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Fu-Chen Chiang

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Models in Taoist liturgical texts:  
Typology, Transmission and Usage  
A case study of the *Guangcheng yizhi*  
and the Guangcheng tradition in modern Sichuan

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Thèse de doctorat d'études chinoises

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## Introduction

*Guangcheng Yizhi* 廣成儀制 is a collection of Taoist liturgical texts that was written and compiled in Sichuan Province in the mid-Qing Dynasty. Nowadays, it contains over three hundreds texts, and some of them are still used by Sichuan Taoists for their ritual performances, in various contexts, from temple celebrations to funerals and offerings within the homes of laypeople. The compiler, Taoist Chen Fuhui 陳復慧 (1734-1802), included different liturgical traditions current in his time into the newly edited texts and into the collection; moreover, he also created a new practice style with local Taoist music, tunes, and *wenjian* to match the liturgical manuals. This practice tradition – which I here refer to as “*Guangcheng* rituals” and “*Guangcheng* tradition”, was soon accepted by Sichuan Taoists and gained the most popular and important position among Sichuan local ritual traditions. It took Chengdu city and its surroundings as its center, achieved dominant position in western Sichuan, and spread out to the whole Sichuan and other provinces.

I have long been interested in Taoist ritual codification and written documents (*wenjian*). I chose to study the *Guangcheng* tradition because it offers an original perspective: here we have a living ritual tradition for which all the liturgical manuals, plus collections of model *wenjian* documents, have been codified into one collection and printed (a rather rare situation indeed for Taoist liturgy, outside the Taoist canon), and thus made widely available, during the modern period. My aim was thus not to pursue a focused study on one temple or family, or one ritual, as is often done in contemporary scholarship on Taoist ritual, but rather to understand the larger logic and operation of a local ritual tradition. How was this ritual tradition codified? And how do Taoists use it, balancing respect for the printed texts, and their own creativity?

While exciting, this research question was also daunting, not only because of the vast amounts of liturgical texts involved, but also because there is very little secondary literature to rely on. Another local Sichuan ritual tradition, the Fayantan 法言壇, has been studied by Volker Olles and Xu Fei, providing many clues and stimulating ideas.<sup>1</sup> The *Guangcheng* tradition has never been seriously studied as such. Li Yuanguo, with whom I have discussed my work, is in the process of writing on the topic, but it has not been published yet as I finish writing this dissertation.

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<sup>1</sup> Olles 2013, Xu Fei 2013.

More generally, even though Sichuan University has a major research center on Taoist studies, precious little work has been done on Sichuan Taoism in the modern and contemporary period.<sup>2</sup> The *Daozang Jiyao* project and other work, notably by Mori Yuria, on the publications at the Erxian An, have helped me understand the context of the publication of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* during the early twentieth century.<sup>3</sup>

### Structure of the dissertation

There are two main parts in my dissertation. First, I devote two chapters to the history of Sichuan Taoism and the *Guangcheng* texts. I focus on local Taoist history from the Qing Dynasty, to the Republican era and the PRC period. I divide this time frame into three periods according to historical events, especially those related to the *Guangcheng* tradition. By following in parallel the larger course of local history and that of Taoism, we can see both the development of *Guangcheng* ritual in its local social context and, how Taoist activities were deeply influenced by political and social change.

After laying out this historical context, I examine the *Guangcheng Yizhi* itself, its textual history and editions. I address some fundamental issues that have been so far ignored by scholars. First of all, as a huge text collection it has no final and decisive catalog left; as a result, we cannot be sure neither of its exact contents, nor of the total numbers of texts included. I obtained two copies and three catalogs of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* to compare their contents, and came to the conclusion that there were probably no final edition ever made, no matter in Chen Fuhui's time or during the late Qing when this collection was woodblock-printed.

Most *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts we can see today are from the “*Erxian An kanben* 二仙菴刊本” in late Qing Dynasty (the very source of the modern reprint in the *Zangwai Daoshu* collection, 1992-94). They had fixed wood-cutting style and copies are still printed out of these woodblocks nowadays. The other few extant *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts are small-scale sections of the larger collection, or individual texts. And among them, very few extant copies predate the *Erxian An kanben*. Generally speaking, the origins and early history of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* are not much documented; today, almost every Taoist use the edition from Erxian An. In comparing the two comprehensive collections available (the *Zangwai Daoshu*

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<sup>2</sup> Gan 2000, 2003; Guo Wu 2008; Li Yuanguo 1985; Liu Hong 2009; Zhang Zehong 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Esposito 2006, 2009; Mori 2007, 2013.



reprint and a website repository of Taoist texts, “*Baiyun Shenchu Renjia*”), we can confirm the common saying among Sichuan Taoists that the total amount of *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts is about three hundred, but there are still several newly-composed texts appearing in the twenty-first century. In any case, this vast collection of texts is always regarded by Taoists as a complete whole that can serve almost all kinds of ritual needs – from the emperor to the common people and from the temples to the village homes.

I also tried to approach questions pertaining to the sources of the *Guangcheng* tradition, such as the exact time and process of editing and publishing the *Guangcheng yizhi*, the background of the editor Chen Fuhui, and the name of “*Guangcheng*”. I found that most Taoists and scholars agree the name *Guangcheng* refers to the eminent Taoist Master Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850~933). The main reason is because Du was the most famous Taoist in premodern Sichuan, and Chen Fuhui himself also admitted this heritage. But I believe we need more analysis on ritual practice styles and the meaning of ritual arrangement before we can claim any actual continuity.

The second part of this dissertation concerns the “*Guangcheng* Taoists” (who use *Guangcheng Yizhi* as ritual texts, no matter which lineage they belong to). I approach them through both reading source materials and my fieldwork. Taoists with different lineage traditions – Quanzhen or Zhengyi, “calm altar” or “active altar”, and other categorizations yet – have little difference in ritual practice, and these will not become a problem when collaborating with each other. It is a concept of local identity that Taoists within a territory using mainly the same dialect and music tunes, tend to collaborate and help each other, thereby contributing to maintaining the dominant position of their shared ritual tradition. This justifies my choice of using “*Guangcheng* ritual” as the object of the study, rather than having a narrower focus on one temple or troupe; in this approach, the shared ritual tradition can re-conciliate micro-local differences under a macro-vision.

My basic understanding of *Guangcheng Yizhi* comes from arranging texts into larger related clusters, understanding their function, logic and connections, and relating them to collections of model documents sent to the gods in the course of the ritual, the *wenjian ji* 文檢集. There are four such *wenjian ji*, dating from the Qing period; they provide invaluable evidence for the history of the ritual; at the same time, and still are used by *Guangcheng* Taoists today. After analyzing them, I point out that the first element of division is marking off “*Yin Zhai* 陰齋” and “*Yang Jiao*

陽醮”。 Under this division between *Yin* and *Yang* rituals, I elaborate on twenty kinds of rituals that are said to be capable in satisfying almost all problems from the emperor to common people. Although the number of specific rites in this collection is huge, thanks to the clear vision of ritual structure built in the collection by Chen Fuhui, ritual practice in the *Guangcheng* tradition has been made relatively easy to understand. This structure remains visible from the simplest rites to the large-scale rituals including dozens of rites and running over several days.<sup>4</sup>

To respond of the lack of *Guangcheng Yizhi* catalog, I have tried to understand how Taoists themselves deal with the abundance of rites at their disposal, and how they learn, classify, use and combine them. I found Taoists always have some personal opinion of rites that can help them to associate and connect rites with each other. By giving every rite a simple but specific meaning, they can classify rites and sketch a (mental) map about the nature and function of rites. With such a map, they can structure an understanding from which to choose rites and arrange a ritual.

Picking up an appropriate rite or making a proper ritual rundown are all dependent upon the Taoists' reasoned decision. The art of setting a rundown concerns numerous matters of attention, as well as numerous taboos and rules; so that it is very difficult to generalize. Ritual practices are like every other aspect of Taoism; they all have to be developed in balance and harmony. We can take ritual as an organism that can deform itself at will but that will always keep its basic natural form. This is certainly true of all local ritual traditions, but it is a question particularly worth exploring in the case of the *Guangcheng* tradition in modern Sichuan, because there we have a shared, public repertoire of some three hundred rites from which numerous Taoists choose to compose and perform their rituals – a situation quite different from that in many parts of the Chinese world.

Every *Guangcheng* ritual performance has its own rundown design based on the special request put to the *gaogong* 高功 by the lay patron (petitioner). Although there might be some repetitions (the same rundown used on different occasions), it is never intentional. This process of deciding on a rundown might seem short and easy to decide, but on the contrary, it in fact takes all the essential knowledge the *gaogong* has acquired in his Taoist life. He must find out the most suitable rites,

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<sup>4</sup> In this dissertation, I use “rite” to designate a simple, self-contained set of actions, often lasting from half an hour to two hours, and usually corresponding to one manual/text in the *Guangcheng Yizhi*, and a ritual as a larger performance, comprised of any number of rites, done to answer a request (a funeral, a thanksgiving, the birthday of a god).

examine all details according to the rules, and avoid taboos and mistakes as much as possible. The *Gaogong* is definitely a rationalist when making such decisions, based on rational thinking and logic. He arranges the rundown according to the meaning and significance of rites. He identifies rites as the most necessary vs. secondary, and accepts or rejects each of them based on the situation to make sure he sets a proper rundown. I believe it is the inherent rationality of Taoism that makes these regular principles work. These include knowledge and common sense about deities' identities, and ritual methods.

After these analysis of how Guangcheng Taoists use the vast repertoire of the Guangcheng *Yizhi* to build ritual, I devote the sixth and last chapter to a case study of one specific type of ritual in which I am particularly interested: the Pay-Back of the life debt, that is, the ritual whereby one repays, when still alive the debt contracted when the gods gave him a body at birth. This ritual has a long history, going back to the Tang period, and exists in various parts of the Chinese world. It is very alive in the Guangcheng tradition, and it constitutes there a very large-scale ritual, with a massive use of *wenjian* documents. The study of the texts and actual practice of the Pay-Back ritual allows me to illustrate and further refine my analysis of the ritual structure in the Guangcheng tradition.

## **Methodology**

This dissertation is based on the dual use of two methodologies: textual studies and fieldwork. My method in textual studies is quite straightforward: I have closely read the whole *Guangcheng Yizhi*, paying attention not only to its discourse and style, and its sources in earlier Taoist liturgy, but also its materiality (layout, extant copies). I have also used all available external historical evidence on Chen Fuhui and later Taoists, and ritual practice (notably in local gazetteers 地方志), even though I did not find as much as I would have wished, and the history of Taoism on modern Sichuan is still largely a *terra incognita*.

In terms of fieldwork and observing ritual practice, I interviewed *Guangcheng* Taoists – especially the ritual leading specialists, the *gaogong* – about their training process to find out the most knowledge, techniques, and their exercise. Because of the huge play space, *gaogong* always have to set the ritual rundown by themselves. They might have explanations of their own, and special ways in connecting and combining rites into a bigger imaginary map. Thus, they can always create new, appropriate rundown when necessary. Furthermore, a *gaogong* makes this decision

based on their rich studying and experience from a long professional life; they create it perfectly without offending any ritual rules.

Thanks to the kindness and open-minded attitudes of Sichuan Guangcheng Taoists, I had the chance to discuss at length with them, asking many questions on their rituals and they also responded me seriously. It is partly through these extended discussions that I came to understand that most ritual arrangements and rundowns are changeable and can be arranged at will (within the bounds of certain rules). Because this thinking process is based on reasoning and experience, it opens a possibility to outside researchers, like myself, to really engage with the Taoists on their practice, and this was a gratifying experience.

I conducted three periods of fieldwork in China: 2011/06/12-06/22, 2011/11/13-11/22 (in Wuhan, Hubei) and 2012/06/29-10/10. I spent most of the time in Chengdu city and its surroundings. I visited Taoist temples of both Quanzhen and Zhengyi schools, such as Qingyang Gong 青羊宮, Heming Shan 鶴鳴山 (道觀), Qingcheng Shan 青城山, Niangniang Miao 娘娘廟 and Zhenduo Guan 真多觀. Beside temples, large numbers of Quanzhen and Zhengyi Taoists live and work from home, and I sought them out. Such Taoists mainly perform *Guangcheng* ritual, and some of them then became my main informants and friends. With them, I attended several *Guangcheng* rituals, and in some cases could observe the whole process step by step from the moment a lay person comes to invite a Taoist. That also gave me chance to compare the same rite/ ritual performed in different temples, or a rite performed in the same temple on different occasions, with some differences (at different times or by a different *gaogong*).

During these periods, I attended some rituals that I could not only observe closely, but also participate in, having had the opportunity to be a junior assistant in the altar. I spent some days living in the temples, that allowed me observe Taoist practices beyond the strict definition of ritual (actually, living inside a temple constantly involves all manners of ritual conduct). I also visited several Chengdu-based professors and scholars, Li Yuanguo, Zhang Zehong, Guo Wu and Gan Chaocheng, and obtained useful advice from them. I also spent times collecting documents and local publications in Sichuan University Library, Sichuan Province Library, Sichuan Province Archives and Chengdu City Archives.

My Taoist informants were all nice and friendly, answering my questions generously and being willing to share information with me. After my fieldwork, I

have been in contact with several of these Taoists over the Internet. We keep in touch mainly through the Chinese website “*Weibo*” and the instant messenger “QQ”. Through that, I can still get ritual performing news from them and ask questions. Some of them even came to Taiwan to perform rituals, and I thus had another kind of fieldwork to observe the spreading of *Guangcheng* ritual outside of Sichuan. Besides, in the time I spent preparing the dissertation in Taiwan (2013-2015), I attended some rituals that were performed according to *Guangcheng Yizhi* or with some related *Quanzhen* ritual. I am looking forward to extend my research with the Taiwan-based Taoists who are importing these mainland ritual traditions. These were all valuable experiences to me.

I was inspired a lot by Sichuan Taoists and, of course, almost all of them were *Guangcheng* Taoists. Since my research area is Chengdu city and its surrounding area, I had no opportunity to attend folk ritual practice in the country. Moreover, because of China’s current religious policy, *Quanzhen* lineages take a dominant position, while other lineages like *Zhengyi* are relatively weak. I, thus, had less success in understanding *Zhengyi* Taoists. I really hope to devote more work to this aspect so as to improve our knowledge of grassroots *Zhengyi* Taoist ritual in Sichuan in the future.

## Chapter 1

### A Brief History of Taoism in Sichuan and the Publication of the *Guangcheng yizhi*

#### 1-1 A brief History of Taoism in Modern Sichuan

Taoist history is by no means a continuous linear development over thousands of years; it also has experienced periods of radical change. The topic of this dissertation, the *Guangcheng Yizhi*, appeared just at such a moment of change, coming after a time of dramatic social upheaval. It both carried on the earlier local ritual traditions and expressed a project for a local Taoist renewal. My research focuses on this project as it developed in modern times, from the Qing Dynasty, into the Republican period and the PRC period. According to my understanding of Sichuan Taoist history, I have divided these years into three periods: from the early Qing Dynasty to the early Republican period; from the early Republican period to the 1980s and from the 1980s to the present. This periodization is not divided by political eras but by internal Taoist history, as discussed below. It is because, in my opinion, even though political authority has a considerable impact on religious and social life, other factors are even more important in shaping society on the long term. People and society evolve continuously across regime changes, and periodization can only hint at such complex processes. This chapter thus begins with an overview of Taoism in Sichuan during this period.

#### Period I: from the early Qing Dynasty to the Republic

Although Taoism has a very rich and long history in Sichuan, its development during the Qing was marked by a number of breaks with earlier periods, due to the change of political regime and, most importantly, dramatic demographic changes. During the last years of the Ming Dynasty, Sichuan province suffered greatly from drought, famines, epidemic diseases and wars. The Zhang Xianzhong rebellion and its suppression caused massacres on a gigantic scale. Years of conflict caused this province, known as “the land of paradise”, tremendous losses of agricultural production, population and traditions. Not until the middle of Kangxi (r. 1661~1722) did the Qing dynasty take full control over Sichuan. The regime then encouraged or forced massive migration to fill the then largely de-populated province. Immigrants from other provinces of China made Sichuan a newly culturally diverse region,

bringing with them, among other things, their ritual traditions. This movement is called “the migration from Hu and Guang (mainly) to fill Sichuan”.<sup>5</sup>

Records of that time shows that “less than one-tenth of the households could survive<sup>6</sup>”. Religions suffered greatly as well. Despite of the harsh situation, local Taoists still tried to preserve their temples and traditions. Qingyang Gong temple 青羊宮, for example, was one of the largest Taoist temples (formerly, called Qingyang Wanshou Gong in Ming Dynasty) within the province capital Chengdu. Qingyang Gong was so badly damaged during the wars that “the Qingyang Gong area became wasteland where wild deer and boars inhabit.”<sup>7</sup> At the beginning of the Kangxi reign, repair work began at the Qingyang Gong. Without any competent Taoists among them, local people had to go outside of Chengdu to “ask Taoist Tao Laiyu 陶來御 to manage temple affairs<sup>8</sup>”. In Kangxi 6 (1667), Zhang Dedi 張德地, the Sichuan Governor-General donated money to repair Qingyang Gong (primarily the main hall, Sanqing Dian, Three Pure ones Palace) and the temple was restored over several years. There are a few other records on Taoists maintaining their traditions and institutions through the conflict, but they do not account for a large part of pre-war local Taoism.<sup>9</sup>

We know much better the situation as it developed after peace was restored, notably after the end of “the Rebellion of Three Feudatories”, in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of Kangxi (1681). Records of that period mostly document the central institutions of the Longmen lineage. The Founder of the Bidong branch, a lineage of Longmen School, named Chen Qingjue 陳清覺, (1606~1705), was born in Wuchang city, Hubei Province, style names Hansong and Yanya). He forsook the world and became a Taoist at Wudang Shan, northern Hubei. His master was Zhan Tailin 詹太

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<sup>5</sup> About the study of calamities and migrations, refer to Zao Shuji 1997a, b; Wang Di 2001; Xie Taofang 2004; Zhang Lihong and Zhang Xuejun 2011.

<sup>6</sup> According to local gazetteers, people of Guangyuan and Shuangliu County survived at the rate of one – tenth. Although stories are different, “the rate of Sichuan native survived were not more than 10% in generally” (Cao Shuji 1997a: 77)

<sup>7</sup> Wang Yun 王澐, *Shuyou Jilue (A Brief Travel Notes to Sichuan)*.

<sup>8</sup> By Governor-General Zhang Dedi, “Stone Tablet Inscription on the repair of Qingyang Gong” (1671, 10<sup>th</sup> year of Kangxi) Tao Laiyu was a late Ming Taoist living in solitude in Dayi County. He was named as the Qingyang Gong abbot by Zhang Dedi and as “the (new) founder of Qingyang Gong” (*Minguo Dayi Xianzhi*, vol. 11, part *xianshi*). We know nothing about Tao’s original temple. We are only sure that he was not affiliated to the Longmen lineage, but belonged to a Sichuan local tradition. Because of the situation with Qingyang Gong’s damage in his time and the fact that he was not a Longmen Taoist, he left very little records.

<sup>9</sup> For example, the Yuhuang Guan temple was rebuilt the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Kangxi (1664) (from *Minguo Xindu Xianzhi*); and also by the tablet “*Chongxiu Xianyingwang Miaobei* 重修顯英王廟碑” showed the date of rebuilding was the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Yongzheng (1733). Those revivals were all earlier than the coming of Quanzhen lineage to Sichuan and also the peace of Chengdu area.

林 (in the 9<sup>th</sup> generation of Longmen School), Chen thus belonged to the 10<sup>th</sup> generation. In Kangxi 8 (1669), Chen went to Sichuan and cultivated with other Taoists: Mu Qingfeng 穆清風, Zhang Qinghu 張清湖, Zhang Qingyun 張清雲, Zhang Qingye 張清夜 and Zhang Qingshi 張清仕. Chen then moved to Chengdu city and eventually was entrusted with managing the Qingyang Gong and Wuhou Ci temple. Chen's companions then moved to and managed various temples around Sichuan. Since then, Longmen School started developing for the first time in Sichuan<sup>10</sup>. According to a recent study, “There were very few Quanzhen Taoists in Sichuan before Chen Qingjue.<sup>11</sup>”

In Kangxi 34 (1695), Chen received a large donation from Governor-General Zhao Liangbi 趙良璧. Zhao built a new temple named Erxian An next to Qingyang Gong for him. Furthermore, Zhao reported Chen's great achievements to the Emperor. Then Chen Qingjue was summoned by Emperor Kangxi and received from him a horizontal inscribed board “red platform and green cave (*dantai bidong* 丹臺碧洞)”, and a honorific title “Perfected Bidong, Bidong Zhengren 碧洞真人<sup>12</sup>”. Chen then established a new branch, Bidong Zong 碧洞宗 at Erxian An, which lives on today. The generation poem is the same as that of the Longmen lineage<sup>13</sup>. Most Taoists in Sichuan took Chen Qingjue as their founder ancestor master. Longmen Taoists thus gained a dominant position in terms of both their numbers and their control of large institutions. This was the first time the Zhengyi School lost its domination in Sichuan, and this situation has continued till now.

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<sup>10</sup> Mu Qingfeng managed Zitong Gong Temple and then became the 10<sup>th</sup> generation ordination Master for the Quanzhen Taoists. Zhang Qinghu managed Tianshi Dong Temple on Qingcheng shan. Zhang Qingyun managed Yuntai Guan Temple, Shantai County. (*Zhongguo Daojiaoshi*, vol.4, pp. 151~3.)

<sup>11</sup> Wang Zhongzhi 2000: 94.

<sup>12</sup> According to *Sichuan Tongzhi (Yongzheng reign)*: “Erxian An Taoist Chen Qingjue received a horizontal inscribed board “Dantai Bidong”, a poem, a coral set and a golden cup by Emperor” (juan 30, edited by Huang Tinggui. *Siku Quanshu*, Wenyuange edition.) Most later records of Chen Qingjue are based on this source. But I have been unable to find an original source about the name “Perfected Bidong” given by Emperor.

<sup>13</sup> The poem is: “Dao-de-tong-xuan-ging. Zhen-chang-shou-tai-qing. Yi-yang-lai-fu-ben. He-jiao-young-yuan-ming. Zhi-li-zong-cheng-xin. Chong-gao-si-fa-xing. Shi-jing-rong-wei-mao. Xi-yi-yan-ning-xi. Siu-xiu-zheng-ren-yi. Chao-sheng-uen-hui-deng. Da-miao-zhong-huang-gui. Sheng-ti-quan-yong-gong. Xu-kong-qian-kun-xiu. Jin-mu-xing-xiang-fong. Shan-hai-long-hu-jiao. Lian-kai-xian-bao-xen. Xing-man-dan-xu-zhao. Yue-ying-xiang-kuang-sheng. Wuan-gu-xu-zian-hao. San-jie-dou-shi-qin.” (「道德通玄靜：真常守太清。一陽來復本。合教永圓明。至理宗誠信。崇高嗣法興。世景榮維懋。希夷衍息寧。速修正仁義。超昇雲會登。大妙中黃貴。聖體全用功。虛空乾坤秀。金木性相逢。山海龍虎交。蓮開現寶身。行滿丹書詔。月盈祥光生。萬古續仙號。三界都是親。」) Taoists believe the first 40 (or 20) words are from the ancestor master Qiu Chuji directly and the rest were given by Emperor Kangxi. (from *Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi* 青羊宮二仙菴志, p. 25)



“Bidong lineage” took Erxian An and Qingcheng Shan as centers and spread out to almost all Sichuan. There were more than 55 temples (in 23 counties) managed by Longmen Bidong Taoists at the end of Qing Dynasty<sup>14</sup>. “Only in just one or two generations, Bidong Taoists were almost everywhere in Sichuan.<sup>15</sup>” The Bidong lineage became the dominant Taoist lineage there. Chen Qingjue and his companions brought to Sichuan a new religious dimension with the Quanzhen tradition from Wudang Shan, not only in terms of institutional organization, but also ritual practice and ritual music. Today, people still can find some commonalities in ritual and music between these two places- the Chengdu area and Wudang shan<sup>16</sup>.

The person who created the Taoist *Guangcheng* ritual tradition in Sichuan is Chen Fuhui 陳復慧, a 14<sup>th</sup> generation Longmen Taoist. Chen’s first name is Zhongyuan 仲遠. His style name is “a guest of cloudy mountains, Yunfeng Yuke 雲峰羽客” which is the most frequent name he used in the liturgical text *Guangcheng Yizhi*. He was a manager of Panlong Si Temple in Wenjiang County. There are different possible dates for Chen’s life but, but 1734~1802 seems the most plausible dates.<sup>17</sup> Chen collected earlier ritual texts around Sichuan and corrected and edited those texts into a collection that has acquired canonical status and is still used today without any change. That collection is the *Guangcheng Yizhi*. Local gazetteers have noted its importance and shed some light on the context of its compilation:

“Chen Zhongyuan is a Qingcheng Shan Taoist. He had a talent for literature and had corrected ten versions of the *Guangcheng Yizhi*. When a serious plague happened at the time of Qianlong, Chen cleared it up by making a grand Shuilu ritual. This achievement was reported to the Emperor by the Sichuan Governor-General. The Emperor awarded Chen a honorific title as “Perfected Nantai, Nantai Zhenren 南台真人”. Chen also called himself “Yunfeng Yuke”. He left a book entitled *Yayi Ji* 雅宜集.” (From *Minguo Guanxianzhi* 民國《灌縣志》, juan 12, second part, “renwu,” 35b).

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<sup>14</sup> List of temples in *Zhongguo Daojiaoshi*, vol. 4, pp. 137~8. The original is from a *Longmen Zhongzong Bidong Tangshang Zhipu* 龍門正宗碧洞堂上支譜 (unpublished)(Fig.12) which is kept at Tianshi Dong temple, Qingcheng Shan, and is only partially quoted by some scholars who have seen it.

<sup>15</sup> Wang Zhizhong 2000: 94~5.

<sup>16</sup> Cao Benzhi 1993: 399~410.

<sup>17</sup> There are two statements about Chen’s date of birth and death: 1. 1734~1802 (from 12<sup>th</sup> year of Yongzheng to Jiaqing 7), in the original preface of *Guangcheng Yizhi*. 2. 1736~1795, in *Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*, p.175. Both statements are based on unknown sources. There is no “preface” in the modern edition of the *Guangcheng Yizhi*, I obtained a copy of it from Taoist Dong in Sichuan. I would like acknowledge his kindness here.

“Taoist Chen Fuhui, also named Zhongyuan. He was born in Xinjin County. He had a passion for Taoism when he was young, and then he became a Taoist under master Mao Laizhi 毛來至. He died and was buried at Panlong Si<sup>18</sup> in the end. He wrote *Guangcheng Yizhi* and *Lianzhu Ji* 連珠集.” (From the *Minguo Wenjiang Xianzhi* 民國《溫江縣志》, juan 4, “fongjiao zhongjiao”).

There is no doubt that Chen Fuhui was responsible for the final edition of *Guangcheng Yizhi* as we have it. In this edition, rituals have many paragraphs and structure in common. It is thus logical to assume that one person (or a group of persons in a team closely directed by Chen) must have collected earlier liturgical texts, set them into a common format and used similar ritual techniques throughout. That person must be Chen Fuhui.

Chen was not only good at ritual practice; he also “had high achievements in ritual contents and music<sup>19</sup>”. Chen was indeed famous for his music characterized by its fine and reserved style. That became the “Tune of *Guangcheng*” or “Southern tune”. Furthermore, Chen could not only perform ritual himself, but also create formal documents used in communicating with the gods, *wenjiao*. While the tradition that he fixed and canonized continued, his heirs were apparently not up to his level. As one historian puts it, “Even though the Longmen lineage has many temples and Taoists, and has occupied an important position in Sichuan; there are few members with high attainments at Taoism, however.<sup>20</sup>” The number of Sichuan Taoists performing *Guangcheng* rituals was high, but there were hardly any famous master in ritual practice after Chen.

In modern and contemporary times, Taoists not attached to a temple who perform *Guangcheng* ritual are called “Taoist of *Guangcheng* Altar, *Guangcheng Tan* 廣成壇”. They belong to Zhengyi lineages mostly. In local society, “there are two kinds of ritual groups nowadays: the ‘*Guangcheng* Altar’ founded by Chen Fuhui, and the

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<sup>18</sup> There are two differences between this source and the *Genealogy of True Longmen Bidong lineage* (“the *Genealogy*” hereafter) 1. His master name is “Mao Laiyu”, 2. The temple name is “Long-pan Si”. I chose the name Lai-zhi is because I consider the *Genealogy* more creditable; and people use the temple name Panlong far more frequently. I obtained a few sections of this *Genealogy* in my fieldwork from a Taoist, he took pictures when he visited the ancestor court. I would like to express my gratitude for this.

<sup>19</sup> *Zhongguo Daojiaoshi*, vol. 4, p. 156.

<sup>20</sup> According to *Zhongguo Daojiaoshi*, there were only four Taoists mentioned in Qing Dynasty. The other three are: Wang Laitong 王來通 (? ~1779) who made a great contribution to the water works infrastructures at Dujiang Yan. Zhang Hexiu 張合修 had expertise in music, and lived during the Xianfeng Period. Yi Xinying 易心瑩 was good in science in Modern times. In this historiography, Chen is the only Taoist noted in terms of ritual expertise. (pp. 155~6)

‘*Fayan* Altar, *Fayan Tan* 法言壇<sup>21</sup>, which was started by a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level named Liu Yuan 劉沅 (1768~1855)’<sup>22</sup>. Those two local Taoist traditions, *Guangcheng* Altar and *Fayan* Altar, have been and still are the two main ritual currents in Sichuan since the Qing Dynasty. People believe the two altars appeared a little later than the compilation of *Guangcheng Yizhi*. In fact, the name *Guangcheng* Altar was given in order to differentiate this tradition from *Fayan* Altar.

We can consider Chen Fuhui’s *Guangcheng Yizhi* as a watershed between two Taoist ritual traditions. After Chen corrected and edited ritual texts as *Guangcheng Yizhi*, all Sichuan Taoists (except those who from the nineteenth century onward, joined the *Fayan* tan), no matter living in a temple or at home, adopted it. Although there are different sub-traditions among them; especially in the secret formulas or mystical elements; there is still a shared ritual structure that unites them all.

In the middle and late Qing Dynasty, after the time of Chen Zhongyuan, there were little direct records about the spread of *Guangcheng Yizhi*, both in terms of diffusion of the texts and the practices of its rituals. Yet, there is some evidence showing how this influence extended out, from western Sichuan where it originated to almost all parts of Sichuan populated by Han people. One such evidence is found in the collection of ritual documents, *Yayi Ji* edited by Chen Zhongyuan himself. This collection contains two announcements asking for public donations for cutting wood blocks and publishing Taoist texts (including the *Yayi Ji* itself) (they are “An announcement for publishing *Yayi Ji*”, I-22<sup>23</sup>; “An announcement for publishing texts”, I-31). The *Guangcheng* rituals must have been popular among Taoists and common people already at that time. Some hundred fifty years later, Liu Xianxin 劉咸忻 (1897~1932<sup>24</sup>), grandson of the founder of *Fayan* Altar Liu Yuan, clearly confirmed this popularity: “Our ancestor master (Liu Yuan) saw the situation getting worse. So he decided to compile another liturgical text. But he first consulted and

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<sup>21</sup> *Fayan Tan*: also called “*Fayan* Community”, “the Liu Party”. It is a lineage of local Taoists with huge influence in western and southern Sichuan. The founder Liu Yuan was a Shuangliu County native. His style name is Zhitan, pseudonym is Naru Jushi. Liu founded a philosophy mixing the Three teachings as “the School of Kuaixuan”. He also compiled a ritual book, *Fayan Huizuan* 法言會纂 for his altar use only. For more research, see Olles 2013 and Xu Fei 2013.

<sup>22</sup> *Minguo Wenjian Xianzhi*, juan 4, “fengjiao,” 37b.

<sup>23</sup> *Yayi Ji* is a collection of ritual documents only used in *Guangcheng* rituals: more on this below. The simplified reference “I-22” means the first volume and the 22<sup>nd</sup> article.

<sup>24</sup> Liu Xianxin was a Shuangliu County native. His style name is Jianquan. He was a famous historian, philologist and calligrapher. Liu was from an old and well-known Confucian family, and was looked upon as a genius in his childhood. He has published many works that were edited as a collection entitled *Tuishi Shi* 推十書.

quoted from *Guangcheng Yizhi*. This is for keeping the essential of worshipping deities.<sup>25</sup>” This sentence indicated that at the time Liu Yuan created his new ritual text---- no later than 50 years after Chen’s death, *Guangcheng Yizhi* had already become the most popular and used ritual text in Sichuan. His rhetorical claims about the so-called ritual chaos at Liu Yuan’s time must of course be taken with a pinch of salt; possibly there must have been many lineages that used or misused *Guangcheng* ritual. The folk poems *zhuzhi ci* also reflected many Taoist ritual activities at that time.<sup>26</sup>

Although sources discussed here tend to focus on the leading lineage in Sichuan, the Longmen Bidong, there were of course other lineages; like Zhengyi, Shenxiao and other Longmen branches. The Bidong branch of the Longmen lineage exerted a significant domination. It took Qingyang Gong and Qingcheng Shan as its bases, and extended “mainly in western Sichuan, in parts of northern and southern Sichuan, and to the areas of ethnic minorities in some cases.”<sup>27</sup>

Important new developments in terms of Taoist publication and ritual took place at the very end of Qing Dynasty. Yan Yonghe (late Qing, dates unknown), abbot of Erxian An proposed to re-publish the collection (*Reprint of) Essentials of the Daoist Canon (Chongkan Daozang jiyao 重刊道藏輯要*<sup>28</sup> -- *Jiyao* hereafter) in Guangxu 18 (1892). With lots of hard preparation work, the project started in Guangxu 25 (1899) and ended in Guangxu 33 (1906), taking seven years. In the original plan, three ritual documents (*wenjian*) books: *Yayi Ji*, *Xinxiang Miaoyu* and *Lingbao Wenjian* were included in the *Jiyao*. All three books had the same running title “*Chongkan Daozang Jiyao*” on the central column. But they were not included in the *Jiyao* in the end, and were published separately as individual works instead. The project of wood block printing the *Guangcheng Yizhi* came soon after. Its page layout and cutting style are similar to those of the *Jiyao*; the two were obviously cut by the same craftsmen. In contrast to the *Jiyao*, though, the printed *Guangcheng Yizhi* does not have a date of start and end. We only know that it was published between 1907~1915 (Guangxu 33 to 4<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic).

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<sup>25</sup> Liu Xianxin 2010: 102.

<sup>26</sup> For example, in the poetry anthology *Tianxing Ge Shigao* (during 1902~1932) by Xing Jinsheng, he wrote that “Taoists (or monks) do the ritual of giving commandments (fangjie 放戒) on the street at midnight.” “the ritual earth-thanking (xietu 謝土) reflect the traditional idea of agriculture.” “Shadow plays were presented in front of the earth-god temple.” (*Chengdu Zhuzhi Ci*, pp.139~41)

<sup>27</sup> *Zhongguo Daojiaoshi*, vol. 4, p. 155.

<sup>28</sup> See Monica Esposito 2006, 2009, 2010; Mori Yuria 2007; Elena Valussi 2008.

## Period II: from the early Republican Era (1917) to the PRC, 1980s

The two millennia-old imperial government came to an end with the advent of the Republican Period, and a whole new mode of government came to dominate China. In my division of Sichuan Taoist history, this period II actually contains two governments. This is because the religious policies of these two regimes were quite similar: Taoism was in turn ignored, neglected, suppressed and exploited. Its lineages continued but without producing any major leader. Worst of all, China suffered from the “Cultural Revolution” during 1960s~1970s, which affected social and religious life deeply. We probably cannot yet get a clear idea of what was lost, due to the trauma, the lack of sources and in-depth studies; so that we cannot have a complete vision of the modern transformations of Taoism. For this reason, I have to combine the two eras together.<sup>29</sup>

This period begins with the completion of the cutting of the wood-blocks of *Guangcheng Yizhi* in 1917 (6<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic). The religious policies of the early years of the Republic were very ambiguous. It followed Qing Dynasty policies in some aspects, but the new government did not respect and support religious activity like its predecessors. Moreover he occasionally put them down. Although the producing of *Jiyao* and *Guangcheng Yizhi* continued apace, Taoist activity suffered huge obstructions of every kind. Due to the canceling of long-standing protections<sup>30</sup> and the enactment of anti-superstition laws, Taoist activity decreased and narrowed. Local government grabbed wealth by confiscating temples’ and gods associations’ property.<sup>31</sup> All those caused Taoists to see their social status and their income decline. The number of Taoists thus leveled down. In the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic (1915), there were 35856 registered Taoists in Sichuan; and there remained

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<sup>29</sup> About the influence by policy and society, see Goossaert and Palmer 2011; Lai Chi-tim 2013, 2003.

<sup>30</sup> Ex: “The law will make the same treatment for people with any religion” (*Minhuo Hejiang Xianzhi*, juan 4, “*lisu*,” p. 558. Written in 1929.

<sup>31</sup> For example, in Shifang County, the local government confiscated two-tenths of the wealth of temples to set up modern schools in Guangxu 28 (1902); and further confiscated four or five-tenths for funding efforts to suppress bandits in early Republic. (It left just five or six-tenths of religious property at that time according to the gazetteer). In 1925 the government confiscated for an educational foundation (to the rate of seven to eight-tenths of the original property). In 1926, the local commander Tian took almost everything remaining for his army. Hereafter, temples had only everyday donation and incense money to live on. (*Chongxiu Minguo Shifang Xianzhi*, juan 7 “*lisu*,” “*shenhui xingfei* 神會興廢 (rising and declining of gods associations), p.811 (1929). About the confiscation of temples to set up modern schools (*miaochan zingxue* 廟產興學), see Goossaert and Palmer 44-50; Xu Yue 2008, Liang Yong 2008.

only 4177 in 1949. At the time (1949), the remaining 787 temples were almost all confiscated for other uses.<sup>32</sup>

Taoist activity still carried on as much as possible. Qingyang Gong, the most popular temple and also the biggest Taoist monastery in Southwest China, tried his best to maintain its worship calendar under pressure.<sup>33</sup> There were about 50~100 Taoists living in the temple permanently, and with equal numbers in temporary residence. Qingyang Gong at that time might be the only Taoist temple that still had the ability to support his resident clergy and regular ritual program. Even though the local government rented (without pay) and seized numerous lands and fields from them, they still had a great deal of money and landed property. It is not difficult to imagine how rich Qingyang Gong and Erxian An were before the beginning of the anti-superstitious movement. Their main income was from renting land, paddy fields, buildings and stores on the street; and from farming by Taoists and other residents in the temple. Besides, they derived income from holding the Flower Festival in Qingyang Gong every year (during the Laozi Fair, on 2/15); offering ritual services; holding ordinations; and renting ritual materials. They also earned a little by holding stores of handicraft (silkworm breeding and weaving), Chinese medicine and bookshop “Dantai Bidong Bookshop.” This bookshop was the place that handmade and sold Taoist texts such as *Jiyao* and *Guangcheng Yizhi*.<sup>34</sup> The government, no matter how secular it claimed to be, needed the help from religious power at certain times. A terrible draught occurred in Sichuan in 1937 (26<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic). The local gentry organized rain-praying ceremonies by both Taoists and Buddhists. Wang Fuyang 王伏陽 (late Qing, dates unknown), the retired abbot of Erxian An performed this rain-making ritual as a representative for Sichuan Taoism.<sup>35</sup>

Qingcheng Shan, the other major “ancestral hall” of Sichuan Quanzhen, did have some progress. The brilliant Taoists Peng Chunxian 彭椿仙 (1883~1942)<sup>36</sup> and Yi

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<sup>32</sup> Data of 1915 is from *Sichuan Shengzhi, Daojiaozhi* 四川省志·道教志, p. 71. 1949 data is from *Sichuan Minsu Dadian* 四川民俗大典, p.146.

<sup>33</sup> Such as a folk poem of Laojun Hui (Laozi’s birthday fair) “(at the eve night of Laozi’s birthday) those ignorant people come and set here all the night just for celebrating Laozi’s Birthday” (by Chen Zonghe) this custom has lasted a long time. Followers keep watch the night by chanting scriptures and eating longevity noodles, until the next morning celebrating ritual. This custom has recovered again around five years ago.

<sup>34</sup> Yang Ximing 1984: 40; *Gazetteer of Qingyang Gong and Erxian An*, pp. 9, 21.

<sup>35</sup> See “the rain-praying custom in Sichuan” (Zhou Kaiqing 1876: 32~3). A folk poem described the same scene: “With drums beating loudly. Rain-praying is all upon Taoists’ mystical power connecting to gods. This poor situation will be solved soon, because we get a bottle of dragon water” (by Xing Jingsheng, *Chengdu Zhuzhi Ci*, p. 141).

<sup>36</sup> His Taoist name is Zhiguo 至國, was born in Jungjie, Guizhou Province. He became a Taoist priest at Changdao Guan Temple.

Xingying 易心瑩 (1896~1976)<sup>37</sup> were noted for their large social networks and influence and further spread Taoism to the common people. As for ritual, Peng as abbot of Tianshi Dong arranged and left some transcription copies of *Guangcheng Yizhi*. These copies can be recognized by notes at the first or last page on text.

Additionally, Tianshi Dong had a chance to re-edit *The Genealogy of True Longmen Bidong lineage(zhipu)* in 1946 (35<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic). This is the last edition of this text according to record.<sup>38</sup>

The folk poems described Flower Festival at Qingyang Gong as an array of different kinds of rituals, funerals on the street, and various worships in the city around 1932 (the 21<sup>st</sup> year of the Republican Era). Such records prove how vivid the *Guangcheng* rituals still were in the heat of the secular policies of the Nationalist regime.

