹¹⁾ Once more, therefore, the rituals of the jiao entail the recreation of the macrocosm of the cosmos within the context of the microcosm which, here, is the area of the rite.

The rite itself consisted of Master Lin dressed as the White Unpredictable One (Bai Wuchang), leading the top ten Ritual Leaders through each of these Gates in order, knocking the bamboo bars off the top of the hoops (see Photograph 24). In the event, the order followed was that of the Luoshu describing the revolutions of the heavens; in geomancy the term for this order in Cantonese is fei po.

This ceremony, which took ten minutes to perform, differed, according to Ritual Leaders, from its performance in previous jiao. Then, apparently the rite had taken much longer and had involved all sixty of the Ritual Leaders. Moreover, then, the Taoist priests performing the rite would shower small coins on the Ritual Leaders.

The purpose of the rite, according to the Taoists, was to represent the cosmic context within which ghosts were imprisoned; Master Lin dressed up as the White Unpredictable One to represent the richest being, the God of Wealth, the one who is capable of freeing ghosts from hell. Here, the paradoxical natures of the White Unpredictable One are intertwined; he is present in this rite both as a functionary of the underworld and as a wealth god.

One further implication is that, while hell is represented in theoretical language (Eight Gates/Eight Trigrams), the performance of the role of the White Unpredictable One is a reenactment of relationships that find an exact parallel on the plane of the living. This is indicated by the role that money plays in the explanation of the rite, or, in the case of previous jiao, in its performance.

On the one hand, money can help the hungry ghosts to satisfy their needs. In this context, it should be noted that hungry ghosts are compared to the hungry beggars who exist on the plane of the living. I was told that housing and giving alms to such beggars remove social nuisances, and that it is so with the hungry ghosts. By giving them food and clothing, and, in the rite of Walking Through the Eight Gates, money, it is possible to placate them.

On the other hand, according to the traditional view, money would also be needed to bribe the officials of a more "realistic" hell than the Eight Gates imply. In this way, these relationships of corruption reproduce those between the people and the government among the living.

Day 6. The Twentieth Day of the Tenth Lunar Month (November 22nd, 1975).

The rites of the final day of the jiao abstention period, apart from the three Audience and Atonement rituals, consisted of the Proclamation of the Pardon (banshe), the Release of Life (fangsheng), and during the night, the Worship of the Great Ghosts (ji dayou).

The Proclamation of the Pardon.

The rites of the Proclamation of the Pardon began in the Moujing Tang ancestral hall. Mr. Zhang was the chief cantor and for this rite he wore the black coat with yellow and black diagonal edging donned during the Worship of Small Ghosts; he also wore a black box hat. Mr. Zhang was accompanied by two Taoist priests dressed in red robes with blue edging and gold pattern.

The ritual foods placed on the temporary altar for Celestial Master Zhang were arranged in a combination of groups of "threes" and "fives": wine and tea belonging to the former category, and rice and "vegetarian" foods to the latter. In addition, there was a New Year Box containing crystallised fruits.

The rites in front of Celestial Master Zhang included kneeling, and kowtowing, while the Taoist priests chanted, and Mr. Zhang spat water taken from a bowl of pomelo leaves; this, as we have seen, is an action expelling evil, xie.

Following this, Mr. Zhang wrapped the Text of the Pardon (she shuwen)

around two boys who each had a small black paper horse attached to them. The boys then ran throughout Kam Tin (excluding Ying Lung Wai). The explanation of this aspect of the rite, according to informants, was that this was the method of informing Kam Tin about the Memorials transmitted during the jiao. Mr. Zhang stated that Kam Tin was thus informed that the Memorials about the Kam Tin jiao had passed from Earth to the Posterior Heavens, and then to the Prior Ones, and the Pardon had been brought back via the same route to Earth, and finally Kam Tin.

After this aspect of the rite was over, the Ritual Leaders and the Taoist priests moved back to an area just outside the Governors' Temple. In this area, with the exception of the bean-curd products which were ordered in groups of "threes", ritual foods of the standard jiao type were arranged in groups of "fives".

By the time the boys had returned, this rearrangement of the ritual area outside the Governors' Temple had been completed. Mr. Zhang was assisted by three Taoist priests, dressed in red robes with blue-lined edging around the collar and golden Great Unity and Trigram patterns, with three Taoists, dressed in pink clothing. The contrast between the red and pink clothes reflects the relative rank of the two groups of Taoists; pink signifying inferior status, as in the rest of the jiao.

Mr. Jian, dressed in red clothing, offered the Text of the Pardon to Mr. Zhang who wore the same clothing as in the earlier rite in the ancestral hall. Mr. Zhang then stood on a chair placed behind the ritual table, and began to narrate the Text of the Pardon and the full list of the subscribers' names (see Photograph 25). He was, from time to time, aided in this by other Taoists (dressed in red robes) who took over the narration. When the Text had been read, Mr. Jian stood facing the ritual table, and spat water from a bowl containing pomelo leaves; Mr. Zhang then put the Text into a paper horse. Following this, the Ritual Leaders kowtowed, the horse was burnt, and Mr. Jian sprayed more water. The other Taoist priests concluded the rite by bowing.

The Text itself was written on yellow paper, the colour of Imperial edicts, with red ink, signifying blood according to the Taoists. Master Lin described the Text of the Pardon as a request to the Jade Emperor for a pardon for whatever crimes the subscribers to the Jiao had committed. Master Lin amplified this point, by stating that one could not be certain that the Memorials previously transmitted would reach the Jade Emperor, so this Text was used as a last resort. In contrast, Mr. Zhang, Master Lin's chief assistant, stated that the Text of the Pardon was, in fact, a pardon. The content of the Text is ambiguous, though the document begins with the statement that :

The Original Emperor issues a proclamation stating: Embody the virtue of heaven and earth's love for life [that is, not killing it]. Extend the Gateway of Cosmic Transformation. Dispel the World's fixation on right and wrong. Open up the pathway to human betterment. (i)

However, this is followed by a section stating that :

The Exalted Truth [i.e. the Taoist] reverently begs for great blessings and a special promulgation of benevolence proclaiming to all that the sikong [an Imperial Minister] considers that to make frivolous judgement is criminal, but to make judgement with care is meritorious. (ii)

This is followed by a section in which the desire to create harmony (sheng ping) and suppress error (lù cuo) is mentioned.

Because of this conflict of interpretation, there are a number of points which require resolution. First, there is the question about whether the Jade Emperor is the same celestial entity as the Original Emperor. Or is the latter phrase an alternate title for the Primordial Deity (Yuanshi Tianzun)? From the content of the Text, this question is not clear. Yet, as we have seen, the Taoists' interpretation was that this was the Jade Emperor. This interpretation is of interest since the Jade Emperor as a divinity is known to both public and priests. In the lay conception, he was the Emperor of Heaven; in the Taoists' view, though, this was not so: these types of positions were reserved for the Three Pure Ones, exclusively Taoist divinities. Therefore, this description involving the Jade Emperor may have been an attempt to relate the nature of the ritual transactions to the lay population, and make it understandable in their terms.

(i) Dao'antang chongchao, Manuscript, Sheung Shui, 1963, p. 2.

(ii) Ibid, p. 3.

The second problem is whether the rite involves a pardon or the transmission of a Memorial. Master Lin's attitude is to be seen in the context of his general caution about the veracity of the cosmological systems themselves; he was prone to admit that the system of beliefs represented by the jiao was unverifiable, that only the tragic philosophy of inevitable death discussed in the canons was true. Mr. Zhang, on the other hand, took a more orthodox view; this may explain why his interpretation is closer to the logic of the Text of the Pardon.

Of equal interest, though not problematic, is the fact that the chief Taoist of the rite was dressed in the black clothing of the Worship of the Small Ghosts. This clothing has a symbolic relationship with life in the underworld, as I have shown above. Granted that the pardon was addressed to the Six Ways, Four Births, Six Beasts, and Ten Thousand Categories (liudao, sisheng, liuchu, wanhui),⁽ⁱ⁾ that is, all the categories of the cosmos, including ghosts, the pardon has a much wider context: involving not only the living but also the underworld as well.

The Release of Life.

The rite of the Proclamation of the Pardon was followed by that of the Release of Life. This ritual, as in the case of the preceding Proclamation rites, took place during the afternoon. The preparations involved the rearrangement of the ritual table near to the Kam Tin river. The ritual foods on this table were the same as for the previous rites except that five bowls of "vegetarian" foods were used; furthermore, a branch of green leaves (qing) was added. This ritual which involved the release of living animals was performed by nine Taoists (dressed in red clothing), accompanied by the Ritual Leaders. After the rearrangement of the ritual table, several of the Ritual Leaders moved down to the water's edge and placed little oil lamps consisting of oil, wick, and paper, on the water. This part of the rite was called fang shuideng, or Releasing the Water Lamps. The purpose of this rite, according to both Master Lin and certain Deng informants was to show the Wandering Ghosts (youhun),

(i) Ibid., p. 3.

another title for hungry ghosts, the way out of the community via water.

While the Ritual Leaders set these lamps on the water, the Taoist priests reassembled behind the ritual table. The rite following this consisted of the presentation of the Taoists' Tablets of Office, the kowtow and the reading out by Mr. Jian of the list of the Ritual Leaders. The rite was concluded by releasing a bird from a cage, and putting fish from a basin back into the water, (see Photograph 26).

This rite, which was described as an Act of Merit (gongde) by the priests, was seen by them as a return of life to its natural abode ("releasing the fish to the open seas; releasing the birds to the forest"). Master Lin explained the rite by reference to the classical mythology of Knotting the Grass and Holding the Jade Bracelet in the Mouth (jie cao xian huan); these myths relate that kind action was rewarded by help in one case, and fortune in the other. Master Lin believed that the rite had been based on the Imperial custom of the Emperor releasing living things. However, the fangsheng rites are normally considered to be Buddhist or Buddhist influenced. ⁽ⁱ⁾ In fact, de Groot states that many fangsheng chi or ponds for the liberation of the living were to be found near Buddhist monasteries in Amoy. In these ponds were placed fish, tortoises, eels and water snakes, many of them let loose by the pious. De Groot states that the establishment of fangsheng chi was connected with the obligation of the Buddhist priests to abstain from everything that could cause or encourage the destruction of life. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾

In Kam Tin, the three-fold aims of returning life to its natural environment, performing acts of charity, and leading the hungry ghosts out of their predicament were united during the course of this rite. Here, the simultaneous performance of acts of charity and acts of salvation for the ghosts demonstrates themes noted in texts used elsewhere in the jiao: the stress on moral correction as a necessary (but not sufficient) basis for salvation.

(i) Xiandai hanyu cidian, Hong Kong, 1977, p. 280, s.v. fangsheng.

Ci hai, Shanghai, 1936, p. 609, s.v. fangsheng.

(ii) J.J.M. de Groot: Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui: Étude concernant la religion populaire des Chinois, trans. C.G. Chavannes, Annales du Musée Guimet, Vol. 12, Paris, 1886, p. 729.

In addition, from an analytical point of view, the restoration of living things to their natural environment reproduces in a literal sense the Taoist aim during the jiao (noted in the texts) of restoring everything to its proper context.

The Worship of the Great Ghosts.

The final ritual of the day was the performance of the Worship of the Great Ghosts (ji dayou). These ghosts were those of the universe, as opposed to those of the local community worshipped during the rites for Small Ghosts. However, before the ceremony, during the final rite of Walking the Audience in the jiao, the paper shrines welcoming the ghosts to the Banner Poles were burnt.

The rite of the Worship of the Great Ghosts followed immediately after the last (evening) Rite of Atonement; the Taoists first worshipped in front of the Palaces of the Ten Kings of Hell before these were torn up by the Ritual Leaders and added to a site outside the matshed, to which the Great Knight was to be brought.

The ritual table for this ceremony was set up outside the matshed; the ritual foods on it included chrysanthemums, fruit, rice and "vegetarian" foods, arranged in groups of "fives", the wine and the tea were arranged in groups of "threes". In addition to this, there was a dish containing a branch of green leaves (qing), another dish containing a Buddha's Hand, a dish with uncooked rice in it and two red packets, a dish containing two packets of "Viceroy" brand cigarettes (as far as I know, this brand's name has no symbolic significance) and a New Year Box of crystallised fruits.

After the Taoists had chanted in front of the Palaces of the Ten Kings of Hell, they moved to this ritual table, dressed in the elaborate red robes worn during the Proclamation of the Scholars' List; they also wore the various hats indicating their rank order. Master Lin sat at the head of the table, initially wearing the Lotus Flower Crown, and then donning the Golden Crown (jinguan), also called the Guan Yin Hat (Guanyin mao).

This rite has been interpreted by some, including Kam Tin laymen, as a Buddhist rite in which the Taoist priests are transformed into either Buddhist monks pure and simple, or else the monks who introduced Buddhism into China.

On the face of it, the figures on the Golden Crown seemed to be those of the Five Dyani Buddhas. In fact in Cheung Chau, the Taoist priest who performed this rite in 1976 wore a crown covering a circlet marked Buddha (Fo). However, the interpretation discussed above was vigorously denied by those Taoists with whom I discussed the rites. The interpretation given was that the chief Taoist in this rite represented Celestial Master Zhang. Furthermore, the Taoist priests argued that the five figures on the crown were those of the Five Men of the Way (Wudaoren), of which they could only identify the central three; these were characterised as the Three Pure Ones. These Five Men of the Way seem to be a correspondence of the Five Elements system.

However, apart from chanting the text of the rite, the ritual involved throwing sticks of incense (the way in which incense is offered to wild ghosts), spraying water to rid the environment of pollution (wuhui), and scattering cooked rice and other foods as a means of feeding these wild ghosts. In addition, Master Lin performed mudras (hand movements) by which two fingers representing the two yi, the two basic divisions of the cosmos into yin and yang, were crossed; then four fingers, representing the four xiang, the four quadrants of the cosmos; and then eight fingers, representing the Eight Trigrams (see Photograph 27); finally ending with both hands knotted in the form of the Great Unity (taiji). All these belong to a conceptual system elaborated by Taoism and not Buddhism. In fact, all these techniques were described by the Taoist priests as methods of control over the Wandering Ghosts, entities so dangerous that the Ritual Leaders who attended the rites on the ground (below the level of the Taoists) would not mention a man's name for fear that a ghost would be able to exercise control over that man, through knowing it.

The text of the rite, the Canon of Alms Giving (pushi ke), however, reveals a Buddhist metaphysic translated into Taoist terms and given Taoist overtones.⁽ⁱ⁾ First, the text is addressed to various divinities, most of an exclusively Taoist nature: the Three Precious Ones (Sanbao), equivalent to the Three Pure Ones, the True Lords (zhenjun) (Taoist Immortals), the Jade Emperor, and the Taiyi Divinity described above. To the Taiyi Divinity, the text, nevertheless ascribes the

(i) Dao'antang pushi ke, Manuscript, Shenzhen, 1917, passim.

qualities of Kindness (ci) and Empathy with (human) sadness (bei), attributes of the Buddhist divinity Guan Yin. The most important non-Taoist divinities mentioned in the text are the Ten Kings of Hell, chanted to before the external rituals. All these divinities are entreated to save the ghosts and purify the area of pollution.

Apart from this, the text gives descriptions of the gloomy nature of hell, and of the ghosts and the fate which has befallen them both in their present and previous existences. The ghosts are beings who have had a tragic existence on the plane of the living: those who are invited are described as the beggars of the market place, the poor sons of the rural areas, those who on the road to penury were cold and hungry, or those who have died of cold in the city moat. (i) Yet, if these examples are tragic, the text states that the nature of life is as well. The beauty of youth becomes aged and eventually is transformed into dust. This is especially true of the courtesan of the brothel. (ii)

These are essentially Taoist themes (similar to those discussed before in this chapter), each reflecting different aspects of the general corpus of Taoist teachings. The first theme belongs to that stream of religious thought in which hungry ghosts are seen as the spectres of those who have suffered tragedy while alive. The second theme belongs to the general philosophical tradition summed up by the doctrine of wuwei, or Non-Striving, whereby all purpose is ephemeral - an undifferentiated, unclassifiable unity being the true nature of things. (iii) This philosophy is briefly acknowledged on page 119 of the text:

"The Heavenly Worthies speak the teachings of the canons and receive and guide those in the transient world to strive to learn the principles of Non-Striving ..."

Page 92 of the text sets out ideas associated with this doctrine: anger and anxiety have only existed since the time of the separation of Heaven and Earth. This passage describes the anger which results in opposition among men, relating it to the temporal opposition of the divisions of a differentiated cosmos.

These more abstract philosophical doctrines are supplemented by more

(i) Op. cit., p. 67.

(ii) Ibid.

(iii) D.J.Munro: The Concept of Man in Early China, Stanford, 1969, pp. 142, 143, and 149.

commonplace dicta which, although Chinese in nature, cannot be readily ascribed to any one specific philosophical tradition. These are :

- (1) Be filial and refrain from recalcitrant behaviour; (i)
- (2) Pray that Our Lord the Monarch will live forever; (ii)
- (3) Refrain from killing any living thing; (iii)
- (4) Keep the body from defilement, and cease desire; (iv)
- (5) Do not make use of injuring others for one's own benefit; (v)
- (6) Do not abuse people, nor fly into a temper; (vi)
- (7) Never take advantage of people, and refrain from injuring the good; (vii)
- (8) Do not turn one's back on the Way, and indulge in wanton and arrogant behaviour; (viii)
- (9) Do not equivocate, but be of one mind. (ix)

Each of these injunctions ends with the statement that one must be reformed.

The collective moral prescriptions are referred to in the text as the Entry to the Way (famen), the prerequisite for the salvation of the ghosts (for example in the passage :

"It is fitting to wish that the ghosts enter deeply into the Gate of the Way and be converted to the faith." (x)

Yet, the notion of salvation has both Buddhist and Taoist elements. The following passage makes this clear :

"Because these ghosts have done evil, they are unable to escape from their prison; they suffer hardship and reside in the Heavenly Enclosure. All because they were not successful in cultivation in a previous existence. They [now] receive food and clothing and encounter the Bridge of the Immortals. By receiving merit and through metamorphosis, they are able to leave the Way of Earth [i.e. hell] and gain release from the law of the Wheel of Creation, to ascend the Path of the Immortals." (xi)

- (i) Op. cit., p. 102.
(ii) Ibid.
(iii) Ibid.
(iv) Ibid.
(v) Ibid.
(vi) Op. cit., p. 103.
(vii) Ibid.
(viii) Ibid.
(ix) Ibid.
(x) Op. cit., p. 90.
(xi) Op. cit., p. 111.

Here we see that punishment in hell is not merely a replication of the living conditions of the ghost in his previous existence, but also the punishment for immoral conduct on the plane of the living. This is a notion to be found throughout the text. Yet, it represents a logical anomaly in that those who have suffered from cold and hunger while alive need not necessarily have been bad according to any of the Chinese philosophical systems.

The second major fusion of ideas, in this text, is that between the Wheel of Creation (lunhui), a Buddhist concept, and the transformation into Immortals (xian), who constitute a Taoist category. This highlights the syncretism basic to this particular rite, and to the jiao as a whole. Moreover, in an earlier section of the text ⁽ⁱ⁾ the hells of the underworld to be destroyed are arranged according to a system based on the Five Directions and their sub-divisions (South-East, North-West and so on). This is a philosophical system frequently used by the Taoists as the discussion above has shown. Yet to this description a Buddhist chant is added; this chant (ngau ngau am ch'a woh ngau) follows every reference to a particular hell.

So far, there are a number of ill-fitting themes involved in the salvation of the ghosts; liberation from the Wheel of Creation, the breaking of hells spatially arranged in Taoist terms, the learning of the Way seen as the application of both routine moral codes and specifically Taoist philosophy, and the transformation into an Immortal. However, there is one more attribute of this process of salvation: the connection between feeding the ghosts and the metaphysics of liberation from hell; yet, this attribute is not discussed in the text.

However, the scattering of food and money is described in the context of heavenly divinities, in particular Taiyi, providing ganlu, literally Sweet Dew, to satisfy hunger. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ On this subject, the Ci hai dictionary quotes from the Ruiying tu which describes ganlu as a sweet dew, an essence of the divine

(i) Op. cit., pp. 36-44.

(ii) Op. cit., for example p. 125.

spirit; (i) the Ci yuan dictionary states that ganlu was formerly a phrase for "Peace on Earth" (tianxia taiping). (ii) The feeding of the ghosts, their liberation from want (which does not logically imply their liberation from the Wheel of Creation) can thus be interpreted as a prerequisite to peace and harmony amongst human society.

The text was not chanted in full at this performance; it is over 140 pages long and by far the most intricate and developed document used by the priests during the jiao. This may highlight the importance of Acts of Merit aimed at salvation from the underworld, in the local type of jiao. However, the curtailing of the full text meant the omission of specific mudras which divide the joints of the fingers on the right hand into the Eight Trigrams; these joints are then tapped out reconstructing the order of the Trigrams. This seems to be another method of control over ghosts and a technique for their liberation. The second major omission was the Rite of Scattering Flowers (sanhua), which takes place in conjunction with a description of destroying crime, and leaving the dark regions of hell to see the brilliant clarity of light. (iii) Flowers then have divine qualities whose significance has already been noted during the discussion of the rite of Welcoming the Divinities.

This rite, ending with the burning of the paper models of the Ten Courts of Hell, the Pole Banner lanterns, the officials of hell, and the Great Knight, can be seen as both an act of placation, merely rendering the existence of the Wandering Ghosts more comfortable by satisfying their material wants, and as an act of salvation. In this latter context, the rite involves the destruction of the boundaries of hell, and the burning of the officials of the underworld. These ritual statements and actions parallel the breaking of the boundaries of hell which took place during the rites of Walking Through the Eight Gates. In

(i) Op. cit., p. 906, s.v. ganlu.

(ii) Op. cit., p. 1,009, s.v. ganlu.

(iii) Dao'antang pushi ke, Manuscript, Shenzhen, 1917, p. 107.

fact, the burning of the Great Knight signified the end of the period of abstinence. The end of the performance of the Worship of the Great Ghosts was marked by a return to the Governors' Temple where a practically vegetable-free meal of meat congee was eaten.

Day 7. The Twenty-First Day of the Tenth Lunar Month (November 23rd, 1975).

On the morning of the twenty-first day of the tenth lunar month people started to worship at about 6.30 in both the Governors' Temple and the main matshed; however, roast pork was added to the ritual foods, whole pigs in the case of worshippers from Kat Hing Wai. Following this, each Head of Household (jiazhu, jiazhang) presented a charm (fuyou) similar to the one written out for the first Ritual Leader and placed in the rice measure during the Worship of the Dipper ceremony. On this occasion the red charm was presented in a red rice measure, containing uncooked rice, three sticks of incense plus one of thick incense, and a small dish with a wick going through an Imperial Chinese coin, the dish being filled with oil. This rice measure, as has been shown above, is a representation of the soul of any person mentioned on the charm; in this case, those mentioned were the Head of the Household and his family (jia).

These charms were placed on the ritual stage, now empty since the scrolls had been taken down by contractors during the ceremony of the Worship of the Great Ghosts. The Taoist, Mr. Jian, then performed rites of purification, ringing a bell and spraying water from a bowl containing pomelo leaves. After this Mr. Jian moved to the entrance of the matshed and with the Ritual Leaders assembled facing a table on which ritual foods were arranged in groups of "threes"; these were the standard foods of the jiao now supplemented by boiled pork. Mr. Jian and the Ritual Leaders then kowtowed, first in front of the Generals at the entrance to the matshed, and then before the White Unpredictable One (Bai Wuchang). The younger Ritual Leaders then took the Generals outside the matshed, to the accompaniment of a gong. Afterwards, the Generals were burnt, followed by the White Unpredictable One.

The Ritual Leaders then worshipped with Mr. Jian behind a table situated outside the Governors' Temple, on which ritual foods were arranged in groups of "fives" and included a pig's head, a chicken, a piece of pork, and the cooked intestine of a pig (see Photograph 28). These are the ritual foods associated with the public (as opposed to the individual) rites of huanshen which take place in Kam Tin on the last two days before the New Year. As the huanshen rites are organised to thank the gods for blessings received during the previous year, these rituals led by Mr. Jian exemplify the stress on offering thanks for the benevolence of the gods (chou en), an important aspect of the jiao's purpose in the minds of the participants.

Following this ritual, the Ritual Leaders with Mr. Jian worshipped in front of the image of Guanyin in the main matshed. This image was then taken away by the Ritual Leaders and put on the altar facing the entrance of the main matshed. After this, the Ritual Leaders together with the priests worshipped inside the Governors' Temple; an action which was followed by the Head of the Clan (zuzhang) of the Kam Tin Deng lineage removing the tablet of the founding ancestor Deng Hongyi to the same altar as that on which Guanyin had been placed. The removal of both Guanyin and this founding ancestor's tablet was accompanied by beating the gong.

During these rites, the dress of the Taoist Mr. Jian, indicated the termination of the major part of the jiao rites; he wore a plain black box had not the Lotus Crown which he had worn during the important rites of the jiao. Furthermore, his robes were not so elaborate as those which he had worn during the period of continual abstention. These robes were now red, having black edging around the neck and light gold and thick blue circles surrounding the Eight Trigrams on the back.

The Walking of the Charmed Duck.

By this time, subscribers to the jiao had collected paper charms "initialled" by the Taoist priests from the Governors' Temple; these charms, together with

the rice measures discussed above were placed on the domestic altars. After this, the rites which followed were those of the Walking of the Charmed Duck (xingfuya). This involved two Taoist priests, dressed in the simpler type of clothing which Mr. Jian wore. These two priests first worshipped in the Governors' Temple and then separated, one going north to Pak Wai Tsuen, and the other going to the southern villages of Kam Tin. This division thus reproduces the important divide in the Kam Tin Xiang between north and south, also represented in the arrangement of the jiao main matshed.

The rite of Walking the Charmed Duck, which was not considered important by Master Lin, consisted of the Taoist entering a person's home, ringing a bell, and spraying water from a bowl containing pomelo leaves (see Photograph 30). These rites took place in front of the domestic ancestral board and involved the invitation of divinities by the chanting priest. According to the priest who attended to the southern villages, this invitation was with the aim of securing well-being and fortune for the family concerned.

After these actions, the Taoist priest and his assistant who carried a duck with its feet bound (see Photograph 30), would be given red packets by the householder. In addition, the householder would put some cooked rice mixed with water into a basin for the duck to eat. Deng informants interpreted this aspect of the rite as the symbolic eating of rotten food, in turn symbolizing the expulsion of bad/evil elements defined by the category xie. We have also seen that the spraying of water from a bowl containing pomelo leaves and the ringing of bells are techniques of purification. As a result, it can be seen that this rite involves that combination of purification and the guarantee of good fortune, which is to be found in the jiao texts, as seen above.

This ceremony of the Walking of the Charmed Duck marked the end of the continuous period of ritual performance during the Kam Tin Jiao. The remaining rituals which include the rite of Sending Back the Divinities (songshen) will be discussed in the next chapter.

In this chapter, however, we have seen that the underlying themes of the Kam Tin jiao, as performed in 1975/76, were the petitioning of deities to guarantee both fortune and longevity, and the salvation of souls in torment. The jiao was performed according to a set of rituals which related the salvation of souls in torment to the purification of both the ritual area and the community, and to the guaranteeing of material success for the community. We have seen, in certain cases, that these rituals involved representations of the cosmos, in which the Taoist priests carried out the technical means necessary to achieve these objectives. These, however, were accompanied in the chants, and in the acts of worship, by a reliance of a non-technical kind on supernatural beings. At the same time, it has been shown how the belief systems of the specialists (the priests) and of the lay community did not always coincide, these contradictions depending on the differences in cosmology between the two groups of people, and on the degree of secrecy of the explanatory systems of the Taoists. These are themes which will be taken up again in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 8.

The Post-Abstention Rituals.

The post-abstention rituals have been defined above as those rituals which took place after the period of continuous abstention from eating non-"vegetarian" foods, and from sexual relations. As we have seen, this period started immediately after the burning of the Great Knight. Yet, because the ceremonies which immediately followed this belonged to the main sequence of jiao rituals, they were described in the preceding chapter.

This chapter will discuss the final four sets of rites associated with the jiao; these are as follows: the reperformance of the Worshipping of the Ghosts (ji you), the restoration of the images and tablets of the collected divinities to the altar opposite the main matshed, the visit by Deng clansmen from Ha Tsuen on the Central Day (zhengri) of the opera performances, and the Sending Back of the Divinities (songshen).

The theatrical performances were scheduled to last a week and were put on for the benefit of the gods; they began at 8 p.m. on the tenth day of the eleventh lunar month (December 12th). After an hour the performance was cancelled; the wind had started to blow down the matshed. On the following day, the Ritual Leaders with little ceremony removed the divinities and placed them inside the Governors' Temple, and afterwards held a meeting to discuss means of funding the extra expenses caused by the matshed's ruin, as well as the date of restarting the theatrical performances. The date was decided as the ninth day of the twelfth lunar month (January 9th, 1976).

1. The Reperformance of the Ghost Propitiation Ritual, and The Reasons for the Rite.

Shortly after this meeting, the Ritual Leaders and Jiao Association Committee Men decided to call back Master Lin to perform another rite of pudu;

or of saving wandering ghosts in torment. They had tried to explain the reason for the sudden surge of wind which had caused the matched to be damaged on the first night of the operatic performances. A number of theories had been advanced, all of which show the heterogeneous nature of the lay belief system underlying the jiao. These were: that the Celestial Master Zhang (Zhang tianshi) who controls the weather, and, in particular, thunder, had been left in the Moujing Tang ancestral hall, and thus, had not been brought to attend the plays which were for the benefit of the gods. He had thus not kept his side of the bargain. One Ritual Leader even joked that the Celestial Master Zhang had slept. A second explanation offered was that picture-scrolls of the two Governors Zhou and Wang had not been put up in the Governors' Temple before the start of the opera. The Governors, who had attended the jiao ritual, had thus not attended the plays, and, consequently, expressed their disapproval. The third explanation was that people had not maintained the period of abstention during the jiao, and this was a sign that the rites had not been properly observed. People commented on the casual manner of worship by some Ritual Leaders, on their lack of attendance at rites, and in particular on a certain Ritual Leader who had worshipped infrequently during the course of the jiao, and who had been blown by the wind into the Kam Tin river on the night of the first performances of the opera. The fourth explanation was that not all the gods were present: some were missing, and some of the tablets, it was alleged, had not been copied before the start of the jiao. The fifth explanation was that the dates for the first opera performances were astrologically incorrect; and furthermore, given this, one could have expected the consequences that occurred. It was pointed out by one Ritual Leader that whereas Cai Boli had selected the most suitable dates for the performance of the jiao ritual, no such provision had been made the jiao opera. The sixth explanation, the one which was finally accepted, was that the Taoist priests while performing the two sessions of Pushi (ji xiaoyou, ji dayou), had failed to burn Transit Visas (lupiao), also called

Ghost Permits (youpiao) or Yellow Registers (huanglu); according to the Taoists the last term is used because this type of rite belongs to the Taoist Yellow Register (huanglu). These Permits were to enable the ghosts who had attended the jiao to return to the underworld, according to the explanations offered by both Deng laymen and the Taoist priests.