The first time Erxian An held the Quanzhen ordination ceremony (or precept-transmitting) for the public was in Guangxu Reign Year 14 (1888). They continued to hold it for the next six generations for more than sixty times. Over six thousand ordinees came from Sichuan and other provinces to take part in them. However, the population of Zhengyi Taoists might more than Quanzhen Taoists at that period. Records for Sichuan Zhengyi Taoists are so limited that we can only be certain that “there were tens of altars in Chengdu City. Xiazhen Altar of Luo Qingjiao at South Gate and Quande Altar of Sheng Bingzhu at North Gate were the most powerful of all. There were also more than two hundreds folk Taoists living separately, who had no ability to maintain an individual altar.”<sup>39</sup> It seemed that Taoism still kept its vitality at that time.

The religious atmosphere changed drastically in the Republican Era. In order to adapt to the new age, religions set up new style “church-like” organizations. The eight major Taoist temples thus founded “the Main Branch of Taoist Association in Sichuan” in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Republican Era (1913). This association then changed its name to “Taoist Association in Sichuan” in 1946. In Chengdu City, “Taoist Association in Chengdu” was founded at Xizi Gong Temple, on Qingyun South Street in 1941. It changed its name to “Chengdu Branch of Taoist Association in

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<sup>37</sup> His Taoist name is Lilun 理輪, native to Suining. He became a Taoist priest at Tianshi Dong and had great contribution protecting cultural relics at Qingcheng Shan during the Cultural Revolution.

<sup>38</sup> According to memo on the cover page of *Bidong Tangshang Zhipu*.

<sup>39</sup> Data cited as follows: *Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*, p.71; *Sichuan Minsu Dadian*, p.146; *Chengdu Shizhi, minsu fangyan zhi* 成都市志·民俗方言志, *zhongjiao chongfeng* p.131.

Sichuan” and moved to Qingyang Gong in 1947 because of political requirements. In 1949, a total of fifteen counties had founded Taoist Association in the greater Chengdu area.

Government policies changed again in 1949 when the Communist Party of China took control and established the People’s Republic of China. On the other hand, the KMT of Republic of China reestablished itself in Taiwan. During the first years of PRC, the PRC government did not pay much attention to the religious practices that most people followed formerly. However, as the government started the new movement of opposing superstition, the situation for religions got harder. A new style association “China Taoist Association” was founded in Sichuan in 1962, when in Sichuan there were only 1309 Taoists and 79 temples left. Most Taoists had been forced to revert to secular life.

All these Taoist Associations were established to adapt to the new conditions. Their main goals were to fall in line with government policies and the mainstream social opinions, and try to present as bright as possible an image of Taoism in “New China.” They tried very hard and paid much attention to their organization and social relationship. There is no doubt they could not devote much effort on theology, belief and ritual practice.

There is less information about Taoist activities in Sichuan during the 1960s and 1970s. New, post-1978 gazetteers show offer a history that is brief and simple: superstition was prohibited, temples were closed then occupied, and Taoists and monks took upon a secular life. In the most extreme situation, “after the Liberation, Taoists (female and male) all took upon a secular life style and stopped every religious activity,” and this remains true in some counties even until today.<sup>40</sup> In my fieldwork, I was told that it was impossible to conduct any Taoist activity in Chengdu City during that period; however, some people were allowed to do so in the countryside (with size and extent depending on each place). This simple conclusion is the same as the general consensus among scholars.

Period II lasted for about eighty years. During this time, temples and Taoists lost official support; worship became less frequent and vibrant; the transformation of the old organization into a Taoist Association not always successful. Nevertheless, the biggest crash was definitely the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. Taoist activities

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<sup>40</sup> *Santai Xianzhi* 三台縣志, p.806.



were almost extinct. Taoists maintained themselves in a state of hibernation with minimal activity. It is not easy to protect faith and treasure culture (including rituals) under such hardships. The situation changed and got better after the government's policy of reform and reopening in the 1980s.

There is yet no clear record or list of the exact loss during this period, aside from the visible heritage that was destroyed, including historic treasures, old temples, craved stones and other items. The non-visible assets were also gravely destroyed, including Taoist skills, traditions and knowledge. The damage is still not well assessed for its total extent and amount. In my case study of the *Guangcheng Yizhi*, we have no idea how many texts were lost for good, and how many texts can possibly be retrieved (from private or public libraries, for instance). Needless to say, the true circumstances of loss have not been fully accounted for up till now.

### Period III: PRC 1980s Until Present

This period begins with the PRC government's policies to allow religious activities anew. "The Third Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" in 1978 ended the policy by "the Gang of Four," which corrected "mistakes" made during the Cultural Revolution and recognized former policies (from the 1950s) on religious issues.<sup>41</sup> In 1981, the government released a list of the first group of key temples ready to be reopened to the public. In the listed 21 sites, Sichuan had three – Changdao Guan (aka Tianshi Dong), Zushi Dian in Qingcheng Shan, and Qingyang Gong.

In 1982, the PRC government announced the order "about some basic points and key policies for religious issues within Chinese Socialism." It could be regarded as the key guidelines on religious policies from the government. In this order, the party-state committed to carry out rules for Taoists and temples, to guarantee Taoism's natural rights, and maintain normal Taoist activities. Taoists also had to "guard against superstition and feudalism." Taoism in China thus got repaired gradually. Nevertheless, the government still had power over them through setting Taoist Associations at every level. Chengdu City, for example, has a Taoist Association in every county or district. Each temple has its branch bureau as well.

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<sup>41</sup> Descriptions in this paragraph are mainly from Li Yangzheng's *Dangdai Zhongguo Daojiao; Chengdu Shizhi, Zhongjiaozhi*, and news on the Internet. I strove not to add any personal comments to this historical sketch.

As for accepting fresh talent, Taoists should follow the “order on precept-transmitting for Quanzhen Taoists” as well as the “order on transmission of registers for Zhengyi Taoists”. The PRC’s first time precept-transmitting ceremony was held in Baiyun Guan Temple 白雲觀 in Beijing, 1989, and then again in Tianshi Dong, Qingcheng shan, in 1995. Hundreds of Taoists attended each of these ceremonies. Concerning the Zhengyi lineage, ordination were forbidden since 1946; however, restrictions were relieved in 1991, with ordinations taking place in Longhu Shan Tianshi Fu, with the permission given by the Bureau of Religious Affairs. The permission applied to overseas Taoists first in 1991, then to Taoists in China in 1995. Some Zhengyi Taoists of the Guangcheng tradition in Sichuan have started going to Longhu Shan to get transmission of registers in recent years.<sup>42</sup> Aside from the traditional qualification, a new Taoist academy/seminar, “Chinese Taoist College,” (Zhongguo daojiao xueyuan) was set up. They serviced general classes and ritual specialist classes, and only took Taoists as their trainees. The teaching takes place in the classroom with classmates; it is very different from the master-apprentice system from the old days. The usage of general textbooks is also what probably contributed to the loss of local identity.<sup>43</sup>

Qingcheng Shan was the first place in Sichuan where Taoist rituals were recovered since the PRC’s re-open policy. Fu Yuantian 傅圓天 (1925~1997), the president of Taoist Association of Qingcheng Shan and abbot of Changdao Guan, started to teach rituals to young Taoists and organized ritual teams and music teams. Taoist Zhang Yuanhe 張圓和 (1909~) and Liu Lizhao 劉理釗 (dates unknown) of Qingyang Gong were zealous in recovering the *Guangcheng* rituals, too. Next, Heming Shan and Laojing Shan temples carried on the effort. On the other hand, the Zhengyi lineage in the countryside actually recovered a little earlier than the Quanzhen lineage. They early on performed easier and small-scale rituals tacitly agreed to by local cadres. Regarding the number of rituals, Zhengyi lineage might have kept a little more than the Quanzhen. Also, because of a big generation gap in

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<sup>42</sup> In my knowledge, (less than) five Taoists went to Longhu Shan before 2011. In November 2012, the numbers rose to seven; but not all of them studied in *Guangcheng* ritual. (Field note 2011-06-17, 2012-11-24)

<sup>43</sup> Taoist College has not become the standard teaching style yet; most Taoists keep to the master-apprentice system. Taoists go to this new school for diploma or mainly due to official appointment. Classroom education might have lost the connection between the Taoist and his original lineage and locality. He might confuse his identity and blur his knowledge. A Taoist I have talked with, was born in Guangdong Province, became a Zhengyi Taoist in Sichuan, learned *Guangcheng* ritual and went to a Taoist College (within the Quanzhen system but no teaching in *Guangcheng* ritual) in Wuhan. Now he is very worried about his future career. (field note 2013-03-11).

Sichuan Zhengyi, they had not performed grand-scale rituals in recent years. It was possibly hard or even impossible for them to perform some rituals by that time.

Coming to the twenty-first century, the situation of recovering Taoist rituals is going rather well. Rituals are held not only in officially-registered Taoist temples and in the countryside, but even inside Chengdu City: one for instance routinely sees temporary bamboo-sheds on the streets for funerals). People see and even know more about Taoism and its rituals. Once again they start to think about holding personal rituals to solve their problems in life. The kind of life problems might change over time, and the problems put to the Taoists reflect people's changing purposes. In my fieldwork, there are two main kinds of rituals that are practiced nowadays: red and white rites – or so-called *Yang* and *Yin* rites. Temples like Qingyang Gong, Heming Shan and Niangniang Miao have more *Yang* rites as ritual service than *Yin* rites. Taoists perform *Yang* rituals in the temple mostly and offer fewer *Yin* rites. The most common *Yin* rituals are “universal salvation” and “saving souls for past family members.”

The Yang, pure and auspicious rituals, focus mainly on good fortune, prosperity and longevity, just like people did in ancient times. Today people ask more modern questions about career, investment, college entrance examination, high-salary job, marriage, having children, and winning lawsuits.

When temples re-opened, rituals for the gods' birthday, huge ceremonies (*Jiao* or *Zhai*) and festivals became more frequent and more popular.<sup>44</sup> For instance, the *Laojun Hui* 老君會, *Cihang* (Guanyin, Bodhisattva) *Hui* 慈航會, *Jiuhuang Hui* 九皇會 of Qingyang Gong, and *Tianshi Hui* 天師會 of Heming Shan, and “tying a baby doll” festival<sup>45</sup> on Niangniang's birthday of Niangniang Miao, all were revived with popular support. Temple fairs grew bigger and bigger, and became more popular over the years. Moreover, rituals like “*Fangsheng Hui* 放生會 (free captive animals)” and “*Huan Shousheng* 還受生 (Pay-back – see chapter 6),” which were unknown to us fifty years ago, have recently been recovered.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> The “hui” here means a fair on a god's birthday, or the day the god attained realization; it also refers to the local organization for local worship, pilgrimage, meritorious activities. Those organizations were commonplace in earlier times, but do not exist anymore today. (Based on records of the Qing Dynasty can refer to *Yaji Ji*).

<sup>45</sup> A custom of praying for a child. People come to Niangniang Miao fighting to get a wooden baby doll that serves as a good sign of having a baby soon. The custom was cited in *Chongxiu Chengdu Xianzhi (Tongzhi)*, juan 2, “customs”; *Chengdu Tonglan*, “Chengdu zhi mixun”, pp. 244, 248.

<sup>46</sup> *Fangsheng Hui* in Sichuan is very interesting. The date is Sakyamuni's birthday (4/8<sup>th</sup> in the Lunar calendar), but it is undoubtedly a Taoist ritual. See Fu Shongju 2006: 37, 244; Wang Di 2010: 81; and

In this context of renewed interest on ritual, *Guangcheng Yizhi* is looked upon as the best complete Taoist ritual collection edition in the recent hundred years, and the last collection done by Quanzhen Taoists. Today, although there are fewer Taoists living in temples who seriously learn rituals, there are more and more Taoists from other provinces (up to one-third of all) who come to Sichuan to learn this ritual tradition. Besides, the age of entering Taoism is getting lower.<sup>47</sup> Many Taoists from other provinces come to join the *Guangcheng* tradition, most of them stay and few of them leave. Those who leave with *Guangcheng* tradition might spread it out somewhere outside Sichuan and might give up on their own original tradition and adopt a new tradition (*Guangcheng*) due to lack of support. The further developments in this regard are a topic worth continued survey and studying in the future.

The religious situation today seems to be getting better. Religious policies are mostly lenient and the numbers of followers have increased. Nonetheless, it cannot make up for the fact that damages that happened previously might not be undone or recovered in the future.

## 1-2 A Brief Introduction to My Field and Main Informants

My research in Sichuan Taoism remains, for the most part, focused on Quanzhen Longmen and Zhengyi Taoists. Longmen Bidong lineage is known as the only local and the most popular one overall. In fact, there are other Longmen lineages that exist and are very active in Sichuan. Some abbots of Qingyang Gong were of Longmen lineage but did not belong to the Bidong lineage.<sup>48</sup> Zhengyi is in a dominant position in folk society, especially in managing life-cycle rituals in the countryside. Zhengyi lineages and their relationship are quite complex and utterly unstudied, so I very unfortunately cannot go into them at this point.

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folk poems. These years, people started making it on the riverside on 4/8<sup>th</sup>. They use the ritual text of *Guangcheng Yizhi*. Today's text of *Fangsheng* rite is not complete but has been repaired by Taoists.

<sup>47</sup> I met some young Taoists who became a Taoist at the age of 18 or even younger. Some are outstanding leading priests – *gaogong* in ritual already. From what I know, I assume a teenage must have graduated from junior high school and obtained permission from their parents if they want to become a Taoist. (Fieldnote 2012-08-28).

<sup>48</sup> See *Zhongguo Daojiaoshi*, vol.4, pp.137~8; *Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*, pp.26~7.

With the exception of these two major traditions, there also exists Taoists of Qingwei, Lingbao, Shengxiao etc. lineages.<sup>49</sup> Taoist activities in Chengdu City are quite subdued outside the monasteries; it is not easy to attend Zhengyi rituals. My fieldwork thus mainly deals with the Quanzhen Longmen tradition and tries to take up other traditions as far as possible.

It is a common phenomenon for the Quanzhen Longmen lineage to be in the dominant position in all of China today. The major reason is the political context. PRC closely supervises Taoist Association organizations and their members. The government establishes its ideal Taoist image by giving out Taoist registration documents, thus changing the Taoist self-identity of old times. The preferred images formed the current situation in which Quanzhen assume dominance. Further on, in this context, took shape the notion of the “Four mountains in Sichuan”: Heming Shan, Laojun Shan, Qingcheng Shan and Qingyang Gong (listed in alphabetical order; no particular order). My main focuses are Heming Shan and Qingyang Gong.

Qingyang Gong and Erxian An were close neighbors separated by a wall and interacted frequently. They were two temples that managed affairs separately. Yet, they were forced to combine for the production collaboration in 1955 and for religious policies in 1980. I use the term Qingyang Gong to refer to both after 1980, when they were effectively united, but according to history, they were two separate temples, located next to each other at Western 3<sup>rd</sup> Section of 1<sup>st</sup> Ring Road in the west side Chengdu City. This location is a core business area today, but a little outside the city gate in the Qing Dynasty. “Qingyang Gong is ten miles away southwest from the Chengdu County. It is the place where Laozi met Yin Xi when they had an appointment at the Qingyang market. Now, here stands the temple Qingyang Gong.”<sup>50</sup> The founding of Qingyang Gong can be traced back to the (legendary) event of Laozi meeting Yin xi during the Western Zhou Dynasty. The temple was rebuilt on a huge scale in the Tang Dynasty, when Emperor Gaozong (r. 649~683) appointed Laozi the honor title of “Most Highly Secret One Emperor,” or the “Taishang Xuanyuan Huangdi 太上玄元皇帝”, and named the temple Qingyang Gong. Qingyang Gong was rebuilt and physically extended through generations. It attracted countless worshippers and supported numerous Taoists.<sup>51</sup> It gained the status as “public monastery (*Shifang Conglin* 十方叢林)” in Qianlong Reign Year 10 (1745), and then became the Quanzhen precept-transmitting center of

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<sup>49</sup> Field note 2011-06-14, with Huang.

<sup>50</sup> *Sichuan Tongzhi*, juan 37, “*siguan*.”

<sup>51</sup> *Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*, pp.2~5.

southwest China. Erxian An was built in the middle of Kangxi years, to support Chen Qingjue, as mentioned above.

Qingyang Gong was one of the first reopened key temples in the early 1980s. There are about sixty to seventy Taoists living in the temple permanently now. They perform rituals everyday, on wane and full moon days, and some other holidays according to the lunar calendar. Besides, Qingyang Gong founded a Taoist Ritual Activity Bureau to undertake rituals at people's demand.<sup>52</sup> By the announcement in front of the main hall, the Sanqing Dian, they offer around twenty different rituals of *Yang* and *Yin* types for common people.<sup>53</sup> The requests was very intense and numerous, and their frequency might have been the highest in Sichuan temples. All rites are performed inside Qingyang Gong. For holidays and gods' birthdays, *Yang* rites take place in the Sanqing Dian mainly. They perform rites in front of the god whose birthday is celebrated, in his hall (or altar), and *Yin* rites in the front door open space. They no longer go out performing rituals after the re-opening of the temple in 1981, except for the international or inter-provincial invitation. (Here we are talking about the whole ritual team; individual Taoists do not count in this rule, and some do go out.)

Qingyang Gong has its own ritual Taoist team and musical teams (of wind music and stringed music). In a year, the most important and popular festival is *Laojun Hui*, the birthday of Laozi (exactly like the Flowers Festival in pre-1949 times<sup>54</sup>), which falls in the middle of the Lunar calendar's second month. There are also *Zhongyuan Hui* on 7/15 and *Jiuhuang Hui* from 9/1 to 9/9. (Almost) every deity who has a statue in the Qingyang Gong has his or her birthday celebrated by performing a rite. In addition, rituals are performed in major holidays like the New Year's Eve, the New Year, to send off the Stove God, etc.

After the reform and opening in the 1980s, Taoist rituals in Sichuan recovered well. It this glory partly to Taoists leaders such as Fu Yuantian of Qingcheng Shan, Jiang Zhilin 江至霖 (1908~1996) and Lui Licao (dates unknown) of Qingyang

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p.142.

<sup>53</sup> It is a billboard with a clear list of rite names, a very brief intro, and the price. The list changed a little every year (by comparing the list of 2006, 2011 and 2012; the data 2006 is by *Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*; 2011 and 2012 are by myself) see fig. 11.

<sup>54</sup> Called "Go to the fair Qingyang Gong" (*Gan Qingyang Gong* 趕青羊宮). In February and March of every year, visitors burn incense and tourist are innumerable. The business improving association in late Qing Dynasty was also held there. (Fu Zongju 2006: 36, 37, 96) As for folk poem, Liu Shiliang in the Republic Era wrote over hundreds of poems just for this festival. (Lin Kongyi 1982: 88~98).

Gong. Those “Senior Masters” (*Lao Shiye* 老師爺) recalled the main ritual structure, poem rhyme of music, arrangement of different kinds of altar, and mostly, the secret magic of rituals. The very first rites recovered were “worshipping all layers Heaven, *Gongsi Zhutian* 貢祀諸天” (13-6, No.6<sup>55</sup>) and “grand salvation with iron-bottle, *Tieguan Hushi* 鐵罐斛食” (13-73, No. 73) of *Guangcheng Yizhi*.<sup>56</sup> They are also the most useful and common rites in the *Guangcheng* tradition to this day.

Away from downtown, Heming Shan Temple (Heming Shan *Daoguan* 鶴鳴山道觀) is located in Dayi County, about one-hour by car from Chengdu City. It is a beautiful and peaceful Taoist monastery that reopened after the 1990s. The name Heming comes from the story of a crane calling loudly when the first Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (34~153?) was transported to heaven. It is a Taoist sacred place with a long history. There is also a famous sight, an old cypress reputedly planted by Taoist Zhang Sanfeng 張三豐 (traditional dates 1247~1458, likely legendary) in the Ming Dynasty, according to the local legend.

Heming Shan is a traditional hereditary temple (*Zisun Miao* 子孫廟, which means this temple can take disciples but cannot do precept-transmitting) with a scale that is now quite large. There are about twenty Taoists living there permanently. Taoists practice rituals every day, on wane and full moon day, and on *Tianshi Hui* (Heavenly Master Fair) in the middle of the fifth month. They also offer ritual services to common people (on weekends, mostly) in the temple. They perform mostly Yang rites and propose no personal *Yin* rites. Heming Shan’s ritual tradition is recovered mainly by its abbot Yang Mingjiang 楊明江, who is known as a great *gaogong* (who has now retired from performing as I write these lines). Besides, their vice manager Taoist Yang also learned from Qingcheng Shan, thus making rituals more complete.<sup>57</sup> Its traditions are shared with its branch temple (*Xiayuan Xingshi* 下院形式<sup>58</sup>) Chuanwang Gong Temple 川王宮, that maintains some old ritual methods and secret magic for certain particular rituals.<sup>59</sup> The ritual team is small and use only

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<sup>55</sup> This serial number is according to *Zangwai Daoshu* edition. For example, in “13- 6, No. 6”, 13 means the volume 13 of *Zangwai Daoshu*, the first 6 means the 6<sup>th</sup> ritual text of this volume, the No. 6 is for the serial number of all texts. The following references follows this rule.

<sup>56</sup> Field note 2014-04-03.

<sup>57</sup> Field note 2011-11-29.

<sup>58</sup> Branch temple means a lower status temple divided from its main temple which is not a Public monastery. There might be some hierarchical relationship between them, but the management of each temple is independent. In this case, Chuanwang Gong (a half-hour car drive from Heming Shan) was divided from Heming Shan three generations ago (at the time of abbot Yang’s grand master). The two keep good relations and help each other in rituals today.

<sup>59</sup> The most famous is about series rituals of “Royal Flags (*Huangfan* 皇旛)”. It includes a lost text “writing (secretly) on the Royal Flags, *Shuxie/ Mishu Huangfan* (書寫皇旛)”. This system of ritual

simple percussion instruments (without extra music team). Although the team arrangement is simple in principle, it still implies possibly complex human relationships between members. In Heming Shan, more than ten Taoists have the ability to take place in the altar (join ritual team is not coerced, Taoists can decide if they<sup>60</sup> want to or not by their own volition. The altar master keeps at least 7 or 9 Taoists). Among them, at least six Taoists can act as *gaogong* (in the basic level, for the most common rites). This rate of *gaogong* in the larger pool of Taoists might be the highest in Sichuan. It is probably because members are stable and they have a tight-knit bond between master and disciples within a hereditary temple.

Ritual takes place in the main palace Sanqing Dian for most temple affairs and lay petitioner's demand (the most common are "worshipping Dippers, *Baidou* 拜斗" and "worshipping all-layers Heaven"). Only the *Yin* rite of Universal Salvation (using "salvation by iron bottle" mostly) is held in front of the Doumu Dian. The arrangements are decided based on tradition. Like Qingyang Gong, Heming Shan offers some *Yin* rites but for the dead within "seven singles" (*qidan* 七單, a Sichuanese term, equal to the seventh seventh day for the dead), hundred days, one year; or some other time period in or out of the temple. Individual Taoists can perform salvation rituals for the newly dead only if they ask leave and go outside to perform. In Sichuan, rituals of salvation for the newly dead are usually managed by Zhengyi folk Taoists, and this practice has a long history.

A new vacation village was recently built next to Heming San by a drug company. This new area, named Daoyuan Shengcheng 道源聖城,<sup>61</sup> emphasizes "original Taoism," and is designed to be a Taoist cultural center and good health hotel. This hotel (and new temple) keeps a good relationship with Heming Shan in an effort to combine the two as a whole scenic area. Of course, they still act separately.

Another newly reopened temple inside Chengdu City is Niangniang Miao 孃孃廟. It is located in the area of the Buddhist temple Wenshu Yuan 文殊院. Due to some historical accidents, its original land was taken away by Wenshu Yuan and its neighborhood. It was left with a very small and odd piece of land. The temple was

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was handed down by Chuanwang Gong abbot Zhuo's master. His Master also had a great method in arranging the river sketch (*Hetu*) from his grand-master (who had three disciples with different special skills) (fieldnote 2011-11-19).

<sup>60</sup> I only use "he" to refer to a Quanzhen Taoist not only for simplification purposes but because all my informants forsook the word and gave up gendered identity in their discourse (they call each other as fellow apprentices without distinction). But I will use gender-distinctive terms in Zhengyi situations.

<sup>61</sup> It was built in 2005 by a private enterprise. It has opened some new palaces and hot spring hotel.



the home temple of Liu Bei 劉備 (161~223), the Zhaolie Emperor of Late Shu 蜀. Thus, it is meaningful to Chengdu people. Niangniang Miao's most important activity is to "tie a baby doll"<sup>62</sup> on 5/3<sup>rd</sup> to pray for a child. Although the temple today is small and rough, its followers (who are elderly and live nearby) come frequently and devoutly. Niangniang Miao is a branch temple of Qingyang Gong now. Although the present abbot is the disciple of the past abbot, he obtained his official position through nomination from Qingyang Gong. As a branch temple, it receives support and orders (it can still determine its own basic daily affairs) from Qingyang Gong, especially in important decisions.

Niangniang Miao practices rituals in the style/tradition of Qingyang Gong. They perform rituals for temple affairs and lay petitioner's demands. Due to the lack of *gaogong*, they have invited Taoist Pan from another province. The background of Pan is very interesting. He is a Zhengyi Taoist with short hair and does not live in the temple. He is not even a Sichuanese. Nevertheless, this does not interfere with his determination to be a Guangcheng Taoist – since he meets the basic requirements insofar as he can speak the Sichuan dialect well and has a ritual master with competence to teach him the *Guangcheng Yizhi*. Once he can get over problems of ritual competence and language, any Taoist can enter the altar and perform a ritual.

Due to the lack of qualified ritual performers, Taoists at the Niangniang Miao also allowed some senior laymen (who have converted for several years) to join the ritual team. This situation is not unique to this temple or to this temple. The other folk ritual tradition in the Chengdu area, Fayan Tan, does it as well. Although this is an expediency solution, it should not, ideally, happen in a large-scale Quanzhen temple.<sup>63</sup> In my observation, laymen in the altar take up about half the number of performers. They are all aged and retired people, men and women. They come to the temple frequently, help the temple management, or simply gossip with each other as a pastime. They also have to pass some training program (in chanting, mainly. For the ritual arrangement, please see fig.19) to be qualified to perform the rituals. Nowadays, Niangniang Miao rituals are improving markedly, because the abbot's strong encouragement (the abbot himself plays grand/main drum; as second in

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<sup>62</sup> The Niangniang (queen) is equal to Beidi Queen Cui. She was well known for her image of chastity. Taking her statue around the community was an old custom of Niangniang Miao, and then believers began to pray for a child. There are many beliefs of Niangniang around all China along with the pray-for-child custom; but the "Queen" might not be the same in each place.

<sup>63</sup> In Laojun Shan, for example, well-trained laymen can step into to the altar, but could never be a *gaogong*. On the contrary, laymen were not even allowed to step into the altar in Qingyang Gong. (fieldnote 2010-05-14, with Chen).

command of the team<sup>64</sup>) and *gaogong* Pan pushes as well for heightening their standards. A few well-skilled laymen can even be hired by other small temples to help them perform rituals.<sup>65</sup>

In Jintang County, southwest from Chengdu City, there is a Zhengyi Taoist tradition with a long history – which might be as old as the *Guangcheng Yizhi*. My informant’s nickname is Taoist Fat Yang. He said there are about twenty Taoists in this tradition. It comes from Meishan 梅山, Guangdong Province, at the time of the migration from Hu and Guang to Sichuan. The master of the first generation, Feng Fachuan 馮法傳 came to Sichuan in Kangxi Reign Year 10 (1671). The first word of his personal name “Fa” indicates his other tradition: Fa (magic/exorcistic) school.<sup>66</sup> Fat Yang offers ritual services according to the *Guangcheng Yizhi* mainly (over 80 %) with very few parts in funeral rituals from the Meishan tradition, performed only for the countrymen.<sup>67</sup> They used the title “Prior Heavenly Altar,” or “*Xiantian Daotan* (先天道壇)” before Chen Zhongyan. And then they adopted the title “*Guangcheng Tan*” like all Chengdu folk Taoists. They do not use such titles on table clothes and aprons, but the usual Zhengyi title “All Magic Altar, *Wanfa Zongtan* (萬法宗壇)”. Personal altars could have their own altar name,<sup>68</sup> but the names should not be used in rituals. According to my informant, from the Zhengyi point of view, there were parts of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* that came from his own tradition. Chen Fuhui, he claims, mixed both traditions of Zhengyi and Quanzhen. He was not a Quanzhen Taoist at first.<sup>69</sup> He got the Taoist given name “Fu” after he later received the Three Altars Precepts according to the Quanzhen ordination procedure.

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<sup>64</sup> The duty of the main drum player is leading the team in and out of the altar, controlling the rite. That is why the main drum is called the king of the music and other instruments in ritual. (Liu Hong 2009: 209).

<sup>65</sup> Fieldnote 2012-09-30.

<sup>66</sup> It comes from the ritual master “two brothers Feng and Fa” (or “two brothers Jiang 江 and Bo 柏” in other places) (fieldnote 2011-06-13). Regarding folklore, refer to Xie Taofang 2004; however, in fact, there is not such information on them.

<sup>67</sup> There are three rites left: rite of “Medicine Buddha,” or “*Yaowang* (藥王)” and “passing the bridge,” or “*Guoqiao* (過橋)” Those rites are rarely performed, only when asked by the elderly. Its main difference is it is spoken in the *Hakka* dialect (or so called native Cantonese)

<sup>68</sup> Only a great master has the right to set up a “Hall, *Tang* (堂)”. There were several such *Tang* in Qing-time Chengdu: Quanxing Tang at south gate, Qingyun Tang outside east gate, and Jingxi Tang. (fieldnote 2011-06-17).

<sup>69</sup> Some people supported this saying, myself included. Chen was just a lay follower of Quanzhen (says Li Yuanguo, fieldnote 2011-06-13). He might not have been a Quanzhen Taoist (say Ye Changqing 2011-05-14 and Wu Lichong 2011-06-21). Anyway, Chen did receive the precepts of Quanzhen and had a Taoist name. Moreover, he was listed in the *Longmen Zhongzong Bidong Tangshang Zhipu* indeed. So in this article I assume he was a Quanzhen Longmen Taoist.

The *Guangcheng Tan* Taoists respect Chen as the founding master and take Chen's tomb (in Panlong Shi) as their general headquarter. They gathered together on Chen's death anniversaries every year until 1949. They had a master named Peng Jiaoyuan 彭教遠 (two generations ago, "Jiao" was his lineage generation name) who owned a bookstore. He had printed some Taoist texts, including *Lingbao Wenjian*, and some useful ritual documents, but there was no *Guangcheng Yizhi*. Fat Yang's lineage keeps many *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts. It is believed that his grandmaster carried two baskets of *Guangcheng* texts to Qingyang Gong, sponsoring the first publication of *Guangcheng Yizhi*. They also sponsored the reprint in the 1980s when *Zangwai Daoshu* was published.

Taoist Fat Yang is not from a Taoist family, but he is very sensitive to Taoism, and became a Taoist at a very young age (around fourteen or fifteen years old). He learned geomancy (*fengshui*) thoroughly through his grand-master and master, and is famous for it. Because the lineage was growing weak, he inherited several branches from his grand-master. He inherited its old texts, secret magic books, the music, and other instruments. I saw some rare books (of the Republican Era) in his private collection. Yang's collections still need to be systematically organized and catalogued.

Fat Yang, like other Zhengyi Taoists, makes a living by providing religious services. He is good at geomancy (siting for the living and the dead) and ritual of *Yang* and *Yin*. Hanging up a shop sign like "○○'s Taoist house"<sup>70</sup> is no longer allowed according to current policies, but Yang is nonetheless popular through public praise and hearsay. He arranges business through a cell phone. After making sure that all the details are arranged, he prepares all needs and drives to the client's place (as for other team members, they could go with Yang or go by themselves). On ordinary days, he drives his car and comes and goes in Greater Chengdu leisurely, waiting for a new assignment. We met each other for the first time in a teahouse, like Chengdu people did in earlier times.<sup>71</sup>

In 2012, I went back to Chengdu to continue my fieldwork. Yang had recovered a disused temple and successfully turned it into a new active temple. This temple, named Zhenduo Guan (真多觀,) is located in Zhao Town, Jingtang County, which

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<sup>70</sup> "Chanting Taoist: those who do not live in the temple. ... with a shop sign "a Taoist's house" those Taoists without family are called pure living Taoists, and those with a family are fire living Taoist" (Fu Chongju 2006: 194).

<sup>71</sup> Wang Di 2010: 75~8.

used to be a Dragon King Temple (*Longwang Miao* 龍王廟) in the Qing Dynasty. The name “Zhenduo” is named after the history of Zhang Daoling, who set up twenty-four religious administrative units in Sichuan, and the Zhenduo unit is where Zhao town is today.

Yang has lots of treasurable old materials from his lineage. He also has a strong motivation to revive Zhengyi Taoism in Sichuan. Although he has a rich knowledge in Guangcheng rituals and is willing to talk and share, I still know little about Zhengyi traditions in Sichuan. Observations in the rural areas and among Zhengyi Taoists are still not easy today. It has to be carried on in the future.

Qingyang Gong, Heming Shan, Niangniang Miao and Zhengduo Guan; these four sites are the main resource of my fieldwork. I have also had some informants who are not within these temples but are part of their larger networks. They belong to different domains, including Quanzhen (especially the Longmen Bidong) Taoists in Quanzhen temple, Quanzhen Taoists not living in a temple, Zhengyi Taoists working for a Quanzhen Temple, and Zhengyi Taoists living in a Zhengyi Temple. These multiple variations can reflect the overall picture of a reality characterized by multiplicity and gradation rather than clear-cut dichotomies. This is what this dissertation is trying to accomplish.

## Chapter 2 The *Guangcheng Yizhi* Collection

### 2-1 Editions of the *Guangcheng Yizhi*

*Guangcheng Yizhi* is a collection of Taoist liturgical texts compiled during the mid Qing Dynasty. It is the only Quanzhen ritual texts collection has last nowadays.<sup>72</sup> We can find some ancient copies that seem come from one original edition, printed by the Erxian An during the early twentieth-century. Today, the only edition from a modern publishing company is found in the collection *Zangwai Daoshu*,<sup>73</sup> vol. 13~15. In addition, the Qingyang Gong also offers reprints from its woodblocks in the traditional style.

*Zangwai Daoshu* is the largest collection of Daoist texts to have been published in modern time<sup>74</sup>. Between 1989~1994, this publication project was organized by Sichuan Taoists and scholars, and was published by the Sichuan Bashu Shushe bookstore. Among its sponsors, the “Qingcheng Shan Taoist Association contributed its treasured copy of the *Guangcheng Yizhi*, which has not been previously widespread.”<sup>75</sup> The reason for publishing this collection was to recover and save Taoist documents and widen research in Sinology. Different from the *Chongkan Daozang Jiyao* (“*Jiyao*” hereafter), which was re-printed based on an original copy, *Zangwai Daoshu* is a whole new collection composed of hundreds of texts previously without any connection with each other. It has collected important Taoist texts of the Ming and Qing dynasties that were not well circulated and available. Its goal is to compose a useful reference book for Taoists and scholars. It is also the first time a collection was edited neither by officials nor by Taoists. As for the publishing pattern, these two collections---- *Zangwai Daoshu* and *Chongkan Daozang Jiyao*---- are very similar.<sup>76</sup> They were both run by committees comprising members of both

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<sup>72</sup> Chen Yaoting 2010.

<sup>73</sup> *Zangwai Daoshu* was edited by Hu Daojing, Chen Yaoting, Duan Wengui and Lin Wanqing; and published by the Bashu Bookstore in 1992. It has 36 volumes and 991 books. It is the key publishing and ancient books project of the “1985 Project”. This collection is not arranged in a traditional Taoist style, with three caves and four halls (*sandong sifu*) but follows a new categorisation of 11 items: ancient Taoist texts, canons, theology, preserving health, religious discipline, ritual books, hagiography, temple gazetteers, literature, catalogs and others. (From *Zhongguo Daojiao Dacidian* (Hu edition) p.230. This entry was written by Liu Zhongyu.

<sup>74</sup> Although the publication was supported by some national-level departments, however, according to opinions of the editor Chen Yaoting, it was not an imperial project and was not fully managed by Taoists. So Chen maintains that *Zangwai Daoshu* is “a work managed by non-governmental voluntarily groups”. Here I accept Chen’s opinion. (Chen 1996: 912)

<sup>75</sup> Ibid: 911~4.

<sup>76</sup> “In 1984, *Zhang Yuanhe* 張元和, the president of Taoist Association and abbot of Qingyang Gong,

the Taoist and the academic community. Those resources come mainly from temples, local government departments and individual collectors.

The copies of the original *Guangcheng Yizhi* were lent to other institutions over time. There were multiple owners but their identity remained unknown to the public.<sup>77</sup> We are sure, however, that their style was all that of the Qingyang Gong; in other words, those copies came from the same wood-blocks in Erxian An. Eventually, the copy donated by (Gu) Changdao Guan in Qingcheng Shan in the 1980s was used for reprinting in the *Zangwai daoshu*, rather than a copy from its original temple, Erxian An. This is not only because the Sichuan Taoist Association is located in Changdao Guan, but also because it helped store treasured Taoist materials that suffered damage during the Sino-Japanese War and the Cultural Revolution. As a result, many of those books are stamped with “Tianshi Dong” (the other name of the Changdao Guan) on the texts.<sup>78</sup> (Fig. 3) It is a shame that we cannot know more about this part of the history of the collection and cannot qualify the extent and amount of damage done to the various copies of the *Guangcheng yizhi*.

Wood-block cutting of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* started in Guangxu 33 (1907). It is also the only record of *Guangcheng Yizhi* ever being cut. Unlike *Jiyao*, which has a definite date for starting and ending the publishing process, *Guangcheng Yizhi* has no such records. However, due to the two collections being similar to each other in terms of the page layout, we can assume that the two were cut by the same work group, and have continuity been under working progress. Even though these two are so similar, they are still two separate projects. *Guangcheng Yizhi* is believed to have started in 1907 and ended in 1915. According to notes, the earliest text of the collection to have been printed was “*Shenqi Chenghuang* 申啟城隍 (submitting to

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had a deal with Bashu Bookstore to cooperate in republishing *Daozang Jiyao*.” (Li Yangzheng 1993: 280)

<sup>77</sup> I asked an editor of Bashu Bookstore. No one involved in the original publication was still there at that time and it seems we can not trace back the old history. All that we can be sure of is that the texts and documents borrowed had been returned already, and there is nothing left in the office. There are some stamps on the texts (such as “Yang Jiaoyuan 楊教遠” and “Xuantian Daoren 玄天道人”, but we can not find the source yet, while for some other we could, such as “Qingcheng Shan” and “Heming Shan”. This indicates the multiple origins of the collection as it was reprinted. Another question is, since the modern Qingyang Gong woodblock presses are better and clearer than the copy of *Zangwai daoshu*, we can not easily understand why this better copy was not used. I was told *Zangwai daoshu* probably had not been able to strike a deal to borrow these texts at the time. (interview with Gan Shaochen, 2011-06-20)

<sup>78</sup> It has been a common consensus that Qingcheng Shan helped a lot in offering the remaining texts to fill the whole catalog. (Zhang Zhehong 2003: 60) This saying indeed makes sense. But considering some new texts from Qingyang Gong were not involved or were better than the *Zangwai daoshu* edition, something else must have happened during the collecting process.

City God)” (14-20, No. 139), and the latest was “*Baomiao Yanghang* 保苗揚旂 (protecting seedlings)” (14-13, No. 132). The exact date might be off by two or three years from our estimate due to the lack of enough notes on the texts.

I presume that the *Jiyao* was better known among common people and lay adepts, since the *Guangcheng yizhi* is only useful to ordained Taoists. The *Jiyao* first started to raise funds from the public around 1900 so that the publishing of *Guangcheng yizhi* (and the full-scale *Jiyao*) could be made possible. Consequently, publishing process overlapped for over half of their duration. *Jiyao* was completed in 1915; however, we have no records of when the *Guangcheng yizhi* was completed. It is possible that work on the *Guangcheng yizhi* ended imperfectly for reasons of bad politic situation and lack of money. In any case, the *Guangcheng yizhi* publication could be seen as a part of a continuing project after the *Jiyao*.

Although *Guangcheng* did not belong to the *Jiyao* series, abbot Yan Yonghe who started the *Jiyao* project planned to publish *Guangcheng Yizhi* as well. Yan’s plan was huge. For example, books of ritual documents (*wenjian ji*) for *Guangcheng Yizhi*---- *Yayi Ji* 雅宜集, *Xinxiang Miaoyu* 心香妙語 and *Lingbao Wenjian* 靈寶文檢<sup>79</sup>---- were all organized to be part of *Jiyao* at the beginning; however, for reasons unknown, they were never included in the collection. In contrast with the three *wenjian ji*, which all had block-cutting editions that time, *Guangcheng* had few block-cutting editions left. Since *Guangcheng* ritual was the most popular and important ritual tradition in Sichuan, it is natural for there to have been a project to publish it.

### Versions of the *Guangcheng Yizhi*

Versions of the *Guangcheng yizhi* are few and have overall little differences. I categorize them into two main types and go further by page layout details.

#### A. Version from *Zangwai Daoshu* (“ZW” for short)

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<sup>79</sup> There are four books listed in the sub-catalog of “volume of Zhang, Zhangji Zuyi” in *Jiyao* that are not listed in the catalog in the end, the three *wenjian ji* and “*Qingxuan Jilian Tieguan Hushi* 青玄祭煉鐵罐斛食” (which also appear in *Guangcheng yizhi*). Yin Zhihua believes it is because they rushed to publish and deleted some texts in the process. (Yin 2012: 56) The *wenjian ji* will be discussed in a later section of this dissertation.