These explanations, while providing the setting for the reperformance of the propitiation rituals, are of interest in themselves because they indicate an attempt to explain anomalies in the belief system. We have already seen in the course of the discussion of the main sequence of jiao rituals, that the aims of this rite as a whole were to ensure well-being and fortune. The damage of the matshed by wind within an hour of the first performance of the jiao opera was a concrete demonstration that the expected consequences were not taking place. Therefore, explanations had to be found. However, given the nature of the circumstances, namely that the tempest had occurred on such a crucial date during the jiao period, a supernatural reason had to be established. From the analyst's point of view, the major problem is to understand why the sixth explanation was finally adopted in preference to the other five. The difficulty here is that once this explanation was adopted as the standard, there was little overt rationalisation as to why this was so; the explanation was merely stated as a description of the way things were. Therefore, it was not possible to get informants to expand on the motives for the choice. It is, however, possible to hypothesise about these motives, in other words, to reconstruct the rationale.

The first five explanations involve two factors. The first of these factors is that all these five explanations concern relationships between the believer, here the subscriber to the jiao, and superior supernatural entities. This superiority is demonstrated by the ability of these entities to control man's environment or fate, or both. I say "entities", because, as we have seen, one explanation involves a relationship between man and astrological

bodies. The believer, according to the first five explanations, is inferior, The bad weather then, in the case of these five explanations, is either a punishment, or the non-fulfillment of a reward, or the result of a failure to analyse the relationships between man and celestial bodies. In all cases, the believer is culpable. Even the non-fulfillment of the rewards of the jiao is the result of the believer's failure to carry out the preparations and performance properly.

In the case of the sixth explanation, however, the obverse is true. Here, man is the victim of the malevolence of hungry ghosts, beings who are inferior to him, not only in that they inhabit a lower plane in the cosmology but in that if they were on the plane of the living, they would not be worthy of respect, on account of their poverty. In the case of the sixth explanation, no moral errors have been committed. Even the mistake of negligence, the failure to give the ghosts their Transit Visas, though resulting in the damage mentioned, could not be seen as a moral failing resulting in punishment; it had merely resulted in the continued presence in the community of malevolent beings. Furthermore, the mistake of omitting the Transit Visas could be blamed on the Taoists (and it was), since the ultimate responsibility of ensuring that the correct ritual papers were used was in their hands; this was in spite of the fact that the Visas were printed by the Jiao Association and were supposed to be laid out and burnt by the Ritual Leaders during the rites concerned. This may be the reason why Master Lin concurred in this explanation, while also offering the failure to bring out the Celestial Master Zhang as a reason.

In the event, Master Lin was called back to reperform the ceremony on the sixteenth day of the eleventh lunar month (December 18th, 1975). On that day, the jiao abstentions were introduced from mid-day onwards, though the ritual was scheduled to start at 6 p.m. outside the Governors' Temple. This time the abstentions were by no means universally followed. The ritual itself was a simplified version of the Worship of Small Ghosts (ji xiaoyou). It,

therefore, does not necessitate a lengthy description. Master Lin was dressed in the same black and yellow robes and wore the same boxed hat as the priest during the Worship of Small Ghosts described above. The ritual foods were similar; they were five bowls of mixed "vegetarian" foods, including bean curd shaped in the form of a leaf, five bowls of rice, five dishes of fruit, two bowls of mixed fruit, five bowls of tea (together with five pairs of red chopsticks), and finally, three cups of wine; incense sticks were burnt in packets, without counting. The rite itself began after dark, that is in yin time, the time when the ghosts, yin entities, would roam. The ritual started with Master Lin burning a yellow charm (fu), an act of purification. He then beat a small gong, thus indicating the times when the Ritual Leaders who were dressed in cheongsams, were to perform the kowtow. Then Master Lin while chanting went around the ritual table, on which ritual foods had been placed, with a Star Lord Tablet, purifying the environment of evil influences. The Taoist followed this by throwing sticks of incense as offerings to the ghosts. Finally, jinyinqian paper money, strips of cloth symbolising offerings of clothing material, candles and incense sticks were burnt together with the Transit Visas in a single pile. The rice and "vegetarian" foods on the ritual table were then taken and scattered by Master Lin. The explanations for these aspects of the rites are identical with those for the pudu during the main sequence of jiao rituals.

After this, firecrackers were set off and Master Lin congratulated the Ritual Leaders with the statement "I wish you well. May you have more sons and make wealth" ("Kung hei. T'im ting faat ts'oi."). These are standard phrases used during the New Year period, which have their origin in the successful transition through a period of danger. It is for this reason that such words are used locally after participants at a funeral have passed over the fire which purifies them from contamination with yin, after their return from the burial of a coffin.

2. The Restoration of the Divinities to the Altar facing the Main Matshed.

This next ceremony began on the first day of the revised schedule of operatic performances, the ninth day of the twelfth lunar month (January 9th, 1976). The ceremony began about 11 a.m. and consisted of standard acts of worship, that is performing the kowtow and then burning jinyinqian paper money, in front of the altar in the Governors' Temple. The participants at the rites were the Ritual Leaders, no Taoist priests being present. The ritual foods placed on the altar were in groups of five and threes and consisted of one group of five dishes (containing, respectively, crystallised fruits, red apples, crystallised fruits, yellow apples with jinhua ornamentation (looking like golden leaves with tips of red), and oranges)), and another of three (including one New Year box of crystallised fruits, a bag of peanuts and a dish of oranges, apples, and grapes); in addition, three cups of tea were offered.

The "vegetarian" nature of these ritual foods is not to be explained by the abstention rules maintained during the course of the jiao. This ritual was performed during the post-abstention period, and unlike the reperformance of the pushi described above, could not be described as belonging to the main sequence of jiao rituals. Like the "vegetarian" foods used during preparatory ritual of Setting Up the Matshed, the major element was crystallised fruits, which as we have seen, are New Year sweets and ritual foods. Informants also considered them as foods for Great Men (daren), for example, senior officials in the former Imperial bureaucracy. Crystallised fruits were also called jingguo, literally Capital Fruits, by Deng informants; this term indicates their superior connotations. Informants added that people in the after-life like to eat the things they had been used to on earth.

The fact that these "vegetarian" ritual foods, although in line with the abstention rules, do not indicate them, is also borne out by the lack of bean curd and mushrooms among the food items. These were as we have seen, used continually during the abstention period of the jiao. However, perhaps the

most important aspect of all was that the ceremony itself did not require the participants to maintain the abstentions in their ordinary lives in the village.

The "vegetarian" nature of the food during this ritual indicates another factor, already suggested by the mixing of the numerical ritual codes of three and five. The rite itself, although necessary, was not considered to be of paramount importance by the Ritual Leaders. This ambiguity is also reflected in the ambiguity of the ritual foods. While containing foods fit for Great Men, there was no meat, at a time when "vegetarian" food rules were not enforced; similarly, the numerical codes state that the ritual is both special and ordinary at the same time, the number five symbolising the former, and the number three the latter.

After the brief ceremony described above had been performed, the various Ritual Leaders helped to return the images and tablets from the Governors' Temple to the small matshed altar facing the main matshed, to enable the divinities to attend the plays. This act of transference is of interest because it was not performed in a random fashion. The Head of the Clan (zuzhang) first took out the ancestral tablet of Deng Hongyi, the founding ancestor exclusive to the Kam Tin Deng. He was followed by the first Ritual Leader who took out the red set of tablets of the Governors Zhou and Wang. The first Ritual Leader, a man from Shui Tau Tsuen, was followed by other Ritual Leaders from the same Division who transferred the divinities who had originally been collected from their village. The Kat Hing Ritual Leaders then followed taking the divinities originally collected from Kat Hing Wai. Tai Hong, Shui Mei, and Wing Lung Ritual Leaders afterwards followed in that order. The order of the five villages was that of their respective top Ritual Leaders in the block-throwing contest before the jiao. The first Ritual Leader, a representative of the fourth Ritual Leader, and the third Ritual Leader then took out the effigy of Guanyin originally collected from Lingyun. Si. This replicated the scheme for collecting the divinities, whereby the top five Ritual Leaders, or their

substitutes, representing the five most important ritual Divisions, had to collect the divinity in the first place. Finally, the remaining divinities which had been collected from areas outside Kam Tin were each transferred by those Ritual Leaders who had collected them. There was some dispute about this, but it was eventually agreed that it was better to keep to an existing order. The transfer of all the divinities in the Governors' Temple, was accompanied by drums and flags, as in the rites of Walking the Audience during the main section of the jiao.

Once these divinities had been transferred, worship by the Ritual Leaders took place, merely consisting of the kowtow outside the altar, now filled, which faced the main matshed; no ritual foods were used. After this, the party of Ritual Leaders went to the Moujing Tang ancestral hall to invite Celestial Master Zhang to attend the opera. As with the previous set of divinities, this was accompanied by flags and drums. He was worshipped in an identical manner, though this time with ritual foods coded into groups of threes, consisting of three cups of tea, a New Year Box of crystallised fruit and a dish of apples, oranges, and grapes. After worship, jinyinqian paper money was burnt; the crowd then returned, not carrying the portrait of Celestial Master Zhang. He had been informed and invited to attend the opera but would otherwise remain in the ancestral hall.

3. The Visit by Non-Kam Tin Clansmen on the Central Day of the Opera Performances.

The ceremony following this transfer of the divinities was a visit by non-Kam Tin Deng clansmen on the Central Day (zhengri) of the opera performances. This was on the twelfth day of the twelfth lunar month (January 12th, 1976). The ceremony which took place at the Governors' Temple was preceded by kylin dances and Chinese martial arts performed by the Tongqingtang from Pak Wai Tsuen.

The ceremony itself involved elders from Ha Tsuen villages, in particular

those from Sik Kong Wai and Tseung Kong Wai, who brought ritual sedans together with roast pigs. The elders and Ritual Leaders from Kam Tin welcomed them into the Temple where the combined group worshipped in the form just described for the rites of transferring the divinities. The ritual foods were coded into groups of fives and threes, consisting of five plates of vegetables, five of oranges, a dish of crystallised fruit, a roast pig, and three cups each of wine and tea. The use of the roast pig indicates the importance of the rite. Deng informants, while discussing ritual foods used at the time of ancestral worship either at the grave-side or in the ancestral hall, would comment that roast pork was superior to "White Pork", that is raw pig, as a ritual offering. ⁽¹⁾ Roast pig was thus a sign of respect to the Governors Zhou and Wang on the part of the visiting Ha Tsuen clansmen. On the other hand, since the other ritual foods, contributed by Kam Tin, were similar in nature and quantity to those for the ritual of the transference of the deities, the same conclusions must follow. The ritual was important, but within the overall symbolic system, not of the highest importance. In fact, this conclusion is also supported by the brevity of the rite. Once the ritual was over, the guests were escorted to a dinner paid for by their Kam Tin hosts out of private funds.

Before the performance of the jiao, there had been some debate in Jiao Association meetings as to whether Ha Tsuen should be invited at all. They were invited, for a number of reasons. First, Ha Tsuen had invited Kam Tin elders at the time of their decennial jiao which had taken place the previous year. Secondly, this invitation (as Ha Tsuen's had been in the first place) was a conscious renewal of the ties of clanship. Ha Tsuen has two founding ancestors who are exclusive to it, both of the same generation, but who were each other's father's father's brother's son's sons. While these ancestors' common patrilineal great-grandfather had lived in Kam Tin, as we have seen in Chapter 1, all but one division, a brother of the Ha Tsuen ancestor Deng

Hongzhi, called Deng Hongyi remained in Kam Tin. ⁽ⁱ⁾ The latter is venerated, as we have seen, as the founding ancestor exclusive to Kam Tin. Thus the time at which the ancestors Deng Hongzhi and Deng Honghui went to live in Ha Tsuen represents the last major lineage segmentation of groups going away from Kam Tin. ⁽²⁾ Ha Tsuen Deng, out of all the Deng lineages in Bao'an and Dongguan Counties, were considered by Kam Tin Deng informants as "our brothers" ("ngo tei ke hing tai"); although the separation of the divisions took place during the Ming Hongwu Emperor's reign (1368-1394), ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ these ties between Ha Tsuen and Kam Tin which are closer than those between Kam Tin and any group founded by a related ancestor at a higher level of segmentation, are maintained annually when the Ha Tsuen descendants of Deng Dehe, Deng Hongzhi's and Deng Hongyi's father, combine with the Kam Tin Deng to worship at this ancestor's grave (on the fifth day of the ninth lunar month). In contrast to most of the other rites involving different Deng lineages worshipping a common ancestor, where each descendant community pays for the ritual foods in turn, and takes the responsibility of worship for that year, Deng Dehe is always worshipped by both Ha Tsuen and Kam Tin descendants who each bring along their own ritual foods. ⁽³⁾ The bond is thus ritually reinforced, and in any case, seen as important enough to be reinforced. Seen in this context, then, the visit by Ha Tsuen elders to the jiao plays in Kam Tin was thus also an expression of this bond of kinship between the two communities.

4. The Sending Back of the Divinities: the Rites, the Divinities Returned, and the Ritual Sites.

The rite of Sending Back the Divinities (songshen) was similar to that of Collecting the Divinities (jieshen), the rite which took place before the main sequence of jiao performances. The Sending Back rite took place on the

(i) Ha Tsuen (1974?), p. 24.

(ii) Sung H.-P.: Lingyun Si shi: in Lingyun foxue yanjiushe wu zhou jinian kan, Hong Kong, 1939, p. 85.

morning after the last performance of the jiao opera: namely, the fourteenth day of the twelfth lunar month (January 14th, 1976). On this day, it was important for an individual Ritual Leader to return the divinities which he had collected before the jiao; for if someone else returned them, the divinities concerned would not like this, and would cause harm; secondly, it was mandatory to return all the divinities. Informants related how at a previous jiao the inhabitants of a village under a local mountain called Kai Kok Shan (clearly referring to Pak Wai Tsuen), had been ill until the divinity concerned (Niu Wang, the King of the Oxen) had been sent back; this had happened because the Ritual Leader concerned had avoided the trouble of sending the god back to his place of origin at the right time.

As far as the 1975 jiao was concerned, the rite began at 8 a.m. without Taoist priests but with all the Ritual Leaders who first went to the Moujing Tang ancestral hall to take the portrait of Celestial Master Zhang back. This rite involved kowtowing in front of the divinity, and then burning the Proclamation (bang) which had been set up alongside him during the jiao. No ritual foods were used. Following this, the Ritual Leaders divided up, each taking back the divinities which were the responsibility of their Jiao Association Division. These people took jinyinqian paper money and red candles to worship at the original sites of the divinities concerned. The top five Ritual Leaders (or their substitutes) then returned the divinities belonging to Lingyun Si, the Pat Heung Temple (Baxiang Gu Miao) in Sheung Tsuen, and the Yuen Kong Temple, a route which replicated that of the Collection of the Divinities. Here, the worship patterns were the same as for the Collection rites, and the Ritual Leaders instructed the temple guardians to destroy the red temporary tablets of the divinities, by burning them, the normal way of destroying tablets of gods or ancestors, which have served their purpose. These same Ritual Leaders then returned to the jiao area and returned the red set of the Governors' tablets to the Governors' Temple. Afterwards, they took the tablet of Dizang

Wang, the Buddhist King of the Dead, to the Tongfu Tang nunnery from which it had been originally collected.

It is fitting at this stage to analyse the pattern of the rites of Collecting and Sending Back the Divinities and the context of the rites. The Collection rites and divinities were listed in the preparatory texts ⁽ⁱ⁾ for the Kam Tin jiao as follows: the Beimen Miao, an alternate name for the Tian Hou Temple in Shui Mei Tsuen, whose foundation date is uncertain; Sung Hok-P'ang states that the temple was first built in the Kangxi Emperor's reign (1662-1772); ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ but now there is no evidence, oral or otherwise, to justify this. It was from this temple that the divinities Tian Hou, Huamu, Hua Gong, the Earth God (Tudi Gong), and Puhui were collected; the Governors' Temple from which the tablets of the Governors Zhou and Wang were collected, together with the Earth God of the building; the Wen Miao, or Wen Wu Er Di Shuyuan, built in the Qing Daoguang Emperor's reign (1821-1850) as a scholars' hall, ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ from which Kuixing also known as Wendi, the God of Literature, Tidou, also known as Wudi, the God of War, and Caibo, a wealth god, were collected; the Damiao, or Hong Sheng Gong, in Shui Tau Tsuen, founded in the Ming Chinghua period (1465-1487) ^(iv) from which the divinity Taisui and the Earth God (Tudi Gong) of the temple were collected; the Rencaishibutou, a small stone house-shaped shrine to the west of Pak Wai Tsuen, from where sampans used to travel to the Yuen Long market until the building of the road connecting Kam Tin with the market town about 1914 when a ghari service began between Sheung Shui and Au Tau; ^(v) from here Tian Hou and a river dragon (he qing hai yan long) were collected; the Mayuan, or altar to the Community God at Pak Wai Tsuen's original site established during the Ming Chinghua period (1465-1487); from this site, the Community God (She Gong) was collected; ⁽⁴⁾ the

(i) Jintian hexiang jianjiao zongbu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1975, pp. 52-56.

(ii) Sung H.-P. (1938), p. 206.

(iii) Kam Tin (1972?): Jintian fengguang.

(iv) Ibid.

(v) Hong Kong Administration Reports for the year 1914, Appendix I, p.2.

Shenxian Miao, a temple from which the Buddhist divinities of the Buddha (Fo) and Weituo were collected; as the Zhuyuan An is also mentioned in the list as having the same divinities, I have interpreted these two sets of names as being alternate titles for the same place. This is so because none of the Ritual Leaders whom I asked was certain about the place; certain Pak Wai Tsuen Ritual Leaders after hesitation considered the Shenxian Miao to be a small temple in Shui Mei Tsuen which is now used by the Tongqingtang kylin and martial arts group. The same problem of duplication occurs elsewhere in the list where the Wen Wu Er Di Shuyuan and the Yuen Kong Temple are mentioned in their own right; in this latter case where there is also a listing for a Hou Wang Miao, as we have seen, the temple guardians at Yuen Kong said that they had been told that the original temple had been a shrine to Hou Wang. This shrine was later enlarged, incorporating the former shrine as a hall (dian). In any case, the other Hou Wang temple in the area (in Mai Po) was not visited by the Kam Tin Deng during the time of the jiao.

The Zhuyuan is a section of the Guan Di temple between Tai Hong Wai and Pak Wai Tsuen. It had, again, originally consisted of one shrine, but was enlarged by the Zheng people who came to the Kam Tin area in 1929 and established Shing Mun San Tsuen, following the resumption of their original village land for the construction of the Jubilee Reservoir.

The remaining places were the Biamu Qiao, a bridge built across the Kam Tin river near the Governors' Temple, in 1669 by the Deng; from here another Earth God (Tudi gong) was taken; the Aobei Gang, a group of stones on a hill to the south of Kam Tin from which a Niu Wang, or King of the Oxen, was collected; the Huangmapuzi, a shrine to Pangu Wang, the creator of the universe; this was at Ng Ka Tsuen, just to the south-east of Kam Tin, and no longer in existence since the land has been cleared. However, the divinity was still collected from the site and sent back by means of the red paper tablet method described above; the Hushui Jiaolin, a small shrine on the hill above

Pak Wai Tsuen called Kai Kok Shan, from which a King of the Oxen (Niu Wang) was collected; the Lingyun Si which had been built for Deng Hongyi's second wife by the three sons of his first wife, as a place where she could study the Buddhist classics, and place the ancestral tablet of her dead husband;⁽ⁱ⁾ this took place in the Ming Xuande period (1426-1435);⁽⁵⁾ the Sheung Tsuen temple (Baxiang Gu Miao), whose foundation date is uncertain (the earliest recorded date in the temple is that of a restoration plaque, put up in 1851); the divinities Tian Hou and Huaguang were collected from this temple; and finally the Tongfu Tang, a Buddhist nunnery in Fung Kat Heung just to the north of Pak Wai Tsuen, opened in 1924 and built by the Tongfutang, a tang composed of certain descendants of Deng Yunjian, to carry out rites for those Deng who had died during the British entry into Bao'an County, at the time of the lease of the New Territories, and who had been buried nearby.⁽⁶⁾

In addition to these places and divinities, it has already been noted that divinities were collected from and sent back to each Kam Tin village's shrine (Shenting). Although shrine divinity boards do differ amongst those villages which have Shenting (Kat Hing Wai for example includes the Governors Zhou and Wang), the divinities are for the most part the same. Thus, one example will suffice. The Wing Lung Wai shrine board has the following divinities: the Emperor of the North (Beidi), Guanyin, Guan Di, Hong Sheng, Tudi Gong, Tian Hou, Che Gong, the wealth gods Nianyue Zhao Cai He He Tongzi and Rishi Jinbao Lishi Xianguan.

Hence, by taking this example of a shenting's divinity board and the list of divinities to be collected from the various places of worship in the area, it is possible to gain some idea of the heterogeneous and syncretist nature of the lay belief-system, as represented in the jiao. The divinities of the laity in the jiao can be divided into a number of categories. The first of these contains Buddhist pusa: Buddha, Dizang Wang, Weituo, Guanyin; these divinities were predominantly collected from Buddhist establishments. However, Guanyin

(i) Deng H. Q. (ed.): Shijiantang jiapu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1966, also Sung H.-P.: Lingyun Si shi: in Lingyun foxue yanjiushe wu zhou jinian kan, Hong Kong, 1939, p. 86.

is also present on all of the domestic divinity boards. The second category contains Star Deities, represented here by Tidou whose anthropomorphic form is Wudi, the God of War, or more literally the Emperor of the Martial Arts, and Kuixing, the God (Emperor) of Literature; these two divinities are the product of a form of syncretism: on the one hand, they are Taoist divinities as their anthropomorphic-astrological ambiguity suggests; on the other they are Confucian divinities installed in a hall whose purpose was to encourage scholarship and promote success through the official examination system. This category of Star Deities also includes Taisui, the divinity of the planet Jupiter, who monitors man's fate; it also includes, according to some, if not all, informants, the Emperor of the North (Beidi), who is assumed by these informants to be the god of the northern polar constellation (beidou). The third category is that of deified humans, and includes the Governors Zhou and Wang, at least in so far as they exist on shrine divinity boards, Guan Di, and Yang Hou. The fourth category includes those divinities whose origins do not necessitate explanation either by history or mythology, and include the various Earth Gods, Che Gong, Huamu, Hua Gong, Hong Sheng, the various wealth gods, and the mountain gods (shanshen) of whom the King of the Oxen is a sub-type. The final category is that of ancestors, represented by the tablet of Deng Hongyi. This category has its basis in the Confucian encouraged cult of filial piety.

The cosmology represented clearly has its origins in a number of different sources; these are Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, and another source, which strictly speaking is none of these, yet still Chinese. This is in marked contrast to the gods of the Taoist priests set out in the chants during the main sequence of jiao rituals, where the only overlap between these divinities and those of the people is that represented by Guanyin.

The heterogeneous nature of the divinities would suggest that their identities were less important than their places of origin. The exceptions are the portrait of the Celestial Master Zhang and the tablets of the Governors

Zhou and Wang, and of Deng Hongyi, which were collected and sent back by the first five Ritual Leaders in the case of the first two sets of divinities, and by the Head of the Clan (zuzhang) in the case of the third.

Nevertheless, the collection by the first five Ritual Leaders, or their substitutes, of all those divinities sited in places outside the Kam Tin area underlines a latent system of classification. On the one hand, there are those local areas outside the boundaries of Kam Tin proper, which required the presence of the top Ritual Leaders, or their substitutes, from the five major Divisions of the jiao; on the other, there are the Kam Tin sites which required special attention, if the supernatural entity was worthy enough: namely, the Governors' and the exclusive founding ancestor's tablets, and Celestial Master Zhang, whose status was magnified during the jiao owing to the Taoist foundation of the rites. Yet, for the most part, the Collection and Sending Back was the responsibility of those Divisions whose villages were closest to the sites concerned. Thus the Hong Sheng Gong, the Wen Wu Er Di Shuyuan, the Bianmu Qiao, all situated in Shui Tau Tsuen, were the responsibility of Shui Tau Division Ritual Leaders; the Zhuyuan An, the responsibility of Tai Hong Division Ritual Leaders; the Aobei Gang, the responsibility of Kat Hing Division Ritual Leaders; the Beimen Miao and the Mayuan were the responsibility of Shui Mei Ritual Leaders; while the responsibility of the Rencaishibutou and the Hushui Jiaolin, while always in the hands of Pak Wai Tsuen people, might belong either to the Shui Mei or the Shui Tau Division; in 1975, both these sites were in the hands of Shui Mei Ritual Leaders.

This latter category of local sites and divinities is easy to understand. The local gods in the xiang, installed and given credence to by the local people, were invited to attend the local jiao, also of this people's making. The category of "external" divinities, that is, divinities sited outside the boundaries of the Kam Tin area, is more problematic. To understand the rationale behind this category, which though latent, can clearly be derived from the

participants' own actions and statements, we have to understand the rationale underlining the "external" area's boundaries. Examination of Map 5 reveals that all the sites involved in the Collection and Sending Back of divinities in the Kam Tin jiao are situated in the Yuen Long plain to the east of Au Tau (Lingyun Si is actually in the foothills of the eastern hill range). This immediately reveals one important factor about these sites: the boundary does not include Ying Lung Wai nor any temples in the vicinity of this village and used by its inhabitants. The sites then do not include the area of which the sixth Division, the Ying Lung, is the centre. This parallels factors described above: the limited responsibility of the Ying Lung Ritual Leaders and committee men, their absence from the block-throwing contest, and the reduced subscription fee. The Ying Lung Division, although encompassing the second fang of the Kam Tin Deng lineage based on Deng Hongyi Gong, ritually, was not important.

Yet, this does not provide a full explanation; one of the reasons for the collection of divinities from the Sheung Tsuen temple and from the Yuen Kong temple, advanced in particular by Tai Hong Division Ritual Leaders, was that their reputed founding ancestor had built these places. Paradoxically, the only concrete evidence that this founding ancestor, Deng Wenwei, founded any of the temples of which he is the alleged builder, is that on a restoration tablet in the Dawang Miao in the Old Market at Yuen Long; this tablet, dated 1837, relates how Deng Wenwei built the market in 1669. However, given that both this temple and the Er Di Miao in the Old Market town were registered in the Block Crown Lease as belonging to Deng Wenwei's ancestral trust, and that not only Tai Hong Wai Deng but also the temple guardian affirmed that the Er Di Miao was built by this ancestor, it seems that he was the founder of both these main temples. Furthermore, Tai Hong Wai men on the ninth day of the first lunar month process through the Old Market and its temples, as a self-declared affirmation of their ownership of temples and property in the area. It, therefore, seems strange that these temples were not collection sites, even if these

places were visited during the jiao processions. It is particularly strange that this is the case, because some Ritual Leaders from Kat Hing Wai affirmed incorrectly that the Beimen Miao referred to in the jiao preparatory texts was the Yuen Long Old Market Er Di Miao.

The only possible explanation is that the Yuen Long Old Market up to the development of the New Market in 1917 ⁽⁷⁾ was a tertiary level periodic market town, operating on a three-six-nine schedule (that is opening on any day of the lunar month, whose final figure was one of these numbers), servicing the needs of Kam Tin, the Pat Heung, Ha Tsuen, Ping Shan, and San Tin, as well as the villages in between. Therefore, although the Kam Tin Deng controlled the Old Market, the area which this market served consisted of land occupied by several powerful lineages, quite apart from the Kam Tin Deng; these were the Deng lineages of Ha Tsuen and Ping Shan to the west, and the Wen lineage of San Tin to the north (see Map 5). In contrast with this, the area within the "external" boundaries discussed above was only subject to the influence of one powerful lineage, that of the Kam Tin Deng.

There is oral evidence to suggest that Kam Tin fought with Ping Shan, a fact recounted by both Ping Shan and Kam Tin Elders. Furthermore, there is documentary evidence that the two communities were in conflict. In 1921, Kam Tin opposed the construction of a new dam for the Shan Pui-Mai Po reclamation. Apparently the leading Elder of Ping Shan, who acted as a local agent for the construction syndicate, was roughly handled by a Kam Tin crowd. There was, it seems, a distinct danger of a traditional fight between the two groups of villages, although this was averted by the mediation of the Tai Po and Yuen Long (i.e. Ha Tsuen) branches of the same clan. ⁽ⁱ⁾ Kam Tin also fought with San Tin, though it did not apparently fight with Ha Tsuen which seems to have fought against Ping Shan.

(i) Hong Kong Government: Administration Reports for the Year 1921, Appendix J, p.2.

The evidence seems to suggest that the sites for collecting divinities for the Kam Tin Jiao would exclude any areas in which Kam Tin's power would be seriously rivalled by other big lineages. The Yuen Long Old Market, although controlled by Kam Tin Deng, would nevertheless be the lynch-pin of area where Kam Tin would be subject to powerful rivalry. It is noteworthy that temples to the north of the Kam Tin Deng sphere of control, where the San Tin Wen lineage owned sub-soil rights, were not collection sites for the Kam Tin jiao. Though certain Pak Wai Tsuen Ritual Leaders affirmed that the Hou Wang temple referred to in the preparatory texts was that at Mai Po, the guardian of this temple denied that any divinities had been collected by Kam Tin people. These Ritual Leaders had not, in any case, taken part in the Collection and Sending Back of Divinities. ⁽⁸⁾ An indication of this temple's position in the political geography of the area is given by the temple bell which has Wen lineage subscribers' names on it.

It seems likely, therefore, that the rationale behind the particular definition of boundaries encompassing the collection sites, was that of spheres of influence. However, the reasons for selecting particular sites within the limits of that boundary, were not merely limited to this. There were religious sites within this area from which divinities were not collected, the most common being the altars to the Community God (She Gong) in other villages. Yet, the most significant example of an omission is that of the Baxian Miao in Tai Kong Po built in the 1930s by Chaozhou immigrants. On the face of it, one reason for not collecting divinities from this temple may be its newness. This was offered as a reason by an Elder and a Ritual Leader from Shui Tau Tsuen. However, this does not seem sufficient, for two reasons; the first is that the Tongfu Tang was built in 1924 by Kam Tin Deng, and yet is a collection site; the second is that during the Tai Kong Po Yulanpen, or Ghost Festival, divinities are collected from Shui Tau Tsuen. Yet, the Kam Tin Deng, with certain exceptions, are scathing about Chaozhou immigrants, and it is plausible

to argue that the asymmetric ritual relationships between the two communities reflect asymmetric political ones, which are historically recent.

Some of the sites outside Kam Tin were founded by Kam Tin Deng. We have already mentioned the Lingyun Si and the Tongfu Tang; in addition, the Huangmapuzi was a shrine situated in the middle of land belonging to Kam Tin Deng ancestral trusts; the Aobei Gang was on rough land, not claimed in the Block Crown Lease but traditionally regarded as Kam Tin Deng land, in fact burial land because of the geomantic properties of the area. However, this still leaves the explanation of the Yuen Kong and Sheung Tsuen temples. The Block Crown Lease shows the property of the first temple as belonging to the people of Yuen Kong, a non-Deng area. Furthermore, the surrounding land was not registered as belonging to Kam Tin Deng. Yet the Tai Hong Wai Deng believe that their ancestor Deng Wenwei founded this temple. The temple itself offers no evidence to support this. A restoration plaque merely states that the temple was built in "the closing years of the Ming dynasty" (therefore, at the latest 1644). It is probable that this date is inaccurate, since if it were accurate it would quote the foundation date by the year of a particular Emperor's reign. The plaque itself is dated 1972 which means that if the age of the temple is based on oral records, there has been ample time for distortion. There is a remote possibility, therefore, that Deng Wenwei could have been responsible for the temple's foundation, though it is unlikely that he would have done this before becoming a juren graduate in 1657. (i)

We have seen above that the oral history of this temple is that it was a shrine which was later expanded. It would seem that this expansion took place about 1750, the date of the two bells (one of which is in the Hou Wang hall (dian) and the other in that of Beidi, the Emperor of the North, each of these divinities being the dedicatee of one of the bells). Both bells have

(i) Deng H. Q. (ed.): Shijiantang jiapu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1966.

Deng names inscribed on them. The bell dedicated to the Emperor of the North, however, has the name of Deng Yuzhang together with his close patrilineal kin of the same generation; these people all have their third name beginning with a Jade (yu) radical. This Deng is recorded in the Kam Tin Deng genealogies as becoming a jinshi graduate in 1742. It is, therefore, possible to argue that even though there is no concrete evidence to support the Kam Tin Deng assertion that this temple in Yuen Kong was founded by one of their ancestors, by the time of its renovation in 1742 it did have close connections with this Deng lineage.

In the case of the Baxiang Gu Miao at Sheung Tsuen, the temple bell was donated in 1861 by the Taishan Yiyushe but this was not a Kam Tin Deng association. A restoration tablet put up in 1861 refers to the restoration as being the effort of the many surnames from the Pat Heung, and the result also of contributions from emigrants in San Francisco. Yet, both these data are of relatively recent history, and give no indication one way or the other of the foundation of the temple. Both Sheung Tsuen and Yuen Kong were in existence at the time of the first performance of the Kam Tin jiao, for they are both mentioned in the 1688 edition of the County gazetteer. ⁽ⁱ⁾ Yet the only temple mentioned is that of Lingyun Si. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ This does not necessarily imply that the temples were built after this date, for, as we have seen, the unmentioned Governors' Temple was built in 1684. It is therefore possible that the Sheung Tsuen temple, the Baxiang Gu Miao, was built around this time; there is, however, no independent evidence to support this.

It is plausible to interpret the story of Deng Wenwei founding those temples outside Kam Tin which served as sites, as a participants' explanation as to why particular temples were chosen. The way this explanation was offered, however, does give some indication of the reason for selecting these temples,

(i) Jin, W. M. et al.: Chongxiu Xin'an Xianzhi, 1688, juan 3.

(ii) Op. cit., juan 13.

even if their founding by Deng Wenwei is open to doubt. I was given the explanation a number of times, but the following statement by a Tai Hong Division Deng is the clearest version:

"Jinshi gong [Deng Wenwei] was a very good geomancer (fengshui xiansheng) and whenever he disliked a place, he would build a temple there to receive the Breaths bringing prosperity (shou daqi); so he built the temple at Sheung Tsuen, because he did not like Sheung Tsuen, and at Yuen Kong, and in Naam Pin Wai [near the Yuen Long Old Market] which he thought was very confining, and the temple [the Tian Hou temple] in Tung Tau [also near Yuen Long]."

This story is of interest because bad geomantic positioning is interpreted in this area as not only the cause of poverty, but also of conflict, and lack of amicability in general. Deng informants were ready to attribute peace within the family to the good geomantic position of ancestral tombs. Bad geomancy is then seen as a cause of all that is wrong in the society, but as the geomantic properties of sites are only seriously questioned when things have gone wrong, geomancy provides rationalisations. In this sense, the rationalisation of the cause becomes the metaphor: to talk about poor geomancy is to talk about strife, few descendants, lack of wealth, demented sons, and all the other bad consequences that can be laid at the door of this corpus of theory. The connection between geomancy as cause and geomancy as metaphor is provided by the terms in this system of explanation; ill consequences are the result of xiong (evil, or famine) places which allow the breaths bringing fortune to leak out, or of shaqi (literally, "Slaughtering Breaths"). These explanatory terms evoke the consequences which poor geomancy is held to cause.

Thus, the story of Deng Wenwei founding these temples depicts strife and conflict. Moreover, the fact that the story relates that this Deng ancestor corrected the geomancy of the sites by building temples (presumably to block the xiong gaps and the Slaughtering Breaths), may be interpreted as a Kam Tin Deng attempt to establish hegemony in the area on their terms. The

evidence for this hypothesis lies in the fact that the Kat Hing Wai weizhang, or Village Headman, a man in his eighties, was able to tell me that Kam Tin and the Pat Heung were continually at war with each other, and that, furthermore, the centre of resistance was at Yuen Kong. In fact, although such conflict ostensibly came to an end after the British annexation of the New Territories, the ill feeling of the Deng towards the Pat Heung peoples, many of whom were, and still are, Hakka, persists. Relations are not quite as strained as in the past when there was a prohibition on marriage with these people, and marriage now takes place; yet, while I was in Kam Tin, I heard criticisms of the Pat Heung people, that they were jealous, evil, and envious of the Deng lineage's greater property. They had, it was stated, successfully claimed whole areas of Deng land at the time of the original Colonial land registration, and had thus stolen land on which they had only been tenants. These types of assertions suggest that one axis, probably the most important one, of the Kam Tin-Pat Heung disputes was land control.

The sites from which divinities were collected and sent back, thus belong to two categories: first, sites which the Kam Tin Deng founded, and, second, those sites which were in areas which the Kam Tin Deng attempted to control. In the latter case, there is merely verbal evidence on the part of the Kam Tin Deng that these sites were founded by them. We have also seen that the area of the sites was one in which the Kam Tin Deng were the exclusive Great Lineage. It is thus possible to argue that the Collection and Sending Back of Divinities in the Kam Tin jiao are rituals which parallel, and thus metaphorically correspond to, the political aspects of the relationship between the Pat Heung and Kam Tin. The temples at Sheung Tsuen and Yuen Kong, as they stand today, are the two largest temples in the Pat Heung; given that temples in the area are used as meeting places to discuss village, as opposed to ancestral, matters, these temples symbolise the historical opposition of the Pat Heung to the Kam Tin Deng hegemony. Collecting these temples' divinities to attend the Kam

Tin jiao was one way of expressing who were the masters in the area.

It is possible to regard the rites of jinxiang, performed during the jiao, (that is, the ritual processions on the eighteenth and nineteenth days of the tenth lunar month) as a similar exercise. For these rites did involve worship in Kam Tin controlled areas: on the eighteenth day, the procession was through Kam Tin, and on the nineteenth, to Ying Lung Wai and Yuen Long. This may provide part of the explanation as to why the Ying Lung Wai and Yuen Long divinities were not collected; namely, that they would be visited in any case during the processional rites. The jinxiang rites are similar to those of the Collection and Sending Back of the jiao divinities in that they involve a "show of strength" of the Kam Tin Deng lineage; they are one way of expressing "face" in public. Yet these similarities mask the differences between the two sets of rites. The Collection and Sending Back of the Divinities involved the physical transference of divinities to Kam Tin to attend the jiao. This was certainly how informants saw the situation. In contrast, the processional rites involved the worship of divinities in their original setting. The former case reflects asserted control over an area; the latter, asserted force within an area.

However, there is another important sense in which the Collection and Sending Back of Divinities differ from the processional rites: namely, the question of the ancestral cult. The only ancestor to be collected was Deng Hongyi.. This is to be explained by his status as the exclusive founding ancestor of Kam Tin. In contrast, the processional rites through Kam Tin on the eighteenth day of the tenth lunar month involved worship by the Taoist priests and Ritual Leaders in all the ancestral halls in Kam Tin, as well as the other communal sites of worship. The Collection and Sending Back of Divinities stress the community aspects of social organisation, as opposed to the genealogical ones. This is shown by the gathering and sending back of divinities from village temples and shrines. In these latter rites, Deng

Hongyi was the only ancestor physically invited to attend the jiao, because he is the only ancestor to whom all the Deng subscribers to the jiao can lay claim; in this sense the presence of his ancestral tablet symbolises the unity of the descendant communities. In this case, a genealogical relationship, (given emphasis by the fact that the handler of the soul tablet during the jiao was the Head of the Clan (zuzhāng), the most senior man according to genealogical rules), was used to express the unity of the community.

In the case of the processional rites, however, the balance between the community and genealogical aspects of the ritual system was more even; or rather, the distinction between the two categories was temporarily suspended while the Taoist priests and accompanying Ritual Leaders went indiscriminately from ancestral hall to temple or shrine.

In sum, therefore, the rite of Sending Back the Divinities of the jiao, together with its precursor, the rite of Collection, provides important information about the nature of the lay belief-system underlying the Kam Tin jiao, and about the relationships between the political and ritual aspects of the culture. In doing so, these rites reflect the political boundaries of the area.

Chapter 9.Conclusion.

The preceding chapters of this thesis have set out the context, the organisation, and the ritual content of the 1975 jiao in Kam Tin. This concluding chapter will attempt to summarise the nature of this rite, bringing together certain themes which have been present throughout. The analysis of the nature of the Kam Tin jiao can be approached from two complementary perspectives: one is to assess the nature of the rite by comparing it with other rites which are similar, with the aim of delineating a set of rituals whose distinction is their jiao - like nature; the promise of this kind of analysis is that of finding the defining qualities of a jiao and therefore a standard by which to assess the 1975 Kam Tin performance. The second perspective is to take this performance on its own terms; that is, to analyse it, first, in terms of interpretations ascribed to it by the participants, and, then, to come to analytical conclusions based on these interpretations.

The first section of this concluding analysis will thus consider the Kam Tin jiao in the context of other performances. The examples which will be used are by no means exhaustive, but are intended to highlight the specific characteristics of the Kam Tin jiao. The major problem is whether the term jiao includes a definable set of religious observances.

The first example chosen is that of the Tai Hong Wai jiaozi. ⁽¹⁾ The Tai Hong Wai jiao takes place once every seven years. Basically a simplified version of the Kam Tin jiao, in recent years, presumably since 1951, the date of copying of the preparatory text, ⁽ⁱ⁾ it has even dispensed with puppet theatre. This Tai Hong Wai jiao relies on the same system of fixed payments as that of the Kam Tin jiao; there are those whose share is paid for by ancestral trusts and those who subscribe private money, if trust payments are

(i) Taikangwei qi nian yi jie taiping qingjiao zongbu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1951.

not sufficient. The participation in the jiao is limited to Tai Hong Wai/Tsuen and Tsz Tong Tsuen Deng village residents; Tsz Tong Tsuen is in any case as far as fourth fang members are concerned, an overflow from Tai Hong Wai; the communities being united to the extent that the present Tsz Tong Tsuen village Headman is a Tai Hong Wai man. The same system of payments seems also to have been true of the Kat Hing Wai jiao in the past.

In addition, the Tai Hong Wai jiao is administered entirely by Ritual Leaders (yuanshou) who compete for the position by casting blocks in the Village Shrine (shénting). The rituals last four days and nights and consist of the following ceremonies:

- Day 1. (1) Fetching Water (qushui).
(2) The Manifestation of the Texts (fa wenshu), equivalent to Flying the Texts (fei wenshu).
- Night 1. (1) Restricting the Altar (jintan).
(2) Playing with Fire (da hou).
- Day 2. (1) Welcoming the Scholars' Lists (yingbang).
(2) The composition of the Scholars' Lists (jiebang).
- Night 2. (1) Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng).
- Day 3. (1) Running with the Text of the Pardon (zuo sheshu).
- Night 3. (1) The Worship of Small Ghosts (ji xiaoyou).
- Day 4. (1) The Release of Life (fangsheng).
- Night 4. (1) The Worship of Great Ghosts (ji dayou).
(2) The Concluding Rite of Atonement (yuanchan).

In addition to these ceremonies, were the daily three rites of Audience and Atonement (san chao, san chan). The major omissions in the rites are the Worship of the Bushel and the Processions. Master Lin who has acted as gaogong

in the Tai Hong Wai jiao put this down to the necessity to reduce the number of ceremonies, as the jiao takes place over a shorter time period. Otherwise, as we have seen, there are few differences in the structure of the performance. (2)

The second example is that of the Tai Kong Po Yulanpen festival which I witnessed in 1975. The Committee was managed by Chaozhou immigrants, and according to its Chairman seemed to be a much more "ad hoc" affair than the Kam Tin jiao - there were no established Committee Members, though there was a Treasurer. The contribution rate was not fixed and anyone could voluntarily subscribe, though Chaozhou immigrants were sought after first. In 1975, the rites were performed by the core members of the Lin Daotang with the accompaniment of musicians; the rituals were as follows :

- Day 1. (1) Opening Up the Altar (kaitan).
- Day 2. (1) Three Rites of Audience and Atonement (san chao, san chan).
- Night 2. (1) The Worship of Small Ghosts (yetou xiaoyou) here defined as children.
- Day 3. (1) Single Rites of Audience and Atonement.
(2) The Worship of Large Ghosts (daren: adults).
(3) The Release of Life (fangsheng).

My third and final example is that of Ha Tsuen, another Deng lineage community to the west of Yuen Long. In the case of this jiao, although contributions are fixed, jiao committee membership and the Ritual Leadership are open to non-Deng residents in the area. The programme of jiao rituals for the 1964/65 and 1974/75 performances are taken from the books published by the jiao Associations responsible for these performances. ⁽ⁱ⁾ The rituals are set out below :

1964 - 1965

- Day 1. (1) Fetching Water and Purifying the Altar (qushui jingtian).
(2) Putting Up the Pole Banners (yangfan).
(3) Welcoming the Gods to the Altars (yingshendengtian).
(4) Opening the Ceremony (qitan).
- Day 2. (1) Three Rites of Audience and Atonement (written here as can).

(i) Ha Tsuen (1964?) and Ha Tsuen (1974?)

- Night 2. (1) The Worship of Small Ghosts (ji xiaoyou).
- Day 3. (1) Three Rites of Audience and Atonement.
(2) Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng)
(time unspecified).
- Day 4. (1) The Procession of Incense (jinxiang).
- Night 4. (1) Welcoming the Scholars' Lists (yingbang).
- Day 5. (1) Three Rites of Audience and Atonement.
(2) The Procession of Incense (II).
- Night 5. (1) The Worship of the Dipper (lidou).
- Day 6. (1) Three Rites of Audience and Atonement.
- Night 6. (1) The Proclamation of the Pardon (banshe).
(2) Releasing the Burning Mouths (fang yankou).
(3) Worship of the Small Ghosts (ji xiaoyou). (this
may be the same ceremony as (2) above, since
the term for (2) means to save ghosts).
(4) The Tearing Up of the Lists and the Transmission
of them through Purifying Fire (sixia mingbang
jinghuo fenhua)
- Day 7. (1) The Breaking of the Vegetarian Rules (sanzhai)
(involving worship with roast pigs).
(2) The Procession of Charms (xingfu, the same rite
as the Walking of the Charmed Duck in Kam Tin).

The Worship of the Small Ghosts during the night of the sixth day was possibly
a Worship of the Great Ghosts.

1974 - 1975

- Day 1. (1) The Worship of the Small Ghosts (ji xiaoyou)
in an ancestral hall.
- Day 2. (1) Welcoming the Divinities to the Altar
(yingshengdengtan).
(2) Fetching Water (qushui).
(3) Erecting the Banner Poles (shu fangan): leading
to the Worship of Divinities (can shen)
(4) The Opening of the Ceremonies (qitan), including
the Transmission of the Meritorious Official
(Gongcao).
- Day 3. (1) The Procession of Incense (xingxiang).
(2) In the evening: the Worship of Small Ghosts
(ji xiaoyou).

- Day 4.
- (1) The Procession of Incense (II).
 - (2) The Distribution of Uncooked Rice and Gifts (paifa baimi lishi).
 - (3) Playing With Fire (da huopen huoxi).
 - (4) Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng).
- Day 5.
- (1) In the evening: Welcoming the Scholars' Lists (yingbang).
- Day 6.
- (1) The Procession of Incense (III).
 - (2) In the evening: The Worship of the Dipper (lidou).
- Day 7.
- (1) The Proclamation of the Pardon (banshe) including the Worship of the Water Ghosts (ji shuiyou).
 - (2) Running the Texts (zou wenshu): equivalent to Flying the Texts.
 - (3) The Release of Life (fangsheng).
 - (4) The Worship of Great Ghosts on both Land and Water (shui lu ji dayou).
 - (5) The Burning of the Great Knight (hua Dashi).
- Day 8.
- (1) The Breaking of the Vegetarian Rules (sanzhai).

The texts from which these tables are compiled are open to question in that Mr. Zhang who participated in the 1964/65 Ha Tsuen jiao told me that the rites of Restricting the Altar (jintan) were also performed; though Zhang did not say so, this would have taken place on the first night according to Master Lin who was gaogong at this performance. In addition, the 1974/75 rites had three daily Rites of Audience and Atonement (san chao, san chan), as well as the rite of Walking the Charmed Duck (xingfuya) at the end of the ceremonies.

These examples have been chosen because they are all rites in places where the Lin Daotang, the troupe of Taoist priests conducting the rites of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, has performed. The 1974/75 performance at Ha Tsuen is added as a contrast with the rites that the Lin Daotang performed.

The first issue which these data help to emphasise is the ambiguity in the concept of the jiao. In the case of Kam Tin, most informants, whether Taoist priests or laymen, saw the rites of the jiao as a worship of both Yin (ghosts) and yang (divinities), contrasting this with the Yulanpen festival which was seen as concerned with the ghosts of people who have died without

reason (yiwai siwang): that is, those people who have died as a result of unnatural accidents. Some, however, saw the jiao as concerned with the same kinds of problems as the Yulanpen Festival. Now, from the information above, we can see that while the Tai Hong Wai rites omit the Processions of Incense and the Worship of the Dipper (Pole Star), both ceremonies involving worship of fang entities, this jiao still includes the rites of Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng); this is a major part of the worship of yang entities. The rites of Restricting the Altar are also maintained; these, as we have seen above, involve the purification of the ritual area by divinities; in other words, the expulsion of yin by yang forces.

In addition, in both the Ha Tsuen performances, the ritual balance between the worship of yin entities and the worship of Yang is maintained. Both sets of rites contain ceremonies relating to the salvation/placation of ghosts on the one hand, and the worship of divinities on the other.

The Yulanpen Festival in Tai Kong Po, in contrast, concentrates on those rites which are directed explicitly to the placation or salvation of the hungry ghosts: Rites of Atonement, Audiences, pudu ceremonies ("masses") for ghosts, and the ritual of the Release of Life. However, the community as in the jiao is morally corrected with the similar aim of dispelling the threat of the hungry ghosts. Moreover, for these Yulanpen ceremonies, there is no difference in the texts chanted from those of a jiao, according to the Taoists. The differences between a Yulanpen Festival and a jiao depend on what rites are performed. This means that Yulanpen rites, though distinguished from jiao ceremonies in the eyes of most informants, have a considerable overlap in terms of practice. In sum, a jiao is like a Yulanpen Festival in that the source of the ritual problem is the presence of malevolent ghosts; it is unlike a Yulanpen in that it is also an exercise, according to informants, in Thanking the Gods for their Benevolence (chou en).

This leads on to the second issue which is that the jiao can be seen to be

a specific composition of rites, some of which may be used in non-jiao contexts. We have already seen that this is true in the case of the canons of atonement (the Jade Emperor's Precious Announcement, Yuhuang baogao), the Audience chants, and the Canon of Almsgiving (pushi ke) which are used both in the Yulanpen and jiao rites performed by the Lin Daotang. However, it has also been seen that the Worship of the Dipper (lidou) takes place as a rite on its own during the first lunar month, and that the ceremony of Walking Through the Eight Gates (zou bamen) belongs to the context of dazhai ceremonies. Finally, we have seen that pudu ceremonies take place quite independently, using the same canons as for the jiao.

We see then that the textual and ritual structure of the jiao is divided between those rites which are specific to it (for example, the Welcoming of the Divinities), and those which are composites of rituals performed in other contexts as well; there is considerable overlap between yulanpen, dazhai, and jiao ceremonies. Moreover, the Taoist priests commented on the presence of both "pure" (qing) and "impure" (zhuo) elements in the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, thus indicating that the jiao was a composite of rituals to worship divinities and rites to expel evil.

In addition, however, among rites that are recognised as jiao by everyone - that is, excluding the Yulanpen Festival - there are variations. This is not surprising, for, as we have seen, the specification of the rites to be performed may be in the subscribing community's hands. This means that the individual preferences embodied in the tradition of a community may be responsible for the performance of certain rites, against the Taoist priests' intentions; for example, in the case of the rite of Walking Through the Eight Gates, discussed above.

Kam Tin could require that the rites laid down in the preparatory texts be performed, while Cheung Chau Islanders did not know what ceremonies were being conducted during the 1976 performance of their jiao. It seems that the degree to which the variation in performance between troupes of Taoists is influenced by the variation in the requirements of subscribing communities depends on the power structures of the area concerned. It seems that if the subscribing community is powerful in its own area (as was and is Kam Tin), then it is much more able to impose its will on the type of ceremonies conducted. One indication of this power is the ability to keep Outsiders (wairen) out of authority in the local community. At least as far as the jiao is concerned, Ha Tsuen has not been as successful as Kam Tin in this; during the 1974/75 Ha Tsuen jiao, the first Ritual Leader was a non-Deng, an impossibility in Kam Tin. This reduction in the exclusiveness may be one major reason why the order of the 1974/75 rites varied so greatly from those of 1964/65, even though the type of rites involved was largely the same. I would conjecture that the 1974/75 rites were much more subject to the wishes of the priests who were hired, than the ceremonies of the 1975 jiao in Kam Tin.

However, comparisons between the two performances of the Ha Tsuen jiao noted here and the Kam Tin jiao show that, apart from the order of the rites, there is no great difference in the ritual content. The chief omissions in the Ha Tsuen performances are the rites of Restricting the Altar (which in any case Mr. Zhang claimed was performed during the 1964/65 session), and the ceremony of Walking Through the Eight Gates (zou bamen).. In fact, the rites seem to be much more consistent within the boundaries of areas speaking common dialects, than they are across them. An example, in this context, is the rite of Suqi performed in Taiwan.

These rites, as we have seen in Chapter 7, are not performed in the New Territories, though the significant elements of the planting of the five bushels of rice are incorporated in the jintan ritual.

In addition, as far as organisation is concerned, neither the Kam Tin jiao nor the other New Territories jiao show that elaboration in nomenclature demonstrated by the Ritual Leaders of Taiwan, who are named after a Bushel Lantern (doudeng), bearing either the name of a god or a phrase indicating fortune or cooperation; these Ritual Leaders are responsible for the Bushel Lantern whose name they have taken. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ Clearly local customs within an area have some effect on variation in the types of jiao performed.

Another contrast between the Taiwan material and that from Hong Kong is that in Taiwan, the ceremonies tend to take place in a temple. ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ In Hong Kong, we have seen that this is not the case, and this is true even in the Cheung Chau jiao, organised by Hakka and Hoklo peoples as well as Cantonese. In the case of Kam Tin, the only rearrangement of the Governors' Temple was the introduction of special lanterns commemorating the two officials and the posting of charges (die) in the temple's kitchen.

To summarise: it has been shown that an important group of the rituals enacted during the performance of a jiao is not unique to this kind of ceremony; that there is some variation within local areas, even those dependent on the same lower-level market town, as the examples from Ha Tsuen and the Kam Tin area show; and that there is even more variation across provincial boundaries, which as far as ritual is concerned would seem to reflect either dialect differences ⁽³⁾ or regional customs.

It seems, however, that there is more unity in the descriptions of the purpose of a jiao than in the practices. Liu states that in present day Taiwan, the term

(i) Vide: Chapter 7, footnote 7.

(ii) Liu C-W. (1967), pp. 60-62.

(iii) Schipper (1975), p. 9.

"jiao" still refers to an elaborately ordered ceremony taking place in an area, in order to repay and thank the gods. Liu then continues by saying that according to the Taiwan custom, every place which is not at peace will plan to pray to the divinities and if the result is that the whole family is at peace, will carry out solemn ceremonies to thank the gods for their benevolence, and to beseech them for the fortune that is to come. (i) Li X. Z. notes that in Zhanghua in central Taiwan, the qingjiao which he studied took place as an act of thanking the gods for their protection from raging pestilence and drought. (ii)

These conceptions of the jiao are similar to those in the Hong Kong New Territories, where the phrase "Thanking (the Gods) for their Benevolence" (chou en) is manifested on the signboards and huapai set up for a jiao. Moreover, the commemorative text produced by the Ha Tsuen Jiao Association after the 1964/65 performance (iii) summarises attitudes common throughout the New Territories when it states that the taiping qingjiao which takes place once every ten years in the Ha Tsuen Xiang is a custom which has been passed down for over a hundred years, and that its underlying reason is to thank the gods for their benevolence to make requests to them for blessings, to protect so that property is plentiful and that the people are at peace, to destroy pestilence and dispel hardship, and to ensure fair weather and a plentiful harvest.

Nor is this conception of the jiao confined to Taiwan and certain areas of Guangdong Province. Chapter 71 of the Shuihu zhuan, a fourteenth century novel written by Shi Nai'an, and set in the Northern Provinces of Shandong, Hebei, Henan, and Jiangsu (iv) describes a jiao having purposes in many respects similar to the Kam Tin rites.

This text relates that Song Jiang - one of the heroes of the novel - said :

(i) Liu C.-W (1967), p. 101.

(ii) Li X. Z.: Daojiao jiaoyi de kaizhan yu xiandai de jiao in Chugoku Gakushi, Tokyo, 1968, p. 239.

(iii) Ha Tsuen (1964?): Xiacun Xiang jianjiao jingguo, by Deng Y.Z.

(iv) Shi N. A.: Shuihu, Peking, 1973, Vol. 1, p. 1.

"... [We] have killed, and yet have not been able to carry out sacrifices for exorcism or to offer thanks. In my heart of hearts I would like to make arrangements for a great heavenly jiao, to repay the benevolence of the divinities of heaven and earth who have shown concern for us, and protected us: first, to pray that they [the gods] may safeguard the brethren, giving us peace of mind; second, to express the wish that the Imperial Court will soon show an enlightened and benevolent attitude towards us, and that we may be pardoned with the result that we will avoid committing the great crime of rebelling against the Will of Heaven, and should, as a group, devote our energies without concern for ourselves to repaying our country with the utmost loyalty; and thus may it be until the point of death; third, that we may ascend and recommend that Chao tianwang may soon be born in the Realm of Heaven, so that every generation will come alive and be able to see each other once more. In this way, may we perform acts of salvation for those who have died in unexpected circumstances, those who have died in frightful circumstances, for example, those who have been roasted by flames, or drowned in water. Once we have dealt with those innocents who have suffered at the hands of others, all will attain the Way of Goodness." (i)

The Kam Tin jiao thus belongs to a set of ritual practices which are defined in terms of their purpose, rather than their content; though it is true that whatever the rites performed in a jiao, their contents will be directed towards the purposes just discussed. We have seen that in the case of the Kam Tin jiao, however, the origins of the performance are set in specific historical events, often given a mythological interpretation by participants. Consequently, in the case of this jiao, even the aims of thanking the gods and saving/placating ghosts are given a specific and unique context. By coordinating elements derived from both the genealogical and community aspects of Kam Tin social organisation, by placing these elements in the context of a uniquely defined version of aims shared with other jiao, the Kam Tin rites are able to achieve that renewal of the moral universe, that rectification of the inadequacies of everyday experience, which these practices alone can perform.

The second section of this concluding analysis will attempt to take the ritual of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao on its own terms. The preceding sections of this thesis have shown the divergences in the perspectives of the two major sets of participants: the subscribing community, and the Taoist priests hired

(i) Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 816.

to perform the rites. It has been shown that the primary mode of explanation of the Kam Tin jiao by the lay subscribers was in terms of the events associated with the migration inland at the beginning of the Kangxi Emperor's reign. It was seen how this form of explanation by origins was in turn represented in "orthodox" historical terms, on the one hand, and a "mythological" idiom, on the other; that is, an idiom changing documented historical events and/or having recourse to supernatural explanations. In contrast with this, it was shown that the group of hired Taoist priests, while acknowledging the role of the two Governors, in practice, barely paid any attention to them during the ritual, and then only during acts of worship in the Governors' Temple. We have also seen how the gods of the community, that is, the divinities invited to attend the jiao by the Ritual Leaders, barely overlap those of the Taoist priests; this is revealed by examination of the canons and other texts used during this jiao in 1975. It has been shown how this divergence in hierology has been maintained by the secrecy of the texts - lay Deng informants simply did not believe that I had been able to photocopy Master Lin's jiao Texts - and by the intonation patterns of the Taoist priests; this latter issue complicated by the presence of Taoist priests from a different County, that of Dongguan: these priests not only chanted certain characters in the canons according to the pronunciation of guanhua, but when speaking normally sometimes could not be understood by the locals.

As a result of all these factors, the intrinsic characteristics of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao depend on the different sets of explanations offered, on the one hand, by the laity, and, on the other hand, by the Taoist priests. It is possible to talk of the performance of the rites as a unification of two traditions. In fact, the preceding chapters of this thesis have shown that, pace the explanation by origins in terms of the circumstances of the migration, there were great gaps in articulation concerning the jiao on the part of the lay community. I was left with a very strong impression that the community in general, and the Ritual Leaders in particular, saw themselves as responsible

for the preparation and organisation of the event, while being dependent on the leadership of the Taoist priests when it came to the performance of the more complex rites. Sometimes, this attitude was expressed openly; one Ritual Leader told me that Ritual Leaders were like soldiers in that they lined up in rank order; it was clearly no more their responsibility to take the initiative in complex ritual matters, than it is for soldiers to override the wishes of their commanding officers. This recognition of a subsidiary role, together with the common acknowledgement by both lay subscribers and Taoist priests, of the division of jiao ritual knowledge into public and non-public sections (the latter including the specialised training of the Taoist priests), explains this lack of articulation. There were, it was true, literally one or two cases of lay participants who had a comprehensive idea of what the Taoists were performing. Yet even here, the exception proves the rule; the Deng with the greatest interest in and knowledge of the priests' rituals was nick-named "naam moh" by his friends as a well intentioned joke.

There are, however, other reasons explaining the lack of articulation by the lay participants concerning certain elements of the ritual performance. In general, the lay community was most articulate about rites which involved a substantial amount of specific preparation by the Jiao Association. This is plausible, for, as we have seen, the Jiao Association possessed preparatory texts which outlined the arrangements necessary for all the rituals of the jiao. This explains why many lay participants were able to give the gist of the rites of Welcoming the Divinities, Worship of the Bushel, the Processions of Incense, Fetching Water, and the Presentations of the Memorials; all these involved extensive preparations and, in the case of the first two ceremonies, special elaborate ritual objects (towers, star lanterns, and flags).

Furthermore, the lay community was articulate about ceremonies which took place after the period of abstention. In these rites, Taoist priests were either not involved (as in the case of Kam Tin and Ha Tsuen worshipping together in the

Governors' Temple on the Central Day of the jiao opera performances) or were minimally present in rituals of minimal elaboration (for example, a single Taoist purifying the Red Charms, or performing the Walking of the Charmed Duck).