13~15 volumes of ZW. It offers a catalog based on an unknown arranging method. It is the main version I used in this dissertation and I based my serial numbers of rituals on this vision.

A-1 Erxian An edition, (*Erxian An kanben* 二仙菴刊本)

There are 227 texts of this style in the ZW edition. This style is the most common type of *Guangcheng Yizhi* (which has 288 texts in total, so the percentage is 78.8%). In analyzing the page layout and the cutting style, we can see that they were made by a hired local work-group, “*Yuechi Bang* 岳池幫<sup>80</sup>”. “Their cutting style is fine, and the character style is simple and vigorous.”<sup>81</sup> Those wood-blocks of *Guangcheng yizhi* (and also *Jiyao*) were made of pear tree wood and cut on both sides. On the wood surface, it is divided into two pages by central column; the whole outline is surrounded by double squares; and there are eight lines on a half-page (so sixteen lines on each entire page) with eighteen words a line. In most cases, lines are drawn with thin black lines. The characters are of Ming style calligraphy, which was popular at that time. Most sentences are punctuated with dots.

The center column contains three blocks of information. The first and second are divided by a symbol---- a single fish-tail. The first part, upon the single fish-tail, is the collection: “*Guangcheng Yizhi*”. It does not change throughout. It serves as a basic determining criterion in telling if a text belongs to *Guangcheng* or not. The second part is the text name. It is a simplified name in four Chinese words as “(whole) text XXXX, *Ji/ Quanji* (全)集”. For example; the rite “*Guangcheng Yizhi Gaoshang Shenxiao Jiuchen Zhengchao Quanji* 廣成儀制高上神霄九宸正朝全集 (Audience with the Highly Respected Nine Stellar Palaces of Shenxiao Heaven)” is simplified into “*Jiuchen Zhengchao Ji* 九宸正朝集” (13-9, No. 9). The word “*ji*” could be dispensed with in some cases. The third part at the bottom of column conveys page numbers. In *Guangcheng Yizhi*, there is a special mark on the side of

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<sup>80</sup> Wood-cutting trade associations in Qing Dynasty Chengdu were grouped by local identity, such as Yuechi gang, Mianzhu gang and Chengdu gang (their gangs were all named after the god *Cangjie* 倉頡). These gangs members were all countrymen. (*Chengdu Shizhi, Tushu Chubanzhi*, p. 227). According to a Qingyang Gong Taoist (who heard it from elders), Qingyang Gong maintained a special workshop and let workers work inside the temple at that time. Work contracts were time limited and with full board. Qingyang Gong has no permanent block-cutting department.

<sup>81</sup> “It is the most representative work in recent Sichuan” (*Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*, p.193). The compliment also appears in the glossary of *Sichuan Baike Quanshu* (without reference). In *Sichuan Baike Quanshu*, it also refers to the “*Zhizaitang* 志在堂 workshop” being in charge of the wood-cutting work, helping repair and re-print old wood-block in 1985. (There is no information about *Zhizaitang*) (p.317)



the page number, the “*Suzhouma* code” in smaller size. The reason for using *Suzhouma* is not clear to us. This style is not common in Taoist texts or ordinary books, and it is no longer used in *Guangcheng Yizhi* today.<sup>82</sup>

This page style was the most applied and the most classic in *Guangcheng Yizhi*. Today, new re-cut blocks are made based on this style as well.

#### A-2 A Mini Collection “*Duren Dazhai Shiguoji*”

This was a mini edition that came earlier than the *Erxian An* edition. This ritual serial, “*Guangcheng Yizhi Duren Dazhai Yiguoji~ Shiguoji* 廣成儀制度人大齋一過集~十過集 (Grand Salvation Retreat)” (15-8~16, No. 247~255). *Duren Zhai* belongs to an important *Yin* ritual system, the “*Huanglu Zhai* 黃籙齋 (Yellow Register ritual)” which aims at saving all beings and deities from the nether world and receiving huge merits. The concept of *Duren* (saving people) appears frequently in the *Guangcheng yizhi*. In this series of rituals,<sup>83</sup> Taoists and believers have to worship in turn the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶), the kings of the Ten Palaces of the Netherworld (*Shidian* 十殿) and deities of Ten Directions (*shifang shenwang* 十方神王), etc. Afterwards, they must offer and send off many kinds of *wenjian*. It is a ten-fold ritual that Taoists have to perform ten times consecutively.

In this series, we can see a different layout page style from that of the *Erxian An*. The wood-block is divided into two pages by a central column; the entire page is surrounded by double squares; there are ten lines on a half-page (twenty lines on

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<sup>82</sup> “*Suzhouma* Code 蘇州碼” is an economical shorthand number used in Suzhou. It was popular around China due to its simple and secret character. The rate of usage of the *Suzhouma* in *Guangcheng* (including even one page in a text) is as high as 98%, so we can assert it is an ordinary rule. The *Suzhouma* numbers on the page have two possible formations. The first is it matches word numbers, so it must be a mark for counting the work (Fig.1). As to the rest, I cannot find the meaning yet. There is a saying, in ancient times claiming that *Erxian An* set a secret arrangement for liturgical texts to protect them from being stolen and abused. The code would thus be made by the administrator to keep text order. (Fieldnote 2012-07-17 with Dong and 2012-08-29 with Wei). Today, Qingyang Gong arranges all wood-blocks in order perfectly and does not use this method anymore. The bookshop administrator does not even know what *Suzhouma* is (fieldnote 2012-06-21 with Lu). By the way, there are some *Suzhouma* on *Jiyao* which bears two situations of meaning as well (matches with word numbers or not. I have no clear rate on it). This code system is not often seen besides the *Guangcheng* and *Jiyao* in Qing Dynasty Sichuan. (There are a few in gazetteers, like *Minguo Wenjian Xianzhi* and *Minguo Cuining Xianzhi*) There is to my knowledge no modern study yet of this usage.

<sup>83</sup> It is common in rituals of salvation and inviting texts. It cites sentences and ideas directly from one of the most sacred Taoist scriptures, *Duren Jing* 度人經. For instance, “*Sida Guikong QuANJI* 四大歸空全集 (letting off the four main desires)” (13-28, No.28) and “*Doujiao Qishi QuANJI* 斗醮啟師全集 (reporting to the masters, for a Dipper *jiao*)” (13-46, No.46).

each entire page). Each line (which has no drawing line) contains nineteen words. The character is in Ming style calligraphy with a slim and forceful style. Most sentences are punctuated with dots. None of the pages contain the *Suzhouma*.

In the ending of the last volume (*Shiguo Ji*), it is noted that “done at a perfect day in the winter in Xianfeng 5 (1855)” (9b). This proves that this block-cutting vision existed before the Erxian An edition. Nevertheless, it is just a small scale collection of ten texts. The wood-cut printings were made for the ceremony “*Lingbao Wuliang Duren Shengshen Dazhai*” which was held by the association Shengshen Hui 生神會<sup>84</sup> in Wenjian County.

### A-3 Some Different Copies from Qingcheng Shan

This group is the second largest in the ZW reprint of the *Guangcheng yizhi*. However, the copies in this group are not in the same style. In fact, the only thing they have in common is that they all came from Qingcheng Shan. Texts in this group are in a handwriting style (or cut in the form of handwriting characters) and seems to have been written by more than one person. This series might have been made for the writer himself or for a few people around him. They transcribed (or printed) ritual texts probably because texts sold in Erxian An were too expensive or otherwise unobtainable for them. Indeed, not every Taoist could afford the price. Thus, some people transcribed (or printed) texts they needed, and those texts might not have been related to each other or belong to the same system. Since the ZW edition was printed in a fixed size, it cannot reveal the original size of these series of hand-written texts.

There are ten rites in this group. Some of them were copied earlier than the Erxian An edition. Some rites have a mark in the central column as “*Guangcheng Yizhi. Tianshidong Zhi* 天師洞置” (or simply “Tianshi Dong”), which indicate that they were made when Peng Zhiguo was in charge as abbot. Peng’s works left us with ten texts, such as “*Shangyuan Qingsheng Ji* 上元慶聖集 (celebrating the Heavenly Official on Upper Prime Day)” (13-11, No.11).

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<sup>84</sup> It was a party arranged by believers who chanted the Taoist text *Shengshen Jing* 生神經 as the main activity. According to its note on the Fourth time text (*Siguoji*, 10b), it noted “donated six thousands coins from the surplus money of *Shengshen Hui*”. It can be presumed sensibly that this plan was made after most members had chanted enough times *Shengshen Jing*, and made a ceremony to report to deities. The reason why the Shengshen Hui chose *Shiguoji* to be published must be because this ritual had to be performed in their ceremonies. So the Shengshen Hui sponsored the wood-cutting. Other parties, like the Taoist officials, *Daohuisi* of Xingfan, Piyi, Pongyi and Jiajiang, and some merchants also contributed.

#### A-4 Others

The rest of the texts in the ZW collection are unrelated manuscripts (or wood-cutting in the manuscript form, we cannot be sure about it yet). They are different in character and description. Also, they are of unknown sources. For instance, the copyist “Chen Hongru of Liuji Tang” copied the rite “*Bao'en Hongzhai Youan* 報恩鴻齋右案 (salvation for thanksgiving)” (14-37, No.156) and “Yang Jiaochen made in the first April, Guangxu 12 (1886)” the “*Hewen Zhengchao* 和瘟正朝 (Audience for appeasing an epidemic)” (14-18, No. 137). Texts of this category are of different styles. In comparison with the Qingcheng Shan editions, the character style and names known are different. So here I presume that the two are from different sources, however, I cannot make it a final conclusion yet.

#### B. Online Database: Baiyun Shenchu Renjia (RJ)

The website “*Baiyun Shenchu Renjia* 白雲深處人家” (RJ) is a famous Taoist database offering lots of resources in Taoism for free download. This website was founded in August, 2005. Its mission is to gather and store as much of the Chinese Taoist tradition as possible. However, one problem with this site is that most data offer no reference. (The URL of the website is : <http://www.byscrj.com/jmm/> )

The RJ edition of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* comes in a huge PDF document form with useful functional bookmarks. It contains 281 texts and has a catalog arranged though serial number. Most texts were scanned directly from the *Zangwai Daoshu*: we can see the mark *Zangwai* on the edges. However, this was not the case with every copy from the ZW edition; in some cases, there were pages with two different original drafts (we can see that by comparing the page layout). Moreover, there are some texts that *Zangwai Daoshu* did not include. There are fifteen texts in total:

NO. RJ	Rite Name	The same page style with the Erxian An edition?
4	Jiuguang Leijiao Xiaoying Keyi, 九光雷醮削影科儀	○
6	Jiuhuang Dajiao Doulao Yuzhu Quanji, 九皇大醮斗姥預祝全集	○

X 25	Yuntaiyi Jiulong Qiyu Qishi Yanjie Quanji (by Du Guangting) 雲臺儀九龍祈雨啟師演戒全集 (唐世廣成天師杜光庭賓聖修集)	!
37	Santian Menxia Nüqing Zhaoshu (Banxing Zhaoming Ji) 三天門下女青詔書 (頒行詔命集)	○
49	Dafang Shewen, 大放赦文	○
76	Yingshuifu Shier Heyuan, 迎水府十二河源	○
X 97	Yuqing Wuji Zongzhen Dadong Xiaojie Xinghua Huguo Jiuming Baochan (Wenchang Chan) 玉清無極總真大洞消劫行化護國救民寶懺 (文昌懺)	X
113	Xiantian Lidou, 先天禮斗	○
136	Sigong Quanjing, 祀供泉井	○
141	Sigong Luanhua, 祀供鑾華	○
X 154	Qiuze Chuixunwen (plus: Guanjinke) 邱祖垂訓文 (+冠巾科)	!
189	Baidou Jie 拜斗解厄	○
194	Gongying Tianjia Ji, 恭迎天駕集	○
195	Gongying Dijia Ji, 恭迎地駕集	○
205	Qingjing Chaozhen Lidou Quanji (simplified : Jingdou Randeng ) 清靜朝真禮斗全集 (版心作「靜斗燃燈」)	○

There are three texts with patches on the table. Although they are related to *Guangcheng Yizhi* in some way, but because of the uncertainty concerning the author and the origin of the text (RJ-25) and because they are out of the ritual field of *Guangcheng* (RJ-97, 154), I decided not to include it in the catalog for now.

Very few copies from before 1907 are extant. These copies were all hand-written and used by Taoists themselves. At that time, texts were allowed to be transcribed copyright-free. It was never forbidden to anyone to sell (or transcribe) a *Guangcheng yizhi* text. Today, Erxian An keeps an open mind on copyright issues---- even though they need income from selling texts in the Dantai Bidong Bookstore, but “the price is too high.”<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> The layout page style is the same as the ZW edition. It has “*Guangcheng Yizhi*” on the central column and “*Guangcheng Yizhi Qiyu Qishi Quanji*” in the frontispiece. But the author was noted as Du Guangting. This is why I do not count it as a *Guangcheng* rite. Besides, there is no rite about “rain-praying and reporting to the masters” in ZW.

<sup>86</sup> The layout page style is the same as the ZW. But considering the contents, it is impossible that it was written by Chen Fuhui. It is not counted here.

<sup>87</sup> The layout page style is the same as the ZW. But its frontispiece marks as “*Lingyun Yizhi* 靈雲儀制” The name *Lingyun* does not exist in other texts and is unknown to us.

<sup>88</sup> Yang Ximing 1984: 40.

Aside from these editions, I have three catalogs of the *Guangcheng yizhi*:

C. The Catalog of Erxian An in late Qing Dynasty<sup>89</sup> (simply “Old Qingyang catalog”)

This is also referred to as the “*Guangcheng Yizhi Zhupin Xianjing Mulu* 廣成儀制諸品仙經目錄 (Catalog of all levels of Taoist scriptures of the *Guangcheng Yizhi*)” in the front page with “*Jingke Mulu* 經科目錄” on the central column. It was “reprinted in Grand Qing Xuantong 2 (1910)”. The most notable mark is a big stamp “*Sichuan Sheng Chengdu Erxian An Daojing Liutongchu Yin* (道經流通處印, stamp from Erxian An bookshop)” with characters cut in relief style, indicating its source. In this catalog, there are forty-two volumes and a total of 275 texts.

The layout page style is not the same as the ZW. Also, we cannot see much of a connection to Erxian An except for the big stamp. A Taoist who once managed Qingyang Gong bookshop told me that this catalog is definitely a copy from Erxian An, and that, in fact, it is not a catalog strictly speaking but a selling list<sup>90</sup>. This saying conforms with the stamp of the bookshop.

D. The Catalog from the *Guangcheng Yizhi* Original Preface (simply as “original preface catalog”).

This catalog does not exist in the *Zangwai daoshu* edition. It includes the catalog itself, the “original preface” (with author and date unknown) and a “new preface” by Yan Yonghe in 1906. In this copy, it indicates that the publishing date was Guangxu 33 (1907) and provides biographical information on Chen Fuhui. This copy is a modern reproduction by a computer in 2012<sup>91</sup>. I obtained it while conducting fieldwork in Sichuan<sup>92</sup>, but I never had a chance to see its original copy.

The catalog also includes some “all levels Taoist scriptures” which are not the same as the Old Qingyang Catalog. In this copy, it has forty volumes (no counting

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<sup>89</sup> This copy was collected by Yin Zhihui who got it from an elder Taoist in Baiyun Guan, Beijing. Mr. Fan in Pengying Xianguan, HK transferred it to me. I am very grateful to them all.

<sup>90</sup> Fieldnote 2012-07-16, with Dong.

<sup>91</sup> It noted “the summer in 63<sup>rd</sup> year of PRC (2012)” and “re-printed by the 21<sup>st</sup> generation of Xishu Longmen Orthodox School, the junior Taoist Dong Zhiguang”

<sup>92</sup> I have two different copies of “original preface catalog”. They are different in computer typesetting, but identical in contents. As to Chen’s story in the original preface, even though this text is still not publicly available, almost every Taoist I met in Sichuan knows it.

other Taoist scriptures), and 273 texts. It came a little earlier than the Old Qingyang Catalog. Although they have some differences in order arrangement, they probably came from the same source. And if we take them as book selling lists, this distinction might be caused by the press revising is during the publishing process.

#### E. The Modern Qingyang Gong Catalog

This catalog is genuinely a selling list with prices, distributed by the Qingyang Gong Bookstore. In this catalog, it includes *Guangcheng Yizhi* and some other Taoist texts. They were divided into several types. All texts from *Guangcheng yizhi* are of ritual nature (by wood-cutting print style), the rest are: theology, confession/litanies ritual and religious discipline type. However, this division is not carried out meticulously. For example, there are some *Guangcheng yizhi* texts that are found outside the ritual type. This situation also happened in the book list of “*Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*” and “*Guangcheng Yizhi Ji Qitashu Mulu*” (p.249).

This catalog has serial numbers (counting all texts), but the number order is not similar to any of the other copies above, and does not seem do have a clear meaning. Comparing three copies of the catalog (which I obtained in 2006, 2011, and 2012 respectively,<sup>93</sup> none carrying a date), we can see the basic arrangements are the same and differ very little. More interestingly, the differences (like erratum and newly added texts) include the fact that the serial numbers are not consistent between each copy. But for the Taoist in charge, this was not a problem.

Today, almost all Taoists who use *Guangcheng Yizhi* ritual texts refer to the Qingyang Gong edition. They “invite<sup>94</sup>” texts from Qingyang Gong and use woodblock-printed texts just like their predecessors did. This copy is now made with old wood-blocks (some broken blocks were recut, but the quality is clearly inferior to the old blocks) and oil-printing. They are hand-printed page by page on fine paper made from bamboo (*lianshi zhi*), and are covered with book jackets in dark blue color with a white label paper on them, packed though a six-point wrapped back binding style. Each volume is then packed in an elegant box when sold by full set.

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<sup>93</sup> The 2006 copy is from *Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*, p. 249~54; the two other copies were collected in Qingyang Gong by myself. This list can be demanded in Qingyang Gong Bookstore or to Taoists in charge. It is open to everyone.

<sup>94</sup> I saw some ancient texts during my fieldwork. But they were probably not older than a hundred years. Taoists and scholars mostly agree that texts left today are mostly of the Republican period, and very few date from the late Qing.

Like a book list, the contents of the whole set are not the same every year. Judging from a case from 2010, a whole set has twelve volumes and 256 texts.<sup>95</sup>

## 2-2 Contents and Contours of the collection

It is not strictly accurate to take 1907~1915 as the time of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* publication.<sup>96</sup> It might have been off by two or three years, especially for the ending date. Considering the poor political and economical situation at the time, it is possible that the Qingyang Gong struggled with continuing the project; even more, it might have broken off suddenly without completing the whole collection. Because the *Guangcheng yizhi* texts are bound individually, it is not easy to tell if the collection is complete or not. By comparing two catalogs from 1907 (the original preface catalog) and 1910 (the old Qingyang catalog), we can see that there exists differences in their arrangement. I believe this indicates that the editors were not sure about the arranging lists or the total quantity of texts at that time. Perhaps editors had not decided on every detail yet. All in all, *Guangcheng Yizhi* was never perfectly finished.<sup>97</sup>

There is an important fact that supports my theory of *Guangcheng Yizhi* being still unfinished. There never was a special ceremony held to celebrate its completion. It is well known a huge ceremony took place when the *Jiyao* was finally published. A *wenjian* entitled “*Kanke Daozang Jiyao Fenshu Chentian Xiuzhai shu* 刊刻道藏輯要焚書呈天修齋疏” preserved in *Erxian An Suishiwen* 二仙菴歲時文 (no. 19), shows that there used to be grand ceremonies performed to report such news to deities and ancestor masters. This *Huanglu Zhai* lasted from 1/10 to 21/12 (in the lunar calendar; possibly in 1915). When it comes to *Guangcheng Yizhi*, on the other hand, there are no records of any ceremony of this kind. It is very unlikely that, given that it was a ritual text, Taoists would not have seized the chance to hold a grand ceremony. This is why I am assured that the *Guangcheng Yizhi* was not completed at the time.

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<sup>95</sup> This copy is from Pengying Xianguan, HK. The catalog is an individual handmade thread-bound book. It was handwritten in content and has quite a few errata. Most importantly, there are three texts (*Qiyu Qishui* 祈雨啟水, *Wangsanshiliu Jie* 亡三十六解, *Xiuzhen Baozhuang* 修真寶傳) that were collected in but none of them were present in ZW or RJ. This modern copy is very expensive so it is not easy to access. I plan to conduct a comprehensive cross reference catalog of them in the future.

<sup>96</sup> According to the “introduction” of a modern Qingyang Gong catalog (2012). It had the date of 1909~1914, citing no reference.

<sup>97</sup> Chen Yaoting 2000: 213.

The question of numbers of texts contained in the *Guangcheng Yizhi* is also a mystery. Because the most determining catalog is missing, the number remains uncertain. How many exist in total? There is no agreement among scholars and Taoists, who have aired many different views. I have heard sayings describing that in the old days, they could perform unrepeated rituals that ran for 60~180 days (the minimum and maximum). If there were 4~5 rites a day, as is usual, then there would be 240~900 rites. It is impossible to reach a conclusion on this basis.

I believe the most practical way to determine the whole number starts with examining all the texts released. First, we should count the texts in *Zangwai* and the RJ edition, then calculate the sum but deduct any repetition. Following that, we should add those for whom we only know a title, which I came across in the course of fieldwork but have not been published yet. (In fact, for the most part, I have not seen the contents; sometimes I cannot tell if a particular text is complete or whether it actually exists or not. So far, there are 24 such rites, with the number continuing to increase as new field data turn up). In sum, there are over three hundreds confirmed texts already, and the number is still increasing.

According to my calculation, there are 288 rites in the ZW edition.<sup>98</sup> My criteria of judgment is whether the term “Ji/ Quanji” exists in the frontispiece or not (sometimes it shows at the end of the text). If a text has a title like that, it can be seen as an individual text. In some cases, it is a huge text taken as a set with some subtitles for separate smaller rites which serve as individual units. In such cases, I would like to give each of them a number. For example, “*Liushi Jianba Ji* 六時薦拔集” (14-60). The serial rites must be performed in six different times and the texts are in fact are individually divided into six texts. Therefore, here I assigned them separate numbers separately from 14-60, No. 178~183. In another case, a full text can be divided into two parts; although they have different titles, they certainly belong to one whole. Take as an instance the “*Duren Tigang Shangbu/ Xiabu Zuoyouan Quanji* 度人題綱上部/ 下部左右案全集” (15-1, No.240). These two titles have continuous contents and page members, so I take them as one. In addition, I also excluded four texts:

1. “Zhongyuan Dahui Qingsheng Quanji 中元大會慶聖全集” has two identical copies (13-20, 21). It counts as one text in effect.
1. “*Silei Ji* 祀雷集 (Offering to the thunder)” (13-120) has only title but no content.

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<sup>98</sup> There are different calculation methods by scholars. For example, Yin Zhihui concluded that there are 275 texts. (Yin 2010: 44)



(thus, it does not deserve a serial number.)

2. “(nameless)” (14-38) in fact, it is an incomplete version of the text “*Xingfu Gaojian* 行符告簡 (using talismans)” (13-27, No.27). This does not count because this copy is repetitive and incomplete.
3. “*Yangong Shejiao Ji* 言功設醮集 (telling the merits)” has two identical copies (14-30, No.149; 14-62). It counts as one text in effect.

Hence, there are 288 texts in total. See the Appendix 1 for the complete list.

Within the 281 texts in sum of the RJ edition, thirteen available texts differ from the ZW. Here, we have more 300 texts with complete content.<sup>99</sup>

The sum, at this point, is over three hundred. So I will take it as a good working hypothesis at this stage. Actually, although we are confident that the current number of texts in the *Guangcheng Yizhi* is not complete, the extant texts serve almost all kinds of ritual needs already---- from the emperor to the common people and from the temples to the village homes. It can even spread out of Sichuan.

There is an unsolved question regarding the publication. Was there an earlier wood-block edition before the Erxian An edition? This is a reasonable question since there was a gap of over a hundred years between the time Chen Fuhui edited *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts and the time Erxian An made the wood-block publication. It is surprising there is no definitive record left from this period. We can be sure there was some small-scale versions of limited subsets, like “*Duren Shiguo Ji*”. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that a huge-scale woodblock-cutting project happened. By analyzing the sentences of Yan Yonghe in “*Chongkan Guangcheng Yizhi Xu* 重刊廣成儀制序” (preface of re-printing *Guangcheng Yizhi*”<sup>100</sup>) in *Guangxu* 32 (1906), it seems to indicate that there were some versions before Erxian An edition----regardless of the scale. In his preface, he maintained that:

“This collection was collected and corrected by Chen Yunfeng, and then gathered again by Chongyang Liu Hexin 劉合信.<sup>101</sup>” (2a~b)

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<sup>99</sup> In my calculation method, I must admit my judgment is narrow. I count only rite texts concerning the ZW edition. I might be prejudiced by first impressions. After all, there are several texts beyond ritual texts included in the catalog of Old Qingyang and Original Preface edition.

<sup>100</sup> From this preface, it was noted “by Erxian An Taoist Yongyongzi Yan Yonghe, in the spring of *Guangxu* 32 (1906)”.

<sup>101</sup> Little is known of Liu Hexin’s life. Yet, based on *Guangcheng* “*Baomiao Yanghang Ji*”: “Taoist Liu Hexin transcribed in the 6/6, *Guangxu* 33 (1907)” can see he was a 16<sup>th</sup> generation *Longmen* Taoist.

“Those spread out as incomplete version in the old days, and now we finally make it full.” (2b)

Clearly, some copy must have existed. Based on the *Longmen* generation names for 11<sup>th</sup> ~20<sup>th</sup> generations:

“Yi-yang-lai-fu-ben. He-jiao-yong-yuan-ming”

The three key people in the history of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* –Chen Fuhui, Liu Hexin and Yan Yonghe were apart from each other by one generation. (One must of course beware, according to the development of the varying lineages and branches, Taoists originally from the same time period might convert to Taoism and be listed under generations that differ by many years). After this time (I believe it would not have been more than 40~50 years), the *Guangcheng Yizhi* went into a lost and disordered situation.

However, developments during the nineteenth century are still unclear. We can be sure there was no other woodblock edition left, and Taoists from the 1900s onwards have used only the Erxian An edition (or a manuscript version transcribed from the Erxian An edition).

Here comes the problem. Since the less important *wenjian ji* collections were wood-cut before the *Guangcheng Yizhi*, people at that time called for donations for Taoist texts printing (*Yayi Ji*, 1-21, 30). How come it did not result in a complete publication of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* at Chen’s time or a little after?

Scholars and Taoists consider that there was no publication workshop inside Erxian An, before Yan Yonghe started wood-cutting the *Jiyao*. Such a statement must be specifically explained. First, only “text depositaries” existed, and there was never an ideal Taoist “text workshop” – with the ability to wood-cut, print, circulate, and even produce high-quality paper by themselves. Collections like *Jiyao* and *Guangcheng yizhi* were organized in a temporary workshop by hiring workers into the temple. Even though the program might have gone on for a long time, the workshop was still only a temporary department. Abbots of Erxian An never considered arranging a permanent solution and chose to hire a team from the outside if ever necessary. In Guangxu 14 (1884) Erxian An transmitted precepts for the first time. During the precept-publication ceremony, they had to quickly finish printing texts and the list of the ordained, *Dengzhen Lu* 登真錄. However, they never set up any cut-print workshop – before or after. It seems that building a text workshop was

never a plan for the Erxian An, even though they were the wealthiest Taoist temple in Sichuan.<sup>102</sup>

Nevertheless, back then in Sichuan, it might have been common not to set up a text workshop. During the Qing dynasty, there were cases of Taoists managing publication projects. For instance, Wang Laitong 王來通, abbot of Erwang Miao in Guan County, published three famous books about making irrigation systems and water-control after he repaired and improved the famed Dujiangyan waterworks. There also exist some documents about asking for donation for cut-printing these books. Although they are not considered Taoist texts in a narrow sense, they were indeed taken as Taoist texts. The only exception is Liu Yuan of the Fayan Altar, who built a print workshop and bookstore based on his Confucian family education. He sold his ritual compendium, *Fayan Huizuan*, as well as other works of the Liu family.<sup>103</sup>

Some evidence show that *Guangcheng yizhi* texts were distributed out of Sichuan. It could be deemed that Taoists from other places took interest in knowing this tradition; however, we cannot assume whether they accepted or used *Guangcheng yizhi* in actual ritual practice as well.

The “old Qingyang Catalog” mentioned above was printed in Xuantong 2 (1910). There is an interesting story behind the birth of this catalog. Its owner was an aged Taoist in Beijing Baiyun Guan. He might have taken this book list with him (I do not know if he also brought *Guangcheng yizhi* texts) when (or a little later) Yan Yonghe went to Baiyun Guan and transmitted precepts there during the last years of the Qing. This is an unofficial book list that serves as a selling list. The list kept in Beijing is a good example of how Taoism in Qing Dynasty did interact, though empire-wide Quanzhen networks, between different provinces. Considering the strong Taoist tradition in Beijing, while its number of rituals might be less than that of Sichuan, Beijing probably chose not to adapt *Guangcheng Yizhi* to its own practices.

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<sup>102</sup> This situation might more common in Qing dynasty, for example temples in Beijing also trended not to publish themselves. See Goossaert 2007: 211, 278.

<sup>103</sup> The bookstore *Shoujing Tang* 守經堂 was located in Chunhua Street, Chengdu. It opened in the middle of Guangxu Reign and sold only Liu Yuan's works at that time and later on, Yuan's grandchild Liu Xianxing's. (Liu Dongfu 1979: 157). Also see Valussi 2012 and Olles 2013.

Such was not the case for the Quanzhen School only. The famous Zhengyi Taoist Chen Liansheng 陳蓮笙<sup>104</sup> (1917~2008) recalled keeping a collection of *Guangcheng yizhi* with 44 texts when he worked at Chenghuang Miao, Shanghai during the Republican period. These texts, Chen recalled (without providing a detailed list) were all written by “Yunfeng Chen Zhongyuan” and printed by “Erxian An in Chengdu.” Aside from the 44 texts, there were also *Xinxiang Miaoyu* and *Lingbao Wenjian* (the two were noted as “Mianzhu Chen Fuxuan Hanpu” in 1840) on the list. Chen Liansheng kept them in his personal library but never practiced them.<sup>105</sup>

Recent studies discovered that Longmen Taoists from Sichuan brought Quanzhen ritual traditions into Zhejiang Province and Wenzhou area during the late Qing and early Republican periods. An important rite, *Sazu Tieguan Shishi Yankou* 薩祖鐵罐施食焰口 (salvation of feeding ghosts with the Iron bottle by Ancestor Sa)<sup>106</sup> still practiced today is from the Erxian An edition. Another publication from Erxian An, *Chongkan Daozang Jiyao · Quanzhen Zhengyun* 全真正韻<sup>107</sup> was disseminated to all of China, especially Zhejiang, Yunnan and Hunan provinces. They used the same Taoist music tune “shifang yun” which is closely connected to Chengdu Taoist music.<sup>108</sup>

There is a special case in Taiwan. The modern publication *Xietu Anlong Quanji* 謝土安龍全集 (thanking Earth and Pleasing Dragons) was edited based on four related *Guangcheng* texts: *Xietu Qitan Quanji* 謝土啟壇全集, *Xietu Zhenwen Ji* 謝土真文集, *Xietu Anlong Ji* 謝土安龍集 and *Chouxiehuo Quanji* 酬謝火全集 (13-98, 99, 100, 116; No, 98, 99, 100, 116). In this book, the new editor added

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<sup>104</sup> A very famous Zhengyi Taoist in modern times. His autonym is Wu Liangxu. He was born in Shanghai. He served as the manager of Shanghai Chenghuang Miao, vice-president of Chinese Taoist Association and president of Taoist Association in Shanghai. He came from a Taoist family and received the register “Sanwu Dugong Jinglu” from the 63<sup>rd</sup> Heavenly Master Zhang Enpu.

<sup>105</sup> Those were collected by Chen Liansheng and recorded around 1961. All his collection was gone and only one list was left. This list was re-catalogued as “data of Shanghai Taoist Association preparatory committee.” There were some *Jiyao* texts cited in the list (noted as Guangxu Reign Year 32 at Erxian An). (Chen Liansheng 2009:324, 328)

<sup>106</sup> It is “*Qingxuan Jilian Tieguan Shishi Quanji* 清玄濟鍊鐵罐施食全集”. It is a manuscript from Guangxu 26 (1900) with a note explaining it was taken from Beijing Baiyun Guan by Yan Yonghe. Some scholars insisted that this text was not edited by Chen Fuhui and it should not belong to *Guangcheng*. (in RJ copy, it was noted “corrected and printed by Yan Yonghe”). I agree that this text might not have been corrected by Chen Fuhui, but considering how this rite was indeed integrated in the *Guangcheng yizhi* in the late Qing and how it is practiced today by *Guangcheng* Taoists (although not as frequently as “*Tieguan Hushi*”), I consider it as a *Guangcheng* ritual.

<sup>107</sup> This name was cited from the central column of the text. In fact, this text was not published as part of the *Jiyao* at that time.

<sup>108</sup> Liu Hong 2009: 284~5.

*Anlong Fujue* 安龍符訣 (Nine Pleasing Dragons Talismans, to four spiritual animals and five directions) that did not exist in *Guangcheng*. More importantly, he modified the four rites into a whole new style that fit the Taiwanese tradition which is different from the Earth-thanking offering, Tuhuang Jiao in Sichuan.<sup>109</sup> This case shows a major transformation by using an old copy and editing it into a new style to adjust new needs.<sup>110</sup>

### 2-3 Chen Fuhui: Editor and Corrector of *Guangcheng Yizhi*

Except for almost every *Guangcheng yizhi* text noted as “corrected and edited by Yunfong Yuke Chen Zhongyuan”, we know little about Chen Fuhui, who was known as an editor of one of two major Taoist collections in Qing Dynasty.<sup>111</sup> The few available records of him are from *Minguo Wenjian Xianzhi*, *Minguo Guanxian Zhi* and the “original preface catalog”. Summarizing these three sources, Chen Fuhui was born in Jiangjiatuo 江家沱, Xingjin County (today’s Wuyang Town) in Yongzheng 12 (1734). After becoming an orphan in his childhood, he converted to Taoism under master Mao Laiyu 毛來玉 (belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> generation of Longmen School) in Laojun Guan. Aside from being a 14<sup>th</sup> generation Longmen Taoist, he studied Confucianism under another teacher. Chen managed two temples, Wenwu Gong and Panlong Si (both in Wenjian County) after Master Mao passed away. He died in Jiaqing 9 (1802) in Panlong Si at the age of 69. His achievements are mostly described in terms of his editing liturgical texts:

“He wrote two *wenjian ji*, *Lianzhu Ji* 璉珠集, *Yayi Ji*, and the liturgical texts *Guangcheng Yizhi*. These texts have been fairly influential on the emperor and the common people. Besides, he left more than three hundred essential documents on rituals. It is a shame that we can find some manuscripts but very few wood-cut copies. This makes it almost impossible to seek the essence of ritual now.” (From “original preface” of *Guangcheng Yizhi*, 2a.)

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<sup>109</sup> “*Anlong Diantu*” in Taiwan is a rare and important ritual which takes place only when building or renovating a temple. It stages a “renewal” and “re-functioning” of the universe and is very different from functionally comparable rituals in Sichuan. About “*Anlong Diantu*” in Taiwan, see Lu Chuikuan 2009.

<sup>110</sup> My comment is only based on the book (first published in 1997). I have never seen such a ritual practiced in Taiwan. This question will require future fieldwork.

<sup>111</sup> The other is *Qingwei Huanglu Dazhai Keyi* edited by Zhengyi Taoist Lou Jinyuan 婁近垣 (1689~1776). He was a famous *fashi* of Longhu Shan and abbot of Qin’an Dian for the service of the Emperor Yongzheng (r. 1722~1735). He established his own *Zhengyi* lineage 正乙派” under the *Zhengyi* School.

“Chen Fuhui: was the manager of Wenjian Panlong Si. He wrote the book *Yayi Ji*.” (From *Longmen Zhengzong Bidong Tangshang Zhipu* 龍門正宗碧洞堂上支譜, n.pag.)

Chen wanted to “sincerely help the world through enacting the gods’ way” (from the preface of *Yayi Ji*, 1a). His approach was to perform Taoist rituals, and he indeed became a master. He not only succeeded with his own traditions, but also collected and sought out other sources. Considering his *wenjian*, it is clear that he had by that time completed a well-rounded collection of ritual texts already. Those *wenjian* were written because Chen worried that “people who prepare rituals but offend rules invite illness and bad luck. Thus, they should choose a suitable date to perform rituals to make sure all wishes come true.” (from the preface of *Yayi Ji*, 1a, written by Zhang Xian 張銑<sup>112</sup>).

From Chen’s *wenjian*, we can discern a basic picture of his life. He took Panlong Si as a base and worked within Chengdu and Guan County. He performed many rituals for temples in Qingcheng Shan, such as (Gu) Changdao Guan and Shangyuan Gong. Among them, he performed rituals most frequently for Changdao Guan. He left eleven item *wenjian*, for seven events, nineteen pairs of gate posts, and ten horizontal inscribed boards for three events for Changdao Guan only.

I would like to discuss two issues concerning *Guangcheng Yizhi*. First is the origin of the word “Guangcheng.” It means, literally, “extensive and perfect.” Nonetheless, to Sichuan Taoists, this references rather obviously the brilliant Taoist Du Guangting 杜光庭<sup>113</sup> (850~933) who lived between the late Tang and the Five Dynasties, and spent the entire second half of his career in Chengdu. His given name was Mister Guangcheng. He contributed a lot in correcting and editing liturgy, and was honored as one of the “three great masters of Taoist rituals.” It is reasonable that Sichuan Taoists made a strong connection between *Guangcheng Yizhi* and Du Guangcheng. They adapted this name not only to pay respect to Du Guangcheng, but also to indicate a direct inheritance from him.<sup>114</sup> Liu Xianxing of the Fayan Altar confirmed this saying:

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<sup>112</sup> Based on this preface, we can only know that Zhang was born in Maozhou and served as a low-level official, Gonggong. He must have been a good friend of Chen Fuhui, but we do not know more about him. The preface was written in Qianlong 44 (1779).

<sup>113</sup> Du was a brilliant Taoist master who left behind rich works on rituals and theology, and was greatly influential. Modern research on him includes Verellen 2001, Zhou Xipo 2003, and Sun Yiping 2004.

<sup>114</sup> For example, *Lingbao Wenjian*, a special text used for Guangcheng rituals, is named after the Taoist text *Lingbao Jinshu* by ancestor masters Jin Yunzhong and Ning Quanzhen. It is an intention to express respect to ritual traditions. See the “original preface” of *Lingbao wenjian*, and Mori 2007:

“There was a Taoist Du Guangting of Qingcheng Shan in the Five Dynasties and Later Shu. He had the title “Heavenly Master Guangcheng” and a title of nobility. He left behind a Taoist tradition named “Guangcheng Altar”. Later on, a Taoist, Chen Fuhui of Qingcheng Shan in Jiaqing period edited the popular collection *Guangcheng Yizhi*.” (from Liu Xianxing 2010: 101~2)

Today, scholars like Yin Zhihua hold the same opinion:

“Chen Fuhui...named it *Guangcheng Yizhi* to benefit from the prestige of Taoist Du Guangting of the late Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties.... He wanted to indicate that his ritual tradition originated from Du, and that he, of course, was an inheritor of Du”. (Yin 2010: 44)

Additionally, in *Zhongguo Daojianshi*, they take the same opinion when discussing the “*Huangfan Yunzhuan* 皇旛雲篆”:

“The Royal Flags invented by Master Du.”

“So it is clear that the main contents of *Guangcheng Yizhi* came from Du’s ritual teachings in Qingcheng Shan in the late Tang and the Five Dynasties; and that was edited by Chen Zhongyuan of Qingcheng Shan in Qing Dynasty.” (pp. 527~8)

In fact, people gave Du so much veneration that they ascribed to him much more than he had actually done or written:

“People believe that most Taoist texts were written by Shu Taoist Du Guangting” (from *Minguo Baxian Zhi*, vol. 5, p. 799)

“Today, most of the Taoist texts we see were written by Du Guangting” (Liu Xianxing 2010: 12~3)

However, Taoist liturgy has changed to a considerable extent after Du, be it in terms of classifying rituals or in actual practice. Problems with discontinuity also happened in Sichuan Taoism and Taoists – of course, it might only be a minute difference under a macroscopic view. New migrant Taoists coming from other provinces (especially during the Mongol period, and again during the early Qing, brought new traditions, texts, and practicing styles, although they belonged to the

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same larger tradition and admired Sichuan local masters (like Du Guangting). Taoists of different generations did not apply the same ritual methods or local traditions. For instance, a Quanzhen Taoist from Beijing Baiyun Guan and another from a Chengdu temple might understand each other well regarding the ritual structures, but they might not collaborate as a team when it comes to the actual practice of rituals.

The ritual styles have changed as well. Taoists nowadays no longer use old ritual texts like Du's *Taishang Huanglu Zhaiyi* or Master Jin and Ning's works (the two versions of the famed *Lingbao Dafa*). Nevertheless, Sichuan Taoists still refer to these works when discussing between them or with scholars. Taoists in Sichuan believe that they have kept their tradition and faith intact in the bigger picture: they have a lineal descent through ages with a strong stream of Taoist tradition. They do not entirely share my opinion that the immigration population in the early Qing and a new ritual style set up by Chen Fuhui created a new situation for Sichuan Taoism. Of course, the Guangcheng tradition indeed shows its special character that differs in some significant aspects from earlier codifications.

I cannot deny that such ritual difference is possibly considered trivial in the eyes of Taoists. Yet, we need strict and detailed observations in order to go beyond larger claims that are to some extent of an ideological nature.