In addition, the lay community was articulate about those rites for which it was exclusively responsible, whether belonging to the post-abstention phase or not; the rites of the Collection and Sending Back of the Divinities were performed without Taoist priests, and thus involved no explanations which were outside the knowledge of the Ritual Leaders.

Beyond this, the lay community understood the nature of rites which could be witnessed outside the performance of a jiao; such as the Worship of the Dipper and the ji xiaoyou and ji dayou "masses" for the dead which are elaborate versions of rites that are more frequently observed.

What is clear is that the lay community was articulate about those rites which either did not involve the Taoist priests at all, or which, if they did, nevertheless had a sufficient number of visual clues indicating the nature of the ceremony: ducks, flags, lanterns, and so on. These visual clues were, in any case, provided by the lay community, and recorded as necessary ritual articles in the preparatory texts in their possession.

Where the lay community was not articulate was in discussing those aspects of the jiao rites, in which there were no clear signs indicating the specific nature of the ceremonies. The chief example was the rite of Restricting the Altar which some Ritual Leaders did not acknowledge to have been performed during the jiao, failing to distinguish this ceremony from the Rites of Atonement in whose context it was performed. Furthermore, if the Ritual Leaders did acknowledge the performance of this ceremony, their discussions tended to concentrate on those aspects which were common to their normal (that is, extra-jiao) ritual system, for example, the rice bushels.

However, this was not the only rite which lacked full explanation; the same was true of the Rites of Audience and Atonement.

Although , for the most part, the nature of the altars (that is, the identity of the divinities on the altars) gave some indication of the nature of the rites conducted by the Taoists, there could be contradictory interpretations: the Ritual Leaders stated that the morning Audience rituals in front of the altar of Guanyin in the large matshed were an act of worship of Guanyin. In a sense, from their point of view, it clearly was so: the Ritual Leaders did perform the kowtow in front of the image of this particular deity. However, the lay community had no indication of the divinities addressed during the chanting of the Audience canon, the Jade Emperor's Precious Announcement, analysed above.

The real problem then is the one already reiterated in this chapter: the lack of access by the lay community, including the Ritual Leaders, to the sources of detailed explanation, the texts of the rites; access to the Restricting the Altar Canon (jintan ke), for example, would have provided detailed knowledge about the nature of this rite. Admittedly, prolonged friendship with a specific Taoist priest would provide knowledge, transmitted orally, about the content of the more esoteric rites. Yet, in the nature of things, such friendships are rarely formed. It is significant that those members of the laity who made such friendships and, from time to time, went with their priest friends to the tea house to discuss these and other matters, were amongst the most informed about the content of the rites.

These factors of dependence on a canonical tradition for detailed information and the necessity of prolonged friendship for insights into the significance of the Taoist's ritual actions suggest a number of other problems. The first is that there is no evidence to suggest that the canonical traditions of one group of Taoist priests hired for a particular performance of the jiao should be the same as those of another; this is an important point, since, we have seen above, the Taoists hired to perform a jiao can not only vary from community to community, but also from performance to performance. Hence, this analysis of the 1975

Kam Tin jiao which includes an exposition of the canons used by the Lin Daotang, in no way involves a full explanation of other performances (for example, that of the 1965) when different troupes of Taoist priests were hired.

In fact, when similar kinds of texts are used by different groups of Taoist priests for the same ritual, though the underlying themes are also similar, the actual content is not. The texts which the Taoist Mr. Deng who lives in Kam Tin's Kat Hing Wai used for the pudu ("Masses" for the dead) differ substantially in elaboration from those in the Lin Daotang.⁽ⁱ⁾ Yet, this was a Taoist who knew certain members of the Lin Daotang very well, and whose Master (shifu) had co-operated with this group in performing joint rituals. Another example is the type of Pole Star Canon used; I was told by a Dongguan Taoist performing in the 1975 Kam Tin jiao that Dongguan Taoists prefer to use the qingweidou Canon, as opposed to the dafandou prescribed by Master Lin.

However, the differences in texts are only one part of a greater problem: that of differences in performance in general. This is a result of the transmission of distinctive styles by a particular Master (shifu), and in many ways leads to inconsistencies in performance which are more obvious to the general public. This is so, because the inconsistencies can take place within the same performance, and are more noticeable as they are perceived visually - the oral information of the canons being obscured by the chantrhythms, the pronunciation, and the classical style of the texts themselves.

One example of such inconsistencies that I noted was the difference in performance styles between the Dongguan Taoist's original session of the Worship of Small Ghosts, and Master Lin's reperformance of the rite: the main difference here was the presence or absence of food throwing. In addition, the lay community was quick to comment on the (alleged) clumsiness of those Taoists who were not core members of the Lin Daotang; what it was recognising was a difference in style.

It could be argued that these differences are "surface" variations and

(i) Wen Daoguan bang shu, Manuscript, Kam Tin, n. d., pp. 21-35.

that the underlying themes and cosmology remain the same. It has been indicated that this is to some extent the case, though I would also argue that the importance of "surface" variation depends on the analytical issues at stake. We are without a ready yardstick enabling us to differentiate between the important and the inessential in a specific Taoist ritual, since the informants do not make such a distinction. Hence, the only fruitful method is to recognise the importance of both surface variation and underlying unity, by stating that sets of cosmologies shared by the Taoists are represented (enacted) in different ways.

Granted this, it is possible to go one stage further and argue that at a higher level of abstraction - that is, ignoring the specifically Taoist hierologies and concentrating on basic ideologies about the nature of Heaven and Hell - the lay community share the representations of the Taoist priests. At this level of generality, the argument is true; members of the lay community acknowledged supernatural representations in terms of celestial and infernal hierarchies, even if sometimes they themselves did not believe in them. They knew or were familiar with the basic idioms in which the totality of the cosmos was represented during the complex rites of the jiao: they knew about the Five Elements system and its correspondences, about the quadrants of space, about the arrangement of the celestial bodies, and so on; furthermore, if they were sometimes vague about the systems, it was not because this knowledge was not open to the public but withheld, but rather because they had not troubled to find out.

Yet, the factor of which the lay community was in most cases not aware was the articulation of these representations in the content of specific rituals.

It has been shown above that those limited cases of friendship between Taoist priests and members of the lay community resulted in a fuller understanding of the content of the priests' actions during the rites. Yet this ideological

"bridge" is ceasing to be a probability.

One reason for this is the increasing difficulty experienced by Taoist priests in obtaining pupils to work under them. None of Mr. Zhang's sons was following in his footsteps; the only son of Master Lin who tried to become a priest under his father, had given up, claiming that the work was too difficult. It is true that during the time I was in the field Master Lin had three pupils. Yet he himself contrasted this with a time when many would come to study under him. What evidence there is suggests that the increasing opportunities afforded by economic development have been successful in attracting potential pupils away: of the Taoist Mr. Zhang's sons, one was a restaurateur in Holland and the other an electrician in Shek Wu Hui; Master Lin's sons were mechanics. It may be that the relative stability of a wage income is more attractive than the piecemeal contracts given to a Taoist priest to perform rites. This is especially true for local Bao'an Taoists who cannot capture the more lucrative markets available to priests coming from non-local areas, namely, rites performed on behalf of people having the same non-local place of origin. What this amounts to is that there are strong grounds for assuming that the population of Taoist priests in the New Territories is on the decline. Therefore, the opportunities for contact between laity and the Taoist priests are diminishing.

However, the reasons for this are not narrowly economic. The discussion of the Kam Tin jiao's foundation has shown the presence of an underlying tension between "orthodox" and "mythological" explanations which is certainly not new. Although it was shown in Chapter 2 that the divergences in explanation were older than the relatively modern influences of Western education, it is possible to argue that the attitude towards the Taoist priests at present reflects something of these influences. It is difficult to assess whether in the last fifty years there has been any fundamental change in attitude towards the priests by people in the Hong Kong New Territories; however, what is easier to assess is the change in the manner of expression of such attitudes, and the

consequences of this. None of the young people (that is, those say under twenty-five years of age) whom I met in Kam Tin during my fieldwork took the Taoist priests seriously. My experience of other villages confirms this too. These young people regarded the Taoist priests as a kind of "mumbo-jumbo"-speaking man, at best a functionary necessary to perform certain traditional rites (funerals, dazhai, jiao, and so on), and at worst a "con-artist".

To some extent, admittedly, the explicit reasons for this were often founded in comparisons using education as a yardstick; thus, for example, my Deng landlord would compare the knowledge, skill, and literacy of a particular geomancer with the absence of these qualities among Taoist priests. There is nothing radically new in this type of criticism: education/scholarship is a traditional criterion in Chinese society for separating the plausible from the implausible; furthermore, the belief in the abilities of the geomancer implies an acceptance of the validity of those theoretical systems (yin-yang, Five Elements, Twenty-eight Stars, Spatial Quadrants) which inform the conceptional apparatus of both the geomancer and the Taoist priest, though it is true that in the case of the geomancer these systems may be framed in more abstract terms.

All this implies a continuity into the modern era of traditional values used in the assessment of the abilities and competence of ritual specialists. Yet criticisms voiced in Kam Tin went beyond this. Taoists, as we have seen, were responsible up to about thirty years ago for curing illness, not perceived as illness as such but as xie - evil, dirty, and unorthodox entities. In expelling these entities, the Taoists would burn charms (fu) and make a solution of the ashes with water. Similar practices occurred at the time of the Duanwu

Jie, or Dragon Boat Festival, as agents of xie expulsion. These practices no longer take place, although charms are still used in other contexts (for example, the rites of shangliang and the New Year preparations). Informants themselves supplied the reasons why this was so: it was a question of the comparative success rate of Western techniques in coping with disease. However,

this did not imply a unilateral acceptance of Western categories, for although conversation often mentioned weijun (bacteria; "germs"; microbes), the Four Humours and their mixtures were often used as explanations of illness and metabolic disorder. Furthermore, the herbalist in Kam Tin maintained a profitable business. Here then was a partial recognition of alternative systems of explanation introduced from an alien culture; a recognition which was concomitant with a retention of those categories from the indigenous culture whose validity is not in doubt ; predominantly because they can be translated into less overtly religious and more abstract categories.

In this process of conceptual transformation, the Taoist priest seems to have fared badly. The lack of confidence in him has become a question of self-confidence. The preceding chapters have shown Master Lin's lack of certainty about the truth of the hierologies of the Taoist priest, his doubts about the efficacy of the transmission of documents to celestial divinities, and his concern to emphasise the philosophical, as opposed to the more narrowly religious truths (in his discussion of the Ghost List (youbang)).

Moreover, Mr. Zhang, by the time of my fieldwork, considered himself incapable of curing all illness. He admitted, for example, that, while evil entities could harm a person's stomach, he would advise that person to see a doctor - formerly one of Chinese medicine, but now a Western one - first; if the doctor could provide no cure, he, as a Taoist priest, would consider the matter "strange" (qiguai), and attempt purification. This is no analytical mistake, no interpretation of instrumental activity in ritual performances whose content is really "expressive" of deeper symbolic meanings. What is occurring is a reduction in the explanatory universe of the Taoist priest, and the recognition of this process by the priest himself; in other words, his acknowledgement of sets of events which exist outside the cosmological

hierarchies predicted by his belief system, and which, by the attempt to explain things in terms of purely "natural" events, negate the premises on which that belief system is founded: the abolition of the distinction between the natural and the supernatural.

This chapter has so far shown the divergence that existed in the 1975 Kam Tin jiao between the explanatory systems of the Taoist priest and the layman. As the reasons for this divergence have been shown, it is possible, at this stage, to consider both the explanations and descriptions offered by the ritual specialists and the laity, and to come to an overriding assessment of this performance. This is perhaps done more easily by breaking up the subject matter into several themes.

The first of these is that this jiao was a recreation of structured order. There was order in the arrangement of the ritual area prior to the major sequence of rites. The main matshed was arranged in such a way that its divisions corresponded to the geographical location of the Divisions (gu) of the jiao organisation. The polarity between north and south, the main topological feature of Kam Tin considered as a xiang was thus replicated; this polarity was, furthermore, reproduced in the rearrangement of the main matshed for the operatic performances; the northern Divisions of Shui Tau and Shui Mei sitting on the north side of the main aisle, and the southern Divisions of Wing Lung, Tai Hong, and Kat Hing, on the southern side of the aisle.

In addition, we have noted that according to one set of interpretations, the Five Banner Poles (fangan) represented the five major Jiao Association Divisions, establishing a correspondence between the microcosm of the local village organisation and the macrocosm of the universe analysed in terms of the Five Elements system and its transformations.

We have also seen how the rites of the Worship of the Dipper, the Welcoming of the Divinities, and the Restriction of the Altar articulate a set of theoretical conceptions about the structure of the universe, with the performance of

ritual in a restricted area.

As far as the techniques of performance are concerned, it has been shown that apart from those specific elements which involve star patterns, or the exorcism of and placation of ghosts, the ritual sequences are based on the kowtow, the standard manner of paying respect to those who are senior, a rite also used in the Imperial bureaucracy.

Furthermore, it has been shown by examining the numbers of ritual foods used during the acts of worship how the internal relationships between the sequences of jiao rituals were set out, and how the divinities, within the context of this jiao, stood in clear, unambiguous relationships of importance to each other: hierarchies of importance in the cosmology being represented by numerical codes of ritual foods arranged in an ascending order. Foods ordered in "ones" or "twos" reserved for ordinary guardian gods (for example Tudi Gong) and ghosts; in "threes" for deities in relatively unimportant ritual contexts, such as subsidiary altars in the ritual area, as well as for all deities worshipped individually; in "threes and fives" for all deities whose worship takes place during rites of intermediate importance; and in "fives" for publicly worshipped divinities in important ritual contexts.

Finally, we have seen how in the Collection and Sending Back of the Divinities, the sites visited belonged to an area over which the Kam Tin Deng had made claims for political and economic control, although in the "real" world such claims were often bitterly contested.

All these points support the conclusion that the Kam Tin jiao is, to a great extent, the enactment of a set of models about an ordered "moral" world in which political and social relationships are clearly defined; in this sense, the Kam Tin jiao is a set of statements about how experience ought to be, about the true essence of human and social relations. So far, the analysis has been

directed to surpassing the informants' view of the situation, while at the same time using their categories as basic data. However, this notion of the enactment of a "moral" definition of relationships - a definition, not about how the world is, but about how it ought to be - is also borne out by informants' remarks. Deng informants remarked that the jiao was a time of unity of purpose (qiexin), a phrase which entails the absence of conflict, and implied that the jiao, like other festivals, was a time for positive qualities, when they said that it both was and should be gaoxing (normally translated as "jubilant") and renao ("full of heated fervour"); heat, fervour, and jubilation are in the yin-yang symbolic system, all yang, or positive, qualities.

The nature of this perfect, "moral" model is clearer when it is compared with "real" social relations in the area. The analysis in this thesis has shown that ambiguities and conflicts arise (arose) in the local area over three factors: first, over relationships between Kam Tin Deng and others, whether of a different surname or not. Second, over rivalries within Kam Tin social organisation, defined in genealogical terms: that is, rivalries between segments of the same lineage. Third, over the definition in community and geographical terms of what constitutes the Kam Tin Xiang; the primary problem here was the ambiguous status of Ying Lung Wai which, in a sense, belongs and yet does not belong to the Kam Tin Xiang. However, to these three factors can be added another: the question of economic conflict which is within the Kam Tin Deng lineage, and yet does not relate to any definitions of social organisation, whether genealogical or community based.

An example of this type of conflict is shown by a plaque set up in the Governors' Temple in 1777. This records how in 1776 conflict within the Kam Tin Deng lineage was resolved by recourse to the Office of the Governor (Xunfu Guangdongbuyuan). The conflict is described as one occurring in Xin'an County between landlords and tenants who were both Deng and the issue was over the size of the measure (dou) to be paid as rent for land owned within the

lineage and ploughed in the vicinity of Kam Tin and other areas.

This type of conflict still continues today; I was told of cases of tenants who did not pay their rent to their kinsmen landlords, and one case of a forceful prevention of land resumption by the landlord. It is, in fact, a form of conflict which is difficult to relate to the segmentary organisation of the lineage, the distinction between richer and poorer divisions. However, at the same time, this form of conflict goes against the current norm of harmony in the locally expressed ideal of an undivided family.

Such conflicts and ambiguities in the social system may be seen as an indication of a system which is out of order. This is so either because mutually established rules of conduct and norms about right behaviour between people are not recognised and flouted, or because one party's view of social relations is not accepted by others; this last point is true in cases of contested landlord-tenant relationships.

The performance of actual conduct in the real world does not match the programme of ideal relationships. What the jiao does is to re-enact the programme of ideal relationships among men and between men and the supernatural, as a ritual drama; it does so according to a system of rules which is the very epitome of an ordered society, that entailed by an etiquette formerly shared with the Imperial Court and bureaucracy. This is a system, moreover, which gains reaffirmation in the community by its continual presence in the media; popular films about bygone days, Court dramas on television, serials about the Song dynasty official Bao Gong and so on. It could be argued that by relegating this world to that of entertainment, the media have exaggerated the contrast between the real "untidy" world and the world of bygone eras.

It seems that this lack of fit between programme and performance provides the setting for the aims of the jiao and its explanation. We have seen throughout the preceding analysis that the jiao is not only an act of worshipping divinities, of thanking them for past benefits and requesting

future ones, but also an act of propitiation and/or salvation of ghosts; the description of the rites by both Taoist priests and laymen stressing propitiation, the texts emphasising salvation. We have seen that in the local view, and in the content of the texts used during the 1975 jiao, these rites were not addressed to all kinds of ghosts, but only to the hungry ones; the ghosts who threatened well-being either in a material or physical sense in the community of the living. Yet, who are these hungry ghosts? The analysis in previous chapters has shown that as far as the texts are concerned (in particular the Canon of Almsgiving (pushi ke)) these are marginal beings. First, they die in circumstances which are abnormal in the sense that they are out of the "proper" experience of mankind; "proper" is used here deliberately to imply a confusion of statistical information and ethical considerations. The list of events in the text describe these people as dying in foreign lands, and on the margins of the city; as victims of poverty and cold and of fierce animals; as plunderers and violent people. Though the texts are addressed to the transient nature of life in general (viz. the ghost list (youbang)), it is these kinds of deaths which are singled out for special description.

In the lay (Deng) view - which is common throughout the area and shared by both Buddhist and Taoist religious specialists - apart from road accidents, the two major sources of hungry ghosts are warfare and the failure properly to perform ancestral rites. As shown above, the Tongfu Tang, Buddhist convent, was built as a means of controlling the revengeful nature of the ghosts of people who died in warfare with the British and were buried nearby. However, in addition to this, when I asked who were the ghosts worshipped during the ji xiaoyou and ji dayou ceremonies of the jiao, I was told that there had been a lot of slaughter during the Japanese occupation. This category of ghosts comprises beings who have been the victims of warfare, of conflict, in fact of the disruption of smooth relationships within an ordered society. (4)

The second category (that of uncared-for ancestors) comprises beings who

become hungry because they are not provided with food or money by their descendants. They become the beggars of the underworld. This transformation from cared-for ancestor to uncared-for hungry ghost implies a transformation from structured and ritualised relationships to unstructured ones. This is because rites of ancestral worship are a continuation of family relationships of authority beyond the grave: the living make obeisance to their dead seniors, just as the living should ideally respect those among them who are senior in generation. Moreover, both tomb stones and ancestral tablets whether in the home or the hall are a genealogical map of such relationships since the generation levels of the ancestors concerned are specified. ⁽⁵⁾ Furthermore, this genealogical map includes the living, not merely through rites of worship, but also because the specification of generation depth whether for the living or the dead is always in terms of a founding ancestor. The only distinction in this scheme between the living and the dead is that the term for "generation" when talking about the dead is shi, and chuan when discussing the living. Since in this context, ancestor worship is not so much the "ritualisation of kinship", as some have argued, but kinship itself, an attempt to cross over the divide between the living and the dead, failure to worship ancestors results in a breakdown of kinship relationships which are positively valued according to the ethics of filial piety.

We have thus seen that the ghosts with which this jiao was concerned were creatures who are the consequences of the breakdown of the moral fibre of the community: they are the result of social performance, which is seen to be inadequate when measured against ideal models. The ghosts are manifestations of an anti-world opposed to normal experience in a world of proper relationships; because of this, the hungry ghosts are so dangerous that women refer to them as pusa (Bodhisattvas) a term used interchangeably with shen in the local context. This naming of hungry ghosts as pusa may be seen as an attempt to reduce the danger by putting them into a category of ordered predictable beings, namely

divinities.

The anti-world of the hungry ghosts is symbolised in the Worship of Small Ghosts by the black clothing of the Taoists (this being equivalent to white, the funerary colour, in the world beneath); by the acts of throwing food at the malevolent ghosts, in marked contrast with the ordered rites of the structured ancestors. (6)

The origins of the Kam Tin jiao and its foundation after the migration, a time of brigandry, of suicide, and of poverty and starvation, fit into this description with great ease. The hardships suffered during the time of migration correspond to the hardships suffered before death by tormented hungry ghosts in the underworld. Furthermore, while the Taoist texts relate the existence of such beings to the commission of immoral acts (i), the plaque commemorating the rebuilding of the Governors' Temple in 1745 implies that the hardships suffered during the migration were due to the breakdown of relations in the community. It states that father must teach son and elder brother younger brother telling them about the toils of farming, informing them about the difficulties of preserving the heritage of the ancestors, that a man's children and his younger brothers may be of firm intention and know instruction in all subjects. The text then goes on to narrate that by doing all this there will be peace in farming and that by reading the heavenly canons, one finds that they say that if people work then there will be goodness and understanding, but if they abandon this then goodness will be forgotten. The passage states that before this desolation [presumably referring to the Migration] existed, it is certain that clansmen plotted discord.

This text was read out to me by a Ritual Leader who emphasised its nature as a homily intended to correct the source of the problem resulting in migration, that is both intra- and extra-community strife. The text is of interest because it argues that by education within the proper relationships of authority in the kin group such events will not occur again. Hardship is seen as a consequence

(i) for example: Dao'antang pushi ke, Manuscript, Shenzhen, 1917, passim.

of the non-observance of such authority patterns, a non-observance which is directly linked with luan, or discord; furthermore, the term "discord" here (luan) also means disorder, or chaos.

It is now possible to synthesise the separate elements. The underlying ritual problem to be coped with in the Kam Tin jiao is disorder; that is, the breakdown into disorder of events structured according to certain model patterns. With the breakdown of these patterns, beings belonging to non-order, or anti-order emerge (ghosts and brigands) - the breakdown of order involves the breakdown of life expectations: the destruction of the "full sail following the wind" mentioned in the footnotes.⁽ⁱ⁾ It is now plausible to argue that this lack of fit between the performance of experienced events and the programme of moral life is responsible for so much of the concern with pollution in the rites of the jiao. (7)

The pollution with which the jiao is so concerned is an infringement of structured relations. In fact, the notion of "structure" here conforms very much to the conceptual idiom of the jiao; the rites have to be renewed at specific times (once every ten years) for if they are not, according to informants, heavenly pestilence (tianzai huanhuo) will result, causing damage in any possible number of ways; moreover, the rites themselves involve the structuring of ritual space as this chapter has already shown.

We have seen earlier in this thesis that the jiao is a service of renewal. It is now possible to extend this argument, and interpret the jiao as a rite of renewal through redefinition.⁽⁸⁾ It was a time for the resolution of ambiguity. As we have seen in the analysis of the ritual in preceding chapters, it is only when this ambiguity (translated into ritual terms, and transformed into hungry ghosts) has been resolved and reordered, that the gods, the representatives of supernatural order, can guarantee those positive expectations of a "smooth" life: fortune, position, and prosperity.

(i) Vide: Chapter 9, footnote 4.

Appendix 1.The Governors Associations (Xunfuhui).

The Nineteenth Day Association (Shijiuhui) was founded by Kam Tin Deng in 1784, and ten years later had amassed over a hundred shi of land. The Association organisation operates on a lunzhi system, whereby each of the four Divisions (gu), the Kat Hing, the Pak Wai, the Tai Hong, and the Wing Lung, take it in turns, in strict order of rotation, to make the arrangements for the ritual. There are a total of forty-eight shares (fen), originally divided up equally among the four Divisions, but by 1962 (the time of compilation of the Kat Hing (Wai) Division texts) ⁽ⁱ⁾ Kat Hing Wai had ten shares, two having been sold to Wing Lung Wai; Pak Wai Tsuen had fourteen, Tai Hong Wai eleven, and Wing Lung Wai thirteen (the text says that Pak Wai (Tsuen) had fifteen shares, but the extra share is not registered under the alleged new owner's name in any of the lists relating to other Divisions). According to the text, the head of each Division (zhuhui) has to ensure that each of his Division's shareholders receives one and a half catties of raw meat from the finances. In addition, two hundred dollars are set aside for the annual rites. These outlays are met from the land rents. In recent years, the person with the largest number of shares has acted as the Treasurer (shousi).

This Association's membership is limited to Kam Tin Deng, and is an inter-village affair, as the names of the Divisions imply.

The Twenty-first Day Association (Ershiyihui) was the name given to the Association which worships in the Governors' Temple on the twenty-first day of the fifth lunar month. This Association's foundation date is uncertain

(i) Zhou Wang Er Gonghui jipin yishi ji luolun zu gu ce, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1962.

(the Association's preparatory text ⁽ⁱ⁾ does not give any foundation date). The Association consists of twenty-one members, a number which according to the present Treasurer (shousi) is significant because it coincides with the date of worship. The number of shares cannot be increased, though shares may be sold amongst Kam Tin Deng. Unlike the Nineteenth Day Association, there is no Division (gu) system; nor is there a system of lunzhi, or circulating responsibility. The inter-village ties are thus dependent not on formal organisation, but on the composition of shareholders at any one time. At present, Shui Mei Tsuen, Shui Tau Tsuen, Kat Hing Wai, and Tsz Tong Tsuen Deng have shares.

Members of both these Associations vie with each other, each claiming that the Association to which they belong is the older, and asserting that it was founded in the Kangxi Emperor's reign. The members of each Association refer to their own as the Old Association (Jiuhui), and the other as the New Association (Xinhui). Some members from each Association claim that they worship on the birthday of Viceroy Zhou, while the other Association worships on that of Governor Wang. This is another indication of the contest for superior status.

The third Association - that which is exclusive to Kat Hing Wai - consists of six shares. The number of shares was fixed, I was told, because the pronunciation of "six" in Cantonese (luk) rhymes with "luk" meaning harmony. The character given, however, is pronounced muk in Cantonese. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ Of these six shares, three are held by one man, the other shareholders having one share each. The date of foundation of this Association is uncertain, though informants asserted that it was the youngest of the three Associations.

(i) Zhou Wang Er Gonghui, Manuscript, Kam Tin, 1928.

(ii) B. Meyer and T. Wempe: A Student's Cantonese-English Dictionary, Maryknoll, 1947, p. 402, s.v. muk.

All three Associations were founded by subscription. This involved giving money to buy land, or giving land itself.

Appendix 2.A Jiao Association Meeting.

The following meeting took place in the Governors' Temple (Zhou Wang Er Gong Shuyuan) on September 28th, 1975. The meeting was conducted in the fore-court of the Temple, in the middle of which was placed a table. At this table, sat the more important members of the Association; these included the Chairman, the Treasurer, the Secretariat members, and the top five Ritual Leaders (Yuanshou) (with the exception of the first); the Clerk of the Association who was also the Clerk (shuji) of the Rural Committee attended this meeting. The first Ritual Leader showed his rejection of the Committee leadership by sitting with the not so important Committee Members and Ritual Leaders by the walls of the Temple.

The first major issue was that of money. The Deng who was the most important Committee Member in the Secretariat, a young man who was a school teacher and now Headmaster of the local primary school, was responsible for stating the topics for discussion. He did this after the Chairman had opened the meeting. This Secretary stated that only a third of the money due had come through, and read off a list of ancestral trusts which had not yet paid money to the Jiao Association. He stated that the meeting had to settle a date, sometime during the following month, by which all the money had to be collected. This brought an angry reaction from the third Ritual Leader who was one of the representatives of the Tai Hong Division (gu), and a fourth fang descendant. This Ritual Leader argued that there was no need for such speed, and more time was required. Many of the others, including prominent first fang members disagreed with this; to which the third Ritual Leader remonstrated in an even stronger voice. One of the other Ritual Leaders then replied angrily: "If we want money from you we'll know to come and visit you and Mr. - [a Shui Tau Tsuen Deng who had opposed the jiao]". The third Ritual Leader, however, replied to this angrily, which resulted

in a number of people trying to calm the situation by saying, "it's not important."

The issue was solved by the intervention of the Head of the Clan (zuzhang) who attempted with some success to impose order on the meeting. He stated that the jiao was to commemorate the two Governors Zhou and Wang and that everyone knew that the Jiao Association had to pay money for the performances of the Taoist priests, the paper work, and the matshed; and so if the Ritual Leaders collected the money, the matter would be solved.

The Secretary then encouraged each Division's Ritual Leaders to collect the money as soon as possible. The Ritual Leaders were also made responsible for the arrangement of their own village's lanterns; in this context, the Secretary explained that each village had so many families (jia) that it would be better done this way. In the course of the discussion, it was disclosed that the gates of the jiao ritual area would be met out of the individual contribution of an ancestral trust.

While financial matters were being discussed, the Secretary raised the question of financing the jiao opera. As a result, the first Ritual Leader stated that the first fang could well afford to pay up the money for the opera at the end of the performance of the jiao, but the fourth fang, of which he was a member, could not. This was in opposition to the statements put forward at the table in the centre. However, when the first Ritual Leader talked with the Head of the Clan (zuzhang), his tone was more moderate. The first Ritual Leader's remaining arguments were as follows: that financial matters relating to the jiao opera should be discussed at the time of the operatic performances, as they had nothing to do with the jiao as such. To this, the Head of the Clan (zuzhang) replied that the opera was put on after the jiao for "the mutual enjoyment of both gods and men" (shen-ren tongle), and because the jiao was performed only once every ten years, the opera should be extra-special.

The second major problem was that of the invitations to the people attending

the Opening Ceremonies of the jiao. The meeting argued strongly about this, and the Secretary then added that they could invite Queen Elizabeth II if they wanted to; this provoked laughter. However, there were angry exchanges about who was to invite whom and why. The fourth Ritual Leader, the Village Headman of Shui Mei Tsuen, and an opponent of the Secretary, stated that if the Secretary invited guests on an individual basis he would not object, but if the Secretary individually invited guests on behalf of the public (gongjia) then the Jiao Association would be against this. At this point, the Head of the Clan (zuzhang) stepped in stating that the Committee ought to invite some Elders from Ha Tsuen, since during the previous Ha Tsuen Jiao some Elders from Kam Tin had been invited. The Head of the Clan felt that the favour ought to be returned, and added that the jiao was a public (gongjia) affair, so guests were to be invited and people were to be free to come.

The third major problem was the issue of car-parking during the course of the jiao; this and the possibility of suspending bus stops were discussed. The Secretary said that the Vice-Chairmen of the Jiao Association would be responsible for this. One of the Committee Members, a Village Headman from Tai Hong Wai, protested vehemently against this, saying that these people had no rights as far as Tai Hong Wai was concerned. The Secretary then agreed that, outside the boundaries of Tai Hong Wai, the Vice-Chairmen would be responsible for seeing that cars were parked properly.