Chen Fuhui chose to use the term “*guangcheng*” to name his work; but it actually caused many people to misunderstand who the author was. For example, *Zengxiu Guanxian Zhi* 增修灌縣志 (Guangxu period, Qing Dynasty) and the well-known gentry Peng Xun's<sup>115</sup> (彭洵 1825~1896) *Qingchengshan Ji* 青城山記:

“(Du Guangting) thought that although there were many interpretations of *Daode Jing*, they could hardly reach the essence. So he took upon himself to interpret *Daode Jing* in *Guangcheng Yi*(儀) in eighty volumes. This work is well known for its marvelous rituals.<sup>116</sup>”  
(*Qingchengshan Ji*, second part of *shishi*, the *Fangji* 方技)

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<sup>115</sup> Native of Guan County. He also wrote *Guangji Chugao* 灌記初稿 and *Yijun Jilue* 彝軍記略.

<sup>116</sup> There are two editions left: 1. Zhongshu Tang 種書堂 in Guangxu 13 (1887), the *Jiyao* edition is derived from it; 2. Yulan Tang 玉蘭堂 in Guangxu 21 (1895). Besides, Peng Ximing's (彭襲明 1908~2002) *Qingchen Jinji* also maintained “so he wrote *Guangcheng Yi* 儀 in eighty volumes.” (Actually, all this section was quoted from *Wudai Shibu* 五代史補 which said instead “*Guangcheng Yi* 義” for real). In these three editions, authors of different background and sources made the same mistake. It is perhaps reflects a collective consciousness that Sichuan people take Du as the archetypical Taoist of Sichuan. Fig.2.



This is of course a major misunderstanding : Du Guanting's work *Daode Jing* is *Daode zhenjing Guangshengyi* 道德真經廣聖義. It, in fact, is a commentary on the *Daode Jing*, and has no relationship with ritual. Du never wrote a text named “Guangchengyi”. However, the confusion between “Guangshen Yi” and “Guangcheng Yi” resulted in Master Du being credited with writing our Qing-period ritual texts, and created a common misconception among Sichuanese people.

There is no doubt that *Guangcheng Yizhi* was connected with Master Du indirectly. Yet, what if they after all had a direct relationship? Chen Fuhui left an intriguing hint in his *Yayi Ji*:

“(I did it) according to Master Guangcheng, Du's *Jintingxu Yifan* 金亭序儀範”. (vol.1 36a)

Chen Fuxuan also repeated this in the preface of *Xinxiang Miaoyu*:

“Master Guangcheng of the Five Dynasties edited *Jinting Yizhi*. Then we Taoists have all had *wenjian* to use”. (1a)

There is no such text as “*Jinting*” left or simply mentioned in other sources. We have no idea about its contents. But it is not a unique instance; there are two further sentences in *Guangcheng*:

“*Jinting Guangxu* at the first, and then correct the universal” (“*Jiuhuang Dajiao Guangao Ji* 九皇大醮關告集 (for announcing)”, 13-76, No.76.1b)

“Founding the teaching by *Jinting*, and then brightening the North Dipper” (“*Jiuhuang Dajiao Yingjia Ji* 九皇大醮迎駕集 (for greeting)”, 13-77, No.77, 1b)

All these sentences seem to indicate that Master Du left a work called *Jinting Yizhi* or that he had an unknown name of “*Jinting*”. However, we have found no trace of it yet.

The second issue regarding *Guangcheng*'s name is the background to the word *zhi* 制 (system). There is a story behind it, according to original preface from the Guangxu period. After Master Chen finished compiling the *Guangcheng Yi*, says this preface, he was invited to hold a grand *Shuilu* ceremony to rescue the souls of

people and soldiers who had died in the Jinchuan Wars<sup>117</sup> in Qianlong 43 (1778). Because the ceremony was successful, the Emperor gave this liturgical text an additional word “*zhi*”.

The official presented this text to the Emperor. The Emperor admired it, considering it an outstanding piece of literature and a real classic, and then rewarded him with the word *zhi*.  
(original preface, 2b)

Since that time, the name *Guangcheng Yizhi* was fixed. Taoists all use it, and no one dares to change a word.

As for Chen Fuhui himself, we can also surmise his mind about using the term “*guangcheng*” by reading the generational poem he composed for his own *Lantai* 蘭台 sub-lineage<sup>118</sup>:

“Guang-kai-lan-bi. Zhong-shao-ti-chui. Miao-yuan-zi-fu. Hua-li-wei-xing. Yuan-rong-da-dong.  
Liao-wu-shang-zhen. Ling-yi-zheng-guo. Nai-yue-guang-cheng. 光開蘭碧。仲紹體純。妙元自  
溥。化理維新。圓融大洞。了悟上真。領依正果。乃曰廣成。 (In summary: We start our  
tradition from *Lanbi*. You should simplify and cultivate yourself. If you can bring all knowledge  
together and enlighten the trueness, you can achieve the Tao. This is what “*guangcheng*, the  
wideness and completeness” is.)” (4b)

“*Guang*” means to broaden knowledge and trueness. It means the true Taoism: the essence of Tao. Chen Fuhui was a ritual specialist, so naturally he chose to practice ritual as his method of achievement. In the end – if followers can achieve this goal – they are rewarded with completeness and success.

Most of the first pages of texts within *Guangcheng Yizhi* are noted with “corrected and edited by Yunfeng Yuke Chen Zhongyuan.” Yet, which parts were actually corrected and edited by him? How can we evaluate his achievement? I assume that before Chen started to edit this collection, he must have been familiar with and made good sense of all the Taoist schools active then in Sichuan. Based on such

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<sup>117</sup> According to Chen’s “*Wei Guanxian Wumiao Qingjian Shuilu Binxi* 為灌邑武廟請建水陸稟敘” (*Yayi Ji*, vol. 1), this ceremony took place between 02/28~03/29 of Qianlong 43 (1779) (it was performed on the Tomb Sweeping Day, Qingming). There are six *wenjian* in total, related to this ritual, in *Yayi Ji*.

<sup>118</sup> There are two statements as of the function and role of this sublineage: for Zhengyi “Guangcheng Altar” Taoists or a special lineage for Guangcheng ritual leading Taoists (*gaogong*) only. We know little about this issue, to which I will return in chapter 4-2.

knowledge, he took the essence of all schools and integrated them into a new collection that could serve the needs of Sichuan people. No lesser a scholars than Liu Yuan granted as much:

“I have never seen any Zhengyi ritual text but for *Guangcheng*. And *Guangcheng* is very rich in its contents.” (Liu Xianxing 2010: 102)

It is clear that since the formation of the *Guangcheng* liturgy, almost every Sichuan Taoist adapted the new *Guangcheng* tradition and gradually abandoned (or modified) their past tradition. Hence, with united ritual text, practice, music, structure; and even *wenjian*, the *Guangcheng* ritual became the major style in Sichuan. Taoists also believe this ritual structure has remained an archetype ever since its appearance.

There is another case of a major codifier worked as a corrector and editor on a collection of texts. Some two generations (about 60 years<sup>119</sup>) after Chen Fuhui, there was a Quanzhen Longmen Taoist Chen Fuxuan 陳復煇 (1773~?, born in Mianzhu County). We know nothing about him except that he was a manager of Zhenwu Guan temple. He has a Longmen generation name “fu” but was not listed on the *Zhipu*, so he probably did not belong to the *Bidong* lineage.<sup>120</sup> In the *wenjian ji Xinxiang Miaoyu*, Chen Fuxuan was usually noted on first page, saying “corrected and edited by retired Mianzhu Chen Fuxuan Hanpu 含樸”. He described his identity as an editor in the following terms:

“(I accidentally got a lost copy from Master Jing and Ning’s *Lingbao Wenjian* and Lu Yuansu’s 呂元素 *Dingzhiji* 定制集 )... although I want to revive them, it is really beyond my power. I cannot abandon them anyway. So the best I can do is transcribe them, repairing some sentences and correcting errors. And then publish a wood-cut copy to make it available to the public”.

(vol.1, 1b~2a)

Chen Fuxuan’s *wenjian*, of course, were composed for *Guangcheng* rituals. So there must have been some sense for his usage of the term “corrector and editor.” Unlike

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<sup>119</sup> According to the preface, *Xinxiang Miaoyu* was completed in Daoguang 20 (1840) and *Yayi Ji* in Qianlong 44 (1779).

<sup>120</sup> In *Minguo Mianzhu Xianzhi*, vol. 17, “zongjiao”: “Zhengwu Guan is located out the west gate with thirty li (15 kilometers) distance. It was built by Taoist Li Laiyi 李來儀 in Qianlong 44 (1779) repaired by Taoist Chen Fuxuan (煇) in Jiaqing 14 (1809) repaired again in Daoguang 11 (1831)”. Because the word “xuan” (煇 or 煇) are similar, the temple it maintained was the same. I am assuming those two Taoists Chen Fuxuan were the same people. Besides, based on the generation poem and its correspondence with time periods, we can be sure that Chen Fuxuan was a Quanzhen Longmen Taoist.

the unknown history of Chen Fuhui, Chen Fuxuan introduced his sources for the *Xinxiang Miaoyu* clearly.

Due to the lack of data, we still have many questions about Chen Fuhui and *Guangcheng* rituals. For example, it is no doubt that he was a Quanzhen Longmen Taoist, but he also studied other ritual traditions. It would be reasonable to assume that he also belonged to another different tradition, considering his rich methods and knowledge. But there is no information left about his other affiliations. On the other hand, it is perhaps why some assume Chen Fuhui was actually a Zhengyi Taoist.<sup>121</sup>

As for the question – was *Guangcheng Yizhi* written by one man or a group of people? In my opinion, although this collection is so huge that it is not easy for one person to write, it is also impossible for it to have been written by co-writers or a team (but some assistants or copiers were possible). In reading *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts, we can easily see the high level of coherence and use of a unified vision and lexicon. For example, in both texts with the same function: “*Kuanjia Tingke Ji* 款駕停科集” and “*Kuanjia Tingcan Ji* 款駕停參集” (13- 33, 55), they adopted the same charm “weiling zhou”; furthermore, that had very similar sentences in speaking:

「今宵略伸回向，明晨薰香啟請，念信人歸向之誠，赦弟子冒瀆之咎」(十三-- 33, 3b-4a)

「今晚略伸回向，明晨薰香又啟請，念道眾皈依之誠，赦弟子瞽狂之咎」(十三-- 55, 4a)

(In summary: We do a little re-attributing for you tonight, and will re-invent you again by offering incenses. Please forgive us for caring for our sincerely.)

He also extended those close coherence to *wenjian*. For example, a sentence praising *Chuanzhu* 川主 (Lord of Sichuan) appeared in two places with different meanings. They both start as:

“You manage all the fields and rivers. You make sure all irrigation works from rivers are correct. You make our Sichuan people safe and satisfied.”

Then, they continue separately:

“You keep guarding Sichuan and make sure this place is in peace.” (from “*Chuanzhu Zhengchao* 川主正朝 (Worshipping to God of Sichuan)” 15-36, No. 275, 9a)

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<sup>121</sup> Please refer to the footnote 65 in chapter 1.

“You earned esteemed reputation by guarding Sichuan, and you are honored as Lord Yingwang.” (*Gu Changsheng Guan Xianyingwang Shouhui Shu* 古長生觀顯英王壽會疏, from *Yayi Ji*, vol.2, 6a-b)

Those two sentences start with the same laudatory terms to Chuanzhu, but end with different descriptions that echo different goals. This hints that Chen Fuhui must have had a hand at the whole of *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts.

In fact, in Chen Fuhui’s time, the development of ritual was already very mature. Most structures and rundowns were firmly set and could not be arranged randomly. Chen’s “corrections” might have been mainly about putting all rites under a new (perhaps not completely new) regular structure and polishing the sentences. After all, he must have integrated all the benefits from his traditions.

There is another mystery about how many texts of *Guangcheng Yizhi* Chen himself worked on. As we have seen above, the precise list of contents of this collection was never definitively fixed, and records on Chen’s work do not bring much clarity to the matter. *Minguo Guanxian Zhi* only gives us a vague description: “he had corrected tens of Guangcheng rituals.” This indicates people had no exact idea of the amount – not even in the late Qing period –; what is more, we have no idea about the details of the contents. Therefore, we cannot be sure if the *Guangcheng* collection was or not already completed in Chen Fuhui’s time.

On the bright side, if Chen Fuhui had not passed away so suddenly, he might have been able to complete his project. In fact, he finished his *wenjianji*, *Yayi Ji* later than the *Guangcheng Yizhi*. It seems he had sufficient time to complete this second, later project. Later authors mostly admired this later collection (*Yayi Ji*) and viewed it as a perfect, all-purpose ritual collection. On the other hand, there is no creditable record about the exact contents or size of the *Guangcheng yizhi*. It leaves open a tiny possibility that Chen might have planned to extend or rearrange the *Guangcheng Yizhi*.

#### 2-4 *Wenjian Ji*

Today, Sichuan Taoists still use the four *wenjian ji* of Guangcheng rituals. They are: *Yayi Ji*, *Xinxiang Miaoyu*, *Lingbao Wenjian* and *Erxian An Suishiwen*.

These four collections can be found in the Qingyang Gong bookstore nowadays. The first three woodblock styles are the same as *Chongkan Daozang Jiyao*, and all have the mark “*Daozang Jiyao*” in their page’s central column and cite the date of reprint in Guangxu 32 (1906). As to *Suishiwén*, it was only marked with “*Erxian An*” in its central column and had no date of production or publication; however, we can be sure that it was later than Guangxu 33 (1907) by examining its content.

#### A. *Yayi Ji* 雅宜集

*Xuanzong Tongshi Yayi Ji* 玄宗通事雅宜集 was written by “Yunfeng Yuke Chen Fuhui, Zhongyuan.” It is the only *wenjian ji* left by Chen. He divided it into four parts: Ling, Ji, Chang, Da 靈機暢達 which together means “may these *wenjian* be full of intellect and spirit”; it can be taken as Chen’s self-demanding aim. The four parts were also divided according to their types: *xuji* and *bangyi*; *biao* and *shu*; essay; popular prose and couplets. There are altogether 158 pieces and 30 pairs of antithetical couplets or horizontal inscribed boards. The first edition of *Yayi Ji* was published when Chen Fuhui was alive, according to the preface (written in Qianlong 44 (1779)) and “*Mukan Yayi Ji Xuying* 募刊雅宜集敘引” (1-22). It listed some of the followers involved in publishing the book: eight disciples of the “*ben*” generation (15<sup>th</sup> of the Longmen lineage), a grand-disciple of the “*he*”, generation (16<sup>th</sup>) and a wood-cutting worker.

Chen kept most of his *wenjian* in complete, unabridged form in the *Yayi Ji* so that he left much historical information (like names of people and places). Chen described his work in the following terms: “all (the items) were based on the truth. Although I may not write perfectly, I write true-heartedly. That is why I would like to wood-print this work without being ashamed” (vol.1, 19a). This is a Guangcheng Taoist’s attitude in writing *wenjian*. Because “although all *wenjian* – *zhang*, *biao*, *ci*, *jian*, *qi*, *shen*, *shu* and *die* – were written in a stable form and used unchangeable rules, every case differs in details. Since every case serves a different goal, we must write a special, individual *wenjian* for every specific situation. Otherwise, we will lose the essence of the ritual.” (vol.1, 19a)

The *Yayi Ji* also revealed details of Chen’s famous ritual Shuilu Ceremony, performed in the context of the Jinchuan wars. This ceremony, “*Taishang Yulu Hongzhai Shuilu Guangji Daochang Shiyi Zhouxiao* 太上玉籙鴻齋水陸廣濟道場十一晝霄” (2/28~3/09, just during Tomb-Sweeping Day), took place in Wu Miao, Guan County in Qianlong 43 (1778). In this high level *Yulu* (Jade register) ceremony,

petitioners were all Sichuan officials, Taoist Wang Laitong of Erwang Miao and worshipers in Guan County. There remains four *wenjian*, one announcement and forty-two pairs of gate posts for thirty places (like spirit tablets of deities and ritual locations.)<sup>122</sup> This all proved that this ceremony was performed on an exceptional scale. Another *Shuilu* ceremony for the same purpose took place at Tao Gate, Wenchuan County four years later: the *Taishang Shuilu Dazhai Mingyang Pufu Daochang Jiuzhouxiao* 太上水陸大齋冥陽普福道場九晝霄 (11/25~12/04) is also documented through three *wenjian*, ten pairs of gate posts and three horizontally inscribed boards.<sup>123</sup>

We can figure out the territory of Chen's activities by his records in the *Yayi Ji*. It shapes around Changsheng Guan 長生觀 and Shangyuan Gong 上元宮 of Qingcheng Shan, Wu Miao 武廟, Fulong Guan 伏龍觀, Longxi Guangfu Si 龍溪廣福寺 and Tianguan Hui 天官會 of Quan County, and Chengdu Longtan Si 龍潭寺 and Nanmu Yuan 楠木園 of Mianyang. We can see Chen acting as the manager of Panlong Si where he had his base; he worked and traveled around Qingcheng Mountain and Chengdu city. Chen probably traveled and visited Taoists around (or even out of) Sichuan in his young age and obtained many valuable and secret ritual texts. After that (after becoming the manager of Panlong Si?), he lived a steady life and started editing *Guangcheng Yizhi*. He lived there until he died.

*Yayi Ji* also reflects social phenomena of the time, like the revival of religious activities and the economy of the central Sichuan after it has been repopulated by migrants. It left many *wenjian* about asking donations for rebuilding temples or for related purposes, like repairing deity statues, hanging bells, incense burners, and inverted bells,<sup>124</sup> and for celebrating the reopening of those places. All these indicate the revival of Taoism in Sichuan during the mid-eighteenth century.

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<sup>122</sup> They are: “*wei Wu Miao qingjian shuilu bingxu* 為灌縣武廟請建水陸稟敘 (a petition)” (1-1); “*wei Wu Miaoshejian shuilu hongzhai duiyi* 為武廟設建水陸鴻齋都意 (a resume)” (1-32); “*wei Wu Miao shuilu daochang qianli shujibang* 為武廟水陸道場僉立書記榜 (a program)” (1-49); “*wei Wu Miao shuilu daochang qianli jingyuanbang* 為武廟水陸道場僉立經員榜 (a list of performers)” (1-50); and “*Tejian shuilu guangji daochang xu bingfu tiaocheng* 特建水陸廣濟道場序並附條程 (a preface and rundown)” (1-2); and “*wenzhitai qianguan zhijiwen* 文制臺遣官致祭文 (a funeral oration)” (1-3); the pairs of gate posts are found at 4-5.

<sup>123</sup> They are: a resume, “*wei Tao Guan shejian shuilu hongzhai duiyi* 為桃關設建水陸鴻齋都意” (1-33); a petition, “*wei Tao Guan xiujian shuilu daochang shu* 為桃關修建水陸道場疏” (2-3); another petition, “*wei Tao Guan xiuzhai shengyu yingliang jiaomiao shu* 為桃關修齋剩餘銀兩繳廟疏” (2-25); and the pairs of gate posts are found at 4-11. Tao Guan is a very important frontier gate located in right road of Min River, one of the old trade routes for tea and horses. It was a major route for both warfare and official business during the Jinchuan wars.

<sup>124</sup> For example, Gu changsheng Guan, the temple to which the largest number of *wenjian* are related, has eight *wenjian* written to collect donations (1-4, 5, 6, 7; 2-41; 3-13, 14; 4-16).

Moreover, ritual activities were on the rise. For public rituals, Taoists such as Chen Fuhui and his associates mainly performed worshipping local gods, celebrating their birthdays, and holding offerings (*jiao*). Local people and associations organized such celebrations, on god's birthdays, and sometimes organized pilgrimages.<sup>125</sup> There are many ritual activities for common people documented in *Yayi Ji*. For farming, they performed praying for rain or sun, and thanksgiving for cultivating and silkworm breeding. For trade and business, they were concerned about safe sailing and trust in business relationships. These documents reflect features of merchant trading across provinces (some traditional businesses like selling wood and salt were the preserve of natives from specific provinces<sup>126</sup>). There are, of course, many rituals for private events or purposes. Furthermore, it also left us with a few records concerning the famed water conservancy project at *Dujiangyan*.

All these *wenjian* recorded numerous ritual activities and events: it is extremely helpful to understand Sichuan ritual practices from Chen Fuhui's time.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, since the *wenjian* and *Guangcheng yizhi* were written by the same person, they fit each other and are closely bound together. We can find many detailed instruction from the *Guangcheng yizhi*, such as the rundown of rituals and the regulations for offerings, repeated in the *Yayi Ji*. For example, both sources tell us about the arrangements and rundown of rites, the use for talisman, lights, offering materials and donations in the nine-days *Zhai* ritual from "a brief of grand *Shuilu Zhai* for Tao Gate" (1-33). For instance, for the first day of the *Zhai*, the setting should be:

"Day one. Delivering information though holy messengers. Opening altar and greeting the ancestor masters. Getting water from Wen River and purifying the universe. Declaring secret orders and disseminating to all the offices."

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<sup>125</sup> "Announcement about pilgrimage to Danjing Mountain with Lingyan Association". (1-25) It was a routine activity every spring or summer for members of Lingyan Hui. Danjing Mountain is located in Peng County, 50 km from Chengdu.

<sup>126</sup> Sichuan was a typical migrant society in Qing Dynasty. Most immigrants earned their living by doing something related to their home provinces. For instance, sugar cane for Guangdong, tobacco for Fujian and salt for Shanxi... (see Cao Shuji 1997: 113~8). People traveled outside of Sichuan for business and held rites like "thanksgiving from wood traders" (2-42) or "redeem a vow by a race-porter" (2-18); besides, merchants also held numerous rituals for good weather all year round, and to pray to be spared from disasters by flood and fire.

<sup>127</sup> There are as many as 87 *wenjian* mentioned in *Chengdu Tonglan* (early twentieth century) in its chapter on "customs of superstition in Chengdu" (pp. 229~43). This source further documents how Taoist rituals were common at the time, but unfortunately, it does not mention its original source. Other sources like stone inscriptions and account books help in some way.



In this description, we can easily tell what rites should be used in the *Zhai*: “*Shenfa Shanjie* 申發三界 (delivering to the Triple Realm)”, “*Kaitan Qishi* 開壇啟師 (opening altar and reporting to ancestor masters)”, “*Yingshui Danghui* 迎水蕩穢 (getting water and purifying the polluted)”, declaring to the god of the earth, the city or the stove, “*Anfeng Zaojun* 安奉竈君 (setting down the god of the stove)”...<sup>128129</sup> In *Yayi Ji*, however, there is not much detail about rite names to help recover an entire rundown. Comparing to *Yayi Ji*, the collection *Xinxiang Miaoyu* has much more to offer on the issue.

## B. *Xinxiang Miaoyu* 心香妙語

*Xinxiang Miaoyu* was first published in Daoguang 20 (1840), when its editor Chen Fuxuan was sixty-eight years old. It described itself as “corrected and edited by retired Mianzhu Chen Fuxuan Hanpu 綿竹退隱陳復烜含樸校輯”. In fact, this whole collection was not written but instead collected by Chen Fuxuan. The first edition, by an unknown author, was imperfect. Chen Fuxuan tried very hard to collect additional data and repair the earlier edition, and completed the text we know today. The Erxian An edition has four volumes and 471 *wenjian*. It is divided according to function first and then to style. This arrangement is easy to use but a little trifling. For example, it is divided into seven parts (celebrating, peace-praying (two parts), stars worship (two parts) and works (two parts, each with *bang* and *shugao*) but only in the first volume. All *wenjian* in *Xinxiang miaoyu* were kept in blank form that facilitated Taoists use of it: thus it does not offer the wealth of precise historical information that *Yayi Ji* provided. In vol. 4, it refers to some followers of Chen, including two students and two disciples of the “*ben*” generation (15<sup>th</sup> of *Longmen* School) and three of “*he*” generation (16<sup>th</sup>).

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<sup>128</sup> The possible choices are: “*Jiantan Qishi* 建壇啟師 (setting altar and reporting to master)” (13-44, No. 44); “*Kaitan Qishi* 開壇啟師 (opening altar and reporting to ancestor masters)” (RJ 223); “*Chishui Jingtian* 敕水禁壇 (purifying water and restraining altar)” (14-49, No. 167); “*Shenqi Chenghuang* 申啟城隍 (reporting to City God)” (14-20, No. 139); “*Zazao Anfeng* 筭灶安奉 (reporting to and setting the Stove God)” (RJ 244)... Please note that this rundown is set according to the description and not an exact account by Chen Fuhui. All arrangements are characterized by great flexibility. I will discuss ritual arrangements in more detail below.

<sup>129</sup> About the material offerings and expendables, it requires “Reporting and offering, Yuanshi Fuming Jinglu Baijian Jiuku Zhenfu talisman, Yuanshi Fuming Jinglu Baijian Changsheng Lingfu talisman, Dongji Qinggong Jiulong Qianba Danling Huiguang talismans. Perform the essence of *Duren Jing*. Chat Dafan sacred charm. Light Ziyang Po’an Jiuyou lights and Qingwei Jiwei river lights. Discharge a Xihe Saweng iron-can banquet. Send out 15144 certificates of Youhun Jietie. Offer 1000 clothes for the netherworld, four mountains of golden and silver, and 360 signpost candles” (36a~38a).

All *wenjian* in this collection are for rites that took place outside the temple, for local people and for the households. There are so many cases related to everyday life that it is not easy to make a complete statistics. As a whole, public local issues concerned peace, good weather (like having sun or rain on the right time and eliminating pests); as for private issue, they concerned personal good fortune (including redeeming a vow), salvation of the dead, business, lawsuits and fires. They thus reflect social life of that time. For instance, there are 82 *wenjian* about gratitude towards recovery from illness (with rare cases of eyes, feet diseases and easy child delivery), 62 for grieving the dead (for all relatives, with rare cases of husbands and even to cattle), and 40 for thanking for blessings after fire accidents. Moreover, there are 26 *wenjian* about lawsuits and imprisonment that reflect a stereotypical image that Shu people use to quarrel and sue a lot.<sup>130</sup> Most *wenjian* are simple and short, without connection to each other. So its corresponding rites are simple and short (in scale, time, material, etc.) as well.

Like *Yayi ji*, *Xinxiang miaoyu* also clearly refers to the corresponding rites in *Guangcheng yizhi* and helps us imagine the actual deployment of *Guangcheng* ritual activities in Sichuan during the late Qing. For instance, the “*Fangsheng Hui* 放生會 (Releasing Lives ceremony)” (using *Guangcheng* text “*Fangsheng Huiji*”) should be held beside a river and involve the release of birds and fishes. According to “*Fangsheng Shu* 放生疏” (4-74) participants need to “worship all river deities, dragons and officials in this community”. Another case concerns the date Guanyin achieved the way and became a bodhisattva (*Guanyin Chengdaori* 觀音成道日, 19/6 in the lunar calendar) (1-9, 10). Sichuan people enjoy celebrating this day more than celebrating her birthday. Taoists use “*Guanyin Zhengchao* 觀音正朝” (14-11, No. 130) on both her birthday and 19/6; but they have to write different *wenjian* to show respect in each different date.

As Chen Fuxuan wrote in the preface, he tried hard to revise this text. He collected many *wenjian* written by Sichuan literati, like Chen Zhongluo, Peng Tao, Peng Bing, Mei Xingtian, etc.<sup>131</sup> It was common to request a text for religious activities and public rituals from a member of the local gentry. Such texts are different in style from *wenjian* written by Taoists, because Taoists tend to infuse

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<sup>130</sup> “In Sichuan, there are so many lawsuits. People sue in light of any discordance, even over a broom or a piece of cloth.” *Peizhou Xiaoxue Xiangtu Dili*, vol. 2 politic, Ch 20, “prisons”, p. 416. Actual cases are documented in published archival documents, see e.g. *Qingdai Baxian Dang’an Huibian*.

<sup>131</sup> Chen Zongluo 程宗洛 was a native from Wuzhou during the Jiaqing reign of the Ming Dynasty. The other three are as yet unknown.

more Taoist spirit when writing *wenjian*. This is clear in Chen's notes. For example, he explains notes about Most High Old Lord (Laojun) "shaping from golden liquid (from *Qingjing Jing*) to form the essence of jade. He obtained the endless knowledge of the Dao (*Daode Jing*) and showed eighty-one manifestations (*Qisheng Ji*. Three notes were added by Chen Fuxuan)" (1-1, 2a). Chen thus suffused his own *wenjian* with Taoist-canonical and literary allusions to entice educated readers to learn more about Taoism.

### C. *Lingbao Wenjian* 靈寶文檢

This collection of *wenjian* was "edited by Lingbao Zhongmong Milu Nancao Zhifa Taoist Jin Tiyuan 金體原; repaired by Guling Bu Yunfang 步雲房; re-corrected by Jingxi Chen Fuxuan." It was published in Daoguang 20 (1840) for the first time, but Chen Fuxuan had finished his editing work before, in Daoguang 5 (1825). According to Chen's preface, he admired Master Jin Tiyuan whom followed Master Jin and Ning (*Lingbao Wenjian*) and Master Lu Puan (*Dingzhi Ji*). After he obtained Jin Tiyuan's old book, he re-corrected and re-published it to help people in the world. Taoist Jin Tiyuan might be the Taoist Jin Faming 金法銘 of Zhejiang Province, who lived during the Hongwu reign in the early Ming Dynasty.<sup>132</sup> As to Bu Yunfang, his identity is still unknown.

Today, *Lingbao Wenjian* has fourteen volumes (*juan*) in the Qingyang Gong edition.<sup>133</sup> It had only ten volumes at the time of the compilation of the *Jiyao*. The collection is divided according to ritual style: "*Zhai* 齋" and "*Jiao* 醮". It contains: *Huanglu Zhai*, *Jiuhuang Jiao*, *Qian Baobing Jiao* (good-fortune and curing illnesses), *Tu Huang Jiao* (Earth Emperor), *Qisi Jiao* (praying for begetting children), *Chouan Jiao* (thanksgiving), *Dabao Tiandi Jiao* (thanksgiving to the universe), *Ping'an Qingjiao* (peace), *Rangqiong Xiehuo Jiao* (eliminating disaster and fire), *Tianrang Chonghuang Jiao* (eliminating harmful insects), *Xielei Jiao* (thunder), *Yulu Xiehu Zhai* (blood-lake), *Jinlu Shaosheng Zhai* (getting birth), etc. These rituals can satisfy almost all the people's ritual needs. As to the last four volumes, they are talismans and secret words which help to write *wenjian* and arrange the altar.

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<sup>132</sup> Yin Zhihua 2010: 45; Mori 2007: 371.

<sup>133</sup> *Lingbao Wenjian* has two editions, of ten and fourteen *juan* respectively. Today's Qingyang Gong edition is of fourteen *juan*. The Qingyang Gong edition, it is noted "(*Chongkan*) *Daozang Jiyao Shangqing Lingbao Wenjian*" (eleven volumes) mostly. About the question of this work's title, see Mori 2007: 368~78.

Although Chen Fuxuan is neither the author nor the first editor of *Lingbao Wenjian*, his contributions go beyond a mere new edition or republication. He completed a “using guide”, *Chongkan Daozang Jiyao Lingbao Wenjian Fanli* 重刊道藏輯要靈寶文檢凡例” (vol. index, 9a~13b), which was based on the *Dingzhi Ji* and Chen’s own rich experience. These careful and experienced points of attention are still useful nowadays. Chen also devoted himself to composing new *wenjian* to fit perfectly with *Guangcheng* rituals. He admitted himself that he “took some useful source from members of the local gentry and from Master Chen Fuhui” (11a). He also used texts “from *Yayi Ji*” in some of his citations in the “Chenghuang Guanfu Die 城隍關夫牒 (mandate to City God and gate bearers)” (vol. 2, 31a).

Moreover, this work created a clear division of rituals into “Zhai” and “Jiao” that corresponds directly to Yin and Yang rituals. This division indeed applies to all *Guangcheng* rituals. Thus, it is obvious that Chen Fuxuan did adjust and add parts of *Lingbao Wenjian* to make them suit *Guangcheng Yizhi* more closely. Unfortunately, we cannot tell Chen’s precise contribution in most cases.

Although *Lingbao Wenjian* is an ancient edition, its author was not a native of Sichuan. Yet, probably its only existing publicly available edition is the one from Erxian An (excluding private and temple collections.) Another modern publication named *Daojiao Wenshudie Quanji* 道教文疏牒全集 in Taiwan is a photocopy edition of the manuscript of a Taoist altar, *Daquan Pujitan* 大泉普濟壇 (the place and owner are unknown; likely in Fujian or somewhere along the east-south coast) from around 1925~7 (Republican Period 14~6). These two editions have the same content (with few differences) but are different in their layout page. *Wenshudie Quanji* kept key words like “Chen Fuxuan” and “*Yayi Ji*”. It is reasonable to assume that this edition spread out from Sichuan initially, and it also indicates they could have been used for other rituals aside from those of the *Guangcheng yizhi*.

This collection is the largest among the four; and it has the largest number of categories and types of *wenjian*. Taoists can find most of what they want in it: it supplies sufficient information, if a Taoist knows how to properly use it. Indeed, the preface reminds readers that “many *wenjian* marked as “the same” means you can apply it to other rituals with similar context.” (9b)<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Most important of all is that a Taoist must have a formal lineage, because many texts and *wenjian* content hidden changes or mistakes; only properly trained Taoists could learn from his master the modifications that such hidden changes require.

D. *Suishi Wen* 歲時文 (the Ritual Calendar for Erxian An)<sup>135</sup>

The full name of this text is *Erxian An Changzhu Yingyong Suishi Wen* 二仙菴常住應用歲時文 (Texts to be used according to the different junctures of the liturgical year, by the Erxian an monastic community). It was “transcribed by Erxian An abbot Yan Yonghe” which means it was published for the first time in late Qing or the early Republic.<sup>136</sup> Its woodblocks were probably carved at the same time as the *Jiyao*, since they share a very similar layout.

The *Suishi wen* features twenty-six *wenjian*, divided into two main parts. The first fifteen are for rituals to be performed inside the temple only. Just like the arrangement of a calendar, it is arranged chronically. It lists all the fixed rituals and celebration dates held in Erxian An in a year, which also correspond to the usual Taoist activities in Sichuan. The latter eleven are for ordinary people or local public affairs. These eleven texts are for Yang rituals only, with the exception of the universal salvation during the Ghost Festival, and the salvation of souls after the war---since these two deal with universal salvation (rather than a funeral), in essence, they resort to a balance of Yin and Yang (by contrast to a fully Yin funeral rite). Today, Qingyang Gong still enforces the rule of not performing Yin rituals within the temple. Taoists perform rituals for ancestor masters and deities’ birthdays, to worship stars, for good-fortune prayer, and to chant the Imperial Scripture (*Huangjing*, to the Jade Emperor) for the people. Those activities were very similar to the activities nowadays. There were some worshipping associations (sun-worship association, moon-star association, etc., that do not seem to exist anymore today) that organized such rituals in Qingyang Gong and Erxian An.

This collection of *wenjian*, by contrast to the three collections discussed above, has a strong focus on orthodox Quanzhen temple liturgy. Its contents indicate that Taoists should present themselves to deities as “*sijiao (xiao)zhao* , 嗣教(小)兆 disciple under your lineage”, “*Wushang Hunyuan Zongtan* 無上混元宗壇” or “*Chenxi Zushi Longmen Zhengzong Daluo Tianxian Zhuangyuan Qiu Dazhenren Menxia Xuanyi* 臣係祖師龍門正宗大羅天仙狀元邱大真人門下 玄裔 (I am the

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<sup>135</sup> I obtained this copy from Prof. Mori Yuria who bought at Qingyang Gong in 2005. I am grateful for his kindness.

<sup>136</sup> There are three main passages that mention a date: “Erxian An, at five miles away from the Chengdu west gate, Sichuan, the grand Qing Dynasty”; “the Republican Period”; and “PRC” (5a). It is because of its recurrent use in monastic life that this book was apparently re-edited at least three times. It might have been first published after Guangxu 13 (1907) and the last re-edition would not have taken place before 1950.

junior disciple under Longmen Master Qiu Zhenren)” (30b). However, on its front page, it is titled as *Lingbao Suishi Wen*. It reflects the fact that the Quanzhen lineage does not claim to have its entirely distinct liturgy. Therefore, when Quanzhen Taoists had to perform a ritual, they needed to learn and borrow from other traditions; they also had to invite ancestor masters of other traditions. One such instance is the “Zushi Santian Fujiao Fuxuan Tizheng Jingying Zhenjun Zhang Zhumeng 祖師三天扶教輔玄體正靜應真君張 主盟 (Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling)” being one of these ancestor-masters (26a). Such cases are not rare in *Guangcheng yizhi*. This naming style helps trace the origin of a Quanzhen ritual, which also conforms with a common belief of Sichuan Taoism---- that all the rituals come from the *Lingbao* tradition. (天下科儀出靈寶).

## Chapter 3. Guangcheng Taoists in Sichuan

### 3-1 Traditional Taoist classification

There are many classifications for Taoists. People often divide them according to their observable appearance, like whether they live in a temple or a household, whether they belong to the Quanzhen or Zhengyi order. However, such classifications have no absolute value. They are defined based on relative features such as living place, life and diet style, clothes and hair mode, etc. Such classifications often result in misunderstandings.<sup>137</sup> Yet, from the early Republican period onward, such dichotomies are often used in local texts, including local gazetteers in Sichuan:<sup>138</sup>

“Most Taoists living in temples in Ba County are either Zhengyi or Quanzhen. The Zhengyi lineage comes from the Heavenly Master while the Quanzhen come from Perfected Qiu.”  
(*Minguo Baxian Zhi*, vol. 5, 62a. This description comes from “*Baxian Daojiao Hui*”)

“There are two lineages. The *Danding* 丹鼎 (alchemical) lineage focuses on alchemy and looks for life longevity. The *Fulu* 符籙 (talismans and registers) lineage emphasizes solving problems by talismans. ... Taoists who live in temples make their living by chanting texts and servicing incense, bells and drums. Household Taoists hold rituals and repenting ceremonies, expel the evil and cure illness by talismans for the common people.” (*Minguo Hejian Xianzhi*, vol.4, 38b)

“There are two lineages, named Suishan and Longmen, in Xuyong County. Of the Suishan lineage Taoists who live in the temple and serve incense, about a hundred are male Taoists and about ten are female. Longmen Taoists can live either in a temple or their own house, making a living by expelling evil and praying for good fortune. They treat it like a job, not a religion.”  
(*Minguo Xuyoug Xianzhi*, vol. 4, 15a-b)

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<sup>137</sup> Those classification help divide Taoists in some way, but also cause misunderstandings, because they confuse emic and etic categories. Recently, scholars have tried to reflect on these concept. See Goossaert 2013, and Lai Chi-tim 2013.

<sup>138</sup> These four quotes all date from the very late Qing and Republican Era (published in 1939, 1929, 1936, and 1909 respectively). Few Sichuan gazetteers before the Ming Dynasty are left. Most extant ones are from the Qing Dynasty and the Republican Era (He Jingwen 1985: 3). Although these quotations came to existence in the Republican Era, most of them were quoted from the Qing Dynasty directly, especially in the biographical sections (*renwu, shidao*). The categorizations thus changed little from the late imperial to the modern period. In contrast, the *Chengdu Tonglan* reflected a more “modern” worldview and lexicon.

“(In Chengdu) Taoists who have no family are pure-living (*qingxiu*) Taoists; and Taoists who do have family are fire-living (*huoju*) Taoists.” (*Chengdu Tonglan*, p.194)

Those classifications cannot be applied directly because they are ambiguous and largely inaccurate. Besides, since my focus is on Taoists who perform rituals, discussion of the classification of Taoists in general would seem irrelevant here. Practicing rituals is just a way – a very hard way indeed – to approach Taoism. Not every Taoist enjoys performing rituals; in fact, the numbers are not very high.

Today, the number of Taoists practicing rituals (referred to as *jingshi*, “master of the scriptures”, that is, those who have the ability to practice at least the basic rites at the altar) in the Chengdu area, for instance, are about one-tenth of the total numbers of Taoists affiliated with the local associations and its temples. This would seem to be the average for the Quanzhen School; the rate is somewhat higher for large-scale temples. In many local small temples, resident Taoists do not have the ability to perform rituals yet, so they need to ask experienced Taoists to come and help, or they would go to other temples and help in order to earn experience and income. As for *gaogong*, the leading Taoist at the altar, they represent about one-seventh to one-eighth of the total number of *jingshi* in general. The rate for the *Zhengyi* lineages is much higher. Disciples who enter a *Zhengyi* lineage mostly do so to practice Taoist rituals (of course, some might choose other methods instead, such as Chinese medicine, practicing divination, or Taoist music. They can also be of assistance behind the altar).

Before the beginning of the Republican era, *jingshi* were rather rare found due to the low literacy rate.<sup>139</sup> Take Qingyang Gong as an example, there was only one ritual team (or troupe), consisting of about ten Taoists, who made up around one-twentieth of the total number of Taoists living in that large temple. They had to serve all the ritual needs in the temple and also satisfy demand from their worshipers. In the past, they performed rituals almost everyday, both inside and outside of the temple (carrying all their materials in boxes and cases when going out to perform). *Zhengyi* (and other “fire-living” Taoists) were more ritually active. This is because *Zhengyi* troupes provided a wider range of service. However, we do not have the whole picture of ritual provision in the early twentieth century, since we do not have enough sources. We do know some basic rules that were enforced then, such as

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<sup>139</sup> In my fieldwork, Taoists feel free to call Taoists who perform rituals by various terms, such as “*jingshi* 經師”, “*jingban* 經班,” “*longhuban* 龍虎班,” etc.



Quanzhen Taoists being strictly forbidden to hold seventh-seventh (*qiqi*) funeral ceremony; such a rule was kept seriously.<sup>140</sup>

In the past, Sichuan Taoists who practiced rituals were divided into “fire-living” and “temple-living” or “active altar, *xingtian* 行壇” and “calm altar, *jingtian* 靜壇”. Each term of this pair (household-active / temple-clam) corresponds to Zhengyi and Quanzhen Schools respectively. The first terms (“fire-living” and “temple-living”) clearly depicts a life style but does not relate directly to ritual practice. The second terms (active altar and calm altar), is a division of ritual specialists proper to Sichuan.