The remaining topics for discussion concerned rather less heated issues, such as the type of water taps and cocks necessary for an adequate water supply in the ritual area during the time of the jiao. The meeting ended after about two and a half hours, when the Chairman had surmised that all the topics had been fully discussed; otherwise, he did not intervene in the proceedings.

This meeting shows the importance of factional disputes in Kam Tin society. First, disputes take place between segments of the lineage (principally, the first and fourth fang). Secondly there are disputes between members of

different factions founded not on lineage segmentation, but on the personalities of their leaders, and sometimes, close kinship ties. To this latter category belongs the opposition between the fourth Ritual Leader, a supporter of the faction of the Chairman of the Rural Committee, and the Secretary of the Jiao Association meeting, a person who co-operated closely with the Rural Committee Chairman's half-brother who was the Chairman of the Jiao Association. Moreover, the first Ritual Leader was a member of the faction whose leader was then one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Kam Tin Rural Committee (and since 1976, the Chairman of that Committee); he was, in fact, this faction leader's *laobiao*, a term applied to a man who has married the sister of one's wife. The faction of the then Vice-Chairman of the Kam Tin Rural Committee was opposed to that of the Chairman of the Jiao Association; this explains the behaviour of the first Ritual Leader. However, part of his action is also to be explained by his opposition, as a fourth *fang* Man, to first *fang* control by the Chairman of the Jiao Association, the Secretary, and the Head of the Clan), and also as a Shui Tau Tsuen man to control by Kam Tin "southerners" - the Chairman, the Secretary and the Head of the Clan were, in fact, all from villages on the south side. Such grounds for opposition were later expressed in public in a coffee shop in Shui Tau Tsuen.

It is important to note as well that the prominence of the Head of the Clan (*zuzhang*) contrasts with other ethnographies of Cantonese lineages in the New Territories; H.D.R. Baker, for example, in a study of Sheung Shui argues for a relative lack of authority to make decisions, in the case of the Head of the Clan (*zuzhang*).⁽ⁱ⁾ It could be that the position of the Kam Tin Head of the Clan results from respect given to him on account of his relative wealth; yet it should not be ignored that the man has a forceful personality, and, by the time of the meeting, had been performing the role of Head of the Clan for forty-four years, ample time in which to build up a base for his authority.

(i) H.D.R. Baker; A Chinese lineage village: Sheung Shui, London, 1968, pp. 146-152.

Appendix 3

Membership of the Jiao Association

All members were Kam Tin Deng. Therefore, I have given the initials corresponding to their names, in order to guard their anonymity. The categories listed follow the order given by the Jiao Association.

(a) Heads of the Committee (huizhang)

(1) Y.S. An elder who is Head of the Clan (zuzhang); a Wing Lung Wai man who was very wealthy. Of his sons, one is a British trained doctor, and another is a chemist.

(2) X.G. An elder and fangzhang of the fourth fang; a very poor man from Tsz Tong Tsuen who was living on social welfare when I was in the field, in spite of the fact that the fang of which he was the head was very wealthy. X.G. was the thirtieth Ritual Leader in the 1975 jiao.

(3) J.T. A head of a lineage segment (jiazhang) and a resident of Kat Hing Wai. His eldest son works in London where he runs a restaurant. J.T. is not a poor man since he derives his income from ancestral trust payments and remittances from England. J.T. was the seventh Ritual Leader in the 1975 jiao.

(4) C.D. An elder from Shui Tau Tsuen. A wealthy man now owning two houses. His son used to be a matelot, but now owns fish ponds and runs a minibus between Yuen Long and Sheung Shui. They both are supporters of the Peking government. C.D. was the twenty second Ritual Leader in the 1975 jiao.

(5) Y.Y. An elder from Ying Lung Wai. Y.Y. was a farmer, but has since retired. He is still a wealthy landlord. His son is Secretary of the Mung Yeung primary school in Kam Tin. They are both supporters of the Guomindang (the Nationalist party, now based in Taiwan). Y.Y. was the tenth Ritual Leader in the 1975 Kam Tin jiao.

(6) L.Z. An elder from Shui Tau Tsuen who is also a jiazhang of one of the segments of the fourth fang. The second oldest man in Kam Tin, he is extremely

wealthy and well respected. L.Z. was the fifty seventh Ritual Leader in the 1975 jiao.

(7) Y.T. An elder from Shui Mei Tsuen who is a farmer.

(8) Z.L. An elder from Tai Hong Wai. An owner of property including a new house outside the walls of Tai Hong Wai, he is also that village's headman (cunzhang). His eldest son works for the Agriculture and Fisheries Department of the Hong Kong Government.

(9) H.Q. An elder from Kam Hing Wai who is also that village's headman (cunzhang). He is a very wealthy man who owns much land. His eldest son works in W. Germany.

(10) K.Z. An elder from Ying Lung Wai who was also the third fang fangzhang until his death in 1976. K.Z. was a very wealthy man whose only son was a graduate of the Chinese University in Hong Kong. K.Z.'s son now works for the British Oxygen Company in Kowloon. K.Z. was the fifteenth Ritual Leader in the 1975 jiao.

(11) C.Z. An elder from Kat Hing Wai and one of that village's headman (cunzhang). C.Z. is by local standards an extremely wealthy man, who was the first Ritual Leader in the 1965 Kam Tin jiao. C.Z. is a Vice-chairman of the Kam Tin Rural Committee and also a jiazhang of a first fang segment. He has two wives, but his first wife now lives in Yuen Long. He has three sons, the eldest of whom was a graduate in Chinese from the Chinese University in Hong Kong, and now is Head of the Chinese Department in a Hong Kong government secondary school in Yuen Long; the second son, a retired matelot, is already a wealthy landlord, owning land, houses, and a bar in Kam Tin; the third son, the eldest son by the second wife, now works in a restaurant in the Netherlands.

(12) Z.L. An elder from Tai Hong Wai and one of that village's headman (cunzhang). Z.L. was, at the time of the Kam Tin jiao, the Vice-chairman of the Rural Committee, and has since become that committee's Chairman. Z.L. is a prominent local faction leader. Originally a clerk in the Agriculture and

Fisheries Department of the Hong Kong government, Z.L. has since become an extremely rich man, owning a new house outside the walls of Tai Hong Wai, and the Kam Tin Cinema. Z.L.'s wealth is partly explained by the fact that he is a manager (sili) of the Deng Wenwei ancestral trust which, over the last decade, has become very wealthy through the sale of ancestral land to the Yuen Long developers. Z.L. is also a Director of the local Pok Oi Hospital situated at Au Tau (between Kam Tin and Yuen Long; see Map 2).

(13) Q.X. An elder from Tsz Tong Tsuen who now lives in Yuen Long. He is the half-brother of Y.Q. (vide infra). An extremely wealthy man who owns tea-houses and a cinema in Yuen Long, he is reputed to be a sterling millionaire. He is a former Chairman of the New Territories council, the Heung Yee Kuk, and is a prominent local faction leader, and also was the fortieth Ritual Leader in the 1975 jiao.

(14) Z.S. A Shui Mei Tsuen elder who is relatively wealthy, though he has now retired from farming.

(15) Y.Q. Younger half-brother of Q.X. (q.v.: Heads of Committee (xiii)). An extremely wealthy man who now lives with his wife in fashionable Waterloo Road, in Kowloon Tong (in Kowloon); Y.Q., a man in his fifties, owns a network of service stations and runs an import-export business. Himself educated in England, Y.Q. had, at the time of the 1975 jiao, a son at Manchester University. At the time of the 1975 jiao, Y.Q. was Chairman of the Kam Tin Rural Committee, but retired in 1976. In the same year, he was made a J.P., and still continues to be a prominent local faction leader. He is not on speaking terms with Q.X., since both are sons of Deng B.Q. who was given a knighthood for his role as a local leader (in the 1920s and 1930s). Y.Q. is the son of Deng B.Q. by a favourite concubine, whereas Q.X. is the son of Deng B.Q.'s first wife. Q.X. claims that Y.Q. inherited wealth from his father which was not rightfully his.

(16) Y.H. A young man in his thirties who was the Ko Po Tsuen Village headman (cunzhang) up till 1970, when the position of Ko Po Tsuen Village

headman was suspended by the local District Officer. Y.H. still seems to represent his village in an unofficial way in local affairs. Y.H. is, by local standards, a wealthy man, largely the result of an inheritance from his deceased father. He owns a new house in Ko Po Tsuen, and was, at the time of the 1975 jiao, the physical education teacher at the Mung Yeung primary school in Kam Tin. In 1975, he acted as the Jiao Association's Secretary, and in 1976 became Headmaster of the Mung Yeung school.

(b) Chairman (zhuxi)

(1) Q.X. (vide supra: Heads of the Committee (13)).

(c) Vice-chairmen (fuzhuxi)

(1) B.R. A wealthy Wing Lung Wai man in his fifties who is Chairman of the Kam Tin Residents Association, a pro-Taiwan rival to the Hong Kong government sponsored Kam Tin Rural Committee. B.R. owns a beancurd factory situated between Yuen Long and Pin Shan (see Map 2), and is fervently pro-Guomindang.

(2) H.G. An elder who lives outside the walls of Tai Hong Wai and who is the Village Headman (cunzhang) of Tsz Tong Tsuen. During the 1975 jiao, H.G. was the third Ritual Leader (yuanshou).

(3) Q.H. A young man in his thirties; eldest son of C.Z. (q.v.: Heads of the Committee (11)); and a graduate of the Chinese University in Hong Kong, Q.H. is a government employee since he is head of the Chinese department at a Yuen Long secondary school. He lives in government quarters in Au Tau with his wife and two sons. He is a much travelled man.

(4) Y.N. An elder from Shui Tau Tsuen. Y.N. now a man in his seventies is a former manager (sili) of the Deng Zhijiatang ancestral trust. Y.N. had been a Shui Tau Tsuen Village Headman (cunzhang) until 1970. He was a highly literate man who enjoyed quoting the classics. Y.N. was eleventh Ritual Leader in the 1975 jiao.

(5) T.Q. An elder in his seventies. He was, at the time of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, one of the managers (sili) of the ancestral trust of Deng Qingle.

He is the Shui Mei Tsuen Village Headman (cunzhang) and was fourth Ritual Leader (yuanshou) during the 1975 Kam Tin jiao. He has two sons, one of whom, like he himself, is a farmer, the other is an ambulance driver in Yuen Long.

(6) C.Z. A man in his late thirties who is from Ko Po Tsuen. He is a policeman.

In addition, the top five Ritual Leaders (yuanshou) were also Vice-chairmen.

(d) Ritual Leaders (yuanshou)

(1) Z.Y. A man in his fifties from Shui Tau Tsuen. Not a particularly wealthy farmer, he has two sons who work in the restaurant trade in the Netherlands. He is the WZH (laobiao) of Z.L., the 1976 Rural Committee Chairman, (vide supra: Heads of the Committee (12)), and a member of that man's faction.

(2) Y.Z. A Kat Hing Wai elder who is not wealthy.

(3) H.G. Vide supra: Vice-chairmen (2).

(4) T.Q. Vide supra: Vice-chairmen (5).

(5) Z.G. yBS of Y.S. (vide supra: Heads of the Committee (1)). Y.S. was selected during the block-throwing contest, but refused the role of Ritual Leader (yuanshou) passing it over to his yBS. When Y.S. was later hospitalised for gastric problems, this was taken as retribution from the gods for not accepting the role of yuanshou which they had ordained for him. Z.G. owns land and a small company which supplies construction material.

(6) S.B. A young man from Tai Hong Wai who is not prominent in local affairs.

(7) J.T. Vice supra: Heads of the Committee (3).

(8) Y.X. A poor retired farmer from Shui Tau Tsuen.

(9) J.C. An elder belonging to the Shui Mei Division, but the head of a first fang segment now living in the Ping Shan area.

(10) Y.Y. Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (5).

(11) Y.N. Vide supra: Vice-chairmen (4).

- (12) X.L. A young unmarried man from Tai Hong Wai.
- (13) L.Q. A retired farmer and part-time Taoist priest from Kat Hing Wai. He is not a wealthy man. Further details are given, in Chapter 4, footnote 2, where L.Q. is referred to as 'Mr. Deng'.
- (14) S.D. A man from Shui Mei Tsuen who owns a lorry and undertakes road haulage.
- (15) K.Z. Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (10).
- (16) W.Y. A wealthy elder, who still owns land and houses, from Tai Hong Wai. He is a retired farmer.
- (17) G.X. An elder from Shui Mei Tsuen who is a retired farmer.
- (18) W.X. A young married man from Tai Hong Wai.
- (19) K.T. A farmer in his forties from Shui Mei Tsuen. He is not prominent in local affairs.
- (20) G.J. A farmer from Shui Mei Tsuen who is not prominent in local affairs.
- (21) R.T. The jiazhang of a fourth fang segment who lives in Shui Tau Tsuen. R.T. is probably the most committed member of the local Communist association. He denounced the jiao as a superstitious performance wasting funds that could be put to better use in the community. He delayed payment of his Pillar's contribution for as long as possible.
- (22) C.D. Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (4)
- (23) J.X. A jiazhang from Kat Hing Wai.
- (24) J.N. A married man from Shui Tau Tsuen.
- (25) B.Y. A man in his early forties who, at the time of the jiao, was one of the two Kat Hing Wai Village Headman (cunzhang). He is wealthy and owns land and fish ponds.
- (26) S.P. A young married man from Shui Tau Tsuen who is not particularly prominent in local affairs.

- (27) S.K. A retired farmer from Shui Tau Tsuen. An elder of moderate means who possesses fish ponds.
- (28) Z.C. A farmer from Tai Hong Wai.
- (29) S.T. A farmer from Shui Mei Tsuen.
- (30) X.G. Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (2).
- (31) C.Y. A farmer in his forties from Kat Hing Wai. He is not prominent in local affairs.
- (32) Z.Q. A man from Ko Po Tsuen who, at the time of the 1975 jiao, worked at the military camp at Shek Kong. In 1968, he was a Ko Po Village Headman (cunzhang).
- (33) W.X. A fishpond owner from Tai Hong Wai with little or no position in the local community.
- (34) C.Z. Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (11).
- (35) Y.L. A young farmer from Shui Tau Tsuen.
- (36) Z.Q. A farmer from Shui Mei Tsuen who is in his fifties.
- (37) D.F. An elder from Shui Tau Tsuen who is a retired farmer, though he still owns land and fish ponds. His sons are now in the Netherlands in the restaurant trade.
- (38) Z.W. A married man from Kat Hing Wai.
- (39) B.C. A man in his fifties from Kat Hing Wai who owns a new house and until 1976 had two wives. He is a manager (sili) of both the Deng Qingle and Deng Xingqin ancestral trusts.
- (40) Q.X. Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (13).
- (41) S.R. An elder from Tai Hong Wai who is a farmer. S.R. is not a wealthy man. He has four sons, one of whom works for the Yuen Long fire brigade.
- (42) G.L. A man from Shui Tau Tsuen who has little land. He is not prominent in local affairs.
- (43) G.H. A young farmer from Tai Hong Wai.

- (44) W.Q. A man from Kat Hing Wai. W.Q. is fairly wealthy and runs stalls inside the walls of Kat Hing Wai for the tourist coaches. He has three sons, of whom two are in England in the restaurant trade, and the third is an undergraduate at Hong Kong University.
- (45) S.R. A farmer from Shui Mei Tsuen.
- (46) R.F. A man in his fifties from Shui Tau Tsuen. He is not particularly prominent in local affairs.
- (47) Z.L. A chicken farmer from Kat Hing Wai who served on the Kam Tin Rural Committee up to 1970.
- (48) Y.T. An elder from Shui Mei Tsuen who has served on the Kam Tin Rural Committee.
- (49) L.F. A young farmer from Kat Hing Wai.
- (50) B.Z. A farmer from Kat Hing Wai and an owner of land.
- (51) B.L. A retired busdriver from Tai Hong Wai. B.L. was the Ritual Leader (yuanshou) who introduced the Lin Daotang, the troupe of Taoist priests who performed the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, to the Jiao Association. B.L. has two sons, both in the restaurant trade; one works in England and the other in West Germany.
- (52) C.B. A wealthy elder from Shui Tau Tsuen who is also a jiazhang of a segment of the fourth fang. C.B. is very much pro-Guomindang and had his son sent to a pro-Taiwan secondary school in the New Territories and then to a college in Taiwan.
- (53) J.X. An elder from Tai Hong Wai.
- (54) Y.F. A farmer from Kat Hing Wai.
- (55) L.G. A farmer and owner of land from Kat Hing Wai.
- (56) C.B. An elder from Kat Hing Wai. C.B. owns a restaurant in Kam Tin as well as land, and is a manager (sili) of the Deng Xingqin ancestral trust. C.B. is pro-Peking in his political views.
- (57) L.Z. Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (6).

- (58) K.L. An elder from Ying Lung Wai.
- (59) Z.T. An elder from Ying Lung Wai.
- (60) T.Z. An elder from Ying Lung Wai and the owner of a Western-style restaurant in Yuen Long.

(e) Committee Members (weiyuan).

- (1) J.X. A Wing Lung Wai man. J.X. is a wealthy man who owns land and a store in Kam Tin. He is a manager (sili) of both the Deng Qingle and Deng Xingqin ancestral trust.
- (2) P.Q. The son of K.Z. (Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (10)).
- (3) K.H. The son of Y.Y. (Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (5)).
- (4) Z.H. Younger brother of Z.L. (Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (12)). Z.H. has a son in Holland and runs a coffee-shop in Yuen Long.
- (5) S.R. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (41).
- (6) B.L. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (51).
- (7) Z.X. A retired farmer from Tai Hong Wai.
- (8) W.X. Nephew of Q.X. (Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (13)) and Q.X.'s accountant. W.X. acted as financial adviser to the 1975 Jiao Association.
- (9) Z.H. A wealthy elder from Wing Lung Wai who owns land and houses.
- (10) W.F. A very wealthy man from Tsz Tong Tsuen who owns houses and fish ponds. His son did research in atomic physics at M.I.T.
- (11) W.Y. eB of W.F.: vide supra: Ritual Leaders (16).
- (12) R.T. An elder from Kat Hing Wai who owns houses and land.
- (13) B.Y. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (25).
- (14) G.Y. A man in his early forties. G.Y. is a Kam Tin Rural Committee member and has a share in a local construction company.
- (15) C.B. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (56).
- (16) B.C. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (39).
- (17) W.Q. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (44).

- (18) Z.H. An elder from Ying Lung Wai.
- (19) S.D. An elder from Ying Lung Wai who died soon after he had been selected. His son took his position.
- (20) Z.Q. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (32).
- (21) H.C. eB of Y.H. (Vide supra: Heads of the Committee (16)); H.C. is a man from Ko Po Tsuen.
- (22) S.R. A poor elder from Shui Tau Tsuen. S.R. is also the jiazhang of Deng Guangyutang.
- (23) J.B. An elder who is a landowner from Shui Tau Tsuen. J.B. is prominent in Shui Tau Tsuen affairs.
- (24) W.S. A very wealthy man in his fifties from Shui Tau Tsuen. W.S. owns land and houses, and until 1975, a large teahouse in Yuen Long. At the time of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, W.S. was on the Kam Tin Rural Committee and was Chairman of the Pok Oi Hospital in Au Tau (see Map 2).
- (25) D.F. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (37).
- (26) Y.R. One of the two Village Headmen (cunzhang) for Shui Tau Tsuen. Y.R. is also involved in the vegetable collecting station on the road to Tai Mo Shan (see Map 1).
- (27) J.R. A Shui Tau Tsuen elder who is wealthy. J.R. has both a son and a daughter in the restaurant trade in England. In addition, he takes a keen interest in local education and runs a stationery stall with the aid of his ageing mother outside the Mung Yeung primary school in Kam Tin.
- (28) B.C. One of two Shui Tau Tsuen Village Headmen. B.C. is a man in his late thirties who owns the largest coffee-shop/store in Shui Tau Tsuen as well as a New Territories taxi service based in Yeun Long.
- (29) S.Y. A store-keeper from Shui Tau Tsuen who also owns some land.
- (30) S.R. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (45).
- (31) Z.Y. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (1).

- (32) J.Q. A man in his fifties from Kam Hing Wai who is a store manager in the Kam Tin Shi [Kam Tin Old Market].
- (33) S.T. Vide supra: Ritual Leaders (29).
- (34) Y.Z. A young man from Shui Tau Tsuen who helps manage the family fields and fish ponds.
- (35) W.F. A young man from Shui Tau Tsuen who helps manage the family fields and fish ponds.
- (36) W.X. A man from Shui Tau Tsuen with little land.

(f) Membership of the Jiao Association Sub-Groups.

All the members of the Sub-Groups have already been discussed above. Therefore, to cross-reference with the lists above, I shall use the following system:

- H.C. refers to Heads of the Committee;
- R.L. refers to Ritual Leaders;
- V.-C. refers to Vice-chairmen;
- C.M. refers to Committee Members.

(i) The General Group (Zongwuzu)

- (1) Z.Y. (R.L. (1)).
- (2) K.Z. (H.C. (10)).
- (3) Z.L. (H.C. (12)).
- (4) Z.H. (C.M. (18)).
- (5) Y.N. (V.-C. (4)).
- (6) D.F. (R.L. (37)).
- (7) Y.X. (R.L. (8)).
- (8) T.Q. (V.-C. (5)).
- (9) J.C. (R.L. (9)).
- (10) S.D. (R.L. (14)).
- (11) H.G. (V.-C. (2)).
- (12) S.G. (R.L. (6)).

- (13) X.L. (R.L. (12)).
- (14) Z.G. (R.L. (5)).
- (15) Y.Y. (H.C. (5)).
- (16) S.R. (R.L. (41)).
- (17) J.B. (C.M. (23)).
- (18) L.F. (R.L. (49)).
- (19) Y.Z. (R.L. (2)).
- (20) J.T. (H.C. (3)).

(ii) The Treasury (Caiwuzu)

- (1) Y.S. (H.C. (1)).
- (2) W.X. (C.M. (8)).

(iii) The External Relations Division (Jiaojizu)

- (1) Q.X. (H.C. (13)).
- (2) W.S. (C.M. (24)).
- (3) Z.H. (C.M. (9)).

(iv) The Secretariat (Wenshuzu)

- (1) Y.N. (V.-C. (4)).
- (2) K.H. (C.M. (3)).
- (3) Y.H. (H.C. (16)).
- (4) J.R. (C.M. (27)).
- (5) W.F. (C.M. (10)).
- (6) Q.H. (V.-C. (3)).
- (7) Z.X. (C.M. (7)).
- (8) J.X. (C.M. (1)).

(v) The Public Security Organ (Gong'an zu)

- (1) Y.R. (C.M. (26)) In charge of the North and South Villages' Watches [i.e. Pak Wai Tsuen and the southern half of Kam Tin].

(vi) Comptrollers' Division (Jihezu)

- (1) B.R. (V.-C. (1)).
- (2) Z.H. (C.M. (4)).
- (3) B.Y. (R.L. (25)).
- (4) Z.L. (H.C. (12)).
- (5) J.Q. (C.M. (32)).
- (6) Y.N. (V.-C. (4)).
- (7) J.R. (C.M. (27)).
- (8) T.Q. (V.-C. (5)).

(vii) The Health Authority (Weishengzu)

- (1) B.L. (R.L. (51)).
- (2) S.R. (R.L. (41)).
- (3) W.F. (C.M. (35)).

Appendix 4.The Jiao Association Statement of Sources and Uses of Funds

The records which follow are taken from the published accounts of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao. I have differed only slightly from the Chinese version in presentation, summing columns of similar information and sometimes adjusting the figures in the light of a meeting in the Governors' Temple and a subsequent discussion with the financial adviser of the Chairman of the Jiao Association. The financial adviser was one of the signatories of the published accounts. The changes are, however, of a minor nature.

One key factor in the accounts is the distinction between payment for contracts, in which the price is negotiated by the Jiao Association and the prospective contractor, and offerings of red packets (in Cantonese, lai shi) in which the contents are determined by the donor. In keeping with this fundamental distinction, Chapter 3 of the main text of this thesis only discusses in detail the contractual payments. This appendix, however, shows both kinds of payments, arranged in chronological order as in the Chinese original.

The Jiao Association Statement of Sources and Uses of Funds

(A) Sources for the jiao performance

(1)	Jiao contributions		
	(i) Kam Tin Deng:		
	Kat Hing Division:	472 ding:	\$47,200
	Tai Hong Division:	644 ding:	\$64,400
	Shui Tau Division:	720 ding:	\$71,950
	Shui Mei Division:	229 ding:	\$22,900
	Wing Lung Division:	151 ding:	\$15,100
	Ying Lung Division:	290 ding:	\$14,500
		2,506 ding:	\$236,050
	(ii) Ritual Leaders' supplementary contributions:		
	first 15 Ritual Leaders:		\$750
	last 45 Ritual Leaders:		\$900
			\$1,650
	(iii) Kat Hing Outsiders:		\$4,800
	Tai Hong Outsiders:		\$8,800
	Shui Tau Outsiders:		\$2,150
	Shui Mei Outsiders:		\$5,200
	Wing Lung Outsiders:		\$400
			\$21,350
(2)	Contributions for Incense		\$290
(3)	[Private] contributions to the jiao		\$2,265
(4)	Sale of lanterns		\$4,520
(5)	Auction of ritual goods		\$2,583
		TOTAL	\$268,708

(B) Uses for the jiao performance(1) Preliminary expenses

(i)	Taoist priests	\$34,000
(ii)	Erection of the matshed	\$41,000
(iii)	Effigies	\$2,100
(iv)	Puppet theatre	\$15,000
(v)	Construction of objects out of paper	\$29,000
(vi)	Electric lighting	\$13,500
(vii)	Preparatory expenses	\$25,370
(viii)	Lanterns	\$1,876
(ix)	Lanterns (Ying Lung Wai)	\$120
(x)	Lanterns	\$1,950
(xi)	Labour expenses	\$5,575
(xii)	Red packet for Mr. Jian [the copier of jiao documents such as Memorials and Notices]	\$200
(xiii)	Date selection [according to geomantic theory]	\$300

(2) 2nd month, eighth day [March 20th, 1975]

(i)	Paper	\$3
(ii)	Pale pink paper [for printing]	\$15
(iii)	Glue	\$13
(iv)	Expenses for having pink paper printed with black ink	\$10
(v)	Firecrackers	\$50

(3) 3rd month, ninth day [April 20th, 1975]

(i)	Pale pink paper [for printing]	\$15
(ii)	One box of paper	\$23
(iii)	Pale pink paper	\$15
(iv)	Newspaper	\$2.60

(4) 7th month, sixteenth day [August 22nd, 1975]

(i)	Firecrackers for the Second Presentation of the Memorial	\$26
(ii)	6 brush-pens	\$12
(iii)	Black Chinese ink	\$12.40
(iv)	Pale pink paper	\$6.60

(5)	<u>7th month, twenty-third day [August 29th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Costs of a wooden construction	\$46.70
(6)	<u>8th month, second day [September 7th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Renovating the area around the Governors' Temple	\$1,400
(7)	<u>8th month, fourth day [September 9th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Renovating the area around the Governors' Temple	\$160
(8)	<u>8th month, seventeenth day [September 22nd, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Cost of a wooden construction	\$148.60
	(ii) Transportation costs	\$150
(9)	<u>8th month, twentieth day [September 25th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Paper	\$9.40
(10)	<u>8th month, twenty-third day [September 28th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Repairing the road: labour charge for eight men	\$320
(11)	<u>8th month, twenty-fifth day [September 30th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Plastic hose piping	\$304.80
	(ii) Rope	\$21.30
	(iii) Transportation costs	\$175
(12)	<u>9th month, second day [October 6th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Electricity	\$10.05
(13)	<u>9th month, fourteenth day [October 18th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Red packets for putting up the matshed	\$60
(14)	<u>9th month, eighteenth day [October 22nd, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Water tap	\$80.70
(15)	<u>9th month, twenty-second day [October 26th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Installation of the water tap	\$30
(16)	<u>9th month, twenty-fourth day [October 28th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Paper	\$23.70
(17)	<u>9th month, twenty-sixth day [October 30th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Firecrackers	\$200
	(ii) Installation of telephone	\$30
(18)	<u>10th month, second day [November 4th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Costs of the "vegetarian" food contract	\$500

(19)	<u>10th month, third day [November 5th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Pen for signing	\$4.80
	(ii) Golden scissors	\$25
	(iii) Ceremonial tape	\$82
(20)	<u>10th month, fifth day [November 7th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Printing invitation cards	\$175
	(ii) Advertisement in newspapers	\$132
(21)	<u>10th month, seventh day [November 9th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Preparing the road	\$600
	(ii) Badges	\$311.20
	(iii) Pale pink paper	\$13.50
	(iv) Enlarging the road	\$240
	(v) Electricity	\$43
(22)	<u>10th month, eleventh day [November 13th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Photocopying costs	\$8
(23)	<u>10th month, twelfth day [November 14th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Hoe	\$65
	(ii) Sickle	\$25
	(iii) Black Chinese ink	\$5
	(iv) Bill for wood	\$2,230
	(v) Cards	\$5.60
	(vi) General payments to "Shengyuan" store	\$1,373.70
	(vii) Red paint	\$1.50
	(viii) Brush-pen	\$5
	(ix) Paper	\$14
(24)	<u>10th month, thirteenth day [November 15th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Three bags of rice	\$650
	(ii) Firecrackers	\$110
	(iii) Wicker-work basket	\$58
	(iv) Oysters	\$723
	(v) Cloth	\$364.50
	(vi) General payments to "Huasheng" store	\$1,063.40
(25)	<u>10th month, fourteenth day [November 16th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Registration fee	\$1,200
	(ii) Cooking oil	\$3
	(iii) Towel	\$10.20
	(iv) Red and green material	\$22.20

	(v)	Stationery	\$11.70
	(vi)	Tablecloths	\$35
	(vii)	Kerosene	\$13
	(viii)	Firecrackers	\$70
(26)	<u>10th month, fifteenth day [November 17th, 1975]</u>		
	(i)	Turnips	\$710
	(ii)	Red packets for the puppeteers	\$30
	(iii)	Putting up the platform for guests	\$2,000
	(iv)	Ceremonial ribbon	\$37
	(v)	Cloth with red flower patterns	\$65.90
	(vi)	Ritual paper	\$10
	(vii)	6 bouquets of flowers for the gods	\$84
	(viii)	Cards	\$17.20
	(ix)	Repairing the water supply	\$20
	(x)	Putting up streamers in the matshed	\$100
	(xi)	Red packets for the Opening Ceremonies	\$28
(27)	<u>10th month, sixteenth day [November 18th, 1975]</u>		
	(i)	Ritual paper	\$63.50
	(ii)	2 bills from the "Fuxing" store	\$5,144.05
	(iii)	1 bill from the "Fuxing" store	\$220.40
	(iv)	Tablecloth	\$38.50
	(v)	Beancurd	\$23.70
	(vi)	Beancurd	\$45.60
	(vii)	1 bill from the "Huasheng" store	\$90.50
	(viii)	2 teapots	\$23.20
	(ix)	1 bill from the "Shengyuan" store	\$156.10
	(x)	1 bill from the "Shengyuan" store	\$270.60
	(xi)	Rice measures	\$80
	(xii)	Red packets for the Rite of Restricting the altar [jintan]	\$38
	(xiii)	Red packets for bamboo work	\$6
(28)	<u>10th month, seventeenth day [November 19th, 1975]</u>		
	(i)	Red packets	\$30
	(ii)	Contribution to the Sheung Shui Tian Hou Miao	\$40
	(iii)	"Vegetarian" foods	\$703.20
	(iv)	Chopsticks	\$25.70