Researches on Taoist music define them as:

Calm altar music<sup>141142</sup>, *jingtian yinyue* 靜壇音樂: Taoist music used in the temple. It is a musical tradition of Western Sichuan. It is the music of Quanzhen Taoists who live in temples, wear long hair tied into a bun, wear Taoist robes, do not marry, and emphasize in pure self-cultivation.

Active altar music, *xingtian yinyue* 行壇音樂: Taoist music used in the folk altars. It is a musical tradition of Western Sichuan. It is the music of Household (or fire-living) Taoists who live in the urban areas or countryside of Western Sichuan, have an ordinary life like common people, have wives and children, place importance on ritual exercise, and earn their lives by performing rituals.

This division is based on Taoist musical style and ritual performance in the altar. For the calm altar, Taoists perform rituals in the temple, so they practice with “classic and elegant style, and full of mode of imperial taste”. By contrast, fire-living *Zhengyi* Taoists show “folk Taoist music which reflect cheery and light mood, with traditional folk music style”.<sup>143</sup> As for the background, calm altar music

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<sup>140</sup> Fieldnote 2012-08-14 with Yun and FY; 2014-04-03 with Huang. The description is a tale my reporters heard from their ancestor masters from around the late Qing period. At that time, Qingyang Gong had fewer *jingshi* but a lot of ritual services. Thus, people would say, “Qingyang Gong is super rich,” because even just one ritual team earned a great amount of money. (Yang Ximin 1984: 40).

<sup>141</sup> The two are cited from *Zhonghua Daojiao Dacidian* 中華道教大辭典 (items written by Gan Shaochen). Works on Taoist music have contributed a lot to our understanding of contemporary Taoist ritual; even though I am not trained as a musicologist, and cannot explore musicology issues any further, I have gained inspiration by reading these works.

<sup>142</sup> There is still an item “merits altar music, shantang yinyue 善堂音樂” in *Zhonghua Daojiao Dacidian* (p. 1600). It is a music style played by associations of Western Sichuan. It is not studied further as Taoist music in the existing scholarly literature.

<sup>143</sup> Pu Hengqiang 2012: 191.

are also called the “tune of the ten directions, *Shifang Yun* 十方韻” (or “tune of the North, *Bei Yun* 北韻”), and it came to Sichuan from Wudang Shan of Hubei and Baiyun Guan of Beijing during the Qing Dynasty.<sup>144</sup> Active altar music was founded by Master Chen Fuhui. People call it “tune of Guangcheng, *Guangcheng Yun* 廣成韻” or “tune of the South, *Nan Yun* 南韻”. Tune of the South was a local musical style first made popular in Western Sichuan during the Qing Dynasty. It combined folk songs, local string music, Qingying, and Sichuan opera (additionally, folk songs came from the influence of different immigrants). Because it was popular among Sichuan people, calm altar started to use some tune of the South. This gradually led Taoists to use both two tunes together.<sup>145</sup> Today, the act of practicing remains almost the same. Every temple (or *Zhengyi* altar) had its own tradition, each with their own performance routine, and uses both tunes together, but in different proportions.<sup>146</sup>

Both of these two types of Taoists in Sichuan use the *Guangcheng Yizhi* liturgical manuals. Aside from differing in appearance (robe, hair style and cap style, etc), observers can find other different details between “calm” and “active”. They act either (relatively speaking) elegantly or passionately, sing slowly or loudly. Furthermore, they also differ in entering the altar, declaring *gaogong*’s official title and use the audience-tablet. These are aspect that we can easily observe.

Taoist music uses only “fine music, *xiyue* (細樂)” (or “small music”) instruments in a calm altar, such as bamboo flutes, *dangzi* 鐺子, *jiaozi* 餃子 and some music instruments.<sup>147</sup> *Jingshi* play in three song styles: flute, ritual implement and *dangzhi-jiaozhi* instruments. In active altar, they play both “fine music<sup>148</sup>” and “grand music, *dayue* 大樂”. *Dayue* is played in cheery and loud environments with big gongs and drums that have two styles of the suona horn and gong-drum.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> “Tune of ten directions” is used mainly in Quanzhen temples. There are about sixty tunes in use now and fifty-six were recorded in *Chongkan Daozhang Jiyao · Quanzhen Zhengyun* (全真正韻). (Liu Hong 2009: 290-1; Pu Hengqiang 2012: 191). It was published in the music form *Quanzhen daojiao Jingdian Yinyue Quanji* (全真道教經典音樂全集), with an introduction by Lee Fong-mao.

<sup>145</sup> Liu Hong 2009: 290-6.

<sup>146</sup> For example, the Qingyang Gong uses the tune of the South in their daily recitation in the morning (ex, *Kanzi Yun* 龕子韻, *Erlang Shen* 二郎神...) and the tune of the North in the evening (for instance, *Xiashuichuan* 下水船, *Dan / Shuang Guadio* 單雙吊掛...). Songs with both tunes (like *Xiao Zanyun* 小贊韻) can be used randomly depending on the circumstance, but the tune of the South appears more frequently. Fieldnote 2012-07-10, with Huang.

<sup>147</sup> They are flute, hanging clang, hinge, twins stars, hanging bell, hitting bell, shaking bell, wood fish (with different size) and grand drum.

<sup>148</sup> There are four kinds of bands for the active altar: *dangzhi-jiaozhi*, flute and others, and two kinds of string music.

<sup>149</sup> Liu Hong 2009: 303-4.

Among them, there is a special instrument “twin stars, *erxing* 二星 (Fig.5)” which is made by tying two small clangs (with different sound) side by side, and can render two notes. *Guangcheng* Taoists believe the *erxing* is used only in Sichuan, thus it is an outstanding characteristic of *Guangcheng*.<sup>150</sup>

“Calm altar” and “active altar” are very expressive terms. People can easily get an idea about their qualities – calm and active, gentle and passionate, serious and cheerful, temple and folk, and so on. Such subjective appreciations might have been the inspiration of their naming. Music studies contributes a lot to ritual studies, like research on tune and musical instruments. More over, the terms “calm” and “active” altar were first discussed in Taoist music study. The term “*Guangcheng* altar” might have come around at about the same time. *Guangcheng* altar is another name for active altar; it includes all *Zhengyi* Taoists who use *Guangcheng* rituals in Sichuan. In the “original preface” of *Guangcheng yizhi*, there was a disciple, “Taoist Dong Yunqing 董圓青 of active altar, in Wenjian County in Qing Dynasty”<sup>151</sup>. It proves that this term was already used in the late Qing. Nowadays, this division is still used in music studies, but I do not see such usage among Taoists in my fieldwork. Taoists in present-day Sichuan know these terms well but seem not to use them in conversions. They can understand when I use these terms, but I have never heard them use it. By contrast, it is unknown to common people (believers and lay disciples). Such is my observation, but I reserve the possibility of a misunderstanding due to my lack of prolonged, in-depth fieldwork.

There is another pair of terms used for contrasting ritual practices in present-day Sichuan: “*Guangcheng* Altar 廣成壇” and “*Fayan* Altar 法言壇”. Taoists affiliated with the two traditions are both “fire-living” Taoists and yet they are very different from each other. People believe that *Guangcheng* Altar Taoists are *Zhengyi* Taoists and lay disciples whose training ultimately goes back to Master Chen Fuhui. They take Chen as their ancestor master and took his tomb place to be the ancestor court, where they used to come to celebrate Chen’s birthday every year. (This custom is no longer practiced. Chen’s tomb was destroyed over time and is now hard to locate in the wasteland. Some Chengdu Taoists plan to recover the place, but do not seem to

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<sup>150</sup> *Fayan* Altar uses twins stars as well (this information was offered by Xu Fei). I also saw it in an exhibition catalogue (*Taojiao Wenyu*, p.195). It is named “*shuangyin* 雙音 (double notes) or *Yinyang jiang* 陰陽鏘” in Taiwan. But I never saw or heard it actually being used in Taiwan.

<sup>151</sup> The life of Taoist Dong Yunqing is unknown to us. We can only know that he was an active altar Taoist, recovered Chen Fuhui’s tomb, and later properly managed Chen’s temple, the Panlong Si. Considering Dong’s time (the preface noted an affair of 1895), he might have lived during the 19<sup>th</sup> generation of *Quanzhen* School. Although he has the same middle name “yun”, we can not be sure if Taoists of active altar follow generational poems as well.

have achieved this goal yet). *Guangcheng* Altar seems to be the largest-scale Taoist group in Sichuan; but its organization and transmission procedures are loose, they seem to lack a centripetal force. Because the activities of the *Zhengyi* troupes are normally not unified under any larger authority, in my opinion, it needs to reflect on its character as “a ritual branch, *tanmen* 壇門” (especially in comparison to *Fayan* Altar<sup>152</sup>). From what I know, Sichuan *Zhengyi* Taoists who practice *Guangcheng* rituals would agree to acknowledge that “any *Guangcheng* Altar has an altar name of their own.”<sup>153</sup> They do not use “*Guangcheng* Altar” in their altar arrangements and do not even always “report to ancestor masters”.<sup>154</sup> The name “*Guangcheng* Altar” appeared early, but the appearance of the tradition itself (its members gathering as a group) might have come even earlier. *Guangcheng* Taoists might have started to use the name “*Guangcheng* Altar” only to differ from the “*Fayan* Altar”.

“*Fayan* Altar” is a Taoist ritual tradition special to central Sichuan (the Chengdu plain). It has a unique story of founding and training. Its founder, Liu Yuan, was born in Shuangliu County (very close to Chengdu) and had passed the highest imperial examinations (*jinshi*) during the Xianfeng reign. The Liu family was a very prominent family of that time. Liu became a Taoist through an unexpected encounter, and then he founded a lineage that incorporated Taoism and Confucianism – the Liu school, *Liumen* 劉門. *Fayan* Altar Taoists only use liturgical texts that are part of the liturgical compendium *Fayan Huizuan* 法言會纂<sup>155</sup> compiled by Liu Yuan himself. It is where the altar name comes from. Liu created *Fayan Huizuan* and related *wenjian* based on his rich knowledge of inner meditation, textual studies, and literature expertise as a Confucian scholar. He borrowed ritual arrangements, ritual movements, and magic practices from Taoism, but created special teachings on his own. Since his lineage has unusual ordination ceremonies, practices and rite steps of

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<sup>152</sup> Here I follow Volker Olles’s analysis: Olles 2013: 64.

<sup>153</sup> There are many ways for Taoist practice, and also the Taoist self-identity. In my fieldwork, I heard most frequently are “*Zhengyi* Taoist” and “performing *Guangheng* ritual”. That might tell something behind but I still need more observation in the future.

<sup>154</sup> Take my informant Yang (a *Zhengyi* Taoist) as an example. In his lineage, in the course of performing rituals, ancestor masters are invited according to ritual texts mainly; besides, to those who are most close and most direct from the teaching, or those who have a close relationship with this rite, they do not use an altar title (neither *Guangcheng* Altar nor another private altar name) on altar equipment. But they use “*Wanfa Zongtan* 萬法宗壇” and sometimes “*Hunyuan Zongtan* 混元宗壇”. Fieldnote 2011-06-17, with FY.

<sup>155</sup> This large compendium comprises fifty *juan*. It was noted “written by Naru Jishi of the Qing dynasty (清訥如居士撰)”. It includes ritual texts and *wenjian* created by Liu Yuan. Its modern publication is in *Zangwai Daoshu*, vol. 30. For recent research on this text, see Olles 2013 and Xu Fei 2013.

“inviting masters<sup>156</sup>”, not all Taoists accept them as orthodox. This lineage thus spread only around Western Sichuan.

Liu Yuan borrowed a lot from *Guangcheng Yizhi* when he wrote the *Fayan Huizuan*. Moreover, he incorporated much of the general local music and ritual practice. *Fayan* ritual structure is thus similar to a simplified *Guangcheng* ritual.<sup>157</sup> *Fayan* Altar developed well in Sichuan prior to the early Republican period; in some counties, it even gained more popularity than *Quanzhen* or *Zhengyi*. In addition, due to the Liu family’s high reputation among local officials and literati, they were allowed to perform *Fayan* rituals and spirit-writing (*feiluan*) inside certain major temples, like Qingyang Gong and the temple on Qingcheng Shan.<sup>158</sup> Today, these temples still have horizontal inscribed boards donated by the Liu family at various times from Liu Yuan onwards. In my fieldwork, my informants among the *Guangcheng* Taoists (both *Zhengyi* and *Quanzhen*) know of the *Fayan* Altar, but they do not read or use the *Fayan Huizuan*. They can support *Fayan* rituals if needed. *Guangcheng* Taoists could be *jingshi* but never be *gaogong* in *Fayan* rituals. This is because, for *Guangcheng* Taoists, they share some Taoist music tune in common. But considering ritual practices, *Fayan* Taoists should never participate into a performance of the *Guangcheng* altar because of their thin ritual background.<sup>159</sup> Today, *Fayan* Altar takes the Liu ancestral shrine in Laojun Shan, Xinjin County as the ancestor court.<sup>160</sup> They have nine scheduled ceremonies a year and also conduct private rituals for followers.

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<sup>156</sup> Liu devised a very special lineage of masters in his ritual texts. He gave all Liu family ancestors honored deity-titles and praising verses. Moreover, he gave Chen Fuhui the title of “*Tianxian Menxia Wupin Xianguan Chen Zhenren (Chen Dianshi)* 天仙門下五品仙官陳真人(陳電師)” (Olles 2013 : 198 - 204). Chen himself had no such respectful title in the *Guangcheng* tradition.

<sup>157</sup> *Fayan Huizuan* borrowed a lot from *Guangcheng yizhi*: this was clearly affirmed by Liu Yuan’s grandson Liu Xianxing and by Volker Olles (Olles 2013: 62-4). It is also clear in its ritual structure from the text.

<sup>158</sup> The Liu were a large family with great local influence. They obtained permission to perform *Fayan* rituals and spirit-writing in Qingyang Gong. Qingyang Gong, in this case, served like a place provider and no Taoists would attend their activities – say the present-day Taoists. (fieldnote with Huang and FY). Today, most Taoists know/recall interaction with the *Fayan* altar prior to the 1970s, but they scarcely continue to do so today.

<sup>159</sup> Comments from Taoists on the *Fayan* tradition are from free talking in my fieldwork. I originally did not pay much attention to this topic. That *Fayan* Taoists cannot join *Guangcheng* ritual is a common consensus to all *Guangcheng* Taoists that discussed this with me (including at least five *gaogong*). The interaction between the two altars in the past is also a common saying but not much precise is known. For example, “they held ‘flying phoenix’ (spirit-writing) sessions inside the Qingyang Gong and made friends with local literati and gentry”; Taoists can only repeat such brief descriptions.

<sup>160</sup> One of the Liu family ancestor shrines was located in or near Laojun Miao. Liu Yuan and the Liu family donated them to the mountain temple long time ago and took it as a base for the religious and charitable activities. (Xu Fei 2013: 108-9)

We can see some these paired divisions of Taoists based on different criteria. These divisions might be symmetrical with each other, but they are incomplete. This is because the term “Taoist” covers multiple identities – based on self-identity, categorization created by outsiders, or researchers, or on other criteria (like music). The division might be accurate and truthful, but they do not capture the full spirit or essence of the variegated community of Taoists active in Western Sichuan. In my research, to avoid this dilemma, I chose to focus on a bigger group, which is all of the Taoists who perform *Guangcheng Yizhi* rituals. My approach is to sideline the endless debates on Taoist lineages (in many ways, these lineages are not so important in the way Taoists actually live and perform), take them as a whole group in the present stage, and draw a larger picture.

### 3-2 “*Guangcheng* Ritual” and “*Guangcheng* Taoists”

I try to use the term “*Guangcheng* Taoist” to cover all Sichuan Taoists (regardless of their background) who perform rituals of *Guangcheng Yizhi*. This is because I prefer to focus on understanding ritual practices first. Current scholarship tends to pay most attention to the Taoists’ lineages, traditions, or master lineage, which are still hard for us to know well at this preliminary stage of research on local Taoism, especially in understudied Sichuan; I propose that it is better to approach the Taoists through the basic structure of the rituals they perform. From this perspective, we can easily form an image of a community sharing ritual knowledge across lineages. Within such a community, we can focus on ritual practices and ignore definitions of lineages for the time being. I start with “*Guangcheng* Taoists” – Taoists who have the ability to perform *Guangcheng* rituals, and I especially focus on the *gaogong* who possess the formal qualifications recognized within this larger tradition (whether acquired from receiving registers (*lu*) or having undergone ordination (*chuanjie*)<sup>161</sup>). It is a historical phenomenon found with all *Guangcheng* Taoists who have interacted and cooperated in ritual practice in Sichuan over several centuries.

“*Guangcheng* Taoist” is not a proper noun or a consensual term of address yet. I use it here because it suits my idea of a virtual group or community; it includes Quanzhen Taoists, Zhengyi Taoists, and members of all other lineages in Sichuan,

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<sup>161</sup> In Sichuan, *Quanzhen* Taoists get their qualification through “*bozhi* 撥職 (allotting official positions)”, borrowing ancestor master Qiu Chuji’s official title (when “declaring the official title”). *Zhengyi* Taoists receive private register from their master lineage (with ranks defined according to the *Tiantan Yuge* 天壇玉格), and very rarely receive it directly from Longhu Shan.

regardless of whether they live in or out of a temple. The most important thing here is that they take the *Guangcheng yizhi* as the only (or the major) source of their ritual identity. There are many ways to approach Taoism and many ways to approach ritual studies. In my research on the *Guangcheng Yizhi*, I take “Guangcheng Taoist” as a whole as my research subject, rather than any specific lineage (which does not, by all means, imply that I have ignored lineages and their role). The progress of ritual practice and interaction is how the *Guangcheng Yizhi* was codified and became dominant in Sichuan.

My approach, taking the community of Guangcheng Taoists as one coherent whole, can be related with the emic concept of “*Benshan Pai* 本山派 (lineage of the local mountain/temple)<sup>162</sup>”. It is also a territorial principle that emphasizes traditions and practices that happen only inside certain territories. In Sichuan, Guangcheng Taoists – no matter the lineage they are part of – agree and follow the same ritual traditions which are filled with local character. *Guangcheng* rituals served as the greatest common denominator, with little micro-local differences of course, and the result was collectively created and modified by all *Guangcheng* Taoists, and revered by these Taoists and the laypeople alike.

Aside from from Wudang Shan, where *benshan pai* refers to a specific, well-known lineage, the term “*benshan*” is also a common sense term that refers to a strong place attachment and identity. In Wudang Shan, Taoists of all lineages can perform rituals together. This mixed ritual tradition resulted from interaction and inter-influence by Taoists sharing the mountain over a long period of time. Its music style, “Wudang tune”, combined the style of South and North tunes, and both are cheery and stately. “Wudang Taoism is characterized by the inclusion of several lineages. It combined *Quanzhen* and *Zhengyi* temple-living Taoists. They are “*shanshang gongguangpai* 山上宮觀派 (temple-living Taoists in the mountain)” and fire-living Taoists (“*shanxia huojupai* 山下火居派 (fire-living Taoist in foothills)”) with the two turning into a “system of three in one<sup>163</sup>”. The interaction is similar in Sichuan. Quanzhen Taoist and Zhengyi Taoists, living in and out of

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<sup>162</sup> I was inspired by a conversation with Taoist Zhang of Taihe Shan, Taiwan. Taoist Zhang learned rituals from Wudang Shan. He explained how Taoists there performed ritual together, although there are many different lineages and traditions. They perform rituals under the consensus of “*benshan*,” even though they practice differently in their daily lives. Fieldnote 2012-04-12.

<sup>163</sup> From research of Shi Zuomin 1990, he divided “*benshan*” into: *Quanzhen*-- *yingfu* 應付-- fire-living according to their location and style.

temples, can perform rituals together and make friends. They “interact and cooperate well<sup>164</sup>”.

The concept of “mountain-identity” helps for making a territory and excluding other non-local traditions. It is common in Taoism. Take Beijing Baiyun Guan as an example; Baiyun Guan as a “public monastery” (*shifang conglin*) has always suffered from problems of high turnover rate. In the late Qing, the abbot Meng Yongcai 孟永才 decided to use the unique “Beijing tune” to replace the old “*Shifang* tune”, consequently, Taoists had to stay durably in the Baiyun Guan because they could only practice rituals in Baiyun Guan.<sup>165</sup>

The situation is similar in Sichuan. All *Guangcheng* Taoists perform ritual only (or mostly) following the *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts. They know the essence of the rituals well and they also knew each other well, so they cooperate in the altar in a well-coordinated manner, even though they had different traditions in practice. They are all “*Guangcheng* Taoists”.

### 3-3 The Network of *Guangcheng* Taoists

“Guangcheng bu chuchuan 廣成不出川 (the *Guangcheng* ritual tradition would not go beyond Sichuan)”

I use the term “*Guangcheng* Taoist” to qualify these Taoists with different backgrounds but who can understand each other and perform *Guangcheng* ritual together without problems. The territorial identity of a place, like a *Benshan Pai* 本山派 (lineage of the local mountain/temple), emphasizes a special, fixed method that has become the local norm. In Sichuan, *Guangcheng* rituals are recognized by all Taoists (except, perhaps, for the *Fayan* Altar). This ritual style was used and accepted, enriched and modified by all lineages over time. The territorial limit was not set to express selfish exclusiveness but to serve as a common consensus that ensured that the ritual practices localized and developed well. This idea is embodied well in the popular saying, “*Guangcheng* would not go beyond Sichuan”.

This territorial identity is common around China. It helps local Taoism to be part of the main stream or local ritual culture. Today, Taoists perform *Guangcheng* rituals

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<sup>164</sup> Wang Guangde *et al.* 1999: 51, 64-6.

<sup>165</sup> Zhang Hongyi 2001: 410.



in all of Sichuan. Aside from liturgical texts, they use the same language (*Sichuan guanhua* 四川官話, the Sichuan official dialect) and Taoist music (*Guangcheng* and North tune).

Being the typical ritual tradition of Sichuan, *Guangcheng* rituals are also well known among common people. Ritual practices created a sense of unity that brought Sichuan people closer and more familiar with each other. Therefore, *Guangcheng* rituals localized and asserted their territorial identity in people's lives. Today, elders spend time going to temples, worshipping, and attending ceremonies. They often enjoy talking about experiences of miracles or personal supernatural stories. They like to quote the *gaogong*'s sayings when talking about rituals (like explaining the reason and origin of rituals), about forecasting or helping to prepare rituals (for instance, helping to light lots of candles in the “*Gongtian*” ritual and rushing to gather holy water during “*Kaiguang* 開光 (revealing the light)”). They even assess *gaogong*/Taoists for their movements in the altar (for instance, their speech, gestures, energy, etc). Such laypeople keenly interested in ritual earn their own ritual identities by participating and interpreting religious performances, and instill more passion and meaning into *Guangcheng* rituals.

It is believed that *Guangcheng* rituals were practiced only in Sichuan before 1949. Nevertheless, there were cases in which they developed beyond Sichuan, such as in the neighboring provinces of Yunnan, Guizhou, Shanxi and Hubei. These extensions (mostly Zhengyi altars, *tankou daoyu* 壇口道寓) were not numerous and can still easily tell their lineage and their history tracing back to Sichuan; most importantly, they must speak the same Sichuan dialect.<sup>166</sup> It is evident that common background of language and music were the key factors in local identities.

With the strong revival of Sichuan Taoism after the 1990s, many Taoists from other provinces came to learn. Additionally, some Sichuan Taoists left their homeland and migrated to other parts of China, bringing their tradition with them. Newly coming Taoists could learn and become a *Guangcheng* Taoist after they adapted to *Guangcheng* rituals and mastered the Sichuan dialect. As for Taoists who left, there were more possibilities. Experienced Taoists were often invited outside of Sichuan to manage Taoist temples, and they would typically try to bring *Guangcheng* traditions to the new place. Yet, in some cases, they might fail to adapt to the ritual traditions in their new location due to lack of support. This situation also worried

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<sup>166</sup> Fieldnote 2011-06-14, with Huang.

Taoists from other places who after having been trained in Guangcheng liturgy wished to return to their homeland. There is yet another new type of transplantation, as exemplified by the case of the Guandi Miao Temple in Kaohsiung. Taiwan did not have its own *Quanzhen* ritual tradition before the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>167</sup> Taiwanese started to go to China to learn Quanzhen rituals, and some became Taoists there during the past twenty years. The manager and Taoist of Guandi Miao in Kaohsiung is such a case: he studied at Laojun Shan and thus took this mountain as his *benshan*, and the home of his ritual identity. He returned to Kaohsiung around 2008; it has been seven years and now he and his fellow Taoists have a ritual team and use *Guangchen Yizhi* mainly.<sup>168</sup>

#### “Dui Makou 對馬口 (Checking Horse-Mouth)”

*Guangcheng* rituals are full of music and chants, and it is considered of prime importance to achieve musical harmony during the whole course of the rituals. This is no problem for a *Quanzhen* hereditary temple or a *Zhengyi* altar, where Taoists have been living and performing together for most of their lives as a close-knit group. But it might not be easy for residents in a “public monastery” or a team with Taoists coming from different backgrounds. In this situation, Taoists with different traditions need to agree on common grounds first. In order to avoid discordance during the ritual, especially when it comes to the tune (for instance, the starting tone or music form), they must resolve the differences and agree on a coherent way. Taoists could conduct a simple rehearsal to make sure the rundown, tune, and music are all correct. This is called “*dui makou*”.

The origin of this term is unclear. It might have come from a Sichuan dialect, and is perhaps related to traditional local opera. This method was not common and might no longer exist today. This is because there are not that many *Guangcheng* Taoists; and most of them have known each other and cooperated well already. It is not necessary to “*dui makou*” every time, but it must be performed at least for the first time two given Taoists perform together. Even between *Quanzhen* and *Zhengyi*

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<sup>167</sup> Xiao Jingming 2009.

<sup>168</sup> *Gaogong* of Guandi Miao, Taoist Chen, started to learn *Guangcheng* rituals in Laojun Shan since 2007. Due to limitations in time and money, he goes to Sichuan for several weeks every one or two years. He trains the ritual team (of which members are mostly lay persons) and teaches only the *Shifang* tune in the Mandarin Language. Guandi Miao serves as the venue of Kaohsiung *Quanzhen* Taoism Association, too. For more on the history of this temple, see Peng Jiawei 2013.

Taoists, it is uncommon to hold a series of rehearsal, since they share much in common. It only takes the first time (and its rehearsal) when different new members collaborate together.

This solution serves to achieve coherence before the first actual collaboration. Then again, how do they solve differences? It is up to the *gaogong*. The *gaogong* is always in charge of the starting tone and the chanting. He acts as the leader, handling all aspects of the performance in the altar. Besides, he is regarded as the person who best knows the texts and their essence. This is why he has the authority to make decisions. However, sometimes he must respect the majority rule, especially when a *gaogong* is invented to go out and perform a ritual with Taoists unfamiliar to him. Thus, he must fulfill his employer's needs. "People who chant loudly lead the tone."<sup>169</sup> When the ritual starts, the *gaogong* stands behind the *jingshi*, so there is nothing he can do if something goes wrong. In such a case, the grand drummer (standing on the left, who is usually the second most important person of the team) needs to correct the mistake, which he does by stressing his drumbeats.

Today, Taoists do not seem to conduct "*dui makou*" anymore. It is probably because Taoists have become ever more similar in terms of their training ever since the 1980s. After the policy of reform and opening, Taoism in PRC faced the problem of shortage in talented personnel. New Taoists learn ritual techniques from very few and repetitive sources. Therefore, they tend to acquire similar knowledge and practices.

Differences appear with time, however. With the recovering of old traditions, especially ritual teachings which are passed through oral teaching, there appears some variety among temples and places.<sup>170</sup> Yet, these differences are so small that they almost cause no problem at all. As for differences in chants, most experienced Taoists can easily settle the issue. They are even able to adjust it by the second round without using a word. Sometimes, Taoists just know it by experience; "you get it when the music plays."<sup>171</sup> I have witnessed occasions in which Taoists from

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<sup>169</sup> Fieldnote 2011-06-20, with Huang.

<sup>170</sup> With the increasing of interaction with other provinces and the competitive mentality among some temples in Sichuan, difference appearing steps by steps (mainly on robe, *wenjian*, equipments, new movements and musical ornamentation). It also reflects the increase of the number of active Taoists and new interpretations and interest for ritual among the population at large. This transformation is worth to further study.

<sup>171</sup> Fieldnote 2011-06-14, with Huang; 2012-08-30, with Xiao.

different traditions discuss ritual chants and movements – they do cooperate well regardless of these small differences.

Some Taoists live in a temple/ altar for their whole life but some spend their life “cloud-traveling” (*yunyou*), visiting and staying at many temples. The permanent migration of Taoists thus forms a manpower network, helping each other in rituals. Taoists, particularly those who have collaborated before, often support each other when needed. For example, Taoist Qin temporarily lived in Qingyang Gong and Heming Shan before. Now, he manages a small temple in Chongqing City. To make a living for his small temple, he often comes to Chengdu to help perform rituals. He performs some rituals in his temple (since he must also take care of his local followers) before certain major holidays, and gets hired as a *gaogong* or assistant for Chengdu temples on the actual holidays.<sup>172</sup> He works well with the company of these Chengdu Taoists. Another example is Qingcheng Shan. There are some Taoist temples in Qingcheng Shan, so Taoists are closely connected and collaborate with each other. They tend to combine Taoists among the mountain’s different temples as team members. In general, *Guangcheng* Taoists of *Quanzhen* and *Zhengyi* can help each other. By contrast, Taoists at folk altars *Guangcheng* and *Fayan* cannot do so. “*Guangcheng* Altar Taoists can help *Fayan* Altar rituals if necessary<sup>173</sup>”, but it cannot work the other way round. A *gaogong* in charge of a *Guangcheng* ritual cannot invite *Fayan* Taoists to help them, because the two have big difference in requirements in ritual structure and Taoist qualities. To sum up, “there is something great in each of their tradition.”<sup>174</sup>

#### “*Jie Qingjia* 結親家 (Making a fictive kinship)”

Taoists maintain a good relationship with each other not only when it comes to ritual practices but also in their daily lives. They keep in touch for exchanging and sharing information. In their daily lives, Taoists would frequently travel or visit a temple/ altar and interact with other Taoist friends. Taoists sometimes develop a closer tie with each other that extends beyond a common relationship. This is what the Sichuan dialect calls “to *jie qingjia* (make a fictive kinship)”. Such ritual kinship relationships are created by people who have no blood relationship, but want to deepen their bond. It is usual among Han people to create a fictive kinship between close friends (for example, to adopt a friend’s child as god-father/ mother). Taoists

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<sup>172</sup> Fieldnote 2012-08-29, with Qin.

<sup>173</sup> Xu Fei 2013: 119.

<sup>174</sup> Fieldnote 2011-06-16, with Huang.

do so by adopting a disciple from one side (including a layman, or student) or both sides taking each other's disciples as their own.<sup>175</sup>

Kinship studies have always been a major topic in anthropology, and there is a large literature on fictive/sworn kinship, so I am not going to expand much here. As a simple illustration of the larger phenomenon, according to my fieldwork in Chengdu, it is not rare to have a child/junior adopt a Taoist as his or her master, and the family would thus establish a “fictive kinship” relationship with the Taoist. The child's parents and master hence call each other “*qingjia*” under this situation.

In order to obtain better skills and develop greater ability, Taoists can take on several masters if necessary, but they must obtain permission from their first master (*benshi* 本師, also called “*enshi* 恩師, favor master). One important principle is that a Taoist should not take on a second master of the same field. Taoists are eager to acquire a new master when they want to obtain more knowledge that goes beyond their first master's ability. In this situation, Taoists not only need to ask for permission but, in most cases, they also need a recommendation from their original master. The master's social relationship and network thus affect the result.

It is common sense that having a master or a disciple is very important. Both the master and the disciple should consider the commitment seriously and assess its development carefully. I have met some exceptional cases in which the kinship was established passively through the parents. Taoists (or simply lay disciples) are often very young and do not even have any personal connections. The reason a young child needs a master is usually because s/he has a special “eight characters” destiny. It is similar to having a deity as a godfather/mother. In a few cases, parents expect the child to learn some skills from his/her Daoist master, such as martial arts or other aspects of traditional culture. Relationships of this kind are often rather fragile. The master shows his gracious manner and preaches some basic Taoism ideas, but does usually not insist that the child cultivates hard. It is also a way to deepen the interaction between Taoists and believers. It is helpful to maintain worshiping through a good relationship between Taoists (pure-living or fire-living) and lay person followers.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> “Fictive kinship” is a relationship that connects with master and parents. But I am not sure if all of them call each other this way. This kind of case is not decided by the disciple himself, in my observation.

<sup>176</sup> I saw simple ordinations twice (one *Quanzhen* and one *Zhengyi*). The procedures are similar: the master reports to ancestor masters, the disciple(s) present a cup of tea to the master, the master praises and encourages the disciple. It takes about ten minutes. In the *Zhengyi* case, there is a

I would like to discuss an interesting case I came upon during my fieldwork. The kinship developed when our young protagonist was in elementary school. It is clear that it came from his parents and master's suggestion. His familial background is special. His father is a *Zhengyi* Taoist and the master is from the *Quanzhen Longmen* lineage. They have the same surname Yang, but are not blood relatives. The two Taoists are old friends and share a good relationship. I was told that their masters in previous generations also shared a good relationship. They talked about Taoism knowledge and ritual practice without hesitation. They even exchanged secret liturgical texts and information. Nonetheless, I am not sure if they work together in rituals.

The first time I met the young “quasi-Taoist” Yang was on a weekend in Heming Shan. *Zhengyi* Taoist Yang took his son to visit the “qingjia” *Quanzhen* Taoist Yang. They interacted like old friends. The elder generation Taoists saluted each other and chatted amusedly while the youngsters played by their side. His *Quanzhen* master had not given him much religious teaching yet at that time. Two years later, I met the young guy again (who was about 12-14 years old). He has much matures in the meantime, and was now drawn to Taoism. Now, he could serve trivial duties during rituals but could not perform in the altar yet. He seems to have a *Zhengyi* master, who might be his father. He progressed in ritual practices. He seems to be the youngest among the disciple group, but he might be the most advanced student. It is easy to see that he is interested in Taoism, especially the rituals. I do not know how much he learned from his *Quanzhen* master, but he did know more about *Quanzhen* rituals than his peers.

The point of relationship of ritual kinship in this case is that both sides of the “qingjia” are Taoists but from different traditions. This private relationship is considered fully acceptable in the context of Sichuan Taoism. Different Taoist traditions interact frequently and freely there. They keep an open mind on communication and exchange of texts and practices. Although there are no records, I believe that this kind of “kinship” has long been taking place in Sichuan, and with

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semi-*gaogong* who leads the ceremony. He is the eldest of his generation and is about to become *gaogong*. It is also a practical training for him (so an anchorman is not necessary). In the *Quanzhen* case, the young boy needed a master because of his “eight characters.” The biggest requirement for his master is to match him with the symbol animal of twelve years. (So he got a master he never knew before, and does not have the same master as his mother). These two cases concerned lay disciples; likely, this was done on a much simplified scale compared to a “true” ordination. Fieldnote 2011-11-20, 2012-09-29.

many variations. I am looking forward to the progress of this young Taoist who combines the two traditions.<sup>177</sup>

### 3-4 Members of the Altar : Ritual labor and Training

The duties of *jingshi* – the ritual performers – are minute and complex. During the ritual, they have to chant, speak, and use musical instruments on both sides of the altar. Besides, they are each in charge of an aspect of the ritual: to supervise, to support, or to collaborate. Generally speaking, there are “six positions”<sup>178</sup>-- *gaogong* 高功, *jianzhai* 監齋, *dujiang* 督講, *shijing* 侍經, *shixiang* 侍香 and *shideng* 侍燈.

*Guangcheng Yizhi* provides a complete list of assignment within the altar in one text: the *Lintan Shouzhi Qianya Ji* 臨壇受職簽押集 (receiving a position and signing documents)” (13-80, No. 80). It is believed that this rite was performed in a solemn manner in Chen Fuhui’s time. This rite was often arranged in the evening before the first day or on the first day along with the “announcing placard” for a five-days (or above) ritual. It is a simple and short rite, but it is taken very seriously. After the *gaogong* leads all participants in worshipping the Three Treasures, Five Ancestor Masters and all deities, the *gaogong* lets each participant go forward in turn and explain his assignment and exhorts them. This is meant to remind all members of the group to be faithful and to respect the rules. According to this rite, the division of ritual labor is as follows.

#### Inside the Altar:

*Gaogong* (aka “*dutan fashi* 都壇法師<sup>179</sup>”): He must be the one knowing best both texts and ritual practice. He also should have perfect morality and excellent behavior. A *Gaogong* should be a model to all the other participants.

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<sup>177</sup> A long time after my fieldwork, I heard some news from Yang. He has a new “qingjia” with another Quanzhen Taoist (who lives in Chongqing City and also uses Guangcheng ritual). I have not been able to obtain more information yet. Fieldnote 2015-01-01.

<sup>178</sup> In classical sources found in the Taoist canon, there are various divisions of ritual labor and positions, and definitions of *jingshi*. Ex, “list placard” (vol. 13) and “official and their manners” (vol. 16) from *Wushang Huanglu Dazhai Lichengyi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 (*Dongxuan* bu). Generally speaking, only six positions are used in Zhengyi liturgy. These same terms are used in the *Guangcheng Yizhi*; see e.g. “*Gaofu Qitan Ji* 告符啟壇” (3b) (13-43, No. 43).

<sup>179</sup> In this text, all members within the altar are called “○○ *fashi*” which indicated that they should all be Taoists. There is no rule for lay participants or helpers.

*Fuke* 副科: As the second hand, he must arrange and correct affairs, and be a good helper.

*Jinji* 津濟: In charge of rite of salvations. He should be good in inner cultivation and secret magic.

*Dujiang* 都講: Doing as an emcee and announcing talismans. He must know well the rundown of rituals and lead all participants to a smooth performance.

*Biaobai* 表白: Announcing the *wenjian*. He should speak in a clear and loud voice, and speak correctly and respectfully.

*Zhiqing* 知磬: Knowing the rundown and beating the inverted bell (*qing*).

*Zhujing* 主經: In charge of safekeeping texts, he also needs to sing and chant well.

*Zhuchan* 主讖: In charge of “calling the Tianzun” and reading loudly secret pairs sentences.

*Shuji* 書記: In charge of all the ritual documents. He must be knowledgeable in literature, and possess nice and correct handwriting.

*Shizhi* 侍職: In charge of ritual materials and offering materials (especially the flowers)

*Zhangli* 掌禮: Guides and directs the worshipping of the lay patrons.

*Sanshi* 散侍: Arranges the altar environment.

### Outside the Altar:

*zhai zhu* 齋主: Patron of a ritual. He must be faithful and respectful.

*Zhengmeng* 証盟: Corrects documents and keeps order of the ritual area.

*Zongguan* 總管: Manages general service and spending.

*Shixiang* 侍香: In charge of incense and candles.

*Zhuangyan* 莊嚴: Keep the candles constantly lit and keeps order.



*Dianzuo* 典作: In charge of offering meals.

*Yangfan guabang* 揚旛掛榜: Hangs flags.

*Fenshu jingtan* 焚疏淨壇: In charge of the fire and keep the altar clean.

*Siyue* 司樂: Plays the music.

This is a proper rite to gather and unite all members that frequently perform five-days-over ceremonies together, as it was practiced in Chen Fuhui's time. A similar text within *Guangcheng yizhi* is “*Gaofu Qitan*”, it instructs that “everyone performs his own functions and pays respect” (3a), then they pray and offer incense to the deities.

There are two *wenjian* documents from *Yayi Ji* related to this rite. They are “*wei Wu Miao shuilu daochang qianli shuji bang* 為武廟水陸道場僉立書記榜” (for four members put in charge of *zhangbiao*, *shenzhuang*, *bangyi* and *shudie*) and “*wei Wu Miao shuilu daochang qianli jingyuan bang* 為武廟水陸道場僉立經員榜” (for the *zhujing*, *fujing*, *jingshi* on both sides (left and right) of the altar, *zhidian* 值殿 and *zhiqing*) (1-49, 50). These contents do not correspond exactly to the list of ritual roles in the *Guangcheng yizhi*. This certainly reflects the fact that the arrangement of ritual roles is changeable according the scale of the ritual being performed. Moreover, it seems that far more than two *wenjian* documents would have been required to set up all roles in this particular ritual.<sup>180</sup> It is presumed that the rite “*Shouzhi Qianya*” was used frequently to install the ritual troupe and combined within various series of rites.<sup>181</sup> It is not easy to recover this rite today. We are not sure how dissimilar it is from its original form, nor do we know how to choose the correct rite for each different situation, and all this is a consequence of insufficient information.

This rite is rarely performed at present. It has been forfeited or simplified because it is time-consuming or costly. Nowadays, Taoist usually combine “receiving assignment and signing documents” with the rite “*qianbang* (簽榜, signing on the

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<sup>180</sup> There also exist other, related *wenjian*, such as “rules regulating food and diet”, and “notice for the altar” (3-16, 17).

<sup>181</sup> There are some rites for *Zhai* and *Jiao* which were used at the beginning of rituals. For instance, “setting the altar and reporting ancestor masters”, “inviting texts and reporting” (13-44-5, No. 44-5), “hanging flags and announcing” (13-2, No. 2), “announcing and sending off *wenjian*” (13-34, No.34)... Those rites have a connection with each other, but their usage is not clear.

placard)” in the beginning of the ritual when arranging the rundown (it can also be simplified, and it is a common practice). Although it can still be performed, I have not seen or heard any case of it. The only case I know took place in 2011; it was a huge ceremony held in Kaohsiung, with the active collaboration of several ritual teams from China. That ceremony lasted for seven days and took place in eleven altars at the same time.<sup>182</sup> It is said that *Guangcheng* Taoists performed this rite because they would like to deliver ritual competence to others in this international, collaborative situation.