	(v)	"San Miguel" beer	\$575.70
	(vi)	Liquor	\$4.20
	(vii)	2 bags of rice	\$433
	(viii)	1 New Year box (quanhe) of crystallised fruit	\$34.10
	(ix)	Cigarettes	\$81.60
	(x)	Red packets for the Worship of the Small Ghosts (ji xiaoyou)	\$16
(29)	<u>10th month, eighteenth day [November 20th, 1975]</u>		
	(i)	Red packets for those in charge of the storage facilities and kitchen	\$38
	(ii)	Coal	\$115.50
	(iii)	Fire cover	\$171
	(iv)	Coal from the "Guang-ji" store	\$203
	(v)	Oysters	\$510
	(vi)	Flour	\$29.30
	(vii)	Oyster sauce	\$674
	(viii)	Red packets	\$43
(30)	<u>10th month, nineteenth day [November 21st, 1975]</u>		
	(i)	Vegetables	\$256.10
	(ii)	Soft drinks	\$453.30
	(iii)	Car hire costs	\$100
	(iv)	Red packets for "Walking Through the Eight Gates" (zou bamen)	\$46
	(v)	2 bags of rice	\$433
	(vi)	Kerosene	\$41
	(vii)	Longevity rice	\$35
(31)	<u>10th month, twentieth day [November 22nd, 1975]</u>		
	(i)	Red packets	\$66
	(ii)	Ritual ornamentation (jinhua)	\$4
	(iii)	Electrical equipment	\$720
	(iv)	Ritual goods	\$72.40
	(v)	1 teal	\$26
	(vi)	1 cage	\$12
	(vii)	Fish	\$20
	(viii)	Red packets for the Proclamation of the Pardon	\$60
	(ix)	Rice	\$866
	(x)	Beancurd	\$8

	(xi)	Liquor	\$13.50
	(xii)	Towel	\$4
	(xiii)	Flour	\$4.80
	(xiv)	Fresh ginger	\$3.60
	(xv)	Red packets	\$221
	(xvi)	Sprouts	\$14.50
	(xvii)	Labour expenses	\$300
	(xviii)	Fruit	\$5
	(xix)	Red packets for collecting the Great Knight (Dashi)	\$22
	(xx)	1 bill from the "Huasheng" store	\$51
	(xxi)	Ritual goods	\$9,467.20
(32)	<u>10th month, twenty-first day [November 23rd, 1975]</u>		
	(i)	1 bill for beancurd	\$1,670
	(ii)	Pork	\$1,248.50
	(iii)	Red packets for the Taoist priests spraying magic water on the high altar	\$40
	(iv)	Expenses for cooking "vegetarian" food	\$370
	(v)	Bills from various local stores	\$505.08
	(vi)	Towel for the Presentation of the First Memorial	\$2
	(vii)	Candles	\$1.20
	(viii)	Liquor	\$2.50
	(ix)	Fruit	\$5
	(x)	Beancurd and vegetables	\$7
	(xi)	Chicken for the Presentation of the First Memorial	\$10
	(xii)	Joss sticks	\$160
	(xiii)	Chicken for the Presentation of the Second Memorial	\$11.50
	(xiv)	Fruit	\$5
	(xv)	2 towels	\$2
	(xvi)	Beancurd and vegetables	\$9
	(xvii)	Red packets for the paperwork	\$50
	(xviii)	Red packets for putting up the matshed	\$50
	(xix)	Cost of fruit for those making the paper objects and putting up the matshed	\$10
	(xx)	Silver Guandao [a long knife with a five to six foot handle named after the god Guan Gong; this was the knife in the middle of the yizhe ting]	\$80

(xxi)	6 ducks	\$117
(xxii)	Beancurd	\$13.20
(xxiii)	Vegetables	\$17.10
(xxiv)	1 mirror	\$28
(xxv)	Goods from various local stores	\$315.30
(xxvi)	Vermilion ink	\$1
(xxvii)	Bamboo for the banner poles (fangan)	\$140
(xxviii)	Car hire costs	\$5
(xxxix)	Pomelo leaves	\$20
(xxx)	Contributions to the Dawang Miao [in Yuen Long Kau Hui]	\$20
		<hr/>
		\$ 214,829.20
		<hr/>

(C) Sources for the opera performances10th month, twenty-fifth day [November 27th, 1975]

(i)	Auction of goods	\$1,087
(ii)	Selling of vegetables	\$35
(iii)	Refund on bill from "Fuxing" store	\$880
(iv)	Refund on rice	\$600
(v)	Qingle zu opera contribution	\$1,000
(vi)	Nanqi zu opera contribution	\$1,000
(vii)	Return of the remnants of the coal	\$50
(viii)	Xingqin zu opera contribution	\$3,000
(ix)	Qingle zu opera contribution	\$5,000
(x)	Nanqi zu opera contribution	\$8,000
(xi)	Contribution for ritual expenses from Kam Hing Wai	\$10
(xii)	Sale of lanterns	\$20
(xiii)	Contribution from Shing Mun San Tsuen	\$40
(xiv)	Contribution from Ha Tsuen	\$150
(xv)	Red packets from the actors	\$5
(xvi)	Deng X.L.'s contribution to ritual expenses	\$5
(xvii)	Auction of goods	\$1,520
(xviii)	Auction of water piping	\$150
(xxix)	Contribution from Deng B.L.	\$110
(xx)	Return of funds associated with electric lighting and other expenses	\$42,218.05
	Total	\$64,880.05

(D) Uses for the operatic performances

(1)	<u>10th month, twenty-fifth day [November 27th, 1975]</u>	
	(i) Vegetables	\$394.40
	(ii) Labour for cooking vegetarian foods	\$1,580
	(iii) 1st Ritual Leader's miniature pagoda (huata) [a pagoda given to the first Ritual Leader to symbolise the bestowing of wealth and fortune]	\$100
	(iv) Red packets to the "Chen sheng" store [rice merchants]	\$100
	(v) Repairing the road	\$600
	(vi) 1 bill for construction costs from the "Xiangfa" company	\$72.50
	(vii) Newspaper advertisements for bids	\$256
	(viii) Kat Hing Division roast pig	\$240
	(ix) 2 Tai Hong Division roast chickens	\$50
	(x) Electricity expenses	\$2,498.50
	(xi) Electricity expenses	\$392
	(xii) Opera contract	\$20,700
	(xiii) Printing of invitation cards	\$90
	(xiv) Telephone expenses	\$611.10
	(xv) Glue	\$10
	(xvi) Coloured paper	\$15
	(xvii) Gummed paper	\$4.20
	(xviii) Repairing the road	\$63
	(xix) Opera money	\$20,000
	(xx) Red packets given to the troupe of actors to build a range	\$100
	(xxi) Costs of printing announcements about the opera	\$3,480
	(xxii) Operatic troupe	\$14,000
	(xxiii) Operatic troupe	\$20,000
	(xxiv) Transportation costs	\$94
	(xxv) Southern and Northern Village guards' patrol for five days	\$500
	(xxvi) Southern and Northern Village guards' patrol	\$100
	(xxvii) Paste	\$6
	(xxviii) 4 men's labour	\$120
	(xxix) Restoring and altering the matshed	\$180

(xxx)	Ancestral hall incense	\$30
(xxxi)	Red packet for Master Lin	\$100
(xxxii)	Master Lin's assistant	\$20
(xxxiii)	Red packets [for the restoration of the dilapidated altar destroyed on December 12th, 1975]	\$2
(xxxiv)	Ghost visas, paper money, and candles	\$45
(xxxv)	All types of vegetarian food	\$12.70
(xxxvi)	Crystallised fruits and liquor	\$9
(xxxvii)	Vegetables and oil	\$26.20
(xxxviii)	Rice	\$10
(xxxix)	Fresh vegetables	\$10
(xl)	Beancurd	\$6
(xli)	Fruit	\$7.50
(xlii)	Printing invitation cards	\$45
(xliii)	Extra payments to Mr. Chen [the matshed contractor]	\$4,800
(xliv)	Electricity	\$388
(xlv)	Electricity	\$70
(xlvi)	Telephone	\$159
(xlvii)	Repayments to Li Yan's store	\$100
(xlviii)	Boards (huapai) from Li Yan's store	\$500
(xlix)	Silk streamers	\$475
(l)	Labels	\$35
(li)	Edible paste	\$6
(lii)	Red printing ink	\$2.50
(liii)	Alteration to the matshed [January 7th and 8th, 1976]	\$360
(liv)	Extra payments for electric lighting	\$3,000
(lv)	Repayments to Mr. Chen for matshed construction	\$9,000
(lvi)	Edible paste	\$2
(lvii)	2 water pots	\$26
(lviii)	Sandalwood [burnt outside the Governors' Temple throughout the performance of the jiao and the subsequent jiao opera].	\$49.40
(lix)	Labour	\$120
(lx)	Half a day's repair work	\$15
(lxi)	Watering cans	\$29
(lxii)	St. John's Ambulance Brigade and Police	\$260

(lxiii)	Labour	\$360
(lxiv)	Kerosene	\$13
(lxv)	Return of contributions to Shing Mun San Tsuen	\$10
(lxvi)	Return of contributions to Ha Tsuen	\$40
(lxvii)	Return of contributions to the Zhuyuan An	\$20
(lxviii)	Red packets for the kylin	\$150
(lxix)	Western style biscuits	\$11.40
(lxx)	Red packets to the operatic troupe	\$300
(lxxi)	Firecrackers	\$18
(lxxii)	Metal wire	\$10
(lxxiii)	Wire	\$10
(lxxiv)	Cakes	\$22.80
(lxxv)	Paper money and candles	\$68.60
(lxxvi)	Vegetables	\$21
(lxxvii)	Flowers	\$3
(lxxviii)	Cigarettes	\$20
(lxxix)	Final payment for electric lighting	\$3,200
(lxxx)	15 basins and liquor containers	\$2,055.50
(lxxxii)	Small packages	\$200
(lxxxiii)	Labour	\$30
(lxxxiii)	Transportation expenses for the rite of Sending Back the Divinities (songshen)	\$50
(lxxxiv)	Printing envelopes	\$130
(lxxxv)	Electricity	\$175
(lxxxvi)	Labour (restoration and electric lighting)	\$1,040
(lxxxvii)	Inspection of electric lighting	\$30
	Total	<u>\$114,065.30</u>

(E) Summary of jiao expenditure and receipts

Jiao ritual receipts	\$ 268,708.00
Jiao ritual expenditure	\$ 214,829.20
	<hr/>
Surplus carried forward	\$ 53,878.80
Jiao opera receipts	\$ 64,880.05
	<hr/>
Jiao opera funds	\$ 118,758.85
Jiao opera expenditure	\$ 114,065.30
	<hr/>
Surplus	\$ 4,693.55
	<hr/> <hr/>

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1.

(1) The other three remaining ancestral halls in Kam Tin are the Guangyu Tang allegedly built by Deng Wenwei, a fourth fang seventeenth generation (counting from Yuanlang) ancestor, who became a jinshi graduate during the Kangxi Emperor's reign (in 1685); the Zhijia Tang built by the descendants of a twenty-first generation, fourth fang ancestor of the same name; and the Qingchun Yuan opened in 1909 and containing tablets dating from a twenty-second generation, fourth fang ancestor.

(2) The Guangyu Tang hall members performed these rites on the second days of the second and eighth lunar months; however, this was explained as a means of enabling this hall's members to attend the ceremonies of their higher level ancestors in the Moujing Tang on the days of the Spring and Autumn equinoxes. The Zhijia Tang members do not perform these rites.

(3) The pig offered during the rites is divided up according to a scheme of "points" (tiao); the number of points is first calculated according to the following scheme in the case of Deng Hongyi's rites: the trumpeters (who may or may not be clansmen) two points; any descendant under sixty sui one point; a descendant whose age is between sixty and seventy sui two points- if the descendant is older than this, he gains one point for every decade of age above seventy; participation in the rites as a functionary (as opposed to a mere worshipper) merits two extra points; attendance for the first time at grave rites after siring a son gives one extra point; and finally the Head of the Clan is given one catty, irrespective of the value of a point, and at the other end of the scale, a guest (a non-descendant attending the rites) is awarded one point. In the 1976 Spring rites, one point was worth four taels, a small amount when compared with some rites where a point could be worth as much as a catty.

(4) However, it is possible to obtain a fairly accurate estimate of the total number of Deng residents by referring to the figures for those who claimed both their place of birth and place of origin as "Hong Kong, Kowloon and New Territories". This category rules out children born in the Crown Colony of parents born outside it, since these would refer to their father's birthplace as their place of origin. Nevertheless, the category would include the non-Deng who also claimed the Crown Colony as their place of birth and origin; though these in my experience are few, apart from the Zheng residents of Shing Mun San Tsuen.

However, by obtaining the total population for the Deng founded villages in the Kam Tin census district (4,863), and by multiplying this by the proportion of the census district's population claiming the Crown Colony as both their place of birth and place of origin and then adding this figure to the separate 1971 figures for Ying Lung Wai which is an all Deng settlement, the estimate is calculated.

(5) It is important to note that farming patterns have changed radically in the post-World War II period. The Hong Kong Department of Agriculture and Fisheries kindly gave me statistics relating to land use in Area 5 of the Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Unit Boundaries, New Territories; this corresponds to the land in the vicinity of Yuen Long in which the Kam Tin Deng

land holdings are concentrated. The results of a comparison between the 1953/54 and 1975/76 land use surveys are shown below (figures are in acres) :

	1953/54	1975/76
<u>Paddy</u>		
Brackish	2,674	0
2-crop	8,801	298
Upland rice	14	0
<u>Market Garden Crops</u>		
Vegetables	634	4,626
Flowers	5	128
<u>Field Crops</u>		
Sugarcane	0	27
Sweet potatoes	0	20
Others	1,448	63
<u>Orchards</u>	428	413
<u>Fish Ponds</u>	435	3,276
<u>Unused</u>	576	4,559
	<u>TOTAL</u> 15,015	13,410

We see that during this time brackish paddy (red grain rice) and upland rice were discontinued, and that paddy as a whole declined dramatically as a crop; this was accompanied by expansion in market gardening, fish cultivation, and the introduction of new field crops (sugarcane and sweet potatoes). However, actual land use declined by 1,605 acres during this period, a figure which disguises the real decline in agriculture because farmable land increased by 2,368 acres during this time.

(6) Sung (1936), p.255 states that the original Tai Hong Wai was built by Deng Cong and seven others. As Deng Cong was of the same generation as one of the founding ancestors of the original Kat Hing Wai, cited by Sung, we can place this foundation of the original Tai Hong Wai in the Ming Chenghua period (1485-1487). Sung (1937), p. 108, however, records the story of Li giving Deng Wenwei advice on how to build the village walls.

(7) The Tsz Tong Tsuen Village Headman stated that Tsz Tong Tsuen's founder was a son's son's son of Deng Wenwei, but he could not name this ancestor, and later stated that Tsz Tong Tsuen and Tai Hong Wai were built about the same time. However, I do not believe this to be the case; we can assume that all the villages built or rebuilt during the start of the Qing dynasty must have had walls, since this was a "time of troubles". Yet, Tsz Tong Tsuen is a cun (that is, does not have walls).

(8) As far as the other villages are concerned this source is not useful, since it merely mentions a Kam Tin Tsuen.

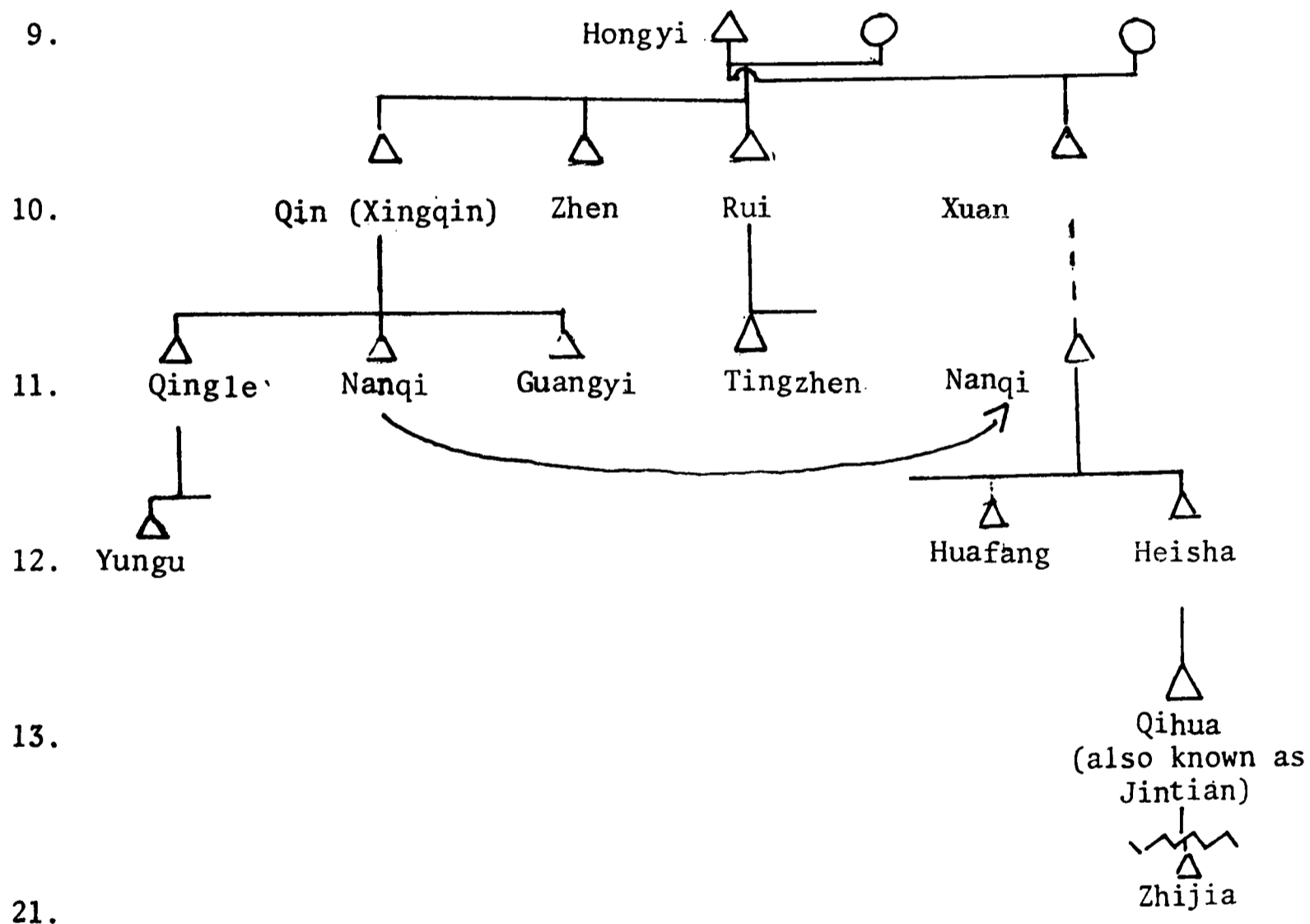
(9) It is possible to deduce this, since we know from the Shijiantang genealogy that the elder son of Deng Hongyi's third son (Deng Rui) Deng Tingzhen became a juren graduate in 1471 - this ancestor being the brother's son of Deng Xingqin whose descendants were amongst the first to settle in Shui Tau Tsuen. We know in any case that Deng Heisha, Deng Nanqi's fifth son, was born in 1471 and died in 1521; this information is in the Senzhaitang jiapu Manuscript, Kam Tin, n.d. Since Deng Huafang was Deng Nanqi's fourth son, it is

probable that his settlement of Shui Tau Tsuen took place some time approximating to his younger brother's lifetime (1471-1521). We know that Deng Yungu lived in Shui Mei Tsuen, though his site does not exist any more; Sung (1936), p. 204 also notes this. We can estimate that Deng Yungu lived at about the same time as Deng Heisha (that is the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries) since he was of the same generation as this ancestor.

(Sung), 1936 p. 256 states that "... Tang K'ei Fong [Deng Qifang] and Tang K'ei Wah [Deng Qihua], both from Tai Hong Tsuen [I assume this to mean the Old Tai Hong Wai], were the first persons who lived in Shui T'au village in the Shing Fa [Chenghua] years of the Ming dynasty ...". Having checked the genealogies, I can find no trace of a Deng Qifang, but there is a Deng Qifen, Deng Heisha's second son and the grandson of Deng Nanqi. Deng Qihua was in any case born in 1494 (according to the Senzhaitang jiapu); that is seven years after the Ming Chenghua period had ended.

These genealogical relationships are set out below for clarity.

Generations counted
from Deng Yuanliang



(10) The lantern is a pun: in the Yuen Long version of the Bao'an dialect of Cantonese, "lantern" (deng) and "registered male" (ding) are pronounced identically as "dang"; this was in fact the reasoning of local informants.

It is interesting to compare this with the material written by L. Hodous, concerning Fuzhou, in Fujian province. Describing the Lantern Festival, taking place on the fifteenth day of the first moon, he states: "Poor indeed is the head of the family who does not purchase an assorted variety of lanterns for the children, and also as presents to the newly married brides.

The present to the bride is made by her husband's parents and expresses the hope that she may soon be blessed with offspring. The term for lantern, teng [deng] also means a man. In the city of Foochow [Fuzhou] the first year a lantern is presented with the motto "May Kuanyin [Guanyin] (the goddess of Mercy) present you with a son". If the present has proved ineffective the following year a lantern with a picture of a child sitting in a wash bowl is sent. The third year a large lantern resembling a Mandarin orange with the words "May the child come quickly", is given." L. Hodous, Folkways in China, London, 1929, p. 42.

It is clear from this comparison with Fuzhou material in the earlier part of this century, that the lantern symbolises male offspring. The difference between Hodous's description of Fuzhou and my own observations of the Hong Kong New Territories is that in the New Territories, the lantern is used not to express the wish for future male offspring, but the birth of male offspring during the preceding year.

(11) H. Baker gives the following description, in his study of Sheung Shui (see Map 5):

"On the first new year after the birth of a son, his father was obliged to hoist in the ancestral hall an ornate lantern in his name. In addition, it was required of the father to give a feast in the hall to the elders, in return for which a certificate of lineage membership (chu-shu) [zhushu] would be issued by them, being signed by the Lineage Headman and his deputy, and by the head of the major segment into which the son had been born. This recognition of membership entitled the son to receive his share of lineage and segment benefits, and furnished him with irrefutable proof of this right, while at the same time binding him to observe concomitant obligations towards these groups. It also confirmed in the son his right to inherit land and property. The ceremony, known as K'ai-teng [kaideng], was also obligatory for males being adopted. Poor members of the lineage were allowed to dispense with the provision of a feast." H. Baker, A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui, London, 1968, p. 48.

In Kam Tin, in contrast with Sheung Shui, individual lanterns are not hung in the ancestral halls; instead, one large lantern is hung symbolising the newly recognised members of the hall.

The communal feasts held both in Kam Tin and Sheung Shui are reminiscent of the community feasts (chu) performed in the early period of the Taoist movements during the third century A.D.; vide K.M. Schipper, Neighborhood Cult Associations in Traditional Tainan, p. 663, in G.W. Skinner (ed.), The City in Late Imperial China, Stanford, 1977, and R. Stein, Remarques sur les mouvements du taoïsme politico-religieux au IIe siècle ap. J.C., T'oung-Pao, 50, no. 1-3, Leiden, 1963, pp. 59-60.

(12) These stones will be referred to throughout this thesis as Amitabha stones, since they are inscribed with the Chinese transliteration of this term, preceded by that of Nama: namo Emitufo.

(13) The 1905-1907 Block Crown Lease Register for Demarcation Districts 109, 110, 103 and 107, corresponding to Kam Tin and areas in which Kam Tin Deng land is concentrated, reveals the following information: village property including temples (which are controlled by the village in which they are sited,

and not by any ancestral trust) amounted to 31.81 acres, only 3.5% of the total; lands held by ancestral trusts amounted to 447.7 acres, 49.3% of the total; association (hui) land added up to 39.67 acres, 4.4% of the total; and individually held land, 388 acres, 42.8% of the total; the remainder of the land was not claimed by anyone; the total was 907.5 acres.

(14) It is important to note that Schipper's paper "The Written Memorial in Taoist Ceremonies" implies this when, basing its analysis on Taiwan material, it states that "The periodic Chiao [jiao] sacrifice is nothing less than the constitutional assembly of an autonomous state, during which the Chiefs [equivalent to the Ritual Leaders of Kam Tin] renew their alliance and infeudation, and a collective covenant is made." Schipper (1974) in A.P. Wolf (ed.) (1974), p. 324.

Chapter 2.

(1) Thus Wolf in "Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors", p. 131, in A.P. Wolf (ed.) "Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society", Stanford, 1974, writes: "My informants have been farmers, coal miners, and laborers, as well as a few shop keepers and petty business men. Thirty years ago the homes of many of these people were constructed of mud bricks and roofed with straw thatch. Thus my social perspective is that of a poor and politically impotent segment of society. It is also that of a layman rather than of the religious specialist. Were we to look at the same acts of worship from the perspective of government officials, wealthy landlords, or the Taoist priest, we would find they had very different meanings. The most important point to be made about Chinese religion is that it mirrors the social landscape of its adherents." (My emphasis).

(2) (Sung), 1938 p. 42 states that the rite began in 1745. This date is obviously incorrect.

(3) This story is also told by Sung (1936), pp. 107-108.

(4) The pronunciation in Cantonese was Lai, but I have interpreted this as a transformation of Li, pronounced in Cantonese as Lei. Apart from having the same pronunciation in Modern Standard Chinese, the Lei and Lai sounds are often substitutes for each other in Cantonese, particularly in the case of the Cantonese character for "to come", which is derived from the character for the surname pronounced in Cantonese as Lai.

(5) It is not clear whether this is a reference to the caretaken of the temple, or to the guardian gods near the doorway.

(6) Sung (1936), p. 250 relates the following myth: "One story tells how at the end of the Ming dynasty the Tangs [Deng] wished to build an ancestral hall for the tablet of their eleventh ancestor Tang Kong Yue [Deng Guangyu]. Tang Ping Yee (a grandson of Tang Kwong Yue) and eight of Tang Ping Yee's cousins chose what was, according to one "Fung Shui" man, a very lucky day to put up the central beam of the house, but a few days later they found that the beam was putting forth shoots. The people considered this to be a bad omen, so they consulted a more reliable fortune-teller, who declared that the day had been a lucky day, but for building boats, not houses! The people at once pulled down the beam, the time happened to be the season of the dragon boat festival, and the villagers decided to make the discarded beam into a new dragon boat. When it was launched into the water, a strange thing happened. The boat flew up into the air, and immediately a great quantity of treasure, gold, silver and precious stones fell into the boat from the sky. When it was full the boat came down to the water, and the people were able to empty it. Then it flew into the air again, and came down again with fresh supplies of treasure. This happened many times until there were untold riches for the Tangs. A few years later, they chose another lucky day and erected a new beam and the hall was completed and given the name Loi Shing T'ong [Laicheng Tang]."

I was quoted a similar story by the jiazhang of Deng Guangyutang which goes as follows: "When my ancestors were building the Laicheng Tang, they went to Canton to get a date selected for the building of the hall. Yet they knew the date selected was not right. However, it was the time of the dragon boat races and so they bought food and used the building materials to make a dragon boat. After the boat was put in the water, there were many goods in it and the boat raced to the realm of dead spirits. Nevertheless, things were very peaceful."

In addition, another Shui Tau Tsuen Elder, a fourth fang descendant, told me the following myth: "The Position entailing the Three Calamities was selected for siting the Laicheng Tang, and when they were making the beams, the latter had to be thirty-six feet long. However, the beams were made too short; so the builders of the ancestral hall said, "let's make them into a dragon boat". But Celestial Master Zhang (Zhang tianshi) came and when the dragon boat entered the water, it surged and flew into the air; it went to the Emperor's palace and stole the Emperor's jewels; but the daughter of the Emperor did not miss them, as she thought she had mislaid them somewhere. The jewels were then placed in a field near Kam Hing Wai, and the dragon boat was transformed into a crocodile; it took away the jewels which then disappeared. In fact, ancestor Wai tried to beat the crocodile but it was transformed into something an inch long; but people who worked in the fields and had their feet slashed used it to cure them."

(7) The ritual goods of the Nineteenth Day Association are as follows: three bowls of tea, three cups of wine, three bowls of rice, three pairs of red chopsticks, two packets of Longevity Noodles (shoumian) - not normally used in ancestral rites - five dishes of fruit, five dishes of crystallised fruits, five dishes containing meat from different parts of the pig, four dishes of similar meats with a dish of chicken in the centre, two Buddha's Hands (foshou) - sweetmeats in the shape of a hand which are not normally used in ancestral rites - and a roast pig. In addition, there is a set of paper official's clothing made of paper; this would also not normally be used in ancestral rites.

The Twenty-first Day Association's ritual foods are as follows: two cups of tea, two cups of wine, two pairs of red chopsticks, with two bowls of noodle soup (the numerical category of two being unique in the Kam Tin ritual system), five dishes of meat, of which four are various kinds of pig's meat, and the fifth a chicken, five dishes of fruit and sweetmeat, of which two contain Longevity Noodles, one white cakes, and two lychees, and another set of five similar dishes, of which four are fruit and one crystallised fruits. In addition, there are two red packets of cigarettes, a small dish of red beans, plus two roast pigs and a set of official's clothing made of paper.

(8) This Association's foods consist of three bowls of rice, three cups of wine, three cups of tea, a dish of chicken with pig meats, and a roast pig.

(9) Admittedly, some informants considered that ancestors were divinities (shen), but they concluded that they were not Great Divinities (dashen) because they occupy a lower position than the Great Divinities on the domestic divinity board; the implication was that ancestors do not have the power of Great Divinities. One informant came to an amusing compromise when he stated that, "one always considers that one's own ancestors are gods and other people's are ghosts, but really they are all ghosts." The benefits that derive from worshipping the ancestors are interpreted in Kam Tin as the result of the geomancy of tombs or ancestral halls. One informant was told to worship an ancestor's grave at Qingming in order to thank the ancestor for his successful admission to Hong Kong University. This, however, was interpreted as the result of the geomantic properties of the site, fixed by the informant's father, for which thanks had to be given to the ancestor at the biennial rites. Ancestors thus provide the wherewithal for future success, but the attainment through geomancy of that success depends on the skills of the living. In addition, worship at ancestral rites has prophylactic elements; in this, ancestral worship differs from the ritual system of Great Divinities: for if ancestors are not worshipped, not given food, they are transformed into lonely, hungry, and malevolent ghosts who might cause damage in any number of ways. With Great Divinities, this possibility of change does not exist.

(10) The Governors interpreted as divinities were seen as capable of actively intervening on behalf of supplicants. One informant stated that the Governors had helped the local people defend themselves against the invading British at the time of the annexation of the New Territories.

Chapter 3.

(1) This Committee was set up in 1960, and since then has held elections every two years for officers. However, most of the nominations, with the exception of those for Shui Tau Tsuen, are not contested. The basic boundaries of the area, for which the Rural Committee is responsible, follow the pre-colonisation boundaries, except that Ying Lung Wai belongs to a different committee. Three villages represented at the Kam Tin Rural Committee do not contain members of the local Deng lineage (these are: Fung Kat Heung, Sha Po Tsuen, and Shing Mun San Tsuen), with the result that the Committee is Deng controlled. In fact, during the time of the 1975 jiao, there were twelve Kam Tin Deng members and four non-Deng. The result is that the Deng controlled policy, and in fact it was they who initiated the Rural Committee scheme with the Head of the Clan becoming the first Chairman of the Committee in 1960.

(2) In fact they did clash: in the third lunar month, the date was the tenth of the month, which was also the grave-site date for Deng Xingqin, Deng Hongyi's first son's son; during the ninth lunar month, the date was the twenty-first of the month, conflicting with Deng Yunjian and Deng Yungu, Deng Hongyi's first son's son's sons. This was because Nanqi had been a son of the fang's focal ancestor who had died in childhood. The argument was that because of this relationship, the fourth fang members might try to lay claim to the first fang ancestor's pork by worshipping at their grave-sites, and so the worshipping dates of these ancestors must be kept apart. The argument rested on a merger of the relationships recorded in the genealogies to the extent that Nanqi's descendants on the one hand, and Xinqin's, Yunjian's, and Yungu's descendants on the other, could be seen as threats to each other's corporate assets.

(3) Ding was used as an accounting term. Thus a widow would count as half a ding.

Chapter 4.

(1) In the context of this argument, it should be stated that the term jia conventionally translated as "family" is that group of people related through the male line who potentially (since some of them may even be working overseas) could cook and sleep together, and form an economic unit.

(2) I came to know five Taoist priests well during the course of my research in Kam Tin. The biographies of these priests indicate the nature of their livelihood:

(1) Master Lin was born in 1899 in Kwu Tung (southwest of Sheung Shui) in the Hong Kong New Territories. He went at a very early age with his father to the neighbouring intermediate market town, Shenzhen, in Bao'an County, just across the border in China. His father was a fifth generation Taoist priest, the first generation ancestor having come from Fujian Province. In his early twenties Lin while working and studying to be a Taoist priest under his father, helped manage a shop which sold ritual goods, in Shenzhen. Master Lin was granted an exit permit to leave China in 1952, as he had been born on the Hong Kong side of the border. He had found that the new revolutionary government was eager to discourage religious practices. He is married, has two sons, and lives in an alley in the market town of Shek Wu Hui, near Sheung Shui.

(2) Mr. Zhang is a man in his sixties who originally live just outside of Shenzhen. He is married and has two sons, who came with him to Hong Kong after the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China in 1949. He now lives close to the Chinese border in Ta Kwu Ling. However, he is to be found during the day in the Zhang Yihe Association rooms at Shek Wu Hui. This is a Zhang clansmens' association, from where Mr. Zhang plays mah-jong with his kinsmen. Clients go to meet him there or at the teahouse next door.

(3) Mr. Ye is an eighth generation Taoist priest who came out of China in 1974. He originally lived in Daojiao some six miles wouthwest of Dongguan City in Mainland China. He stated that at the time he left China, he was a single man, which was one reason why the authorities gave him a permit, as he had no-one to look after him in his old age. He used to practise as a herbalist, and is a highly literate man (in contrast with Lin). The authorities confiscated his texts when he left China, but he had remembered them and was able to copy them out into school exercise-books which he showed to me. He now lives in a small hamlet opposite Yeung Uk Tsuen, to the north of Yuen Long, next door to a settlement of boatbuilders from Dongguan County who cook for him. He is now well-known to other immigrants from Dongguan in the Yuen Long area, including other Taoist priests. It was through these connections that he was asked to perform in the 1976 jiao at Tuen Mun, a town about four miles to the southwest of Yuen Long. In contrast with Mr. Lin and Mr. Zhang, during the time of fieldwork, he was very busy, principally performing dazhai ceremonies (rites for the dead) for immigrants from Dongguan.

(4) Mr. Liang is a Taoist priest who was trained in Dongguan County, but who came to the Hong Kong New Territories in the mid-1930's. A man about sixty years old, he has three children, all of school age. His wife runs a shop specialising in ritual goods in Yuen Long, while he himself tends to perform services for the boat people (shuishangren). However, like the three Taoist priests described above, he performed in the 1975 Kam Tin jiao.

(5) Mr. Deng is a first fang Kam Tin Deng living in Kat Hing Wai. He was the pupil of a fifth generation Taoist priest called Mr. Wen who while living in Kam Tin died about thirty years ago, leaving young children who did not train to be Taoist priests. Mr. Deng, a man about sixty years old, is married, and has a daughter who works in a Chinese restaurant in the Netherlands. He used to be a farmer, but has retired to live on money from ancestral trusts. He now only occasionally performs rites and did not participate in the 1975 Kam Tin jiao as a Taoist priest. However, he did take part in the rites as a Ritual Leader.

(3) The Dao'antang chongchao, pp. 77-78, lists another set of Taoist priests. These are a gaogong dafashi; a dujiang fashi; a shijing fashi; a shixiang fashi; a shideng fashi; and a zhitan fashi. These priests' titles (in the section "List of Functionaries" (zhibangwen)) were not used in the 1975 Kam Tin jiao.

(4) It seems that the relationship of these priests to the Celestial Master was tenuous. During the Republican period (1911-1949) about 1% of them used to apply for his diplomas which he issued in nine grades, certifying the applicant's degree of religious competence. Although head of the sect, the Celestial Master did not have powers effective enough to appoint or discipline priests, or to assess the validity of doctrine (H. Welch, Taoism: The Parting of the Way, Boston, 1965, p. 149).

Nevertheless, the members of the Lin Daotang clearly recognised this tradition. Mr. Zhang would tell stories about the selection of the Celestial Masters, and the procedures involved. Master Lin told me that his father's father had actually made the journey to Dragon and Tiger Mountain to attend the court of the Celestial Master Zhang.

Chapter 5.

(1) Of the two musicians who never participated in the rituals as such, one was a Taoist priest and the other a professional musician called Mr. Liang who used to play the Chinese oboe (laba) and beat the gong for both ritual and theatrical performances in the Yuen Long area. Mr. Liang lived in the Yuen Long Kau Hui renting property belonging to the ancestral trust of Deng Wenwei, the reputed founder of the present Tai Hong Wai village in Kam Tin. Mr. Liang was well known to many in Kam Tin.

All the Taoist priests who performed the ritual of the presentation of memorial performed music at some stage during the rites.

(2) In the Bao'an County area, as in many other areas of Guangdong, one type of paper money (jinyinqian) has both silver and gold on it; there is no distinction, as there is in Taiwan, between gold paper for divinities and silver paper for ghosts, gold representing yang and silver yin. Furthermore, if sometimes separate, silver paper money in Kam Tin is always bought with gold money and burnt simultaneously to the same group of supernatural entities. At these jiao rites the paper having both silver and gold was used.

(3) For example, one such rite which took place at the end of the eighth lunar month of the yimao year (October 1975) was financed by a "tax", a house to house collection in Kat Hing Wai and was performed by a Deng from this village who was a naam moh lo. This pudu was an act of worship of the Amitabha (in Chinese namo Emitufo) stones set up as hungry ghost shrines along the main road after road accidents. In the case of Kat Hing Wai a major road accident took place in 1965 and the rite of pudu which takes place every three years began in 1972. Hungry ghosts are supposed to cause moments of blindness leading to road accidents in order that they may substitute themselves on the plane of the living by having someone to replace them in Hell. In turn, according to informants, the gui or ghosts resulting from the accidents would attempt to kill people. It was during this ritual to save and/or placate the souls in torment in Hell whose suffering was started by the road accidents that these foods made of beancurd were used.

(4) Deng Wenwei the reputed founder of Tai Hong Wai, one of the Kam Tin villages, has slightly different rites. In the latter case, at the third and ninth lunar month rites at the grave all the foods are grouped into fives, whereas the ancestral hall rites for Deng Wenwei and his descendants in the Guangyu Tang ancestral hall place wine and tea in threes, and the remaining foods in groups of five, with the Tudi Gong being worshipped with two bowls of wine and tea amongst the other ritual foods. In spite of such variation, a general pattern making use of a numerical code of five in such contexts is evident. It can be seen that a numerical order represents a status hierarchy of ancestors. This is exemplified by the fact that the Sicheng Tang Spring and Autumn Equinox rituals arrange the foods in groups of ten, in other words doubling the basic number. This was seen as part of a highly elaborate and fitting ceremonial for the ancestors, even by those who were not descendants of the ancestors of this particular hall.

(5) Ji yin ji yang, worshipping the yin and the yang, was a popular phrase used by both the Taoist priests and the lay community to summarise the aims of the jiao. Mr. Zhang emphasised that this phrase meant that the jiao was both a worship of divinities and a ritual for the solitary ghosts in torment in the afterlife.

- (6) These correspondences are set out in G. Beau: Chinese Medicine, trans. L. Bair, New York, 1972, pp. 42-43.
- (7) The Han shu astronomy section, for example, relates how the five stars are connected with the five colours and their respective "events" and emotions; in this way white is related to mourning and drought, red to lack of peace at the centre, and therefore armaments and soldiers, green to pensiveness and water, black to illness and many deaths, and yellow to fortune. The text then relates that if five stars are the same colour the Empire will quell warfare, that the masses will be at peace, there will be sons and dancing will occur, pestilence will not be seen and the five crops (a generic term meaning the totality of agricultural production) will be plentiful. (Lidai tianwen lüli deng zhi huipian, Vol. 1, Peking, 1975, p. 81).
- (8) This myth contains an important paradox, because the sword is normally considered a yang implement: it is martial, and is used by men as opposed to women. The paradox suggests a role-reversal, whereby the Taoist priest is associated with a destructive force which is opposed to the orthodox political system, since yang and zheng (right, orthodoxy) are correlated, while yin is associated with xie (evil, heterodoxy).
- (9) The charts were in an untitled book kept separately from the remaining jiao texts in a cream-cracker tin. Master Lin was willing to allow me to see the manuscript, but he did not wish it to be photocopied. This implies that he considered that the charts were more secret than canons which he allowed me to photocopy. However, a hand-transcribed copy was made. Mr. Zhang, on the other hand, would not show me his charts, claiming that they had been destroyed.
- (10) These dances, in contrast with the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, are the means by which the macrocosm of the cosmos is brought down into the ritual area of the jiao. They normally entail the performance of the Steps of Yu (Yu bu), in which the Taoist drags one foot behind the other limping in imitation of the legendary ruler Yu the Great who supposedly lived during the Xia dynasty (2140-1711 B.C). M. Kaltenmark gives the following succinct description:
- "The most famous [of the Taoist magic dances] is the Yü [Yu] dance, which goes back to very ancient times. Yü the Great, while laboring to stop the great flood, worked so hard that he ended up limping; his walk is supposed to be the origin behind his "step". But others say that heavenly spirits taught Yü this dance to give him command over the spirits of nature; still others claim that it is copied from the dance of strange birds, which use it to break up stones. It is a hopping dance that the sorcerers often perform in a state of trance. But the tao-shih [daoshi] consider its effectiveness to lie above all in the line traced by the officiant's feet, a line that reproduces the meander of the Great Bear [Northern Bushel] or other labyrinthine shapes. As described by Ko Hung [Ge Hong] in a chapter devoted to "methods for climbing mountains and fording rivers" this dance step had the same effectiveness as the talismans." M. Kaltenmark, Lao Tzu and Taoism, trans. R. Greaves, Stanford, 1969, pp. 127-128.
- Master Lin and his associates did not perform the Steps of Yu, nor was the phrase Yu bu marked on any of the charts. This contrasts with the 1974 jiao performed in Ha Tsuen, where the Steps of Yu were performed. It may also explain why Naam Moh Lai, (Mr. Deng) a Taoist priest living in Kat Hing Wai, criticised the skill of the Taoist priests in the performance of the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, emphasising that they did not know how to perform the [unspecified] steps properly.

(11) De Groot examined the symbolism and role of the cock in the context of Amoy funeral rites. He noted that the cock was "an important depository of yang matter" and that it kept "spirits of darkness" away from the coffin, which, in any case, would be put to flight every morning by the crowing of the cock. J.J.M.de Groot, The Religious System of China, Vol. I, Leiden, 1892, pp. 200-201.

(12) These "public" rites are performed in the year of a jiao as in any other year. However, they differ from the individual rites in involving a single representative of the community. The responsibility for these rites may depend on a system of rotation based on the list of households charged with burning incense in the village shrines and/or temples. Alternatively, the rites may be performed by the most senior man (the oldest man of the oldest generation) with a Taoist priest. In both cases, the ritual foods are funded out of village property.

(13) This connection between the Kam Tin jiao and marriage rites relates to one of the earliest meanings of the term jiao, namely marriage rituals themselves: vide Ci hai, Shanghai, 1936, p. 1502, s.v. jiao; Xiandai hanyu cidian, Hong Kong, 1977, p. 512, s.v. jiao.

The connection between the two notions of the jiao (a sacrifice and a marriage) is the contractual nature of the ceremonies involving the entry into, or renewal of, a bond amongst men, and between men and the gods; for marriage ceremonies, at least in Kam Tin, involve worship by the couple in front of the domestic divinity board which lists both gods and ancestors.

Chapter 6.

(1) Taishang Laojun is the title of the deified Laozi: vide Xiandai hanyu cidian, Hong Kong, 1977, p. 992, s.v. Taishang Laojun; also M. Kaltenmark, Lao Tzu and Taoism, Stanford, 1969, p. 108.

(2) Given that the term "di" refers to a building, the expressions wenlindi as a whole is equivalent to wenlinguan. This is an expression dating from the Northern Qi dynasty (550-577) when it referred to a hall for literary scholars. By the Ming and Qing dynasties, however, the title wenlinlang was an official rank and referred to someone who had been awarded the status of Seven Grades (qi pin). (Ci hai, Shanghai, 1936, p. 610, s.v. wenlinlang).

(3) Zhiwei is not a popular local divinity. In fact, I have never seen him outside the context of the jiao. My impression is that he was well known only to the Taoist priests and certain elders. Before the 1975 Kam Tin jiao, one young man in the middle of a discussion with Master Lin confessed complete ignorance about Zhiwei. On the other hand, one seventy year old elder from the same village, Shui Tau Tsuen, knew about Zhiwei, and hired a photographer to take a picture of his image after the 1975 jiao was over; he hung this picture in his house as an evil expellent. The identity of Zhiwei seems known as far north as Dongguan, because the Taoist priest who gave the first story (about Zhiwei corrected by Guanyin) came from Daojiao some six miles southwest of Dongguan City itself.

Chapter 7.

(1) Namely, the red and green bordered gown with Trigrams and the Great Unity symbol surrounded by the emblems of the Eight Immortals, and the Butterfly of Zhuangzi's dream.

(2) Informants, both Taoists and laymen, did not differentiate between the two rites in their discussion.

(3) At ruhuo ceremonies of the installation of an ancestral board in a new house, the Kam Tin Deng very often use a red hammer to symbolise fortune.

(4) Some Ritual Leaders were able to give definitions of the Three Pure Ones; in the case of one of the Ritual Leaders, the discussion was based on sections of the Saga of the Establishment of Gods (Feng shen yanyi) memorised in youth.

(5) In the past, all villages in Kam Tin used to buy a paper boat out of village funds; this would go through all the lanes of the village concerned and be filled with incense, paper money of the jinyinqian variety, candles, and hongfumi, red rice symbolising fortune and small green beans symbolising prosperity gained from office. The women would be responsible for this. The boat would then be taken to a river bank and burnt. These rites now only exist in Ying Lung Wai and the two villages of Pak Wai Tsuen. However, since the rite had been performed collectively for the whole of Kam Tin during the jiao, the two villages of Pak Wai Tsuen (Shui Mei Tsuen and Shui Tau Tsuen) did not perform the rite in 1976; this was normal practice during the year following a jiao. Here, therefore, is an example of the jiao supplanting the standard performances of the annual ritual cycle.

Pa tianji is one of a set of rituals which use boats as a means of expelling evil. For example, in Taiwan, Wangye (plague gods) boats are built, filled with sacrifices, and launched. The participants in the ritual hope that by doing this, they are sending the plague away from their area; vide Echo, vol. 5, no. 4/5, Taipei, 1975, p. 27; M.R. Saso: Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal, Washington, 1972, pp. 12-13.

The use of a small boat as a means of evil expulsion is also to be found amongst the Malays. J. Djamour, for example, describes a ritual called bela kampong which she observed in 1950, in Tanjong, a Malay coastal village in Singapore. In this ritual, the men built and carved a miniature boat, which was filled with offerings, and launched by the village magician, the bomor, the aim being to cleanse the village of any evil ghosts or supernatural threats to the inhabitants' health and prosperity (J. Djamour: Malay Kinship and Marriage, London, 1965, p. 20).

(6) There was a basis of truth to this. The Taoists about whom the Ritual Leaders were particularly critical came from Dongguan County (in Guangdong Province). These Taoist Priests' chanting style not only followed local sub-dialectal differences distinguishing the Dongguan dialects of Cantonese from those of Bao'an (for example, the character 禮 pronounced lai both in Bao'an dialects and Standard Cantonese is pronounced nai by Dongguan people), but had idiosyncratic sound changes which had been taught them by their Masters; for example the character 屈 pronounced wat in Standard Cantonese, fat in Bao'an dialects, was pronounced kwat by the Dongguan Taoists; the character 萬 pronounced maan in Standard Cantonese, meang in Bao'an dialects, was pronounced wan by the Dongguan Taoists, as it is in Modern Standard Chinese. The Ritual Leaders seemed to have less trouble with the Bao'an Taoists, whose dialect was similar to their own.

(7) This planting of the five bushels corresponds with the important aspects of the rite of suqi, not performed in the New Territories, but still performed in Taiwan. K. Schipper has described the essential aspects of the archaic version of the rite as the placing of zhenwen (Real or Absolute Scripts) which are placed in five bushels of rice, previously installed at the four corners and in the centre of the ritual area. Schipper states that nowadays [in Taiwan] sheets of blank paper are placed in the rice bushels, and ritual expressions are uttered in front of these sheets. The text of the sheets, invisible to the human eye, nevertheless will emerge thanks to the help of the founding patriarch of Taoism (K.M. Schipper, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve Section, Sciences Religieuses: Annuaire 1973-1974, vol. 82, pp. 63-67, Paris, 1975).

(8) In Yuen Long, for example, there were two performances of this rite both in the Er Di Miao, one of the twenty-first day of the first lunar month, and the other on the twenty-fifth day. This custom is also followed in Macau.

(9) The Six Paths of Life (liudao) are: (1) the Heavenly Path (tiandao); (2) the Divinities' Path (shendao); (3) Man's Path (rendao); (4) the Animals' Path (chudao); (5) Hell's Path (diyudao); (6) the Hungry Ghosts' Path (eguidao).

The Four Methods of Birth (sisheng) are: (1) Viviparous Birth (taisheng); (2) Oviparous Birth (luansheng); (3) the Wet Method of Birth (shisheng) this includes all sea creatures and dragons); (4) Metamorphosis (huasheng) (including all animals that shed their skin).

These descriptions were given to me by Master Lin. However the details are to be found in other texts: viz. Li S.H.: Daojiao yaoyi wenda jicheng, Gaoxiong, 1970, p. 163, which describes both the Six Paths of Life and the Four Methods of Birth, and Yu li bao chao quan shi wen, Shanghai, n.d. pp. 38 and 39, where a pictorial representation of the Wheel of Creation (lunhui) is set out.

(10) This title literally means the Ancestor who is the husband of an Imperial Prince's daughter, and refers to the Deng ancestor Deng Ziming who married the daughter of the Song Emperor Gaozong. However, this ancestor's ritual foods have been simplified in the post-World War II period. Nevertheless, buns of this type are used during the Autumn grave rites of Deng Guan (a second generation ancestor - that is, counting from Deng Hanfu).

(11) A geomancer, of the "modern" school, stated that the movements were constant. He added that the reason why the absolute positions of each of the Eight Gates changed was that these belonged to the Posterior Heavens, the heavens of change, as opposed to the absolute dimensions which belong to the Prior Heavens.

Chapter 8.

- (1) Nevertheless, raw pig was used at all ancestral rites at the grave-side, with the exception of the rites of Deng Zhijia, the focal ancestor of a rich Tang, and Deng Dehe, the father of Deng Hongyi.
- (2) About a hundred years ago (informants were not sure), that is four generations ago, a certain Shui Mei Tsuen descendant of Deng Yungu went to live with his fellow clansmen in Ping Shan; however, this is not recognised as a separation from Kam Tin. In fact, the ninth Ritual Leader was a direct descendant of this individual.
- (3) The other exception is the rites on the nineteenth day of the ninth lunar month, when all the descendant communities go to Tsuen Wan to worship Deng Rixu each bringing their own ritual foods. However, these rites are co-ordinated by the Deng clan association (Dengshi Zongqinhui), not by the communities of descendants as such; importance is attributed to these latter rites on the grounds that they centre on a focus common to the whole clan.
- (4) The documents also list the Earth God (Tudi Gong), but this must be a duplication since the site has no other god but She Gong who is the community earth god.
- (5) The jiao preparatory texts list the divinities to be collected from Lingyun Si as Guanyin, Weituo, Kuixing, Dizang Wang, and Buddha; in the 1975 jiao, however, only Guanyin was collected and sent back, this giving credence to the Ritual Leaders who stated that some of the gods were missing or had not been collected.
- (6) A leading member of the tang told me that the bones of the dead had been assembled into one place; then land had been bought to bury them, and eventually a temple to Dizang Wang (the Tongfu Tang) had been built to control the spirits of the dead and prevent them from getting their revenge on people.
- (7) Hong Kong Administration Reports for the Year 1917, Appendix J, p. 2, noted that the New Market at Yuen Long proved its usefulness and took much of the life out of the Old Market, where several bankruptcies had to be registered.
- (8) Furthermore, I myself travelled on the lorry which was the only vehicle which went to collect divinities from non-local areas; we did not go to Mai Po.

Chapter 9.

- (1) In the past, Kat Hing Wai, Wing Lung Wai, and Shui Mei Tsuen were the three other Kam Tin villages performing their own jiao. The Shui Mei Tsuen jiao according to the Village Headman was cancelled in his father's day; although he is a man in his seventies, he confessed he had not seen the rites. The Wing Lung Wai jiao according to informants was cancelled over thirty years ago, and the Kat Hing Wai one, after the Japanese occupation in World War II. These, it seems, were all three day performances, taking place at specific intervals, for example, in the case of Kat Hing Wai, once every five years.
- (2) I was not able to participate in the Tai Hong Wai jiao which was not performed while I was in the field; what information I have on it is derived from informants and from the preparatory text (op. cit.).
- (3) The chanting style of the ritual changes from one dialect group to another as I found from comparing the Cheung Chau rites chanted in the Weizhou sub-dialect of Minnanhua with those of the Kam Tin jiao, chanted in the Bao'an and Dongguan sub-dialects of Cantonese.
- (4) It is interesting to note how often the term "smooth" (shun) turns up in expressions indicating proper relations or expectations, which are quite current in the locality; two examples are; xiaoshun, "filial piety", and yi fan feng shun, literally, "with full sail following the wind", which the Hanyu chengyu cidian, Hong Kong, 1975, p. 2, interprets as "extremely smooth, no obstacles" but which my Deng informants considered to mean a clear road ahead to prosperity.
- (5) I am told by Chinese immigrants in England, that this is not universally so; some communities in the Sai Kung area do not specify generation depth on their ancestral tablets.
- (6) Not all "reversed" attributes belong entirely to the hungry ghosts; supernatural beings of all kinds, when offered food, use chopsticks with the left hand instead of with the right.
- (7) M. Douglas has correctly summarised the concern with pollution in the following way: "In chasing dirt ... we are not governed by anxiety to escape disease, but are positively re-ordering our environment, making it conform to an idea ... Reflection on dirt involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder, being to non-being, form to formlessness ..." (M. Douglas, Purity and Danger, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp. 12 and 16.)
- (8) Some time after the jiao I heard an argument in a Kam Tin Deng village which illustrates this point: a woman married to a Deng was complaining that her husband was seeing another woman; the wife then added that if her husband was really serious about this woman he should have put her name on to the subscribers' list together with the rest of his family, at the time of the jiao. This incident demonstrates that in Kam Tin the jiao was seen as a time for the straightening out and reckoning up of one's social relations.

PHOTOGRAPHS

1. The Governors' Temple (Zhou Wang Er Gong Shuyuan).



2. The Presentation of the Second Memorial: ritual foods and goods.



3. The Presentation of the Second Memorial: Master Lin purifying the environment.



4. The Presentation of the Second Memorial: dotting the Memorial with a live chicken.



5. The Great Knight (Dashi) with the Jade Emperor and Panguan.



6. The White Unpredictable One (Bai Wuchang).



7. The huapai erected at the entrance to the Governors' Temple.



8. The Fourth Court of Hell.



9. The Ritual Stage (daochang) in the main matshed.



10. The Taoist priests during the rite of Fetching Water (qushui).



11. The rite of Fetching Water: filling the earthenware jar with well water.



12. Mr. Zhang performing during the rite of Erecting the Banner Poles (shu fangan).



13. Master Lin presenting his Tablet of Office (hu) during the rites of Making the Texts Fly (fei wenshu)..



14. A Taoist priest reading the Memorial (shu) during the rites of Making the Texts Fly.



15. Preparing to burn the five paper horses during the rites of Making the Texts Fly.



16. A Taoist priest during a morning Rite of Atonement (chan).



17. Taoist priests and Ritual Leaders (yuanshou) during the rite of Walking the Audience (xingchao).



18. Master Lin burning a Charm (fu) during the rites of Restricting the Altar (jintan).



19. Preparing for the rites of Worship of the Small Ghosts (ji xiaoyou).



20. The Worship of the Dipper (lidou).



21. Taoists being offered wine during the Proclamation of the Scholars' List (bangshi).



22. The Procession of Incense (jinxiang) through Kam Tin: Taoist priests and Ritual Leaders entering the ancestral hall of Deng Hongyi, the founding ancestor exclusive to Kam Tin.



23. Messrs. Lin, Jian, and Zhang leading Ritual Leaders in worship during the rites of Welcoming the Divinities (yingsheng).



24. Master Lin Walking Through the Eight Gates (zou bamen), followed by Ritual Leaders.



25. The Proclamation of the Pardon (banshe).



26. The Release of Life (fangsheng).



27. The Worship of the Great Ghosts (ji dayou).



28. Mr. Jian leading the Ritual Leaders in worship in the open air after the period of continuous abstention.



29. The first Ritual Leader, holding the yizhe ting and Register of Subscribers, and surrounded by other Ritual Leaders.



30. Worship inside a Kam Tin Deng house during the rites of the Walking of the Charmed Duck (xingfuya).



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CHARACTER GLOSSARY

All entries are in Modern Standard Chinese, except terms in Cantonese (Yue dialect) marked with a [Y] and accepted transliterations to be found in the Concise Oxford Dictionary (6th edition). The glossary terms are broken down into subclasses and translations are only given when different characters having distinct meanings are all represented by the same transliteration.

The subclasses in this glossary are as follows :

- (A) Particular associations, agencies, firms, and other organisations;
- (C) Religious ceremonies and festivals. Major annual festivals are given capitals in conformity with the rules now adopted by the Academia Sinica (People's Republic of China);
- (D) Names of supernatural beings, namely deities and ghosts; the names and titles of specific divinities are given in capitals, according to the Academia Sinica (P.R.C.) standards;
- (E) Names of dynasties and reign titles;
- (K) Kinship terms;
- (M) Miscellaneous items;
- (N) Names of people;
- (O) Government and private organisational types and categories;
- (P) Names of places;
- (R) Names of ritual artefacts and foods, religious terms, geomantic terms, and astrological entities;
- (S) Terms and titles indicating status, official position, ethnicity, and occupation;
- (T) Temples, shrines, and ancestral halls.
- (W) Written sources.