There is another functional classification for *Guangcheng* Taoists<sup>183</sup> for folk practice and music. They divide the ability into seven techniques: blowing, beating, singing, speaking, pulling<sup>184</sup>, writing and performing. Taoists familiar with five<sup>185</sup> (or more) techniques are called “*quan guazi* 全掛子 (all perfected)” or “*wu piqui* 五皮齊, (five perfected),<sup>186</sup>” and can serve as a *gaogong* or a manager. These techniques are all specific, with each being independent and without a specific sequence in which they should be mastered. Junior Taoists take turn learning them at the beginning of their training. When they become good in one specialty, they earn the title of “*dan pianzhi* (單片子, single perfected)”. The harder a Taoist works and the more practice ability he or she acquires, the more important the position he may undertake in the altar.<sup>187</sup>

Today, the basic arrangement for rituals is seven or nine Taoists. The *gaogong* stands in the center and faces the main altar, the remaining six or eight *jingshi* (or more, but always in even numbers) stand on both sides (the “dragon” and “tiger” sides<sup>188</sup>). All members can be classified into either *gaogong* or *jingshi*.<sup>189</sup> A

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<sup>182</sup> These eleven altars belonged to different traditions, so the rites were performed only among *Guangcheng* Taoists. Fieldnote 2012-02-22, with Huang.

<sup>183</sup> This explanation is from the “active altar”, so this part might be mostly for the *Guangcheng* Altar. Although those abilities are needed more in folk situation, it is also necessary to *Quanzhen* Taoists.

<sup>184</sup> According to Liu Huang, rituals accompanied by non-Taoist musicians in the altar have become rare since the last twenty years (after the 1980s). Since then, many Taoists started to learn to play music. Fieldnote 2014-10-26.

<sup>185</sup> The basic five are blowing, beating, singing, speaking and performing. Those five are all necessary for *jingshi* in both the active and the calm altar. I have not heard of this usage from calm altar Taoists, but I believe they value them as well.

<sup>186</sup> “*quan guazi*” is a dialect term of Chongqing, which refers to a person who has several different skills (according to the website *Baidu Baike*). It is a common idiomatic terms beyond Taoists; and outside of Sichuan; it can be found in several modern Chinese novels of the late Qing and Republican period.

<sup>187</sup> Gan Shaochen 2000, Gang and Zhu 2013: 96 and 2009: 77.

<sup>188</sup> In *Guangcheng* ritual, there are two models of setting tables in lines on both sides, “dragon” and “tiger” respectively. They set long tables by both sides, forming the shape of “II” or “八”. There are minor variations among different local traditions, but they no substantial difference in practice.

<sup>189</sup> Sometimes they can attach another level as a second hand (grand drummer), but it is not

*gaogong* has absolute authority in rituals, in comparison, the *jingshi* stand in equal positions with no specific hierarchy. They perform their own duties and support each other. Generally speaking, *jingshi* are given equal assignments. The appointment depends on the *jingshi*'s ability (judged mainly on the basis of the five techniques just discussed). With their achievement in the five techniques, the *jingshi* can serve more positions gradually. Being skilled in different positions help a Taoist recognize and embody a ritual practice, and leads them in eventually becoming a *gaogong*.

Aside from factors like ability or volunteering, there is an interesting possibility regarding how *jingshi* positions are decided. Because the *jingshi* must coordinate and support each other, they tend to form pairs during ritual work. The pairs usually consist of master-disciple or two mates of the same age. They establish a tacit understanding through good interaction from daily life. Their teamwork allows rituals to progress smoothly. Moreover, this arrangement might have had a somewhat selfish motivation. For example, an assistant Taoist who announces *wenjian* or prepares incense besides the *gaogong* is likely a disciple of the *gaogong*, and is a potential candidate for becoming a *gaogong* in the future. *Tike* and *biaobai* who stand on both sides as a fixed team are usually appointed in pairs, too.<sup>190</sup> They have tacit understanding and always cooperate in a balanced and manner.

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necessary. Aside from the standing position, payments are also different for a *gaogong* and a *jingshi*. Generally speaking, payments for the *jingshi* are the same, and their functions are thus changeable.

<sup>190</sup> Working in pairs is a common arrangement in the Taoist ordinary life. For example, the job of keeping watch in the hall, and ringing the bell and beating the drum on first and fifteenth day of every month are all arranged in pairs.

## Chapter 4 The training of a *Gaogong* and the Basic structure of the ritual

### 4-1 Becoming a *Gaogong*

#### The Innate and Acquired Conditions for Becoming a *Gaogong*

Performing rituals is a way to achieve the Tao, but not every Taoist prefers to follow this path. And yet, among those who do, not every Taoist can become a *jingshi* who performs in the ritual. There are some conditions of innate and acquired nature to become a *jingshi*, and the same goes for becoming a *gaogong*.

First of all, physically speaking, a Taoist must have a “complete body.” This means their body must be “intact,” have all four limbs and facial features, and a normal look. Since ritual practices are performed in public, and because all members have to sing and chant, ideally, they should not have a stammering tongue either.

Since a *Quanzhen* Taoist has to forsake this world and bind his hair in a topknot, thus marking him or her apart, s/he must carefully reflect on whether s/he can leave behind the ordinary life. The master must consider the new disciple’s eight characters, and examine him/her through physiognomy, and chiromancy. A good candidate would be someone who has no palm prints of emotions, marriage or child; and has a lonely sign in his eight characters. Moreover, “it is ideal to have a double “*huagai* star 華蓋” in his dynasty”.<sup>191</sup>

A *jingshi* learns how to practice rites through long-time watching and learning, and gradually familiarizing himself with chants and instruments. Anyone who wants to be a *gaogong*, whether out of deliberation or passive reasons, undergoes a process which offers plenty of opportunities for his abilities to be proven. The criteria for evaluating a *gaogong* includes manners, behavior, and execution; for instance, how he steps into the altar, his posture, his other movements, and so on; or, for instance, how he uses an audience-tablet, an order tablet, or how he offers incense. Other factors include the quality of voice and a correct pronunciation, so as to chant

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<sup>191</sup> Fieldwork 2011-06-20, with Zhou. The *Huagai* star is an ancient official name and also an evil spirit of eight characters which connect to Taoists and monks. It is believed that a person with “*Huagai*” is always smart, good at his art, but also has bad manners, unsocial in his/ her honored but lonely life.

clearly and beautifully. These criteria include many elements involving public performance, which are mostly judged by the common believers.

A *gaogong* is not necessarily to do all the paperwork himself (as a secretary), but he must have the ability to write and make *wenjian*. A *gaogong* must be able to handle all kinds of *wenjian*. He needs to know all about the taboos in writing and making *wenjian*, how to make different *wenjian* for different situations, and how to refer to the correct information in reference works (*wenjian ji* or *biyong ji*). He also needs to know how to make paper-equipments used in rituals, such as hanging boards, envelopes, flags, tablets, and so on. Moreover, he needs to know well about the basic ritual arrangement methods, like Dipper *Jiao*, Thunder *Jiao* and Rain-praying *Jiao*.

The requirement of “*shu* 術/ magic arts” lies mainly with the inner magic exercise. A *gaogong* has to use magic in some ritual processes, so he needs to accumulate relevant knowledge and practice as much as possible in daily life. Practicing *Qi-gong* helps a lot in this area, thus almost all Taoists practice *Qi* and meditation regularly every day. Many Taoists in Sichuan also choose to practice *Leifa* 雷法 (thunder magic). It is not only because there are many thunder rituals in *Guangcheng*, but also because thunder magic is quick-response and powerful.<sup>192193</sup>

### An Apprenticeship for Two Years

In general, it takes two years for a *jingshi* to become to a *gaogong*. Like so often in Taoism, there is no fixed schedule or formal progress for ritual training. During his two years, a Taoist does everything like everyone else in his group. He also maintains the same status in his ritual group. Of course, he would have more opportunities to improve his knowledge and practice in different areas. That knowledge is available to all *jingshi*, but not every one has the opportunity (or interest) to practice it.

It is, basically, a fair game of equal chance for any *jingshi* who wants to become a *gaogong*, although not every one desires to do so. In fact, most *gaogong* of the second generation have a strong bond with their master and his followers. The most

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<sup>192</sup> Statements above comes from integration of fieldnotes 2011-06-20, 2011-11-19 and 2012-09-12.

<sup>193</sup> In *Guangcheng*, it remained “*Quanzhen Yanjiao Mouleitan* 全真演教某雷壇(thunder altar perform Quanzhen teaching)” (for instance, some rites about “*Baomiao* 保苗’ (protecting seedlings); 14-12, 15~6, No. 131, 134~5)

common and traditional situation is that the master takes care of and watches over his novice whenever necessary and lives together with him for a long time. If a young Taoist's master is a *gaogong*, then he has a greater chance of becoming a *gaogong* himself. On the contrary, if a junior Taoist/*jingshi* wants to become a *gaogong* sincerely but has no *gaogong* as his master, he can still achieve it, but he must put in extra effort. This situation happened mostly in the 'public' temples, *shifang conglin*, because only such temples can take in many Taoists. Besides, there is a new way to achieve *gaogong* status today. A Taoist can take a *gaogong* course organized by the local Taoist Association if he obtains a recommendation from his temple (or master). It has now become an important and even a major channel toward *gaogong* status.

It is normal for a training process to go on for two years. The Taoist attends the rituals as usual (but might be offered more chances to serve in other positions). He also needs to obtain knowledge and exercise as well. In my opinion, there are three main elements to such practices. First of all comes the knowledge from Taoist scriptures, manuals and *wenjian*. Although *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts are available to the public, not everyone can understand it perfectly. Moreover, in Taoist texts, there are hidden blanks and tricks, secret symbols, and chants filled with mistakes or left in blank. Those must be pointed out and corrected orally by a master.

A master always encourages his novice to learn as much as possible. Learning and studying improves his mastery of classical language, enabling him to understand more complex characters and better comprehend Taoist texts. This will become helpful in the future when he writes *wenjian*. It also helps improve his understanding of common phrases and chants that are used in many different rites. After all, as the old saying goes, "The master can teach the trade, but the apprentice's skills are self-made". A master can only offer a book list and advise on how to find or analyze the source. In the end, it is all up to the novice's efforts as to how far he can achieve.

The second element is the movements in the altar. A *gaogong* is always the highlight of the ritual since he takes the first step into the process. A *gaogong*'s every movement bears specific meaning. Therefore, he must be skilled in practice; for example, he must know how to use an audience-tablet, to kowtow, to declare his Taoist official title, to step star-steps, to make secret gestures, and to use secret magic. An apprentice can improve himself by observing a *gaogong* at the altar and practicing in his everyday life. In a few situations, a master would allow the novice to use a real altar for exercise after a rite has finished. In daily life, Chengdu Taoists

like to go to the theater and even act in a play. Traditional local opera (especially *Guangcheng* tune songs with rich local musical features) helps Taoists better understand and perform Taoist music.

The last element is magic. The so-called “*Yanfa* 演法 (performing magic)” is not just a superficial performance. It involves supernatural elements in some way, because Taoists must connect with heaven, hell, gods and spirits, and order natural powers like wind or thunder in the rituals. A *gaogong* must sharpen his magic ability in everyday exercise. Taoists of different traditions emphasize on different key elements in exercising *Qi*, such as taking advantage from the sun, the moon or the thunder. They sit in meditation at midnight at different times, mostly at 1 or 3 a.m. (more often than not as I know, Taoists in Sichuan go to sleep at 9 or 10 p.m., wake up to sit in mediation for 2 hours, and then go to bed again). Exercising *Qi* and sitting in mediation might be the hardest part of the practice since it fully depends on personal acumen. But the most important thing is to always work hard and persist.

These three training elements – understanding Taoist scriptures, actual ritual performance, and inner exercise – include a perfect balance of movement and inertia. The ideal condition is for a *gaogong* to excel in all three areas. Nevertheless, practically speaking, a *gaogong* must at least be able to balance the three, while many become outstanding in only one area. For example, I personally know a Taoist who rarely performs rituals as a *gaogong* because he thinks he lacks a loud and clear voice and powerful movement. This puts him in an uncomfortable position in the altar. Thus, even though he has held a *gaogong* position for years, he does not perform much, especially in large-scale rites.<sup>194</sup>

#### The First Stage: To Upgrade or Turn Back

Like for the training process, there is no fixated standard to examine a Taoist's qualification in becoming a *gaogong*. In fact, junior Taoists are watched and observed by their masters and seniors all the time under those three elements –Taoist scriptures, ritual practices, and inner exercise. A Taoist can be upgraded to *gaogong* after getting a permission from his master or the manager of the temple – although the standard for evaluation is vague. It is also hard to assert what a balanced state is. Anyway, individual practice is the main concern. There can always be fair considerations.

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<sup>194</sup> Fieldnote 2011-11-15, with Wan.

After a “quasi-*gaogong*” achieves a good and balanced state, he can probably rapidly get a chance to act as a trial *gaogong* soon. In this situation, the master (or the manager of the ritual team/ *zhangtanshi* 掌壇師) will announce the “quasi-*gaogong*’s” task several days before. Then, this quasi-*gaogong*, full of confidence and prospect, takes on the challenge and prepares for his first stage appearance. The first rite for a new *gaogong* is always carefully chosen; they are kept short, simple, and are mostly Yang events for the temple. It is agreed that a beginner must begin with a simple and smooth rite. By contrast, a private rite requires more responsibility than a routine rite for the temple: taking responsibility for petitioners’ requests is considered a very serious affair. And of course, this does not suggest that the master has insufficient confidence in his novice. A *Yang* rite in the temple is often a rite for good fortune. Because these kinds of rituals are considered “inside-temple affair,” a little mistake can be more easily excused, and deities would not be so badly displeased by it<sup>195</sup> (or the temple as a whole could be held responsible, and make good on the damage done). Those small-scale fortune rituals – worshipping and birthday-celebrations – are called “little rite, *xiaoke* 小科” or “plain rite, *pingke* 平科”. These rites are chosen to be the novice’s first performance also because they are important and useful rites that will be performed frequently in the future.

Nevertheless, occasional accidents are inevitable, even if people prepare well. Aside from stage fright issues, new *gaogong* might also underperform due to insufficient ability. In case mistakes happen, such as starting at a wrong tone or making confused steps, other Taoists in the altar will help the novice correct and finish the rite as well as possible. After all, the novice still needs to complete the whole rite by himself (as to punishments, he would later have to kneel in front of the gods, and pay a fine in oil/incense or other).

I came upon an interesting case in the course of my fieldwork. A few days before a deity’s birthday, the *gaogong* of a temple had an urgent matter and had to leave the temple temporarily. A young quasi-*gaogong* studying under him (who was introduced to him by a friend a few months before that and was not his direct disciple) volunteered to take on this duty. Since the young Taoist passed certain oral exam given by the master, he was granted the valuable chance of performing as a *gaogong* for the very first time. Afterwards, it was said that the rite went imperfectly.

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<sup>195</sup> Fieldnote 2012-09-12, with Pan.



On several occasions I have heard the *gaogong* telling this young Taoist to work harder while other Taoists in the same group complained in secret (they complained mainly about how the young Taoist thought highly of himself but had insufficient preparation. Surprisingly (to me), they were not upset or worried about the imperfect rite). The failure put the young Taoist in a depressed mood for a long time. The master trained him tougher and decided to reject his upgrading to *gaogong*. The young Taoists needed to study and exercise harder now, and wait for a second chance – which will be subject to his master’s examination.<sup>196</sup>

This case impressed me a lot. Although the master blamed the young Taoist for his mistake, he did not make further inquiries about what exactly had happened. To him, he himself contributed to the failure of the young Taoist’s inadequate preparation and excessive self-confidence. Since the young failed this time, he must wait to start over again. In that conversation, I argued with the *gaogong* about why he trusted the young Taoist so easily and did not give a tougher exam beforehand. He replied seriously that a Taoist should respect himself. A Taoist is not only answerable to himself, but answers directly to the Tao and to deities. A Taoist should never doubt another Taoist, regardless of his position in the hierarchy. This comment was again brought up during another conversation about genuine vs. sham texts with another *gaogong*. They all referred to the total respect and trust in the Tao and people who belong to the Tao.

#### *Guojing* 過經 (Passing Though the Text)

This is a little procedure a novice goes through before he is ready to become a *gaogong*, especially in his first time on stage or his first time managing a new kind of ritual. He has to ask for “passing though the text” from his master.

“Passing though the text” is a process in which a master advises a quasi-*gaogong* (or his disciple *gaogong*) on how to perform a new *Guangcheng Yizhi* rite for his first stage appearance. The master goes through the whole text with him. The teaching process is flexible, depending on the ability and experience of the novice. The main purpose is to make sure the disciple knows every detail of the text well. Thus, if the novice is a beginner, the master has to lead him in reading the whole text carefully. The main reason to enforce “passing though a text” is because almost all Taoist texts are incomplete for practical purposes. For example, there are some

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<sup>196</sup> Fieldnote 2012-10-08, with Pan.

hidden secrets (like secret magic, talisman, *wenjian*, etc) or tricky mistakes in Chinese characters. Moreover, there are many details about practice that the novice must be aware of, such as how a rite should be performed differently in different seasons or hours.<sup>197</sup> In general, about twenty percent of these details are not marked on paper at all. It is a common habit with a long history that Taoists divide something important separately in different parts; they still do so today. Only on this occasion, the master releases all the hidden knowledge to the new *gaogong*.

In a perfect “passing through the text” process, the master reads and explains every detail of the text to the novice. They read through every word and every line together from the first page to the last. The master might recite every word, sing every chant and practice all the movements to make sure the disciple understands perfectly. The secret magic is also revealed during this time. The novice can take notes on his own text, which becomes his personal treasure, helping him understand and improve himself in the future. It takes as long as a real performance of the rite. After that, ideally, the apprentice *gaogong* should be able to master and perform this rite smoothly and perfectly.

*Guangcheng Yizhi* is a huge text collection; it is unrealistic to go through every text through this process. Thanks to the formula structure of rituals arranged by Master Chen Fuhui, Taoists can manage *Guangcheng* rituals relatively easily. Moreover, to most Taoists, it is not necessary to master every ritual in *Guangcheng*. The best way to practical is to divide rituals into several kinds, and let Taoists manage each of kinds as an expedient. Once a Taoist studies each kind of ritual, he can comprehend the rest through analogy and can perform the rest of the rites of the same kind (and of course the bond between the master and disciple in Sichuan is very strong, so it is easy for the disciple to ask questions at any time). This division of rituals is quite similar to the ritual/rite classification of *Guangcheng Yizhi*.

I put most emphasis on the *gaogong* in my research. It is not only because they play the most important role in *Guangcheng* rituals, but also because they play several roles simultaneously in the altar if necessary.

Today, in the opinion of most of the Taoists I spoke with, the revival of Taoist rituals in the Chengdu area is not fully satisfactory. The ability of *jingshi* is generally

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<sup>197</sup> The most famous trick word is 𠄎. It even “has different strokes in different usages” (fieldnote 2012-07-13, with Pan). Another case like “*Jingdou Rendeng*” is better to take place in the lucky day with Yang number of seven; during the ghost festival, it should be performed at 9 a.m. on 7/15.

considered as not good enough. It is considered acceptable if he can play at least one musical instrument and sing a few more chants than daily recitations. A *gaogong* handles almost all the rest of the work in rituals. The numbers of *gaogong* in Sichuan is not quite large enough to cope with demand. Although I have no definitive source, there has been fewer *gaogong* in Qing Dynasty, the Republican era, and early PRC era, due to the low literacy rates. Hence, it is almost a common phenomenon that a *gaogong* works as a one-man-does all and handles most of the work in the altar.

#### 4-2 Two Special Secret Lineages of the Guangcheng tradition: “*Xizhu Xinzong* Lineage 西竺心宗” and “*Lantai* Lineage 蘭台派”

I have heard of two secret lineages particularly for Guangcheng *gaogong* in my fieldwork.

##### a. *Xizhu Xinzong* (Tokhara Heart Lineage)

“*Xizhu Xinzong*” is a very special branch under the Longmen School. Its founder had a nickname Jizu Daozhe Huang Lushi 雞足道者黃律師 (Huang, Chicken Feet (Mountain) Taoist and Discipline Master). He was an expert in secret magic of *dou* 斗 (dipper). Based on Longmen hagiographies, Huang went to Baiyun Guan, Beijing and received precepts (ordination) from Master Wang Changyue 王常月 (traditional dates 1522~1680, Taoist name Kunyang 崑陽) in Shunzhi 16 (1659) and obtained the Taoist name Huang Shouzhong 黃守中. He was given the honor position as the Taoist discipline (ordination) master of the 8<sup>th</sup> generation. He then returned to Jizu Shan (located in Yunnan Province) and took in other disciples, like Guan Tianxian. We know of very few disciples of this lineage due to lack of records, or perhaps it had few disciples because it maintained serious requirements regarding a disciples’ magic ability. Stories of this lineage mainly come from *Jingai Xindeng* 金蓋心燈, written by Taoist Min Yide (1758~1836 閔一得).<sup>198</sup> Min was instrumental in bringing the *Xizhu Xinzong* into his own branch of *Longmen* School.

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<sup>198</sup> Min Yide was a famous Taoist of Jingai Shan, Zhejiang Province. His work *Jingai Xindeng* is an authoritative, yet disputed genealogy of the *Longmen* School. It has been most thoughtfully studied by Monica Esposito.

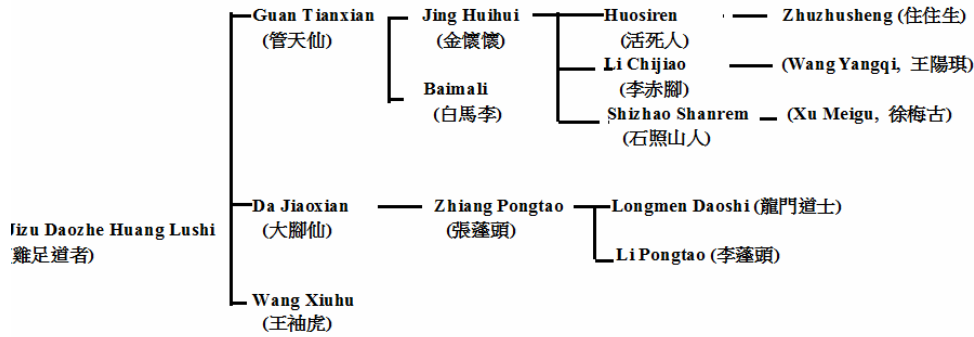


Fig. a simple genealogy of Xizhu Xinzong

According to *Jingai Xindeng*, Chicken Feet Taoist was already a master of stars magic (aka “*Xizhu Doufa* 西竺斗法”) before he joined the Longmen School. He was a powerful mystic. He lived a mysterious and long life. With his huge magic power, he only received Taoist precepts from Baiyun Guan, and left directly after having been ordained by Wang Changyue. In Qianlong 55 (1790), Min Yide went to visit him, and gave the full precepts to Huang in exchange of Huang’s treasure stars magic which was later renamed as *Dafan Xiantian Fanying Douzhou* 大梵先天梵音斗咒. Huang is rumored to have died in that same year, but there are accounts claiming he was witnessed in Qingyang Gong in Jiaqing 3 (1879) (from *Jingai Xindeng*, vol.6, 1b~2a). His followers, like Dajiao Xian, Wang Xiuhu and Jin Huaihuai, also traveled around Yunnan and Sichuan provinces (5b, 7b and 9b). Particularly, after Master Wang Jin Huaihuai learned stars magic from his master, Guan Tianxian, he traveled around Sichuan and stayed in Qingyang Gong for a while. Jin is also believed to have learned alchemy from Li Niwan (another probably legendary figure) (10b~19a).

Huang’s *Xizhu Xinzong* is a Taoist lineage that transmits ritual methods with strong Buddhist elements. According to a scholar of Sichuan Taoism, “In practice, he uses magic from “*yuanzhuan* 雲篆 (cloudy true words)” of Talisman School Taoism and Mantra of Buddhism. In sum, his magic is full of Buddhist elements.<sup>199</sup>” This corresponds to what I heard in the course of doing fieldwork. According to one of my informants (who does not follow this tradition himself), the characteristic of this lineage is that it includes stars magic. Thus, Taoists of this tradition are all good

<sup>199</sup> From *Zhongguo Daojiao Daxidian* (Hu edition) p.70. This item was written by Zeng Zhaonan.

at performing Dipper Jiao. A great part of secret magic came from Tibet. Today, it has left little heritage in Sichuan and Yunnan.<sup>200</sup>

Does this secret tradition exist in Qingyang Gong now? The answer is not clear. Although a *gaogong* there denied my suggestion that it might, Qingyang Gong is a public monastery, and houses Taoists trained in various local traditions. In addition, both Master Huang Shouzhong and Jin Huaihuai had stayed there before, so it is quite possible that the *Xizhu Xinzong* lineage somehow existed in Qingyang Gong. On the other hand, I got a positive reply from Heming Shan Temple. Taoists between Heming Shan and Jizu Shan have interacted since the Guangxu period of the late Qing Dynasty. Several young Taoists at Heming Shan recalled elders going to sweep an ancestor's grave at Jizu Shan a few years ago. On the tombstone, it was inscribed "ancestor Xiao xx,<sup>201</sup>" but they could not recall more. Just like its ambiguous tradition in *Jingai Xindeng*, there is no direct evidence that Heming Shan has kept its teaching (and also its secret magic). Nonetheless, *Dou Jiao* in Heming Shan has its specific way in practice. They have an ingenious method that mixes three rites into one when performing *Dou* rites, which is their special skill.<sup>202</sup> But, of course, this is not enough evidence to claim a relationship with the *Xizhu Xinzong* lineage. We need more data and research on this elusive tradition.

So far, we can be sure that Master Huang Shouzhong left more than one stream of teaching in Sichuan. That secret magic is for *gaogong* mostly (but might not be limited to them). While we know it has been passed on, but the extent of its preservation is a mystery. Considering its essence, the magic does not seem to be definitively related to *Guangcheng Yizhi*, although it did contribute to spreading out the prestige of *Guangcheng* rituals.

#### b. *Lantai* Lineag 蘭台派 ( or *Nantai* 南台)

It is easy to see that the name *Nantai* comes from the editor of *Guangcheng Yizhi*, Chen Fuhui. Chen was honored with the title "*Nantai Zhengren* 南台真人" by a Qing Emperor. In the original preface of *Guangcheng Yizhi*, it was mentioned that Chen founded a Taoist branch "*Lantai* lineage<sup>203</sup>" and left a lineage poem of 32 words. However, it did not claim to have written it exclusively for *gaogong*.

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<sup>200</sup> Fieldnote 2012-07-13, with Pan.

<sup>201</sup> Fieldnote, 2012-06-10, with Lu.

<sup>202</sup> For further example, please refer to chapter 5-5.

<sup>203</sup> Uttering the names *Nantai* or *Lantai* raises an interesting question because the two share the same pronunciation in Sichuan dialect. I wonder if they came from the same original word. However,

Nevertheless, in fact, there is no creditable record – official or within the Taoist world – that mentioned this lineage. Not even *Zhuzhen Zongpai Zongbu*<sup>204</sup> 諸真宗派總簿, which is considered the most complete list of modern Taoist lineages, especially for the Quanzhen School, offers any clue. Not even the most famous of Chen’s stories – including *Guan Xianzhi*, *Wenjiang Xianzhi* and the *Zhipu* – make any reference to this lineage. Is this a disproof of the existence of the *Lantai* lineage? Or on the contrary, does it prove that this lineage is indeed a secret one – for *gaogong* only?

From what I have heard from Taoists in the course of fieldwork, it is indeed a special, secret lineage just for Guangcheng *gaogong*. It is why this lineage is unknown to common people, and the *gaogong* aware of it avoid discussing it with outsiders. We can say with fair certainty that *Lantai* Lineage has its heritage and lineage poem. But since being a *gaogong* is the only requirement for becoming a member, it cannot be taken as a full-fledged, autonomous Taoist lineage; for it has no teaching and cultivation of its own. A Taoist with *Lantai* affiliation does not use this title to maintain himself. It is not forbidden to talk about this lineage. After all, I myself have had instances of such conversation – although Taoists were evasive in answering some questions. Although there are lineages exclusive to *gaogong*, not every Guangcheng *gaogong* belongs to (or knows about) this lineage. We do not know when and how a Taoist can obtain affiliation with it, or if it has an ordination and required qualifications. Although this lineage possesses certain heritage, we cannot be sure if the secret magic transmitted within it is always the same.

Its membership includes both *Quanzhen Longmen* (calm altar) and *Zhengyi* (active altar)<sup>205</sup> Taoists. There is no entrance regulation that *gaogong* are forced to follow. But once a Taoist joins the *Lantai* lineage, they must arrange specific steps in “reporting to ancestor masters”.

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since ancient literati preferred to have alternative names with the same pronunciation, it could have been a literary humor.

<sup>204</sup> This list records almost all the lineages of the Longmen School with basic historical background on each. People believe it was collected when Taoists from other provinces visited the Baiyun Guan. There were 87 lineages up until the Xuantong Period.

<sup>205</sup> Contrasting to mine, Gan Shaochen addressed that *Lantai* Lineage is equal to *Guangcheng Tan* (which means they are all *Zhengyi* Taoists). This saying cannot support my argument that *Lantai* Seat is exclusive to *gaogong*. But Gan admitted not all *Guangcheng Tan* Taoists he met in the field inherit Taoist’s name through *Lantai*’s seat poems. It reveals how this seat is silent and vague now. (Gan2000: 52~3)

It is a mystery how this lineage has kept its secrecy, whether it be for Chen Fuhui's last wishes, or any other reason causing this lineage to remain low-key. The *gaogong* of this lineage generally do not reveal themselves voluntarily (but will not deny if being asked, although they might tactfully and politely ignore questions about the inheritance and secret magic). They do not seem to have a community to connect with each other. They also do not exchange information in ritual practice. All in all, *Lantai* lineage is a small Taoist lineage with little fame and power of influence. Taoists affiliated with this lineage are trying very hard to continue their heritage, especially since the grand religious damage of 1960s~80s. Today, they are progressing to the 11<sup>th</sup> generation, but it is unclear if younger Taoists are being affiliated, so the future remains very uncertain.<sup>206</sup>

#### 4-3 The Framework of *Guangcheng* Ritual

The *Guangcheng Yizhi* manuals are always taken as a whole for a single rite and bound into one single book regardless of the number of its pages: the thickest text is “*Yudi Zhengchao* 玉帝正朝 (Audience with the Jade Emperor)” with 110 fully printed pages and the thinnest one is “*Song Taisui* 送太歲 (farewell to the divine star of year)” with 3 fully printed pages<sup>207</sup>. This not only facilitates the selling of the books, but is also convenient for use in rituals. Every text of *Guangcheng Yizhi* is made for individual usage, and almost every rite can be performed individually without interfering with each other.

The scale of rites differs based on purpose, function and number of invited deities. In general, the most popular rites<sup>208</sup> have around 10~25 fully printed pages (each containing 2 half-pages) and take about 45~90 minutes to perform.<sup>209</sup> Because

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<sup>206</sup> In my fieldwork, I met two *gaogong* of *Lantai* lineage of 8<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> generations. This pessimistic view comes from one of them. The other, although unwilling to discuss it with me, started using “*Lantai*” in his *wenjian* frequently. Only time will tell.

<sup>207</sup> “*Yudi Zhengchao*” 13-56, No. 56; “*Song Taisui*” 13-90, No.90. I have not seen how the thinnest one was published (it was not in the booklist of 2011 or 2012), but I heard this rite is still practiced now in the rural areas by a Zhengyi Taoist. The current rite is very simple, “burn a *wenjian* and stick a talisman with the petitioner's name, address and eight characters (a talisman for each person) beside the *Taisui* painting in the temple. During the year, Taoists have to burn light and incense uninterruptedly everyday, and also pray for them when rituals are performed in the temple.” (fieldnote 2014-03-06, with Sanshan). The second thinnest text, “*Xuanfang Zhaogao* 懸旛昭告” (13-2, No.2) with 4 entire printed pages was published. Thus, binding should not be an issue.

<sup>208</sup> Now the most commonly used rites include about 30~40 rites, but they are not always the same everywhere. In Qingyang Gong, for example, there are about 20 rites, according to its bulletin (the details are little different for each year.) Fig.11.

<sup>209</sup> It is the average number based on my fieldwork 2011~13. There exists no significant differences between Quanzhen and Zhengyi practitioners. But in other researches, for example, “*Gongtian*” ran

*Guangcheng* rituals have a regular structure, it is easy to estimate the elapsed time, assuming nothing goes wrong (for example, if they are to invite more deities then it takes more time; additionally, it is always unpredictable how much time Taoists takes to “*Cunsi* 存思 (visualizations)”).

Names of *Guangcheng Yizhi* rites are also of simple and clear style. The title of every text indicates it is a work or a complete work, “*Ji* 集” or “*Quanji* 全集,” which means this text is an individual book and independent rite. The name, especially the simplified name in the central column of the text, reveals the core ideas. People can get a basic understanding from it directly. I divided them into four categories in my research according to their naming.

A. a “Audience or Worshipping (*Zhengchao*)”: used for audience with some special deities or celebrations of his or her birthday. Instances include “*Chuanzhu Zhengchao* 川主正朝 (to the Lord of Sichuan)” (15-36, No. 275), “*Wenchang Zhengchao* 文昌正朝” (15-38, No. 277), and “*Guanyin Zhengchao* 觀音正朝” (14-11, No. 130).

B. Rites corresponding to holidays and changing of seasons in a year: This is a kind of routine rite. Instances include “*Sigong Taiyang* 祀供太陽 (worshipping the Sun)” (14-2, No. 121), “*Sigong Taiying* 祀供太陰 (worshipping the moon)” (no publication) and a series of “*Jiuhuang Jiao*” (13-63-79, No. 63-79), for the 9/1 to 9/9 festival in honor of the nine sons of Doumu.

C. Confessing and praying to deities and stars deities: Prayers and pleas to deities and stars deities based on their functions and specialties. Instances include “*Quwen Gaofu* 祛瘟告符 (driving out the plague)” (15-43, No. 282), “*Nandou Zhuwen* 南斗祝文” (13-82, No.82), “*Quangfu Zhengchao* 匡阜正朝” (15-41, No, 280).

D. By function: Solving a direct and definite desire or problem. It is the most popular way to name a rite in *Guangcheng*. Instances include “*Rangyi Pansan* 攘蟻判散(driving away ants)”, (14-21, No. 140) “*Liushi Jianba* 六時薦拔” (14-60, No. 178-83), “*Jieshou Quanji* 接壽全集 (prolonging one’s lifespan)” (13-89, No. 89).

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for two hours in Qingchen Shan (Gan Shaochen 2003:93) and 90 minutes in Qingyang Gong (*Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*, p.143). In fact, I have never seen a *Gongtian* rite that runs for over 70 minutes. It is an interesting question to further investigate.



It is clear that there are always some keywords (based on its deities, functions, yearly activities, etc.) in the title which make sure the reader gets a basic understanding upon first reading it. However, this division is just a generalization with a simple impression. When categorizing rituals, I stand from a point of view different from a Taoist's because we bear different attitudes and apply divisions in different circumstances when it comes to *Guangcheng* liturgy. For Taoists, it is usual to divide rituals into the categories of Yin, Yang, stars/dipper, flood and fire, and plague.<sup>210</sup> Yet, this division is far from complete. I have discussed this topic with several Taoists but obtained disparate replies. I almost believe there is no consensus on a definite categorization. But, this does not bother *Guangcheng* Taoists, nor does the problem of having no catalogue of the *Guangcheng* manuals. Besides, most rites serve multiple functions that cannot be single-handedly defined.

Although every *Guangcheng* rite is published individually, they do not exist or work individually. All rites must connect and interact with each other so as to make sense as a whole. In the Taoist's mind (in fact, while they might not have achieved a common consensus, they do have opinions on the issue), names of rites are not just entries on the catalogue, instead, they are full of meaning associated with their keywords. With those keywords and names in mind, Taoists compose a picture which can not only indicate all the relationship between rites, but also help arrange the rundown for rituals. There is, perhaps, not one single perfect categorization for understanding rites. Everybody can offer their own explanation based on their training, background, and practice.

Earlier research has offered us some basic insight on the structure and rundown of Taoist rituals, including the three stages (inviting — hosting — sending off deities) and the imperial metaphor.<sup>211</sup> In *Guangcheng*, each rite bears individuality and completeness, but they also share the same general structure. Even common people can easily get a general picture of a rite's structure just by attending the rite many times. Therefore, more than one *gaogong* assured me that he could perform almost all ordinary rites even if he has never done it before, and he can do so by just reading the *Guangcheng* texts. There is no such thing as being “qualified” at performing a ritual, and even if a *gaogong* cannot “perfect” some rites, he “can still perform every rite as long as he has the text”. This is not a pretentious claim. In fact, under a fixed structure, it is easy to copy one rite from another. This situation also

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<sup>210</sup> Fieldnote 2012-07-16 with Dong; 2012-09-10 with Huang.

<sup>211</sup> See Liu Zhiwan 1974 and Stephan Feuchtwang 2001.

goes for a *jingshi*. Before a junior Taoist performs a rite he has never done before, he receives advice and reminders; he can also raise questions (it resembles a simpler and relaxed version of “passing through the text” or “checking house-mouth”). This is because there is an established ritual structure fixed among Taoists, so they are used to applying knowledge to collaboration in a new situation. They probably have no fundamental problem managing a new rite as long as they have its text.

There is no formal established division into successive stages when it comes to *Guangcheng* ritual structure. In fact, every one can have their own opinion based on their practice and interpretation. Yet this will not interfere with the rite itself. Since the structure has been around for a long time, the processes of performing the various rites have developed some common traits, while allowing some changeable steps and style. For the purpose of analysis, I have divided the basic structure common to all *Guangcheng* rituals into ten steps based on my own observation.<sup>212</sup> They are: starting altar (*qitan* 起壇) — praising altar (*zantan* 贊壇) — preaching (*shuowen* 說文) (or taking refuge in the Three Treasures (*sanguiyi* 三皈依)) — offering incense (*shangxiang* 上香) (and purifying the environment (*danghui* 蕩穢)) — reciting spells (*qingxuan kezhou* 請宣科咒) — declaring the *gaogong*'s official title (*bingzhi* 秉職) — inviting deities (*qingshen* 請神) — explaining the intention (*ruyi* 入意) — firing the *wenjian* documents (*huabiao* 化表) — and sending off deities and re-attributing the merit (*songshen* 送神、*huixiang* 回向) (or “so-called Tao (*suiweidao* 所謂道)” or twelve grand promises (*shier dayuan* 十二大願)).

“**Starting altar, *qitan***” is the first step in a rite. All members of the priestly group enter the altar in turn: a Taoist with a handy inverted bell leads the way and the *gaogong* follows him. Then, the rite starts once all members are in their position.

“**Praising altar, *zantan***” expresses the meaning of the rite and the respect to deities. A great portion of the rites starts with the rhymed hymn “little praising, *xiaozan yun* 小贊韻<sup>213</sup>” (25%, i.e. 73 out of 288 *Guangcheng* rites. But if we include rites noted as “as usual,<sup>214</sup>” the number rises to 68%, 195 out of 288). *Xiaozan* is also used in

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<sup>212</sup> My opinion is based on mixed sayings from my reading experience and fieldwork. In the table it shows a comparison table with some different statements which can tell regardless of the divisions they fall in, the meanings and rundowns are not much different.

<sup>213</sup> A popular Taoist music form. It is used in various situations of Yin and Yang, and has different chanting ways in different traditions. Its sentences are divided (based on number of words) into 4-4-7-5-4-5. Its music style is sentimental, elegant and slow-paced (some descriptions are from Liu Hong 2009: 346).

<sup>214</sup> Editors delete repeated sentences to simplify the space, only noting “as usual.” An experienced

rites frequently. In *Guangcheng* rituals, the heavy use of *xiaozan* is a remarkable feature not seen (to my knowledge) in other traditions. When a *gaogong* performs “**preaching, *shuowen***,” he often uses modest expression like “*fuyi* 伏以, *gongyi* 恭以, *yanfu* 原夫” to explain the purpose of the ritual, praise the petitioner and provide basic information about him/her (native of x place, for x reasons, etc). The “divisions of purpose (*suimen fenshi* 隨門分事)<sup>215</sup>” is also included in this step. During this step, Taoists often kneel down in front of the Three Pure Ones or the Three Treasures<sup>216</sup> in Yang rites. Following that comes “**offering incense, *shangxiang***,” which is an important step in Taoist rituals. In Sichuan, people always say “you could displease deities if you do not offer incense”.<sup>217</sup> In this part, it often needed to perform “**purifying the altar/ environment, *danghui***” as well. In general, every single rite must undergo “purifying the altar,” especially if successive rites involve different petitioners. However, this step can be overlooked or simplified for complex rituals that run for more than one day. (Still, it must be performed at least one time a day. In some cases, the purifying can be overlooked if the text did not mention or specify it). In *Guangcheng Yizhi*, there are some texts that do not specify that purifying must be performed (it might be out of abridgement to save space). It will not be a problem for an experienced *gaogong*; he can still manage it perfectly. The part of “reporting/ inviting to ancestor masters, *qingshi* 啟/ 請師” is of the same situation. Basically, a *gaogong* has to report to masters right after purifying, but not for every rite marked in the text.