Amoy (P) see Xiamen

Aobei Gang (P) 凹貝崗

Au Tau [Y] (P) 坳頭

bagua (R) 八卦

- bai beidou (C) 拜北斗
 Bai Wuchang (D) 白無常
 baiguo (M) 白菓
 bang (R) 榜
 bangshi (C) 榜式
 banshe (C) 頒赦
 Bao'an (P) 寶安
 Bao Gong (D) 包公
 baode (M) 報德
 Baxian (R) 八仙
 Baxian Miao (T) 八仙廟
 Baxiang Gu Miao (T) 八鄉古廟
 bei (M) 悲
 beidi (D) 北帝
 Beidi dan (C) 北帝誕
 beidou (R) 北斗
 Beimen Miao (T) 北門廟
 Beishan Xiang (P) 北山鄉
 ben ming yuan chen (M) 本命元辰
 Bi (R) 孛
 Bianmu Qiao (P) 便母橋
 biao (R) 表
 bo (K) 伯
 bu (O) 部
 Cai Boli (N) 蔡伯勵
 Caibo (D) 財帛
 Caiwuzu (A) 財務組
 can (C) 參
 can shen (R) 參神

- Canbian Lu (P) 倉邊路
- Cao (D) 曹
- chaguo (R) 茶菓
- chan (C) 讖
- chang (M) 唱
- changshou hua (R) 長壽花
- chanshi (C) 讖事
- chao (C) 朝
- Chao tianwang (N) 晁天王
- chaodu (R) 超度
- Chaozhou (P) 潮州
- Chau [Y] see Zhou
- Che Gong (D) 車公
- chen (S) 臣
- chenfu (R) 塵絲
- Chenghuang (D) 城隍
- chengshou (S) 城守
- cheongsam [Y] (M) 長衫
- Cheung Chau [Y] (P) 長洲
- ch'eung ch'eung kau kau [Y] (M) 長長久久
- ch'ing [Y] see qing [green]
- Chongming (P) 崇明
- Chongyang (C) 重陽
- chou en (M) 酬恩
- chu (R) [community feast] 廚
- Chu (P) [name of dynasty and region in China] 楚
- chuan (K) 傳
- chuanbei (K) 傳背

- chuanda (S) 傳達
 chudao (R) 畜道
 chui (R) 鎚
 ch'ui [Y] see Chui
 Chuzhou (P) 滁州
 ci () [Ancestral Hall] 祠
 ci (M) [kindness] 慈
 Citangzi (T) 祠堂仔
 cun (O) 村
 cundaibiao (S) 村代表
 cunzhang (S) 村長
 da huo (C) 打火
 da huopen (C) 打火盒
 da huopen huoxi (C) 打火盒火蓆
 da luogu (M) 打金羅金胡
 da sha (R) 打煞
 dabang (R) 大榜
 dacheng dahuang (M) 大誠大惶
 dafandou (W) 大梵斗
 dai (M) 代
 dajiao (C) 打西焦
 dajiao (C) [Great Jiao] 大西焦
 Dangtu (P) 當塗
 dao (R) 道
 daochang (R) 道場
 daoguang (S) 道廣
 Daojiao (P) 道涖
 daojun (D) 道君

- daoshi (S) 道士
- daren (M) 大人
- dashen (D) 大神
- Dasheng Jinzhen Yanjiao Tianzun (D) 大聖金真演教天尊
- Dashi (D) 大士
- Dawang (D) 大王
- Dawang dan (C) 大王誕
- daxian (S) 大憲
- dayou (D) 大幽
- dazhai (C) 打齋
- dazu (O) 大族
- deng (M) [lantern] 燈
- Deng (N) [surname] 鄧
- Deng Cong (N) 鄧聰
- Deng Dehe (N) 鄧德荷
- Deng Fuxie (N) 鄧符協
- Deng Guan (N) 鄧冠
- Deng Guanghai (N) 鄧廣海
- Deng Guangyutang (K) 鄧廣瑜堂
- Deng Gui (N) 鄧珪
- Deng Hanfu (N) 鄧漢畝
- Deng Heisha (N) 鄧黑沙
- Deng Honghui (N) 鄧洪惠
- Deng Hongyi (N) 鄧洪儀
- Deng Hongzhi (N) 鄧洪贄
- Deng Huafang (N) 鄧華芳
- Deng Huahui (A) 燈花會
- Deng Huai (N) 鄧槐

- Deng Jintian (N) 鄧錦田
- Deng Jing'an (N) 鄧敬安
- Deng Junan (N) 鄧居南
- Deng junma gong (N and S) 鄧郡馬公
- Deng Kangren (N) 鄧康仁
- Deng Lin (N) 鄧林
- Deng Nanqi (N) 鄧南溪
- Deng Qi (N) 鄧杞
- Deng Qifang (N) 鄧奇芳
- Deng Qifen (N) 鄧奇芬
- Deng Qihua (N) 鄧奇華
- Deng Qin (N) see Deng Xingqin
- Deng Qingle (N) 鄧清樂
- Deng Rixu (N) 鄧日旭
- Deng Rui (N) [son of Deng Hongyi] 鄧銳
- Deng Rui (N) [son of Deng Yang] 鄧瑞
- Deng Shu (N) 鄧恕
- Deng Tingzhen (N) 鄧廷楨
- Deng Wenwei (N) 鄧文蔚
- Deng Xingqin (N) 鄧星欽
- Deng Xuan (N) 鄧銜
- Deng Yang (N) 鄧陽
- Deng Yingqi (N) 鄧英奇
- Deng Yuanhe (N) 鄧允和
- Deng Yuanliang (N) 鄧允亮
- Deng Yuanxi (N) 鄧允禧
- Deng Yuanying (N) 鄧允英
- Deng Yuanzhen (N) 鄧允楨
- Deng Yungu (N) 鄧雲谷

- Deng Yunjian (N) 鄧雲澗
- Deng Yuzhang (N) 鄧與璋
- Deng Yuzhong (N) 鄧裕鍾
- Deng Zhen (N) 鄧鎮
- Deng Zhijia (N) 鄧知稼
- Deng Zhijiatang (K) 鄧知稼堂
- Deng Zi (N) 鄧梓
- Deng Ziming (N) 鄧自明
- Dengshi Zongqinhui (A) 鄧氏宗親會
- dian (T) 殿
- die (R) 碟
- ding (M) 丁
- dingzhou (R) 丁張
- di-san ci tongbiao (C) 第三次通表
- Ditu Chubanshe (A) [official Map Publication Press in the People's Republic of China] 地圖出版社
- dixing zaiwei (M) 帝星在位
- diyudao (R) 地獄道
- Dizang Wang (D) 地藏王
- Dongguan (P) 東莞
- Dongguan Zhuyuan (P) 東莞竹園
- Donglu (P) 東路
- dou (M) 斗
- doudeng (R) 斗火燈
- Doumu Yuanjun (D) 斗母元君
- du (O) 都
- Duanwu Jie (C) 端午節
- dui (R) 兑

- dujiang fashi (S) 都講法師
- Duqing Tang (A) 都慶堂
- eguidao (R) 餓鬼道
- Er Di Miao (P) 二帝廟
- Ershiyihui (A) 二十一會
- fa wenshu (C) 發文書
- facai (M) 發財
- fafeng shang tong biao (C) 發奉神通表
- famen (R) 法門
- Fan (D) 幡
- Fanchang (P) 繁昌
- fang (K) 房
- fang shuideng (C) 放水燈
- fang yankou (C) 放焰口
- fangan (R) 幡杆
- fangsheng (C) 放生
- fangsheng chi (R) 放生池
- fangzhang (S) 房長
- fashi (S) 法師
- Fei (N) 飛
- fei po (Y) (R) 飛 [飛?] 佈
- fei wenshu (C) 飛文書
- fen (M) 份
- fendeng (jintan) (C) 分火燈 (禁壇)
- feng (M) 鳳
- Feng shen yanyi (W) 封神演義
- fengjian shehui (O) 封建社會
- fengshui (R) 風水

- fengshui xiansheng (R) 風水先生
- fenjia (K) 分家
- Fo (D) 佛
- foshou (R) 佛手
- fu (R) [charm] 符
- fu (M) [fortune] 福
- Fu (O) [Prefecture] 府
- Fu (R) [star] 輔
- Fujian (P) 福建
- Fukien (P) see Fujian
- Fulong (P) 福隆
- Fung Kat Heung [Y] (P) 逢吉鄉
- Fuxi (N) 伏羲
- fuyou (R) 符油
- Fuzhou (P) 福州
- fuzhu (R) 府竹
- fuzhuxi (S) 副主席
- ganlu (M) 甘露
- gaogong ((da)fashi) (S) 高功(大)法師)
- gaoxing (M) 高興
- gaozhen (S) 高真
- Gaozhou (P) 高州
- gen (R) 艮
- Gong'an zu (A) 公安組
- gongcao (S) 功曹
- gongde (M) 功德
- gongde xin (M) 功德心
- gongjia (O) 公家
- gongming (S) 功名

- Gouchen (D) 勾陳
- gu (O) 股
- Guan Di (D) 關帝
- Guan Gong (D) 關公
- Guandao (M) 關刀
- Guangdong (P) 廣東
- Guangxi (P) 廣西
- Guangyu Tang (T) 光裕堂
- guanhua (M) 官話
- Guanyin (D) 觀音
- Guanyin Mao (R) 觀音帽
- Guazhou (P) 瓜洲
- gui (D) 鬼
- gui (M) [tortoise] 龜
- gui (M) [honour, wealth] 貴
- Gui Wang (D) 鬼王
- Guishan (P) 歸善
- Ha (D) 哈
- Ha Tsuen [Y] (P) 厦村
- Hakka [Y] (S) 客家
- Hangzhou (P) 杭州
- haoren (M) 好人
- haoshi (M) 好事
- he (M) 鶴
- he qing hai yan long (D) 河清海晏龍
- Hebei (P) 河北
- Henan (P) 河南
- Heng (D) 亨
- Heung Yee Kuk [Y] (A) 鄉議局
- Hezhou (P) 和州
- Hoklo [Y] (S) 福佬
- hong (M) 紅

- Hong Sheng (D) 洪聖
- Hong Sheng Gong (T) 洪聖宮
- hongbao (M) 紅包
- hongfenwan (R) 紅粉丸
- hongfumi (R) 紅福米
- Hongyi Gong Citang (T) 洪儀公祠堂
- Hop Yik [Y] (A) 合益
- Hou Wang (D) 侯王
- Hou Wang Miao (T) 侯王廟
- houtian (R) 後天
- houtian jinque (R) 後天金闕
- hu (M) 笏
- hua (M) 畫
- hua Dashi (C) 化大士
- Hua Gong (D) 花公
- Huaguang (D) 華光
- Huaide (P) 懷德
- huairen (M) 壞人
- huaishi (M) 壞事
- Huamu (D) 花母
- huanglu (R) 黃籙
- Huangmapuzi (P) 黃蔴葡仔
- huanshen (C) 還神
- huapai (M) 花牌
- huapao (M) 花炮
- huasheng (R) 化生
- huata (R) 花塔

- hui (O) 會
- huizhang (S) 會長
- Huizhou (P) (Guangdong Province)
- Huizhou (P) 徽州
- hukou (O) 戶口
- hun (R) 魂
- Hung Fan T'aam [Y] (P) 紅粉潭
- Huohu (D) 火虎
- Hushui Jiaolin (P) 湖水焦林
- ji (M) 己
- ji dayou (C) 祭大幽
- ji shuiyou (C) 祭水幽
- ji xiaoyou (C) 祭小幽
- ji yang (R) 祭陽
- ji yin (R) 祭陰
- ji you (C) 祭幽
- jia (K) 家
- Ji'an (P) 吉安
- jian (R) 簡
- jiandui (R) 煎堆
- Jiangsheng Tianzun (D) 降生天尊
- jiangshi (S) 講事
- Jiangsu (P) 江蘇
- Jiangxi (P) 江西
- jianjiao (C) 建醮
- jiao (R) 醮
- Jiaojizu (A) 交際組
- jiaozi (C) 餃子
- jiapu (M) 家譜

- jiatingren (K) 家庭人
- jiazhang (S) 家長
- jiazhu (S) 家主
- Jidi Huapaoahui (A) 鷄地花炮會
- jie cao xian huan (M) 結草銜環
- jiebang (C) 結榜
- jieshen (C) 接神
- jiexie (R) 解邪
- jiezhai muyu (R) 戒齋沐浴
- Jihezu (A) 稽核組
- jing (R) 精
- jing¹ men (R) 敬門
- jing² men (R) 景門
- jingguo (R) 京菓
- jinguan (R) 金冠
- jinhua (R) 金花
- jinian (M) 紀念
- jinshi (S) 進士
- Jinshi gong (N) 進士公
- jintan (C) 禁壇
- Jintian Xiang Shi Nian Li Jiao Weiyuanhui (A) 錦田鄉十年例西焦委員會
- jinxiang (C) 進香
- jinyinqian (R) 金銀錢
- Jintian zu (P) see Deng Jintian
- Jishan Shuyuan (T) 吉山書院
- Jishui Xian (P) 吉水縣
- Jiuhui (A) 舊會
- Jiujiang (P) 九江

- jiutian tian shang shen (D) 九天天上神
- jixing (R) 吉星
- Julu (P) 巨鹿
- Junan zu (P) see Deng Junan
- juren (S) 舉人
- kai [Y] (M) 鷄
- Kai Kok Shan [Y] (P) 圭角山
- kai men (R) 開門
- Kai Tei [Y] (P) 鷄地
- Kaideng (C) 開燈
- Kaitan (C) 開壇
- Kam Hing Wai [Y] (P) 錦慶園
- kam kat [Y] (M) 金桔
- Kam Tin [Y] (P) 錦田
- Kam Tin Shi [Y] (P) 錦田市
- Kam Tin Tsuen [Y] (P) 錦田村
- Kam Tin Xiang (P) 錦田鄉
- kan (R) 坎
- Kang (D) 康
- Kangxi (E) 康熙
- Kat Hing Tsuen [Y] (P) 吉慶村
- Kat Hing Wai [Y] (P) 吉慶園
- kau [Y] (M) 九
- Kau Naam Wai [Y] (P) 舊南圍
- Kau Pak Wai [Y] (P) 舊北圍
- keshi (S) 科事
- Ko Po (Tsuen) [Y] (P) 高埔(村)
- kowtow [Y] (R) 叩頭

- Kowloon Tong [Y] (P) 九龍塘
- Kuixing (D) 鬼斗星
- kun (R) 坤
- kung fu (M) 功夫
- kung hei t'im ting faat ts'oi [Y] (M) 恭喜添丁發財
- Kwangtung (P) see Guangdong
- Kwu Tung [Y] (P) 古洞
- kylin (M) 麒麟
- laba (M) 喇叭
- lai [Y] (M) [to come] 黎
- Lai [Y] (N) [surname] 黎
- lai shi [Y] (M) 禮是
- Lai Tung [Y] (P) 黎洞
- Laicheng Tang (T) 來成堂
- laobiao (K) 老表
- Laozi (D) 老子
- Leizhou (P) 雷州
- li (M) [distance] 里
- Li (N) [Immortal Official] 李
- Li (N) [surname] 黎; 李
- li (R) [trigram] 離
- Li Wanrong (N) 李萬榮
- Liang (N) 梁
- Lianhua Mao (R) 蓮花帽
- Lianzhou (P) 廉州
- lican (S) 禮參
- lidou (C) 禮斗
- Lin (N) 林

- Lin Daotang (A) 林道堂
- Lingbao Tianzun (D) 靈寶天尊
- Lingcan Daotang (A) 凌霄道堂
- Lingyun Si (T) 凌霄寺
- lingzhi cao (R) 靈芝草
- lisheng (S) 禮生
- Liu (D) 流
- liuchu (R) 六畜
- liudao (R) 六道
- Longhu Shan (P) 龍虎山
- Longyu (D) 龍王
- lu (M) [deer] 鹿
- lu (M) [fortune derived from position] 祿
- Lu (N) [surname] 盧
- Lu (D) [Unlucky Star] 魯
- lǜ (M) 綠
- lǜ cuo (M) 履錯
- Lǜ Dongbin (D) 呂洞賓
- luan (M) 亂
- luansheng (R) 卯生
- lunhui (R) 輪迴
- lunzhi (O) 輪值
- Lung Yeuk Tau [Y] (P) 龍躍頭
- Luohan (D) 羅漢
- Luoshu (W) 落書
- lupiao (R) 路票
- Ma (D) 馬
- Mai Po [Y] (P) 米埔

- Mamian (D) 馬面
- mao (M) 毛
- Mayuan (P) 蔴園
- midou (N) 米斗
- Miluo (P) 汨羅
- Ming (E) 明
- Ming Chenghua (E) 明成化
- Ming Hongwu (E) 明洪武
- Ming Xuande (E) 明宣德
- Minghuan Ci (T) 明宦祠
- Minguo (O) 民國
- Minnanhua (M) 閩南話
- minzhu shehui (O) 民主社會
- mixin (R) 迷信
- Moujing Tang (T) 茂荊堂
- Mouren Si (T) 謀人寺
- muk [Y] (M) 睦
- Mung Yeung [Y] (P) [name of a school] 蒙養
- muyu (R) 木魚
- Naam K'ai [Y] (P) see Deng Nanqi
- naam mo lo [Y] (S) 喃呸(巫)佬
- naam moh lo [Y] (S) 喃呸佬
- naam moh lo tso hei [Y] (M) 喃呸佬做戲
- naam moh sin shaang [Y] (S) 喃呸先生
- Naam Pin Wai [Y] (P) 南邊圍
- namo Emitufo (R) 喃呸阿彌陀佛; 南無阿彌陀佛.
- Nan'an (P) 南安
- nandou (R) 南斗

Nanqi zu (N) see Deng Nanqi

Nantou (P) 南頭

neitan (R) 內壇

Ng Ka Tsuen [Y] (P) 吳家村

ngau ngau am ch'a woh ngau [Y] (R) 咁咁掩吒味咁

ngo tei ke hing tai [Y] (M) 我哋嘅兄弟

Nianyue Zhao Cai He He Tongzi (D) 年月招財和合童子

Nianyue Zhao Cai He Jin Tongzi (P) 年月招財和金童子

Ningguo (P) 寧國

Niu Wang (D) 牛王

Niutou (D) 牛頭

pa tianji (C) 扒天紀

paifa baimi lishi (C) 派發白米利事

Pak Wai Tsuen [Y] (P) 北圍村

Pangu (Wang) (D) 盤古(王)

Panguan (D) 判官

Pat Heung [Y] (P) 八鄉

Ping Shan [Y] (P) 屏山

po (R) 魄

po shaat [Y] (D) see pusa

Pok Oi [Y] (P) [name of a hospital] 博愛

Poyang (P) 鄱陽

pudu (R) 普度

Puhui (D) 普惠

pusa (D) 菩薩

pushi (R) 普施

Qi (E) 齊

qi pin (S) 七品

- qian (R) 乾
- qiexin (M) 切心
- qiguai (M) 奇怪
- Qin Shihuangdi (E) 秦始皇帝
- Qin Shihui (N) 欽使會
- qing (M) [clear; pure] 清
- Qing (E) [dynasty name] 清
- qing (M) [azure; green] 青
- Qing Daoguang (E) 清道光
- Qingchun Yuan (T) 清春院
- qingjiao (C) 清醮
- Qingle zu (N) see Deng Qingle
- Qingming (C) 清明
- qingweidou (W) 清微斗
- Qinzhou (P) 欽州
- qitan (R) 啓壇
- qiyao (M) 七曜
- qizheng (M) 七政
- Qu Yuan (N) 屈原
- quanhe (R) 全盒
- qushui (C) 取水
- qushui jingtán (C) 取水淨壇
- Raoping (P) 饒平
- ren (M) 仁
- renao (M) 熱鬧
- Rencaishitou (P) 仁彩石埽頭
- rendao (R) 人道
- rensheng luwei (R) 人生祿位

- Rishi Jinbao Lishi Xianguan (D) 日時進寶利市仙官
 ruhuo (C) 入伙
 Ruiying tu (W) 瑞應圖
 ruyi (M) 如意
 sam chan [Y] (M) 心震
 Sam Chun [Y] (P) see Shenzhen
 san chan (C) 三懺
 san chao (C) 三朝
 San Tin [Y] (P) 新田
 Sanbao (D) 三寶
 sangshi (C) 喪事
 Sanguan (D) 三官
 sanhua (C) 散花
 sanku (R) 三苦
 sanjie (R) 三界
 Sanqing (D) 三清
 sansha (R) 三煞
 Sanyuan (D) 三元
 sanzhai (C) 散齋
 Sha Ling Wai [Y] (P) 沙嶺圍
 Sha Ling Wai Mei [Y] (P) 沙嶺圍尾
 Sha Po Tsuen [Y] (P) 沙埔村
 Shan Pui [Y] (P) 山背
 Shandong (P) 山東
 Shandong xiangma (W) 山東鄉馬
 shang men (R) 傷門
 shangliang (C) 上樑
 Shangqing (D) 上清

shangshen (R) 上神

Shangyuan Yi Pin Ci Fu Tianguan Dadi (D) 上元一品賜福天官大帝

shanshen (D) 山神

Shap Pat Heung [Yy (P) 十八鄉

shaqi (R) 煞氣

shashen (D) 煞神

Shatou Xu (P) 沙頭墟

She Gong (D) 社公

she men (R) 社門

she shuwen (R) 赦書文

Sheji (D) 社稷

Shek Kong [Y] (P) 石崗

Shek Wu Hui [Y] (P) 石湖墟

shen (D) 神

shen ren tongle (M) 神人同樂

shendao (R) 神道

sheng men (R) 生門

sheng ping (M) 生平

shengbei (R) 勝杯

shenjiang (S) 神講

Shennong (Huang) 神農(皇)

shenshi (R) 神時

shenting (T) 神廳

Shenxian Miao (T) 神仙廟

Shenzhen (P) 深圳

shenzhupai (R) 神主牌

Sheung Shui [Y] (P) 上水

Sheung Tsuen [Y] (P) 上村

- shi (K) [generation] 世
- Shi (N) [surname] 石
- shi (M) [measure] 石
- shideng fashi (S) 侍燈法師
- shifu (S) 師父
- Shijiantang (K) 師儉堂
- Shijing (P) 石井
- shijing fashi (S) 侍經法師
- Shijiuhui (A) 十九會
- shisheng (R) 濕生
- shixiang fashi (S) 侍香法師
- shou (M) 壽
- shou daqi (R) 收達氣
- shoulu (R) 手鑪
- shoumian (R) 壽麵
- shousi (S) 首司
- shu (K) [FyB] 叔
- shu (R) [Memorial] 疏
- shu fangan (C) 豎幡竿
- shubo xiongdi (K) 叔伯兄弟
- shui lu ji dayou (C) 水陸祭大幽
- Shui Mei Tsuen [Y] (P) 水尾村
- Shui Tau Tsuen [Y] (P) 水頭村
- Shuida (D) 水大
- Shuifu (R) 水府
- Shuihu zhuan (W) 水滸傳
- shuishangren (S) 水上人
- shuji (S) 書紀

- Shulin (P) 樹林
 shun (M) 順
 Shunzhi (E) 順治
 Shuowen (W) 說文
 si gong chong si (M) 思公崇祀
 si Men (R) 死門
 Sicheng Tang (T) 鬼成堂
 sidafang (K) 四大房
 Sik Kong Wai [Y] (P) 錫降圍
 sikong (S) 司空
 sili (S) 司理
 sin t'in sheung kaai [Y] (M) 先天上界
 sisheng 四生
 sixia mingbang jinghuo fenhua (C) 撕下名榜淨火焚化
 Song Gaozong (E) 宋高宗
 Song Jiang (N) 宋江
 Songshan (P) 松山
 songshen (C) 送神
 sui (M) 歲
 Sun Hao (N) 孫皓
 suqi (C) 宿啟
 Ta Kwu Ling [Y] (P) 打鼓嶺
 Tai Hong Tsuen [Y] (P) 泰康村
 Tai Hong Wai [Y] (P) 泰康圍
 Tai Kong Po [Y] (P) 大江埔
 Tai Mo Shan [Y] (P) 大帽山
 Tai Po Tau [Y] (P) 大埔頭
 Tai Wai [Y] (P) 大圍

- taigong (D) 太公
 taiji (R) 太極
 Tainan (P) 臺南
 Taiping (P) 太平
 Taiqing (D) 太清
 taiqing xianjing (R) 太清仙境
 Taishan (P) 泰山
 Taishan Yiyushe (A) 台山義裕社
 Taishang Laojun (D) 太上老君
 taisheng (R) 胎生
 Taisui (D) 太歲
 taiyang (M) 太陽
 Taiyi (D) 太乙
 taiyin (M) 太陰
 tan (R) [altar] 壇
 tan (M) [pluck an instrument] 彈
 tang (K and T) [group; hall; kinship unit] 堂
 tang (R) [soup] 湯
 Tang K'ei Fong [Y] (N) see Deng Qifang
 Tang Kwongyue [Y] (N) see Deng Guangyu
 Tang Ping Yee [Y] (N) 鄧秉彝
 tangguo (R) 糖菓
 taxiang (M) 他鄉
 tepai (S) 特派
 Tian Hou (D) 天后
 Tian Hou dan (C) 天后誕
 Tian Hou Miao (T) 天后廟
 tian shang shen (D) 天上神
 tiandao 天道

- tianding facai (M) 添丁發財
- tianjiang (D) 天將
- tianshi (R) 天師
- tianting (R) 天庭
- tianxia taiping (M) 天下太平
- tianzai-huanhuo (R) 天災鬼禍
- tiao (R) 條
- Tidou (D) 踢斗
- Tongfu Tang (T) 同福堂
- Tongqingtang (A) 同慶堂
- Tongtian Jiaozhu (D) 通天教主
- tongtian lu (R) 通天火爐
- tou tongbiao (C) 頭通表
- Tseung Kong Wai [Y] (P) 祥降園
- Ts'ing Lok [Y] (N) see Deng Qingle
- ts'oi [Y] (M) 財
- Tsuen Wan [Y] (P) 荃灣
- Tsz Tong Tsuen [Y] (P) 祠堂村
- Tudi Gong (D) 土地公
- Tuen Mun [Y] (P) 屯門
- Tung Tau (Tsuen) [Y] (P) 東頭
- wairen (S) 外人
- waitan (R) 外壇
- Wang (N) 王
- Wang Lai ren (N) 王來任
- wanghun (R) 亡魂
- Wangye (D) 王爺
- wanhui (M) 萬彙

- wanhuo (C) 玩火
- weijun (M) 微菌
- Weishangzu (A) 衛生組
- Weituo (D) 韋馱
- weiyuan (S) 委員
- weizhang (S) 團長
- wen (M) 文
- Wen (N) 文
- Wen Miao (T) 文廟
- Wen Wu Er Di Shuyuan (T) 文武二帝書院
- Wendi (D) 文帝
- Wenchang (D) 文昌
- Wenlindi (M) 文林第
- Wenlinguan (M) 文林館
- Wenlinlang (S) 文林郎
- Wenshuzu (A) 文書組
- Wing Lung Wai [Y] (P) 永隆園
- Wong [Y] (N) see Wang
- Wong Uk Tsuen [Y] (P) 黃屋村
- wu (M) 武
- Wu di [Sun Hao] (N) 吳帝
- wu zhou kuanbangwen (R) 五畫款榜文
- wudafang (K) 五大房
- Wudaoren (D) 五道人
- Wudi (E) 武帝
- Wuhu (P) 蕪湖
- wuhui (R) 污穢

- wulei haoling (R) 五雷號令
- wuqidai (R) 五炁帶
- wuwei (R) 無為
- xi chuan (N) 戲船
- Xia (E) 夏
- xiafu (S) 下夫
- xiajie (R) 下界
- Xiamen (P) 廈門
- xian (O) [county] 縣
- xian (R) [Immortal] 仙
- xiang (O) [area] 鄉
- xiang (R) [cosmic quadrant] 象
- xiang'an (R) 香案
- xiangchong (R) 相沖
- xiangu (R) 仙骨
- xianguan (D) 仙官
- xiangzhang (S) 鄉長
- xiansao (R) 仙掃
- xiantian (R) 先天
- Xianzang (P) 賢藏
- xiaoshun (M) 孝順
- Xiayuan San Pin Jie E Shuiguan Dadi (D) 下元三品解厄水官大帝
- Xichou (P) 西疇
- xie (R) [evil] 邪
- xie (M) [write] 寫
- xie fu (R) 寫符
- Xilu (P) 西路
- ximin (S) 細民

- Xin'an (P) 新安
- xingchao (C) 行朝
- xingdeng (C) 行燈
- xingfu (C) 行符
- xingfuya (C) 行符鴨
- xinggong daji (R) 興工大吉
- xingjun (D) 星君
- Xingqin zu (N) see Deng Qingqin
- xingxiang (C) 行香
- Xinhui (A) 新會
- xinnong (R) 信農
- xinqiao (R) 信僑
- xinshi (R) 信士
- xinsi (M) 辛巳
- xiong (R) 凶
- xiongxing (R) 凶星
- xiqian (R) 奚錢
- xitian (R) 西天
- Xitianzhuguo (R and P) 西天竺國
- Xixiang (P) 西鄉
- xiu men (R) 休門
- xiucaai (S) 秀才
- xueshengshi (S) 學生事
- xueshi (S) 學事
- xun (R) 巽
- xunfu (S) 巡撫
- Xunfu Guangdongbuyuan (O) 巡撫廣東部院
- Xunfuhui (A) 巡撫會

- yamen (O) 衙門
- Yanfu (R) 閻浮
- yang (R) 陽
- Yang Hou (Dawang) (D) 楊侯 (大王)
- yangfan (C) 揚播
- Yangzi (P) 楊子
- Yanluo Wang (D) 閻羅王
- Yantian (P) 雁田
- yaomoguiguai (D) 妖魔鬼怪
- Ye (N) 葉
- yetou xiaoyou (D) 夜頭小幽
- Yeung Uk Tsuen [Y] (P) 楊屋村
- yi (R) [cosmic division] 儀
- Yi (N) [surname] 伊
- yi fan feng shun (M) 一帆風順
- yi jian facai (M) 一見發財
- yimao (M) 乙卯
- yin (R) [category] 陰
- Yin (D) [Heavenly General] 殷
- yingbang (C) 迎榜
- Ying Lung Wai [Y] (P) 英龍圍
- yingshendengtan (C) 迎神登壇
- yingsheng (C) 迎聖
- yingsheng lou (R) 迎聖樓
- yingshou zhongsheng (D) 迎壽眾神
- Yingxiong Ci (T) 英雄祠
- yinqi (C) 陰契

- yisi (M) 己巳
- yisi (M) 乙巳
- yiwai siwang (R) 意外死亡
- yizhe ting (R) 意者亭
- youbang (R) 幽榜
- youhun (D) 游魂
- Youlin Ci (T) 友鄰祠
- youpiao (R) 幽票
- yu (M) [Jade] 玉
- Yu (N) [name of legendary ruler during the Xia dynasty] 禹
- Yu bu (R) 禹步
- Yuan (E) 元
- yuanchan (C) 完讖
- yuandeng (C) 完燈
- Yuanhuang (D) 元皇
- Yuanshi Tianzun (D) 元始天尊
- yuanshou (S) 緣首
- yuanshuai (S) 元帥
- Yue (M) 粵
- Yuen Kong [Y] (P) 元崗
- Yuen Long [Y] (P) 元朗
- Yuen Long Kau Hui [Y] (P) 元朗舊墟
- Yuhuang Dadi (D) 玉皇大帝
- Yuhuang menxia (D) 玉皇門下
- Yulanpen (C) 盃蘭盆
- Yungu zu (N) see Deng Yungu
- Yunjian zu (N) see Deng Yunjian
- Yuqing (D) 玉清

- yutian gexia (D) 五天閣下
 yuxu sheng shen (D) 五虛生神
 zai (R) 災
 Zaojun (D) 竈君
 zhaicai (R) 齋菜
 Zhang (N) 張
 Zhang Daoling (N) 張道陵
 Zhang Hongrun (N) 張宏閏
 Zhang Huangyan (N) 張煌言
 Zhang Pu (N) 張璞
 Zhang tianshi (N and S) 張天師
 Zhang Yihe (A) 張義和
 Zhanghua (P) 彰化
 Zhao (D) 趙
 Zhejiang (P) 浙江
 Zhen (D) 震
 Zheng (N) 鄭
 zheng (M) 正
 Zheng Chenggong (N) 鄭成功
 Zheng Zhilong (N) 鄭芝龍
 zhengri (M) 正日
 Zhengyi (R) 正一
 Zhenjiang (P) 鎮江
 zhenjun (D) 真君
 zhenren (D) 真人
 zhenwen (R) 真文
 zhibangwen (R) 值榜文
 Zhijia Tang (T) 知稼堂
 zhili (S) 值理
 zhishi (S) 執事

- zhitan (fashi) (S) 值壇 (法師)
- Zhiwei (D) 智微
- Zhongshan (P) 中山
- Zhongyuan Er Pin She Zui Diguan Dadi (D) 中元二品赦罪地官大帝
- Zhou (N) 周
- Zhou Wang er gong (N) 周王二公
- Zhou Wang Er Gong Shuyuan (T) 周王二公書院
- Zhou Youde (N) 周有德
- Zhu (D) [Immortal Official] 朱
- zhu (K) [pillar] 柱
- Zhuangzi (N) 莊子
- zhuhui (S) 主會
- zhuji (S) 主祭
- zhuke (S) 主科
- zhuo (M) 濁
- zhushu (R) 囑書
- zhuwen (R) 祝文
- zhuxi (S) 主席
- Zhuyuan An (T) 竹園庵
- zongdu (S) 總督
- zongtong (S) 總統
- Zongwuzu (A) 總務組
- zongzu (K) 總祖
- zou banmen (C) 走八門
- zou sheshu (C) 走赦書
- zou wenshu (C) 走文書
- zoujing (S) 素經
- zouxiang (S) 素香

zu (K) [ancestor; ancestral trust] 祖

zu (K) [clan; lineage] 族

zu (O) [group] 組

zui (M) 罪

zupu (M) 族譜

zuzhang (S) 族長