“**Reciting spells, *qingxuan kezhou***” means announcing “protecting souls spells, *weiling zhou* 衛靈咒.”<sup>218</sup> In a rite, a Taoist use hymns to ask for deities to protect his body based on different circumstances. They do so to get ready for the next step – “**declaring *gaogong*’s official title, *bingzhi***.” This step serves to introduce the *gaogong* himself to the deities. Since the *gaogong* must have a legal, official title, he must report to the deities and show his highest respect. It is what is said in

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Taoist can easily get an idea of what to do in such a case. Take *Guangcheng* as an example, they can “knock bell and drum to welcome deities. Taoists put on official robes to perform rituals as usual” (from “*Shanyuan Chanhui* 上元懺悔 (confessing at Upper Prime)” 13-13, No. 13), or “biaobai Taoist directs petitioner offering incense and the *gaogong* follows in offering incense as well. Then *gaogong* beats the ruler and says” (from “*Doujio Qishi*”).

<sup>215</sup> A rite might be performed to serve different functions. The details of preaching and praising thus change accordingly to suit different situations. In “divisions of purpose”, *Guangcheng* manuals offer different contents for each usage.

<sup>216</sup> To kneel down to the Tao, scriptures and masters of Taoism.

<sup>217</sup> Huang Shanjun 2006: 653. The “*Yanyu* (byword)”.

<sup>218</sup> Spells often used after worshiping ancestor masters. These chants function as purifying and easing souls (from *Daofa Huiyuan* 道法會元, vol. 245). There are many kinds of protecting souls chants for different situations; for instance, asking deities to protect all environment, keeping peace in mind and protecting a Taoist’s body, or praising deities and masters.

*Guangcheng*, “(the *gaogong*) faces the main altar and declares his official title.” The *gaogong* introduces himself as elaborately as possible in this step; it also bears the meaning that says “please help me (who is your sincerely and faithful follower) to perfect this rite.” A whole introduction of the *gaogong* usually squarely places him as a Quanzhen Taoist, as shows the following example taken from *Suishi Wen*:

“I, your follower, am the discipline under patriarch master Qiu of the Longmen School, having received the Taishang Wuji Dadao Yuce Jingsh Baolu and with the permission of Donghua Yanjiao Lingtan Fangxing, OO (name). I worship to you in reverence before your majesty with hundred knees for explaining the intention OO.”<sup>219</sup> (29a)

「臣係，祖師龍門正宗大羅天仙狀元邱大真人門下，玄裔參受太上無極大道玉冊經笥寶籙混元紫府選仙上品秉東華演教臨壇奉行○○科事，臣○○○，誠惶誠恐稽首頓首百拜上言。」

The declaration varies a little in different rituals. Meanwhile, the “**inviting deities, *qingshen***” part welcomes deities to come to the altar and listen to the petitioner’s wishes. Taoists also ask for forgivingness and good fortune in this step. The *gaogong* and the petitioners (especially the main petitioner kneeling behind the *gaogong*) have to kneel down to a deity or several deities (as a group) in each time. Because there are many deities, this stage usually takes a long time and much effort.

The most important purpose of inviting deities is to present the petitioner’s wishes briefly and respectfully. It is called “**explaining the intention, *ruyi***”. In this step, Taoist *biaobai*, that is, reads aloud the petition in front of deities for the petitioners. After that, the *wenjian* is replaced and resealed into an envelope and sent off by fire, or “**burning the *wenjian*, *huabiao***”. This *wenjian* is placed in front of the altar before the rite. When the rite starts, the *gaogong* leads the petitioner in three-time kneeling and nine-time bowing, then the petitioner carries the *wenjian* plate with both of his hands. In the step of “burning the *wenjian*,” there are some rules to be followed. The fire must not come from impure (like a *fulonghuo* 伏龍火) or cigarette. One should first light up a piece of yellow paper, which is placed under the plate, and then use it as the lighter to burn the *wenjian*. It can take place inside the hall (facing the main altar) or at the grand incense burner outside the hall (facing the sky). The assistant Taoist and the petitioners keep the envelope upright when burning. As

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<sup>219</sup> In other cases, a *Quanzhen* Taoist might also say: “I, your follower, am the discipline under patriarch master *Donghua Yanjiao Longmen* School Qiu, who is registered under *Taishang Wuji Dadao Jingsh Baolu Xuanxian Shangpin*. I pray here for OO (「臣係太上無極大道玉清金笥寶籙選仙上品，秉東華演教龍門正宗邱大真人門下，叨科闡事○○」) (Min Zhiting 1990: 134).

the envelope is almost burnt, it is better to burn some more yellow paper to express gratitude to official deities.<sup>220</sup> Moreover, when sending off *wenjian* to the highest deities, one must prepare some paper-made frames and horses.

“Sending off deities and re-attributing the merit, *songshen, huixiang*” is the last step. After the burning of the *wenjian*, the whole rite comes to a finish and it is time to send off all present deities. In this moment, people have to express their sincere gratitude and ask for good fortune. The most common methods are “re-attributing the merit” or “report credit”<sup>221</sup> which return the merit of having performed the ritual back to the deities. It is a general idea embodying the balanced benefit of heaven, deities and human beings. There are, of course, some methods, like a simplified ending mark “that is so-called Dao, *suwei Dao* 所謂道,”<sup>222</sup> which gives the *gaogong* room for performance, or to swear “twelve grand wishes”<sup>223</sup> to show true-hearted sincerity.

#### 4-4 The Plain Rite

“Plain rite, *pingke* 平科” means a rite with the qualities of usual, useful and common performance. Moreover, this kind of rite is easy to perform.

Not every individually performed rite can be regarded as a plain rite. It must meet some basic and general standards. For *Guangcheng* Taoists, in general, the plain rites include four rites:<sup>224</sup> “*Biaozhang Zongchao* 表章總朝 (submitting the petition

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<sup>220</sup> About medium in-octavo size. Also name *huang biao* 黃表紙. It is also used as “paper money” but is not worth much. People use to burn them when burning *wenjian* and paper-made materials to express gratitude. There are two meanings to the yellow paper. At the first stage, it is just a combustion-supporting material. And then after the *wenjian* burns, it works as a kind of paper money. It is interesting that one material combines two meanings without a clear transition.

<sup>221</sup> Share merit with official deities. It also means expressing gratitude and not forgetting one’s origins.

<sup>222</sup> “The so-called Dao” comes after “re-attributing the merit” and “leaving altar.” The usual pattern consists of loudly reciting a few lines from poems corresponding to the theme of the rite. For instance, “That is so called Dao. Climb up to Penglai Island after the nine-turn process is successfully achieved. The one original (breath) return to the origin and ascends to the upper cinnabar field/heaven (所謂道。九轉功成登蓬島，一元復始上丹天)” (*Jiuchen Zhenchao Ji*, 11a). In this situation, a *gaogong* can decide what to do at his will. Some could end it with a song or a poem; some would loudly recite the words; some might even ignore this part completely. In my opinion, those differences might be caused by the imperfect revival of rituals, but also by the different local traditions.

<sup>223</sup> Vowing several virtuous wishes to prove one’s sincere determination. The “twelve grand vows” have some different formulations but come from the same original intention.

<sup>224</sup> There is no final definition about plain rites. The four I mention here are based on my fieldwork. On the other side, Gan Shaochen addresses “*pingchao* 平朝 (plain worshipping/audience or “normal rite”)” is a small scale rites taking less than an hour to perform, and have a rather simpler content in movement, chants and speaking. There are six of them (*Gaotan Kifu, Kaitan Qishi, Guanzhao Fushi,*

in general audience with the gods)” (15-47, No. 286), “*Gongsi Zhutian* 貢祀諸天”, “*Baidou Jie’e* 拜斗解厄 (worshipping the dippers to remove dangers)” (RJ-189, also available at Qingyang Gong nowadays), and “*Tieguan Hushi* 鐵罐斛食”. These four rites concern the very basic ritual skills a *gaogong* must obtain. Once a *gaogong* is able to handle these four rites well, he can perform almost any basic rite properly. (The exception is the “royal flags” rites series, because they belong to another system). Practically speaking, plain rites are the most commonly performed and most popular rites today. It is no wonder why “*Gongtian*” and “*Tieguan*”<sup>225</sup> were the first two *Guangcheng* rites revived in the 1980s Sichuan. Again, it proves the belief that plain rites are always essential and useful.

A plain rite often takes little time to perform (generally around 50~70 minutes), and it is versatile and all-purpose. That is why it is considered important and the most performed rite for *gaogong*. It can relate to most people and solves most of the problems for which lay people request rituals. Together with the “division of purpose” parts in *Guangcheng* rites, it can relieve almost every believer’s problems.

Qingyang Gong Taoists, in a recent publication, give a simple explanation for its plain rite services as follows:

*Gongtian*: It is a rite of thanksgiving to heaven followed by asking for good fortune through worshipping all layers of heaven. Its effectiveness includes: thanksgiving and asking for fortune, avoiding disaster in advance, and praying for good fortune. (*Qingyang Gong Erxian An Zhi*, pp. 144~5)

*Baidou Jie’e*: Because people’s fates and destinies are controlled by the stars, they must ask for the Big Dipper to give them good fortune and help them avoid evil. This rite can alleviate almost every problem in the world, especially in driving away bad luck and sickness. (p. 145)

*Zhangbiao Zongchao* (also named “reporting to Three Pure ones, *zhengzou sanqing* 正奏三清”): It is a great scale rite. It invites numerous deities, so the *gaogong* spends a lot of time kneeling and welcoming (for an hour in average). Altar arrangement is also set properly. It particularly requires the *gaogong* to show perfect behavior. The rest of the *fashi* and *jingshi* must also have at least three years of experience. Its purpose is to report *wenjian* for petitioners. They pray that their wishes go smoothly under the gods’ blessing.

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*Zhengqi Sanyuan, Jingdou Randeng, Chaozhen Lidou* (Gan 2000: 508). Gan’s description is very similar to our “plain rite”, but he does not offer any detailed new analysis.

<sup>225</sup> Fieldnote 2014-04-03, with Huang.

Reader may notice that “*Tieguan*” (Iron Bottle salvation of dead souls) is the only plain rite missing in the service list. “*Tieguan*” is an independent rite that can be performed on its own. Nevertheless, Taoists prefer to combine it with certain rites – a “setting *hanlin* 寒林” at least. How to combine it is not fixed. For example, if a one-day ritual has only one Yin rite in its rundown, the “*Tieguan*,” then Taoists can emphasize the part of “calling the spirits, *shezhao* 攝招” at the beginning of *Tieguan*. But it is a common consensus that *Tieguan* must be set in a ritual content within a series of other rites. I have never heard of *Tieguan* being performed on its own as a single rite. Since the goal of “*Tieguan*” is to comfort and save all ghosts, it suits all kinds of public or private rituals. In general, every ritual that runs over one day, regardless of its being categorized as *Yin* or *Yang*, should include *Tieguan* in its rundown – especially with ritual series that run over three days long.

Summing up, aside from being useful and versatile, plain rites also reflect an important viewpoint of Taoist theology – a spirit of seriousness and restraint when worshipping deities. It is better to perform a plain rite whenever possible and applicable (rather than a more elaborate ritual) because gods are not willing to see a ritual that “makes a great fuss about trifles.”<sup>226</sup>

#### A Case Study: “*Gongsi Zhutian* 貢祀諸天”

I will take “*Gongtian*” as a simple illustration of the general organization of Guangcheng rituals, with the hope of highlighting how useful and important this rite is in the general economy of Taoist ritual in Sichuan.

The main purpose for “*Gongtian*” is to worship the Thirty-Two Layers Heavenly Emperors who were first introduced in the scripture *Duren Jing* 度人經<sup>227</sup>. The sentence, “Tao of heaven emphasizes salvation which means to save human being as much as possible” from *Duren Jing* (*Zhengtong Daozang*, *Dongzhen* section, type of article (*benwen*), No. *tian*) reflects the essence of “*Gongtian*” perfectly. In this rite, Taoists pray for good fortune by worshipping “Daluo Taishang Thirty-Two layers Heavenly Emperors 大羅太上三十二天上帝中央梵天帝君” (eight emperors for

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<sup>226</sup> Fieldnote 2012-10-09, with Huang.

<sup>227</sup> Fieldnote 2013, with Huang.

each of the four positions, who live respectively in nine, three, seven and five *Qi* Heaven). The liturgical text praises them as follows:

“(You) listen to people’s problems and are fair. You look after the humans’ nature and are compassionate. All beings benefit from your benevolence.” (1a~2b)

Through all this, the Thirty-Two Layers Heavenly Emperors contribute to a lot of people and all beings in the world. In Taoist rituals, paying gratitude to Heaven is the first and best favor of “four favors and three excuses”.<sup>228</sup> The method involves offering numerous candles that symbolize the spirit of fire and sun. They “light numerous auspicious lights that illuminate this ordinary world and Heaven.” (7b)

In the part devoted to “divisions of purposes”, the liturgical text exposes three divisions: the *Zhai*, the *Jiao*, and the *Yuan* (vow 願). It can be performed for both *Yin* and *Yang*, as well as public and private affairs. Regarding these three parts:

*Jiao*: Stars move smoothly and the universe is balanced. Stopping disasters from *Canqiang*<sup>229</sup> and keeping peace forever. Let this place and the people in it exist in peace and happiness.

*Zhai*: Allows ghosts to be saved and to rise anew. Their offspring inherit good fortune. Let the dead and alive benefit from mercy.

*Yuan*: Receive petitioner’s desires and give mercy. Let the petitioners’ family enjoy peace and good fortune. (4a~b)

All of them show a huge effect the balance of Yin and Yang.

Some sections of the “*Gongtian*” liturgy directly relate to the *Duren Jing*. The most important part is quoted from “middle chapter of *Yuanshi Lingshu*, *Yuanshi Lingshu Zhongpian* 原始靈書中篇” (the two sections are the same except for some errata). Besides, some sentences, such as “like in the rice of *Shiqingtian*,” (1a) “*Yuanshi Weizhang*,” (7a) “in the *Guangming Party*,” (9a) etc, all frequently appear in other *Guangcheng* texts, which indicate the strong influence from *Duren Jing* on

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<sup>228</sup> Four favors are great favors from Heaven and Earth, Sun and Moon, emperors and the nature, and parents. There is the “*Baoda Sien* 報答四恩 (Repaying four favors)” rite in *Guangcheng* (13-88, No.88) The three excuses don’t have a particular rite for themselves, but they do appear in some *Guangcheng* chants, like “*Erlangshen*” said “four favors and three excuses benefit all”.

<sup>229</sup> The name of a comet. In China, people believe it is an inauspicious star that brings bad luck.



Guangcheng liturgy as a whole. This dual capacity as a *yin* or *yang* ritual also reflects how *Guangcheng* liturgy emphasizes the balance of *Yin* and *Yang*.

“*Gongtian*” has a similar rundown structure to most *Guangcheng* rites. I have arranged it in a chart as follows:

Structure A (from a <i>gaogong</i> 's perspective <sup>230</sup> )	Structure B (from the music's perspective <sup>231</sup> )	Participant	Main Sentences in the <i>Guangcheng</i> liturgical manual	Page
Starting altar	Hastening, dressing, lining up, getting into the altar, standing in position	Everyone	X “as usual”	
Praising altar	Speaking, offering incense, taking three kneels and nine bows	Gaogong	[little praising] (in summary: the rite starts, and we prepare a clear and solemn altar to worship deities and ask for mercy) 「禮崇清祀，嚴肅華筵，凡儀寅奉表微虔，供養大羅天，上格重玄，覃恩應善緣。」	1a
	Speaking, music, praising, music	Everyone		
(Eight sentences)	Speaking, music, praising, music	Everyone	(in summary: I honor You, the highly respected, to come to the altar)	1a~b
	Speaking, calling Tianzun	Gaogong	<i>Jingrong Ganying Tianzun</i> 金容感應天尊 <sup>232</sup>	1b
Speaking	Music, speaking, three bows,	Gaogong	<i>Xianglin Shuofa Tianzun</i> 香林說法天尊	2b

<sup>230</sup> Here, I have combined two saying from two *gaogong*. Fieldnote 2011-06-17 with FY and 2012-09-12 with Pan.

<sup>231</sup> From Gan Shaochen's research (Gan 2003:93). The section was divided by myself. I am responsible for any misunderstanding.

<sup>232</sup> “Calling *Tianzun* 舉天尊” is very common in rituals and in the Taoists' daily lives. They use it when praising and asking for something. There are mainly four kinds: wen, wu, ju, and lang *Tianzun* (文、武、舉、浪天尊). The division is based on the situation and the associated deities. In some situations, they use it just to express praising and sighing, and not really addressing a real deity (for instance, “*Jingrong Ganying Tianzun*”). (Fieldnote 20120912, with Pan) There are numerous uses and the topic requires more research.

	speaking, calling Tianzun			
Offering incense	Speaking, three bows, speaking, calling Tianzun	gaogong	<i>Xianglin Dingxiang Tianzun</i> 香林定想天尊	3a
	Music, speaking, music, praising	Gaogong	Divisions of purposes	4a~b
Purifying the environment	Speaking, purifying, reciting talisman, firing talisman, music	Everyone	Asking for: Jiufong Pohui Song Xianguan Purifying by spraying Jiulong Water	5b~6b
	Speaking, stepping stars steps, spells, calling Tianzun	Gaogong	[Purifying] <i>Changqing Changjing Tianzun</i> 常清常靜天尊	6a~b
	Music, speaking, calling	Everyone		6b~7a
Reciting spells	Music, taking candles, writing secret words in the air, secret spells, music, calling Tianzun, speaking	Gaogong	Taking candles (using: Huiguang Spell, Jingguang secret words, Little Jingguang Spell) Lighting candles. <i>Taiguang Hengzhao Tianzun</i> 太光恒照天尊	7a~8b
	Repenting, (spelling) music, chanting a <i>gao</i> 誥	Gaogong	Worshipping sincerely to the East Spells: Middle Chapter of <i>Yuanshi Lingshu</i> , eight heaven of the East 原始中篇之東方八天 <sup>233</sup>	10 a~b
	Repenting, spelling, music, chanting a <i>gao</i>	Gaogong	Worshipping sincerely to the South Spells: Middle Chapter of <i>Yuanshi Lingshu</i> , eight heaven of the South	11 a~b
	Repenting, spelling, music, chanting a <i>gao</i>	Gaogong	Worshipping sincerely to the West Spells: Middle Chapter of <i>Yuanshi Lingshu</i> , eight heaven of the West	12 a~b
	Repenting, spelling, music, chanting a <i>gao</i>	Gaogong	Worshipping sincerely to the North Spells: Middle Chapter of <i>Yuanshi Lingshu</i> , eight heaven of the Northth	13 a~b

<sup>233</sup> The charm is from “middle chapter of *Yuanshi Lingshu*”, *Duren Jing*. The hymn of Eight Heaven of Four Positions here is quite right to “*Dafan Yinyu* 大梵隱語” which is said to have powerful ability in nurturing followers in becoming deities and giving all-purpose blessing.

	Repenting, spelling, calling Tianzun	Gaogong	<i>Ziqing Jiefu Tianzun</i> 紫清介福天尊	13b
	Music, speaking	Everyone		
	Music, praising	Everyone		
Announcing the <i>gaogong</i> 's official title (naming his official Taoist name)	Announcing the <i>gaogong</i> 's official title to deities	Everyone	(In front of deities) Announcing his official title	14b
Expressing the intention	Music, speaking	Everyone	“Reciting requirement (in silence) and reporting sincerely”	15a
Firing up the document	Praising, reciting <i>wenjian</i> , calling, firing <i>wenjian</i>	Everyone	Reciting, sending off, firing and burning	15a
Sending off deities; re-attributing the merit	Speaking, music, <i>huixiang</i> and converting, re-attributing the merit and thanksgiving, three bows	Everyone	「 <i>jingshen huixiang</i> 謹申回向 <sup>234</sup> 」	15b~16b
	Getting off altar, taking off Taoist robe	Everyone		

In this rundown, we can see a simple but elegant structure. Among routine steps, such as starting altar, reporting to masters, purifying, explaining, sending off and re-attributing the merit, the *gaogong* and *jingshi* spend most of their time worshipping, praising, and kneeling to Thirty-Two layers Heavenly Emperors. The movements and chants are common and basic. Therefore, Taoists perform them

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<sup>234</sup> The very last part, re-attributing the merit or thanksgiving, is often omitted. Aside from the way “re-attributing the merit to all” in this rite, there are some other methods in common. For example, “*suowei Dao*” (sometimes it goes with a pair of seven-words verses) (like “*Tiancao Zhengchao*” 13-4, No. 4) “ending with re-attributing the merit 回向畢” (like “*Zhengqi Shanyuan*” 13-1, No. 1). The arrangements are different for each *gaogong* depending on their will.

calmly and ordinarily. Besides, “*Gongtian*” is proper for all rituals of both Yin and Yang categories. It is all-purpose and well balanced.

Since “*Gongtian*” was one of the earliest rites revived in the 1980s, it has been very frequently performed. Temples develop their own particular movements but these differ from each other only slightly. A very interesting difference is the setting of the worshipping table. In the Chengdu area, Taoists nowadays use it in two ways: the first is setting the main worshipping table to face to the sky directly (with its back against the original furnishings in the hall<sup>235</sup>). Taoists who do so insist on facing the Heavenly deities directly. Today, Heming Shan Temple and Zhenduo Guan (which has a Zhengyi tradition) maintain such practice. The other way is to perform in front of the main table in the hall, as is usually the case for rituals performed within a temple. To them, since the rite is performed inside the hall (where they usually worship the Three Pure Ones) and the furnishings have their usual arrangement, all the rites should be performed inside the hall, facing the main altar. Qingyang Gong and Niangniang Miao currently maintain such practice. Basically, this difference just comes from different traditions and theological interpretations. There is no definitive conclusion on the issue.<sup>236</sup>

For *Guangcheng* Taoists, be they Quanzhen or Zhengyi, “*Gongtian*” is absolutely the most useful and all-purpose rite of all. Aside from the usual functions mentioned above, *Gongtian* can even satisfy the needs of making a vow, redeeming a vow, praying for good fortune, and curing an illness; it suffices for a large variety of situations – even including “your wish to write your dissertation and graduate successfully” (as told to me by a *gaogong*). Today, it has become a routine part for any ritual that runs over one day to perform *Gongtian*, no matter whether the ritual is *Yin* or *Yang*. The reason why “*Gongtian*” is so popular is not only because it serves many purposes, but also because it embodies a “generous style”.

“*Gongtian*” is thus important and famous among Taoists as well as the common people. To the common people, although they often seem familiar with it, they could have an incorrect and confused impression, which mixed Quanzhen, Zhengyi and

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<sup>235</sup> *Jingshi* prepares the worshipping table and equipment before the rite, and then practice all the rites facing the sky. In Heming Shan, they do so in worshipping the Dipper rites, too. Since this tradition is rigid, all Taoists must obey, even a *gaogong* from another local tradition. Fieldwork 2012-08-30.

<sup>236</sup> It combines more information when facing the sky. For example, sometimes the *gaogong* faces the sky and kneels down or bows while delivering and sending off *wenjian*. (If the offering table is inside the hall, then the *jingshi* faces the altar when declaring the intention). Both forms maintain such practice.

popular religious interpretations of the rite. Sources on local social life, such as the *Juexuan Zalu* in the late Qing and *Chengdu Tonglan* in the Republican era both recorded detailed descriptions of *Gongtian* rituals as organized by local communities. Nowadays, *Gongtian* rite mixing Taoism, Buddhism, and local spirit-medium cults are still performed in Ba County, Sichuan. It is worth further inquiry whether they have any connection to *Guangcheng* rituals.<sup>237</sup>

#### 4-5 *Gaogong*: the Highest Authority in Ritual Performing and Arrangement

In the old days, there were some steps in arranging a ritual/rite. When the abbey/manager of a temple/altar receives a demand, he posts a “*zhuangwen* 狀文<sup>238</sup>” to announce it to all members of his group. The *zhuangwen* would explain the petitioner’s desires and details of practice (goals, dates, budget, etc) to make sure all members (including *gaogong*, *jingshi* and other staff) can prepare for their job beforehand. The *gaogong* reacts first. He must think over the information well, decide an appropriate rite/ritual, and arrange an appropriate rundown. At this time, the rite arrangement is basically done. Next, everybody prepares for their own work according to their position.

In a temple/altar, the abbey/manager is the person in charge. He is also often in charge of consulting the petitioners. However, after the *gaogong* has finalized ritual arrangements, the abbey usually has to respect the *gaogong*’s professional opinions and would not question the arrangements. In *Guangcheng* “*Lingtian Shouzhi Qianya Ji*”, “*gaogong*” is defined as:

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<sup>237</sup> In *Juexuan Zalu* (quoted in *Minguo Hechuan Xianzhi*), “in the early morning (3~5 am), the last day of the funeral, preparing meal offering and lighting hundreds candles to worship Heaven. That is *Gongtian*, or *Rantian* 燃天. The candles are *rentian zhu* (Fig. 24) which helps little children eat well.” In *Chengdu Tonglan*, “there is always a *Gongtian* rite at night after a ritual is performed in the temple or another place. In the night, people build altars and prepare offerings like flowers, snack, steamed buns, rice cakes, and 360 pieces of candles. Steamed buns and rice cakes are helpful in keeping children from crying at night.” (Fu 2006: 247). For the research in Ba County, see Hu Tianchen 1996: 135; 2000: 380~422. Hu’s case is very interesting because they have individual ritual texts which are similar to *Guangcheng* in style and rundown, but different in the contents (it should not be seen as simply borrowing or adapting of *Guangcheng yizhi*. In fact, it displays how they have their own insight to ritual practices and religious thinking). I have had no opportunity in seeing this form yet, and look forward to attending it in the future.

<sup>238</sup> Here I combined two fieldnotes (2012 with Huang, 2012-07-13 with Pan) because those two share a similar description and they can complement each other. It is clear that the description is about Qingyang Gong in the past. Readers can extend their imagination and picture an ideal image or any big-scale temple. In addition, Gan’s research points out that Taoists of *Jingtian* and *Xingtian* put up information announcements (*Jingtian: jiaoshe pai* 交涉牌; *Xingtian: zhixing pai* 執行牌) that have the time, place, rite titles and members in the temple and altar. (Gan 2000: 47~8, 60)

“Having great morality to lead all altar members; being good at rituals to guide the Taoists of the six positions” (3a)

It is clear that the *gaogong* has (almost) the highest authority in *Guangcheng* rituals because people assume the *gaogong* to be the one who knows the ritual best. Thus, he has absolute power in guiding the whole team and performing the ritual. The “authority” he gets comes from his respectable position which he has achieved by working and studying hard, instead of being just a supernatural gift from the deities.<sup>239</sup> Moreover, after a rundown is decided, there is no need to recheck and confirm it with the deities. (For example, by casting lots or adding a memo on the offering table for several days to see if there is a sign of fortune or omen.)

The course is simpler in a Zhengyi altar. The leader/manager (*zhangtanshi*) is in charge of everything. He receives the request, arranges the rundown, invites members, prepares materials, and sometimes he has to serve as a secretary if necessary. (Zhengyi lineages transmit little teachings on *wenjian*. It is because they want to keep a balance among the various altars active within any given area. More often than not, only one or two disciples obtain the knowledge of *wenjian* paperwork in one generation). Ritual types and rundowns are all decided by *zhangtanshi* as well. Other members just need to follow his order.

Today, such a complex course of arrangement exists no more. Nevertheless, people still take it seriously. Aside from the routine rituals in a year, if the common people want to have a special ritual performed, they can go directly to the *gaogong* and ask. A chief *gaogong* handles the arrangement if a large temple has more than one *gaogong*.

How does a *gaogong* make up his mind in arranging a ritual? When petitioners come to ask for a ritual to be performed due to their various problems, first of all, the *gaogong* has to figure out what the problem is and decide the best course of action. The *gaogong* also has to evaluate and consider the reality and propriety by processes such as counting the petitioner’s eight characters or study his facial

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<sup>239</sup> The idea that gods closely monitor the proper arrangement and performance of rituals, and respond through supernatural signs, is still widespread. We can see many examples of Taoist doing something wrong and incurring supernatural punishment in folklore and literature. Today, people still judge a ritual by supernatural signs. For example, if a *gaogong* can not make the royal flags to tie up, or if he trips and falls because he has lost concentration, or if he breaks a wooden fish. Both laypeople and Taoists insist on the importance of such signs.

physiognomy. For example, to cure a family member, he has to analyze if the petitioner gives off a sign of long-life; if he wishes to pray for good fortune, he has to analyze if the petitioner has an equal destiny. It is important to follow the best course of action and avoid unnecessary efforts, otherwise it could upset the deities. When a demand is accepted, a correct or suitable rite(s) must be chosen. Although the *gaogong* prefers to choose a rite of his preference, this rite must also strongly relate to deities and the theme. For example, “*Gongtian*” is proper in praying for money and luck; “*Baidou*” is proper in curing illness; “*Wenchang*” is proper in praying for official honor or a child; problems of lawsuits match well with “thunder *Jiao*” or “worshipping Heavenly officials”. This choice closely corresponds to the name theory mentioned above.

In my observation, a *gaogong* will offer the petitioner some basic knowledge about the main deities, related theology, and ritual effects. In this time, a *gaogong* always comforts the upset petitioner. This process is kind of a special, customized arrangement.<sup>240</sup> Petitioners are often satisfied with it and have no reasons of dissatisfaction (sometimes, they might adjust a little due to the budget). Unless it is an urgent case (which is rare because a *gaogong* does not like it), the decision is made at least three days before, since there are so many things to prepare. The date is set by consulting “the ecliptic<sup>241</sup>” or the petitioner’s eight characters. It is better for the ritual to take place in daytime. Nowadays, private rituals are mostly performed on weekends because of the busy life modern people lead. Rituals of temples are performed according to its planned regular liturgical calendar. But in any case one must respect rule of “forbidding ritual on *Wu* days” (one day before or after is acceptable).

A *gaogong* is the highest authority in a ritual. All members in the altar must obey the *gaogong*’s orders regardless of their age or generation. In general, every ritual team has its own routines and preferences, but the *gaogong* can ask them to make adjustments, especially if the stages of the ritual are not noted clearly in the text (such as starting altar, re-attributing the merit, and some changeable songs). The situation where adjustments are required happens mostly in newly-revived rites. A

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<sup>240</sup> There are many sides to a problem. A *gaogong* must be able to analyze them and decide which rite is the best choice. Take me as an instance. I am eager for graduate successfully. In a general situation, praying to “*Gongtian*” would be a good choice. If I worry about getting stupid and lazy, it is better to worship “*Wenchang*” Meanwhile, if I am trouble with a lawsuit, then it is proper to have “worshipping Heavenly official” Among those choices, I have many ways to achieve my final goal.

<sup>241</sup> Taoist methods help decide on a proper day. The simplest way is to count based on the “song of the ecliptic”.

*gaogong* will add or change a little the unclear stages at his will.<sup>242</sup> On the contrary, a frequently practiced rite can not be changed easily. In the altar, even if the *gaogong* is a junior Taoist on ordinary days, all members should respect his position and cooperate with him on this occasion. After the rite, their relationship returns to the usual. Taoists are familiar and comfortable with such changes of roles. Therefore, sometimes we can see the best senior Taoist in a gorgeous ritual robe sitting in the center on a group picture, and just a while before, this robe was on the junior *gaogong*.

A reason why a Guangcheng *gaogong* is so powerful is because he can do more jobs in the altar. In a special situation, a *gaogong* can do anything just in front of the offering table. If necessary, he can recite the opening talisman, purifying talisman, can report the *wenjian* himself, and can direct petitioners on what to do, etc. It is, of course, not the norm, but it is absolutely possible.<sup>243</sup>

Audiences may notice an interesting phenomenon in *Guangcheng* rituals. In general, out of Sichuan, it takes three main *fashi* to perform rituals in front of an offering table. They are called the “three *fashi/gaogong*” – including *gaogong*, *dujiang* and *jianzhai* (or *biaobai*), and they all wear gorgeous ritual robes while facing the deities. The rest of the *jingshi*, standing on both sides, wear ordinary robes in yellow or red. This is rarely the case with *Guangcheng* rituals.<sup>244</sup> An exception is when performing “*Shangdabiao* 上大表 (submitting the highest memorial)” (in the rite “*Yudi Zhengchao*”) due to the nature of its seriousness. Even then, not every Taoist believes it is necessary for three *gaogong* to collaborate in this rite. For them, that is just setting a luxurious scenery for good appearance. Many Taoists believe that one *gaogong* suffices to handle all the rites himself; nonetheless, it is surely acceptable to arrange collaboration with several *gaogong* if there are enough members in the group. Excluding *Shangdabiao*, *gaogong* usually insist on

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<sup>242</sup> For example, performing the rite “commending the dead” in Qingchen Shan, because “they have no text for it, a *gaogong* can arrange the process as well without referring to the text.” (Gan Shaochen 2003 : 48) Moreover, the *Guangcheng* text itself reserves some space, allowing Taoists to arrange freely, like “protecting seedling and hanging flags,” (14-13 · No. 132) noted “returning to altar, doing as one sees fit (*renyi* 恣意), re-attributing the merit, getting off.” (7b)

<sup>243</sup> I have seen that one time. In that rite, it cost more time because *gaogong* had more things to do but all the practice was the same.

<sup>244</sup> I once saw a rite performed by three *gaogong* (all wearing gorgeous ritual robes) in Sichuan. It was a Zhengyi rite and not of the Guangcheng tradition. Its tradition was from Xi Wudan 西武單 (aka Bijia Mountain), Guangyue County which has a long history. These priests sometimes collaborated with Zhengyi Taoists using Guangcheng ritual. They used texts from Longhu Shan that were published in the modern times. They considered Longhu Shan as their ancestor base, and will be ordained there this year.



performing rituals by themselves. This insistence is very practical. When it comes to member arrangement, the duties of *dujiang* and *biaobai* are to assist the *gaogong* only during a few specific stages. For all the other stages, they come back and stand on both sides. (If such a person is available, there could be an assistant standing by *gaogong*'s side. It is, again, not necessary). Every the Guangcheng *gaogong* I know prefer to perform rituals by himself, without exception. I had a chance to discuss this issue with a *gaogong* friend. I cracked a joke and said, "Is it out of a sense of vanity?" (The context of the conversation is that he was explaining why he prefers to perform by himself. He can thus do the job smoothly and has the absolute attention from audiences). He paused for a second and burst with "ha, ha, ha" laughter, without uttering a word.

### 5-1 Ritual<sup>245</sup> Arrangement and its Classification

It is less common to see ritual performances that involve several rites and extend over several days and more common to see them involve a single rite. However, rituals involving several rites and extending over several days are far more important and meaningful to the participants than the ones with a single rite. Furthermore, we can assume that big-scale or several-days rituals give a better sense of the essence of the *Guangcheng* ritual tradition, for it better shows how the *Guangcheng* tradition is encompassing and adaptable.

*Guangcheng Yizhi* is a practical ritual text collection. It is essentially a textbook for Taoists arranging rituals. But when it comes to arranging a correct ritual rundown, it is hard to get a clear idea simply by reading the text. This is because there are no indications, catalog of classification, or a user guide for it. We can only try to understand and interpret through text reading and discussing with Taoists. It is only after learning the principles of how Taoists build actual ritual sequences and categorize the different rites that we can understand ritual practice.

The most important division of the *Guangcheng* tradition is between “*Yin Zhai*” and “*Yang Jiao*”. Rituals of *Yin* and *Yang* are based on the stage “division of purpose” and defined clearly and definitely.<sup>246</sup> Following that, based on different meanings or functions, there are some further classifications. Today, we do not have a confirmed, exact number of such criteria, all we can find is an incomplete list from *Guangcheng yizhi*. In the categorization below, I follow the order of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* catalogs, from *Zhai* to *Jiao*; I take the first rite as the example for

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<sup>245</sup> Here I discuss rituals that combine several single rites. The use/definition of terms for Taoist rituals have always been ambiguous (or maybe the absence of a unified terminology has not been considered a major problem). One of my Taoist informants believes that rituals that run over one day (4 rites) are regarded as “*Fashi* 法事” and “*Daochang* 道場”, while those that run over three days are “*Zhai*” or “*Jiao*”. This saying, of course, is not a generally accepted opinion. Also, Taoist Min Zhiting indicates that one-day rituals (or a day and a night) are “*Jiandan Daochang* 簡單道場” and multiple-day rituals are “*Daxing Daochang* 大型道場” (Min1990: 121~2·173). All in all, there is no final agreement on this terminology.

<sup>246</sup> The dualism of division to *Zhai* and *Jiao* is very clear in *Guangcheng yizhi*. For example, in “*Sanyuan Zhai Zuoan Ji* 三元齋左案集” (14-33, No.152), it mentions “*Xuanyan Hongzhai* 宣演鴻齋 (starting a grand *zhai*)” (5a); however, sometimes it might be used in a casual method such as in “*Jianshe Zhaijiao* 建設齋醮 (constructing ritual)” (3b). However, the dualism in *Zhai* and *Jiao* is definite in *Guangcheng*. This division appears in many local traditions; however, not all traditions seem to emphasize it so much.

each category. Here I mention only rites with the exact term underdiscussion in its title:

“*Zhai Jiao* 齋醮”: combining together *zhai* and *jiao*. It refers to an all-purpose ritual for *Yin* or *Yang*. It is popular and useful in most situations. There are two such rites: “*Guangao Touwen*” and “*Anjian Hanlin*”.

“*Shuilu Dazhai* 水陸大齋”: this is a type of ritual aiming at universal salvation. It often refers to and is based on the arch-important Taoist scripture *Duren Jing*. There are four such rites in the *Guangcheng yizhi*, including “*Shuilu Dazhai Yingqing Fujian Quanji* 水陸大齋迎請符簡全集 (the rite is concerned with the *wenjian* used for inviting all the deities, 13-26, No.26)” and 14-61, 82; No.184, 214.<sup>247</sup>

“*Sanyuan Zhai* 三元齋”: confessing to the Three Prime Emperors, to absolve one’s sins. There are two such rites: “*Sanyuan Zhai Zuoan* and *Youan Quanji* 三元齋左案/右案全集” (14-33, 34; No. 152-3).

“*Wangzhai* 亡齋”: a type of salvation rituals for the deceased. It also refers to the *Duren Jing*. There are four such rites, including “*Wangzhai Cangguan Yinjing Ji* 亡齋藏棺隱景集” (13-35, No.35) and 13-38, No.38 , 14-95~6, No.277-8).

“*Dazhai* 大齋<sup>248</sup>”: all-purpose rite for *Yin* rituals. This type has just one rite, “*Dazhai Xingfu Gaojian Ji* 大齋行符告簡集” (13-27, No.27).

“*Shengshen Zhai* 生神齋”: a salvation ritual for the deceased using mainly the scripture *Shengshen Jing*. There are eleven such rites, including “*Jiuzhuan Ji*” (14-66, No.190-198) and 14-75~6, No.207-8.

“*Xuehu Zhai* 血湖齋”: salvation for women who died in childbirth or people who died in war or disaster. There are three such rites, including “*Xuehu Dazhai Sanshen Quanji* 血湖大齋三申全集” (14-80, No.212) and 14-85, 89; No.217, 221; and eight more rites whose title contain only the term “*Xuehu*”.

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<sup>247</sup> Here, I only count rites that have the term “*Zhai*” or “*Jiao*” in its title, and ignore rites with no exact term but which relate closely to these types.

<sup>248</sup> *Guangcheng* uses terms like “*dazhai*”, “*hongzhai*” “*dajiao*” to express the scale of the ritual. However, this was not based on a precise quantification. I believe there are two meanings to these terms: to describe the scale of the actual performance, and to explain its huge merits.

“*Duren Zhai* 度人齋”: ritual using mainly *Duren Jing* There are eighteen such rites, including *Duren Tigang Shangbu Zhuoyouan Quanji* 度人題綱上部左右案全集” (15-1, No.240) and 15-2~17, No.241-56.<sup>249</sup>

“*Yin Jiao* 陰醮<sup>250</sup>”: ritual for funeral and burial. It concerns the newly dead. There are seven such rites, including “*Yinjiao Zhaoan Qiqing Quanji* 陰醮招安啟請全集” and 14-98~103, No.230-5.

“*Shousheng Zhai* 受生齋”: for “*huan shoushengqian* 還受生錢, Pay-back (of life debt)” ritual only. There are four such rites remaining now, but only “*Shousheng Hongzhai Yingkuguan Quanji* 受生鴻齋迎庫官全集” (13-96, No.96) contains the term “*zhai*”. This ritual will be further discussed in chapter 6.

“*Shiwang Zhai* 十王齋”: salvation ritual for worshipping the Ten Kings (the Yama of the Ten courts) separately. It has only one rite, “*Shiwang Dazhai Youan Quanji* 十王大齋右案全集” (13-91).<sup>251</sup>

“*Jiuhuang Jiao* 九皇醮”: special audience ritual for “*Jiuhuang Hui*”<sup>252</sup>. There are seventeen such rites, including “*Jiuhuang Chaoyuan Jiaopin Yixi Quanji* 九皇朝元醮品一夕全集” (13-63, No.63) and 13-64~79, No.64-79. They are referred to as “*Chaoyuan Jiao*” or “*Shoujiao* 壽醮”.

“*Tuhuang Jiao* 土皇醮”: ritual for building and placating the earth dragons. There are three such rites, including “*Tuhuang Jiao Kuanqitan Quanji* 土皇醮欵啟壇全集” (13-98, No.98) and 13-99, 100; No.99, 100.

“*Dou Jiao* 斗醮”: ritual for worshipping the Southern and Northern Dipper stars. There are five such rites, including “*Doujiao Qishi Quanji* 斗醮啟師全集” (13-46, No.46) and 13-47~50, No.47-50.

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<sup>249</sup> There are also twelve rites named “*Duren*”, but we cannot be sure of the relationship among them.

<sup>250</sup> This term *yin jiao* seems to be in flagrant contradiction to my claim that the Guangcheng tradition very clearly opposes *yin-zhai* and *yang-jiao*. But considering it is the sole exception in the whole *Guangcheng yizhi* collection, I believe we can maintain the statement “*Yin zhai Yang Jiao*”.

<sup>251</sup> There are also four rites named “*Shiwang*”.

<sup>252</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> days of the seventh month, Birthdays of Nine Sovereigns (the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and their two accompanying stars). People use to undergo “*Jiuhuang Zhai* 九皇齋” (maintaining a vegetarian diet) during this festival.

“*Tianhe Jiao* 田禾醮”: for eliminating plagues, pests, and local unrest. It includes “*Tianhejiao Jiejie Jifu Xiezhen Quanji* 田禾醮結界祭符謝真全集” (14-17, No. 136).

“*Jiazi Jiao* 甲子醮”: local cleansing ritual that is done every sixty years. It is important but rarely done, and mentions of its performance can be seen in local gazetteers<sup>253</sup>. It includes “*Jiazi Dajiao Zhengzou Sanhuang Quanji* 甲子大醮正奏三皇全集” (14-47, No.165).

“*Baomiao Jiao* 保苗醮”: ritual to pray for the protection of cereals and good harvests. This type has one rite: “*Baomiaojiao Yanghang Zhaogao Quanji* 保苗醮揚旂昭告全集<sup>254</sup>” (14-13, No.132).

“*Yang Jiao* 陽醮”: ritual for eliminating disaster and obtaining good fortune. It can be used in various possible ways. There are three such rites, including “*Yangjiaopin Tianhuang Zhaoshe Quanji* 陽醮品天皇詔攝全集” (14-24, No.143) and 14-106~7, No.238-9.

“*Shui Jiao* 水醮”: ritual to pray for timely rains or avoiding floods. It includes “*Leiting Shuijiao Zhengqi Sansheng Quanji* 雷霆水醮正啟三聖全集” (14-6, No.125). There are several other rites involving the deities of the “Water Department (*Shuifu* 水府)” and “Dragons kings”, but their relevance is unclear.

“*Wen Jiao* 瘟醮”: ritual for eliminating plague and achieving local peace. It includes “*Wenjiao Nianwang Basheng Quanji* 瘟醮年王八聖全集” (15-42, No.281). Aside from this, the *Guangcheng Yizhi* has plague rituals under the name of the gods Beidi 北帝 and Kuangfu 匡阜.

It is obvious that the *Guangcheng* tradition strictly implements the division of *Zhai* and *Jiao*,<sup>255</sup> although it does not seem to be strict on naming rites.<sup>256</sup> They are named according to a keyword or their most popular name, which makes the rite

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<sup>253</sup> There are also local small-scale *jiao* held every spring, including “*Pingan Qingjiao* 平安清醮” in every third or fourth month (from *Hechuan Xianzhi*, vol.35, *fengsu* (custom), 8b).

<sup>254</sup> There are four related rites that do not have the term “*Jiao*” (14-12, 14~16; No.131, 133~5)

<sup>255</sup> In fact, there is still a basic kind, the ordination ritual, missing in the list. E.g., “*Xingxian Jushan Chuandu Yinlu Quanji* 興賢舉善傳度引籙全集” (13-97, No.97) and “*Guanjin Keyi* 冠巾科儀” (RJ 154) (I do not count this rite as part of the *Gangcheng yizhi*, but there is no doubt it is included in Quanzhen ordinations in Sichuan). We cannot be sure of the circumstances of their usage. I saw two simple-scale ordinations in which disciples are all lay persons, and these rituals did not use any formal liturgical text. As for the situation for temple usage, the topic needs more research.

<sup>256</sup> It is called “*Shengshen Zhai*” mostly, and also “*Jiuzhuan Zhai*” (RJ.102).

names often vague and difficult to understand for persons unfamiliar with the tradition. For example, “*Tianhe Jiao*” and “*Baomiao Jiao*” serve the same functions, while “*Yinzhai*” and “*Yangjiao*” are rather ambiguous in their usage; “*Doujiao*”, “*Jiuhuangjiao*” and “*Dajiao Guangao*” are from the same origin.<sup>257</sup> Moreover, “*Leijiao* 雷醮 (thunder *jiao*)” is popular nowadays and has been so for a long time, but is not listed in the *Guangcheng yizhi* catalogs – although it appears in the “division of purposes” in some rites, such as “*Jiaopin* 醮品”<sup>258</sup> and is mentioned in both *Xinxiang Miaoyu* and *Yayi Ji*. Another exception is “*Huo Jiao* 火醮 (fire *jiao*)”. It was used frequently in the past and indeed has several special rites of *Guangcheng yizhi*.<sup>259</sup>

The *Guangcheng* tradition has a well-formulated system of classification. However, it is not entirely fixed and complete in its framework and continuity; therefore it sometimes cannot be considered a perfect classification. On the contrary, it offers room for development through historical context or specific needs. It might explain why, in *Guangcheng*, there is no strict naming system as “*Zhai*” or “*Jiao*” for each single rite.

Regarding the number of categories in *Guangcheng yizhi*, there is one record:

“[Chen Fuhui] collected and corrected *Guangcheng* rituals, dividing them into ten kinds” (from *Minguo Guanxian Zhi*, vol.12, *renshizuan*, 35a.)

Based on the list above, the correct number might rather be around twenty types of rituals. We can find some cases with incomplete divisions of ritual. For example, in “*Dayao Fenshi Tongquanji* 大曜分事同全集 (noted “*Shiyi Dayao* 十一大曜” on the central column)” (13-51, No.51), the rituals are classified into eleven types in the stage of “division of purposes”<sup>260</sup>. And in *Xinxiang Miaoyu*, they are divided into seventeen types (six *Zhai* and eleven *Jiao*). Such an incomplete classification can be seen as the result of adaptation to the changing problems and desires from patrons of the ritual tradition.

<sup>257</sup> Chen Yaoting 2013.

<sup>258</sup> E.g., in “*Leiting Zhengchao Quanji* 雷霆正朝全集 (worshipping in audience the thunder deities)” (13-119, No.119), it also carries the purposes of rain-praying, sun-praying, avoiding thunderbolts, illness-recovering, and life-prolonging. (6b)

<sup>259</sup> Named “*Xiehuo* 謝火” (used after fire accidents). Besides, *Huojiao* was popular in public local rituals performed on a yearly basis.

<sup>260</sup> *Jiuhuang Jiao*, *Yansheng Jiao* 延生醮, *Xiaozai Jiao* 消災醮, *Lidou Jiao*, *Leiting Qidao Jiao*, *Dabao Tiandi Jiao* 答報天地醮, *Chouen Xiejiao*, *Qisi Jiao* 祈嗣醮, *Yuxiu Jiao* 預修醮, *Huanglu Zhai*, *Qixiang Baobing Jiao* 祈祥保病醮. (see Fig. 21)

Since the 1980s, Sichuan Taoists have revived many of their activities, but do not seem to have regained the level of their earlier glorious days yet. Today, their ritual practices are relatively simple and homogeneous.<sup>261</sup> They hold routine yearly rituals in the temples and hold private petitions for common people. Although the scale and types of ritual is gradually increasing, there are still some kinds of rituals that Taoists nowadays cannot or are not knowledgeable enough to perform. Some rituals that elder Taoists remember still cannot be recovered.

Taking “*guojing*” as an example, generally speaking, the *gaogong* most crucially requires knowledge on *Doujiao*, *Leijiao*, *Yinzhai*, and *Shuihui Jiao*; other types are less performed, and thus less mastered by the present-day *gaogong*. It is obvious that *Guangcheng* Taoists can now perform fewer kinds of ritual than was the case in the early twentieth-century.

I would like to discuss another interesting example. I have seen two *gaogong*'s personal libraries. Taoists keep *Guangcheng* texts for practical purpose only. Taoists keep texts because they use them or at least plan to use them (for they need to take them into the altar). Those texts are all bought or copied from Qingyang Gong. In both cases, the number of texts these Taoists held is around 20-30, which is quite consistent with the rites they hold today. Besides these practical texts, Taoists also read some *Guangcheng* manuals in electronic form on a computer because it is convenient and free nowadays.<sup>262</sup> On their bookshelf, the ordering of books is flexible and based on the frequency of usage. Therefore, texts on the two sides are usually the most useful and important rites, or the ones a Taoist has just finished using. These are mostly “plain rites” or popular single rites, like *Baidou* or *Zhengchao*. Taoists also arrange texts in bundles to group related rites together. Some rites require a framework if they are performed in series or if a ritual runs for several days, like inviting deities and ancestor masters in series, or “*Sizao* 祀灶” and “*Hanlin*” that run for over three days, or the series of rites of “royal flags”. Taoists arrange the groups based on the innate character of rites – such as whether they are interchangeable or can replace each other, or whether they have a close connection.

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<sup>261</sup> This is relatively speaking, compared to the past. In fact, *Guangcheng* rituals increased a lot in numbers, scale and frequency since the early 2000s.

<sup>262</sup> It is becoming more common for Taoists to read PDF documents (RJ edition) on a computer or a tablet. Some Chengdu Taoists admire the convenience of consumer electronics. They discuss and cite instances with it without problem. Nevertheless, they insist on using traditional hard copies in the altar. (I saw an exception once, in which a Taoist used his cell phone because there was no text available in the altar. It was obviously an emergency measure and not a standard practice).

Ritual rundown can thus show a basic structure in its composing of groups. This book-placing habit helps a little understanding how the Taoists think and make their selection.

After all, a ritual manual for any given rite contains only about one-third of the whole rite practice (this also includes *wenjian*, magic exercise, and so on), and a bookcase setting is helpful in helping us understand the system of arrangement.

## 5-2 Setting a Ritual Rundown

A ritual rundown (for multiple rites or a performance that extends over several days) is a definite arrangement that instructs what *Guangcheng* Taoists must follow in practice; it is called “*Yike Chanshi* 依科闡事 (practice ritual based on the order of rites)”. This arrangement must both be authoritative, and reflect people’s desires.

Today, most of the scholarly research focus its attention only on the outcome of rundown. Researchers usually find and record the rundown (as written on the ritual program placard, *bang*) at the beginning of entering the fieldwork, and take *bang* to be indubitable. Since people do not understand how and why the rundown was made up, they have a biased view and risk reversing cause and effect. I believe the structuring process is an active and flexible process, thus, we must learn and understand its procedure. We have to know the meaning and function of every rite, how to classify and group rites, and how to put them in the right place; only then can we get a clear view on how *Guangcheng* Taoists arrange rituals. Once the rites are arranged correctly, the rundown will be meaningful and satisfactory to all involved.

Taoist Min Zhiting divides rituals into two kinds: ritual of “common use (*tongyong* 通用)” and of “specific use (*zuanyong* 專用)”<sup>263</sup>. It is easy to understand the division based on these terms, which target their being used for common purpose or specific purpose. For instance, a worshipping rite is specific if it worships a certain deity, such as “worshipping the Sanqing”. The situation of this case is interesting. It is a specific rite in comparison to other deities, but it “could be a common rite among the three members of *Sanqing*”<sup>264</sup>) and “*Yingluan Jiejia* 迎鑾接駕”. The common use rite must be set in formation, “for a ritual over three days, it

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<sup>263</sup> Taoists Ren Zhongquan (2006) and Peng Lifu (2011) follow this classification.

<sup>264</sup> Min 1990:142. Min’s sayings are for ritual practice at the Beijing Baiyun Guan. The *Guangcheng* tradition has similar texts for the ritual, but in different contents and usage.



must have steps like opening altar, taking water, purifying, praying the stove, hanging flags, inviting and calling deities and setting deities tablets; it must also take three audience worships, sending off the memorial, *biao*, chant scriptures and litanies of repentance every day”<sup>265</sup>. These arrangements are flexible based on the situation and the scale of the performance, but they must still follow basic rules.

In this division, *Daxing Daochang* (involving three or more days) of *Yin* and *Yang* include basic rites like the litanies of repentance (*baichan* 拜懺) and sending off the *biao*, together with specific rites. In order to facilitate the procedure, it needs a series of common rites. Under its simple dual division, it shows difference between specific/rare and recurrent/frequent rites. Thus, we can identify the central part and the framework of a ritual. However, this division does not establish the relationship between common and specific rites. We cannot speculate how to structure them exactly with just all of those rites as elements –even though we know every single rite separately.

Chen Yaoting raises another argument. He divides the ritual structure into layers. He takes the structure as an accumulative framework, from a single rite to the complex whole.<sup>266</sup> Chen divides it into three layers: *Yuan* 元 (single), *Ti* 體 (group), and *Qun* 群 (community). *Yuan* is a single/unit step that can be replaced in any rite; it appears frequently and can suit most situations, like *Shuzhi* 署職 (signing documents with the *gaogong*'s title), *Falu* 發爐 (opening an incense burner), and *Sajing* 灑淨 (purifying the ritual area). *Yuan* can make “an ordinary activity become a special meaningful Taoist ritual movement”.<sup>267</sup> If you combine several *Yuan* into a group, you have a *Ti*. *Ti*, in fact, is a complete ritual by itself. After combining several *Ti*, you have a *Qun*. Several (single) rites make a huge, complex (plural) ritual. The concept of this framework shows how the process is an accumulative one.

Chen's argument is based on the scale of rituals: from single to plural, from small to grand. It reflects the concept that a ritual can change its scale according to necessity. “Grand” in scale also means grand in times/number of rites and equipment. This statement emphasizes scale, but omits the essence and function of rites. Every rite has its own character that also needs to be separately identified, so that we can make sure the rites are set in their right place.

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<sup>265</sup> Min 1990:122. More discussion on ritual rundowns on p.173.

<sup>266</sup> Chen Yaoting 1992 and 2003.

<sup>267</sup> Chen Yaoting 2003:152.

A rundown-making process happens after a *gaogong* receives a request. He thinks about its meaning and requirement (number of days or rites), decides the theme, and then arranges all information mentioned above and decides on the rundown. In this process, it reflects the arguments of both Min and Chen. A ritual/*Qun* rundown is composed of some single rites/*Ti* or *Yuan*, and all rites are either of common use or specific use. By using common and specific rites and arranging them properly, a proper rundown is produced.

Combining the two arguments helps us get a basic idea of ritual structure. However, there is not much room for improving such ideas into further details due to lack of background and detailed setting. We still need better understanding of actual operation.

In my early days in fieldwork, I was often asked of my opinion about *Guangcheng* rituals. I always compared rituals to theater plays, and *gaogong* to a director. At that time, I was assuming that a *gaogong* plays a leading role in setting the rundown, training the members, rehearsing and taking charge of the performance. (I do not mean to refer to the theories of Victor Turner or Clifford Geertz when using the term theater). Most Taoists felt satisfied with my casual reply. I realized later that I had such an opinion because I focused much on the achievement of *gaogong*, who takes the leading position in this systematic ritual structure.

This phenomenon is better displayed in the large rituals (involving several rites), reflecting the capability and means of participants. To start thinking though this issue, we can take a large ritual as a magnification of a single rite. A ceremony, no matter its scale, is the means to petitioning and praying to deities. It always has the basic formation consisting of welcoming—praising—sending off deities. In a bigger situation, it of course needs to extend its scale, not only in its framework but also in the detailed parts of rites, so that the whole of it may correspond to a satisfactorily great ritual.

The magnifying means are applied to extend and prolong any step in a given rite. For example, “purifying” in a rite might just involve some simple movements, but another full-fledged complex rite – “taking water” – can be added to serve a bigger-scale situation. Brief movements like “keep visualizations” and “call generals” can become independent rites/parts if necessary. Moreover, rituals running over a day must include the three salutations (that thus become separate,

independent worshipping rites), offerings (praying to the stove and officials, *Yunchu* 雲廚), and more. It takes the “pause” rite/part to send off or take a rest for deities temporarily at the end of a day. There are numerous such rules for grand rituals that run over three or five days. As for a bigger structure, it is harder to get a clear idea about the relationship between the main petition and other accompanying rites. We must learn more about the reasons behind the setting rules, so that we can evaluate a rundown taking all parameters into account.

The art of setting a rundown concerns numerous matters of attention, so that it is very difficult to generalize completely. Ritual practices are like every other aspects of Taoism; they all have to be developed in balance and harmony. We can take ritual as an organism that can deform itself at will but that will always keep its basic natural form. To explain the formation specifically, I propose two analogues from our daily lives to interpret the ritual structure-setting process.

#### A. LEGO Toys<sup>268</sup>

The Lego Company sells packages of many kinds of products. Those packages include just a number of different kinds of blocks, so that even a child can easily finish a model toy. But if we use some more block elements (which are sold separately as extra pieces) and add them onto the original model, we generate variation. A new model toy can thus be “magnified” (by adding some blocks), changed in appearance (by replacing different colors of blocks), or the player can even add more function to the toy (by adding other special kinds of element blocks) by himself.

Constructing a model toy is much like arranging a ritual rundown. If we take a single (or some) blocks as a rite, each kind of block (in color, form or specific tool) serves a different function or purpose; then a fine work is constructed with different elements of a successful ritual with all necessary rites. A beginner makes up a basic model according to the manual. And after he gets used to the basic operating, he can go further to arrange a new one by himself.

To build a building, two major kinds of blocks are needed. The first kind is elements needed specifically for this work and metaphorically equal to the core rites.

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<sup>268</sup> Here I mean no disrespect at all to the serious nature of Taoist ritual. Although I have not had much chance to discuss these analogies with my informants, considering their open and enlightened mind, I believe they would accept my playful analogies.

With this kind of blocks, certain rituals can easily be recognized by their special character. And the rest of the blocks serve a supporting role, such as pillars and walls, which metaphorically correspond to the common and useful rites in the composition of the structure. The basic framework, like starting altar, inviting deities, setting tablets, etc, cooperate with the core rites and hold an important position to set rites in their right place. Besides the all-purpose rites, plain rites and *Qingji Keshi* 清吉科事 (auspicious and pure rites) are also involved. The useful but unnecessary rites can be arranged appropriately and freely according to its scale by the *gaogong*.

Take house building as an example. We need three kinds of blocks: specific elements, common elements, and decorating elements (which respectively correspond to the core, structure and plain rites of rituals). To build a house, a designer must decide the style (the appropriate core of ritual) first to ensure the best result. The requirements of the project help determine the scale of the ritual. Consequently, we have to choose the appropriate elements (doors, windows, roofs, etc) to create a certain style. According to general structure rules, the number of common elements is usually fixed. However, they must strictly follow the requirements, such as the number of days, rites, and expense, which should reflect the number of deities, altars and equipments (like ritual implements, tablets, flags, and *wenjian*). The large-scale ritual just follows this like a magnified rite. And we should never forget the nature of balance. After completing the purposeful and supporting elements of the structure, it should not forget to attach some plain and auspicious rites to complete it---- and of course, add more merits and elegance---- into the whole ritual.

Summing it up, to set up a ritual is like constructing a building. It needs purposeful and sufficient rites to support the structure. Within rituals, every rite plays its unique role and closely connects with the others. It makes the structure both complete and balanced, and fulfills its original intention.

Comparing to the metaphor of theater, the analogy of Lego features the rite characters which are predictable and easy to plan. Blocks with different colors and forms offer a clear concrete structure. It is clear to tell at a glance the number and degree of rites by examining the color and size of the blocks. Furthermore, sometimes a bigger block can be replaced by several smaller ones; just like a rite that consists of some smaller rites, or a rite that has added steps (for example, today a common rite takes around 40-50 minutes in generally; a *gaogong* can combine two smaller rites into a unit. The advantage of this is not only producing a regular

framework, but also to save repetitive steps of the texts). In a macroscopic view, the rundown forms a structure with fixed-size rites; in fact, a *gaogong* can arrange freely at his will without shifting the standard framework.

This analogy clearly shows the ritual classification and structure by comparing blocks colors and forms to rites and rituals. We can easily tell if a ritual is fully structured and balanced, and estimate if the number of rites is reasonable. However, this analogy reflects only on units among rituals; it does not show the connection of rites or their relationship to other rituals.

### B. Key Methods in Choosing Game Equipments (in a Game)

To extend my exploration on how to evaluate and choose rites for a ritual, I propose another analogy from a different angle that features a leisure activity, with the aim of highlighting the process of decision-making.

The main goal in many video games is destroying the enemy or achieving a set result. At the beginning of a new round, the player has to prepare his special game equipment package. Making a good choice is a challenge on the player's experience and judgment. First, he must know exactly the features of every piece of equipment, and assess the game situation thoroughly. For example, according to game rules, there are certain limits on the numbers of equipment or amount of points allowed (for each equipment). The player must find a perfect package combination that considers the equipment's different functions in attacking, defending, or supplying his persona. Under a restricted situation, the player will only survive by making an arrangement of careful considerations and wise selection.

This thinking process is a critical step. The key point is making a wise and balanced ratio of all equipment, so that the player can achieve success because he has the best possible ability both in attacking and defending.

The thinking process is also important when it comes to setting the rundown for a ritual. After accepting a ritual request (like starting a new round in a video game), the *gaogong* has to take all things into consideration. He must first clarify the goal of the petition and the most appropriate solution to the problem put to him; then, he must make the best use of existing resources (like equipment, time, and expense). These two processes are basically practiced under the same rules. Moreover, the

game equipment packages differ from player to player according to each one's preference. Package setting is acceptable if it is well combined and helps the player succeed in challenges. As for ritual arrangement, Taoists would set different rundowns according to their different traditions and personal preferences. There is neither absolute prescription nor absolute right or wrong (if following the rules) for rituals. Rituals with an appropriate combination can achieve the same goal (of successfully submitting the petition to the god and answering the patron's request). The difference just indicates the cleverness and means of the *gaogong*. A *gaogong* is always trying to improve in intelligence and balance, and is always yearning to obtain prestige and recognition.

### 5-3 Setting Process

Existing studies do not pay much attention to how to arrange a rundown. They record the rundown list of rituals and take it as a guide for checking the process of actual performance. These studies reflect a static reality but a practical process. However, I believe we must explore the principle of setting a rundown<sup>269</sup>, which must be connected to the cosmology and theology of Taoism.

The reason a rundown plays a crucial position in ritual practice is because it leads all the processes. We can almost predict the circumstances of a ritual performance once the rundown has been decided. Most Taoists seem to not care much about this setting process because this important process is conducted privately by the *gaogong* himself. This process is, in fact, short and not public, so it is usually finished without being noticed by others. I will try my best in this chapter to examine this silent process, to discuss how and why Taoists---- especially the *gaogong*---- design the rundown for any ritual performance.

The art of designing is the major point. Every *Guangcheng* ritual has its own rundown design based on the special request put to the *gaogong*. Although there might be some repetitions, it is never intentional. The process of creating a ritual rundown is similar to the process a *gaogong* goes through after receiving a request for a rite. The *gaogong* receives a request and clarifies the meaning and requirement of the patron, and then he decides in proper order on the number of days, rites, and all kinds of cost needed. This takes around thirty minutes for an experienced

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<sup>269</sup> There are also brilliant studies that refer to the setting process. My study, of course, is inspired by them. See notably Boltz 1996, and Lai Chi-tim 2007.

*gaogong*. During this time, he makes sure all things are considered, picks the most suitable rites, and places them in the correct framework.<sup>270</sup> He, of course, might second-guess or modify the details in the process, but it is fixed and unchangeable after it is done. Generally speaking, rituals that run for more than one day usually contain four to five rites a day; rituals over three or five days are mostly held by the temples, not in laypeople's homes. The *Gaogong* holds high authority here as well; everyone follows his rundown without questioning him.

This process seems short and easy to decide for, but on the contrary, it in fact takes all the essential knowledge the *gaogong* has acquired in his Taoist life. He must find out the most suitable rites, examine all details according to the rules, and avoid taboos and mistakes as much as possible. The *Gaogong* is absolutely a rationalist when making decisions, based on rational thinking and logic. He arranges the rundown according to the meaning and significance of rites. He identifies rites as the most necessary vs. secondary, and accepts or rejects each of them based on the situation to make sure he sets a proper rundown. I believe it is the inherent rationality of Taoism that makes these regular principles work.<sup>271</sup> These include knowledge and common sense about deities' identities, and ritual methods.

For deities' identities, Taoists must be aware of each deity's function, and their position in the divine hierarchy. When performing "Inviting deities," they should invite them in the order from the highest to the lowest-ranking, and make sure the list (with a series of certain kind) is complete. It is the opposite principle to that which presides over inviting ancestor masters. They should invite the nearest or closest masters first, after the rite of "starting altar and purifying". It is because the closest masters are overseers and are thought of not only protecting the altar, but also looking with kindness after Taoists of the same lineage. As to high masters, they seem further in distance and are even set among deities.<sup>272</sup> The *Guangcheng yizhi* details the hierarchy of deities.

Rites of inviting deities also need to be arranged in an order reflecting their hierarchy. For example, audience/ worshipping rites (*Zhengchao*) should start with

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<sup>270</sup> Fieldwork 2012, with Huang.

<sup>271</sup> Please be aware the regular and principle mean to the ratiocination exercised from progressive and regular, and have no ingredient of supernatural.

<sup>272</sup> Ex, Guangcheng Master Du, Lingbao Master Ning and Jing (*Zhengren*), Haiqiong Master Bai, Xujing Master Zhang, Zixu Master Wei and the *Quanzhen Benshi* Master Qiu. Taoists invent different ancestor masters for different ritual contexts. The lists as a rule include many different ritual traditions, which reflects the fact that Taoists must respect all the different origins of Taoist ritual.

the Sanqing, then the Sanyuan Wulao 三元五老, and then proceed to certain series according to their function.<sup>273</sup> For *Dou* (Dipper) series rites, the order is *Xingzu* 星主→*Doumu* 斗母→*Beidou* 北斗→*Nandou* 南斗→*douzhong* 斗中.<sup>274</sup> Those series rites might not be arranged at all, but the series' order is unchangeable.

There is another order of time sequence, which aims to show the priorities proper to the master-guest relationship. For example, “reporting” is always after “pre-reporting, *yuzou* 預奏”. To show respect for the progressive hierarchy of inviting deities, reporting to deities starts from the lowest to the highest. On the country, the comment notes, *tiehuang* 貼黃<sup>275</sup> (small oblong-shape yellow notes, which is stuck in multiple layers for make comment or sign by officials) is designed from the lowest to the highest levels.

*Guangcheng* ritual used to add “*Hanlin*”, “*Sizao*” and “*Tieguan*” for rituals running over three days – whether it is *Zhai* or *Jiao*.<sup>276</sup> Sometimes they also add series rites of “royal flags” – this is not necessary for many rites, but Taoists prefer to do so with rites running over five days or when the rite is performed outside of Sichuan. Rituals over five days generally also need to add “*Anfeng Jiantan Jiangshuaiji* 安奉監壇將帥集 (setting tablet of guarding generals)” (13-36, No.36)<sup>277</sup> to it. Plain and *Qingji* rites are common and popular in rituals, and “*Gongtian*” is the most liked one. The *Guangcheng* tradition insists on “having a beginning and an end”, so the first and last rite must be performed by the same *gaogong*; e.g., the pair rites “starting altar” and “sending off”, and “*Hanlin*” and “*Tieguan*” must be performed by one *gaogong*.<sup>278</sup>

The *Gaogong* should be wise in picking up an auspicious day, too. He needs to know perfectly how to choose a perfect day for a ritual, remember deities' birthdays and holy days, and avoid ominous days – especially the “*Wuri* 戊日 (day of *wu*)”. Most of this information can be found in the *Taoist Canon* or *Biyong Ji*, though some might modified by different local traditions. The rules are numerous and sometimes trivial, but Taoists have to keep them in mind as much as possible.

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<sup>273</sup> Field note 2012-07-13, with Pan.

<sup>274</sup> Field note 2012-07-16, with Dong.

<sup>275</sup> “*Tiehuang*”, at the first time, is a writing tool helping modify and comment in official document. In Taoist practice, Taoist sticks them on envelopes to mark the consignees.

<sup>276</sup> Taoists have their opinion on rites arrangement. Here I mentioned rites that meet with common consensus. Besides, rites like “*Lingzu Zhengchao*”, “inviting water” and more are accepted generally as well. (Fieldnote 2012-10-09, with Huang; Min Zhiting 1990:122)

<sup>277</sup> Fieldnote 2012, Houng.

<sup>278</sup> Fieldnote 2012-07-13, with Pan. Please refer to table in chapter 6, where the members' arrangement support my claim.



I reorganize principles I collected from fieldwork here. Although they are incomplete, we can clearly see the richness of orders in ritual arrangement. The *Gaogong* can create a successful rundown by just following those rules. I believe that creating a rundown is not a secret that forbids discussion of it. Although the *gaogong* do have indubitable authority when it comes to ritual practice, the issue is still open to discussion to help achieve correctness of ritual.

### Case Study: N Temple<sup>279</sup> Accident

This was an event that happened before the Ghost Festival (*Zhongyuan Jie* 中元節) several years ago in Chengdu. The *gaogong* had to excuse himself during the *Zhongyuan* ritual. He thus invited another *gaogong* (who was from another place out of Chengdu and also practiced the *Guangcheng* liturgy), introduced by a friend. These two *gaogong* did not know each other, and only had a brief conversation on the phone before that. Out of respect for the guest *gaogong*, the original *gaogong* handed over the arrangement to the guest. But the outcome did not satisfy everyone. The ritual did not go well; some accidents happened. The guest *gaogong* fell down when getting off the altar. A *jingshi* smashed up a wooden fish accidentally. Most *jingshi* complained in private about the bad experience of cooperating with him. After the original *gaogong* was informed of the whole story, he was also dissatisfied. He complained about some details of that ritual to me.<sup>280</sup> Let us first compare the two arrangements (the actual performance of the guest *gaogong* and the ideal one proposed afterwards by the house *gaogong*).

	The actual performance (2012)	The “ideal” rundown
13	Kaitan Qishi, Shenfa Sanjie, Zhongyuan Qinghe, Anfeng Zhaojun, Anjian Hanlin, Dakai Fangyu. 開壇啟師 申發三界 中元慶賀 安奉灶君 安薦寒林 大開方隅	Kaitan Qishi, Liantan Danghui, Shenfa Sanjie, Lingzu Zhengchao, Anfeng Zaojun, Shenqi Chenghuang, Dakai Fangyu, Zhaoshe Wanghun, Anjian Hanlin. 開壇啟師 連壇蕩穢 申發三界 靈祖正朝 安奉灶君 申啟城隍 大開方隅 招攝亡魂 安薦寒林

<sup>279</sup> I hide the real name to protect the Taoists involved, but this story is definitely real.

<sup>280</sup> It is rare for a Taoist to criticize another Taoist so strictly. In fact, Taoists are casual about different traditions. The strong emotion in this case might be caused by self-awareness and is not a normal situation. Out of respect for Taoists, I never make cross-examination, so it is a surprising case to me.

14	Tiancao Zhengchao, Gongsì Zhutian, Jiuku Zhengchao, Zhengshen Shiwu, Zhengshen Fengdu. 天曹正朝 貢祀諸天 救苦正朝 正申十五 正申鄂都	Zhengqi Sanyuan, Jiuku Zhengchao, Zhuling Huanghua, Xuehu Zhengchao, Zhengshen Dongyue. 正啟三元 救苦正朝 朱陵黃華 血湖正朝 正申東嶽
15 <sup>281</sup>	Chaozhen Lidou, Yuanman Jianjia, Tieguan Hushi, <b>Lingzu Zhengchao</b> . 朝真禮斗 圓滿餞駕 鐵罐斛食 <b>靈祖正朝</b>	Zhongyuan Qinghe, Tiancao Zhengchao, Gongsì Zhutian, Yuanman Jianjia, Tieguan Hushi. 中元慶賀 天曹正朝 貢祀諸天 圓滿餞駕 鐵罐斛食

The first column is the real rundown of that time, and the second is a corrected one; the original *gaogong* wrote this down per my request. It took him around twenty minutes to create this ideal rundown. In the process, he considered and corrected the arrangement several times. He also explained to me how and why he did so. Most importantly, he defended the reasons he insisted on or rejected certain rites, which clearly indicate that he made his decisions as a result of a rational process. It was the only chance I had of actually being a close witness to a ritual rundown making process, and I was greatly inspired by this experience in my thinking about ritual structure.

The *Gaogong*'s main argument concerns the mistake of arranging the time schedule. The rites he deems to have been incorrectly scheduled are marked by screen dots. First, on the first day, “*Dakai Fangyu*” (*Guangcheng Yizhi Dakai Fangyu Quanji* 廣成儀制大開方隅全集, 13-39, No.39) was the rite to open the five directions for ghosts. It precedes the calling and gathering of ghosts (both rites which are recommended and on the list), to then attend the salvation ritual proper. It is reasonable indeed that ghosts cannot come to the altar before the ways have been opened to them. After the ways have been opened, Taoists should call and arrange for ghosts, by the rite “*Zhaoshe Wangling*” (*Guanshe Wanghun Quanji* 關攝亡魂全集, 13-40, No.40). Because the salvation will not take place until the last day, they must also provide a place for ghosts to rest. The resting places (separated by gender) are called *hanlin*, and use the rite *Zhupin Zhaijiao Anjian Hanlin Ji* 諸品齋醮安建寒林集. The ritual as actually performed by the guest *gaogong* made a mistake in time

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<sup>281</sup> The period of ghost festival in Sichuan is only fifteen days (7/1<sup>st</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup>, the gates of Hell close in the midnight of 7/15<sup>th</sup>). There is no rite about closing the gates of Hell in the *Guangcheng* ritual tradition.

sequence by setting the *hanlin* before calling ghosts. This, claims the ‘house’ *gaogong*, was an irrational mistake.

In the real rundown, the worst mistake was the setting of “*Zhongyuan Qingsheng*” (*Zhongyuan Dahui Qingsheng QuANJI* 中元大會慶聖全集, 13-20, No.20) and “*Lingzu Zhengchao*” (14-32, No. 151). “*Zhongyuan Qingshen*” was a very significant rite in this ritual, and also the rite that worships and celebrates the birthday of *Zhongyuan Shezui Tianzun* 中元赦罪天尊. This kind of significant rite must placed on the “right day, *zheng rizi* 正日子<sup>282</sup>”, 7/15<sup>th</sup> in this case. It is, says the ‘house’ *gaogong*, unforgivable to have scheduled it on another day. Moreover, the guest *gaogong* made another mistake in this rite setting — he invited *Zhongyuan Shuiguan Dadi* to be the first guest. One should never invite and worship a major god without any other god present. The two mistakes were the most critical errors.

The setting of “*Lingzu Zhengchao* 靈祖正朝” was also a huge mistake. *Xiantian Doukou Lingzu* 先天斗口靈祖, also known as *Huoche Wang Lingguan* 火車王靈官, is an important protector god with the power of purifying the altar based on the force of thunder. He is often invited as a supervisor in rituals. Considering this context, the supervisor god must come at the beginning of a ritual and not at the end. Besides, we know that after the step “*Yuanman Jianjia*”, all deities should be sent off so that Taoists can perform “*Tieguan*”. The rite “*Yuanman Jianjia*” indicates that the main body of the ritual is finished so Taoists can send off all deities. Thus, it is impossible for *Lingzu* to be present after that and then be worshiped alone.

During our discussion, the *gaogong* explained those concepts to me vividly. He used many metaphors of daily life to help me understand the arrangement. For instance, he said: how can you invite the major guest while all other guests are absent? (For *Zhongyuan Qingshen*). You should not ask your guest to stay longer without a reason to attend “*Tieguan*”; moreover, this scares the ghosts. (For *Lingzu Zhengchao* and *Tieguan*<sup>283</sup>). I got a clear idea of rites setting and found his explanations very convincing and well argued (especially on the mistakes made by the guest *gaogong*). Although a *gaogong* enjoys *ex officio* authority, he must follow unchangeable rules.

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<sup>282</sup> There is one major day within a large-scale ritual running over several days, like the god’s birthday, that is the “right day”. The arrangement should be made around this day.

<sup>283</sup> I had the same conversation in my fieldwork, 2011-11-01 with Huang.

In this section, I use a good example to emphasize the process of arranging a rundown. In my opinion, this short time of twenty to thirty minutes is the essence of a *gaogong*'s exercise of his trade. It can reflect almost all his training and knowledge; furthermore, the ritual rundown reflects the spirit of Taoism. But what do Taoists think during the process? Do all Taoists think about the same thing? Are they solving problems based on the same reasons and gradual decision-making processes? This is still an unanswered question. What I am doing here is trying to approach a *gaogong*'s thinking, to identify basic principles and framework of common consensus. We can make sure that their success factors are based on knowledge and common sense of Taoism, which help them decide and evaluate a rundown, avoid errors as much as possible, and accomplish rituals to the greatest possible satisfaction of fellow Taoists and patrons. Taoists also have to improve themselves on the endless knowledge in their professional lives.

#### 5-4 The Changeable Rundowns

Taoists used to write *wenjian* on their own even though there are so many *wenjian ji* (models) and records of past *wenjian* available — just like Taoists prefer to create a rundown on their own even if they have many ready records available. *Guangcheng* Taoists do not like to perform repeated rituals; they pay much attention to the arrangement to show difference between rituals – but still keep the same essence and principles. These differences might be shown in a same ritual occasion performed with different rundowns by different Taoists, or by the same Taoist but in different situations. Under so many variations, ritual rundowns show various arrangements while being able to reach the same goal.

The reason these different arrangements work is because they all have a correct and rational setting. There are, of course, many small differences among temples and traditions, and temples and local troupes practice rituals by keeping these differences. Thus, the *gaogong*, especially an experienced *gaogong*, is very used to “creating” a rundown whenever necessary. To a *gaogong*, it is unnecessary to copy a rundown from others (the “copy” here refers to using an old rundown and bears no negative connotation). Sometimes, a *gaogong* might create a rundown with the same content as an older rundown, but it always because he has fewer items to choose from. Nevertheless, he must still go through the rational decision-making process each and every time. I have never heard of a case in which a rundown was intentionally used twice.

Here I illustrate my point with other examples of a *Zhongyuan* ritual performance. I present two tables of arrangements of this ritual in two situations: a rundown by the same *gaogong* in the same temple, and a rundown by a different *gaogong* in the same temple.

Table Zhongyuan ritual in Qingyang Gong<sup>284</sup> (by the same *gaogong* in different year)

	2011, Year of <i>Xinmao</i>	2012, Year of <i>Renchen</i>
13	<p>Kaitan Yingsheng, Shenfa Sanjie, Yushu Baojing, Lingzu Zhengchao, Zhengshen Chenghuang, Sigong Zaojun, Guanzhao Wanghun, Anjian Hanlin, Tingke Huixiang. 開壇迎聖 申發三界 玉樞寶經 靈祖正朝 正申城隍 祀供灶君 關昭亡魂 安建寒林 停科回向</p>	<p>Kaitan Qishi, Shenfa Sanjie, Lingzu Zhengchao, Shenqi Chenghuang, Anfeng Zaojun, Guanzhao Wangling, Anjian Hanlin, Tingke Huixiang. 開壇啓師 申發三界 靈祖正朝 申啟城隍 安奉竈君 關召亡靈 安薦寒林 停科回向</p>
14	<p>Jiuku Zhengchao, Zhengshen Dongyue, Wushi Xiangong, Duren Miaoqing, Zhengqi Sanyuan, Xuehu Zhengchao, Tingke Huixiang. 救苦正朝 正申東嶽 午時獻供 度人妙經 正啟三元 血湖正朝 停科回向</p>	<p>Zhengqi Sanyuan, Zaogong Wangling, Zhengshen Dongyue, Wugong Wangling, Zhuling Huanghua, Jiuku Zhengchao, Xuehu Zhengchao, Tingke Huixiang 正啟三元 早供亡靈 正申東嶽 午供亡靈 朱陵黃華 救苦正朝 血湖正朝 停科回向</p>
15	<p>Zhongyuan Qingshen, Tiancao Zhengchao, Gongsi Zhutian, Baidou Jie'e, Yuanman Jianjia, Tieguan Hushi. 中元慶聖 天曹正朝 祀貢諸天 拜斗解厄 圓滿錢駕 鐵罐斛食</p>	<p>Zhongyuan Qingshen, Zaogong Wangling, Baidou Jiee, Wugong Wangling, Gongsi Zhutian, Yuanman Jianjia, Ciling Songhua, Tieguan Hushi. 中元慶聖 早供亡靈 拜斗解厄 午供亡靈 祀貢諸天 圓滿錢駕 辭靈送化 鐵罐斛食</p>

Table Zhongyuan ritual in Heming Shan (different *gaogong* in different years)

	2000, Year of Gengchen <sup>285</sup>	2012, Year of Renchen
13	Kaitian Qishi, Lianchang Danghui,	Kaitian Qishi, Shenbao Sanjie,

<sup>284</sup> Rites marked with screen dots are the ones in common. There are some little difference in names but they are of the same in content, like “*Zhangshen Chenghuang*” and “*Shenqi Chenghuang*”.

<sup>285</sup> The two rundowns at Qingyang Gong are given by *gaogong* Huang Dong. Data of Heming Shan 2000 is from Gong Xiaokang 2001, and the 2012 is from my field notes.

	<p>Shenbao Sanjie, Zhengcheng Dongyue, Anfeng Zaojun, Anjian Hanlin, Kuanjia tingke. 開壇啟師 連場蕩穢 申報三界 正申東嶽 安奉灶君 安薦寒林 款駕停科</p>	<p>Shenqi Chenghuang, Anfeng Zaojun, Anjian Hanlin, Guanshe Wanghun. 開壇啟師 申發三界 申啟城隍 安奉灶君 安薦寒林 關攝亡魂</p>
14	<p>Zhengqi Sanyuan, Jingdou Randeng, Chaozheng Lidou, Jiuku Zhengchao, Zhengshem Shiwang, Tingku Huixiang. 正啟三元 靜斗燃燈 朝真禮斗 救苦正朝 正申十王 停科回向</p>	<p>Zhengqi Sanyuan, Zhengcheng Dongyue, Mingjin Shiwang, Xuehu Zhengchao, Jiuku Fachan, Gongci Zhutian, Piaofang Hedeng. 正啟三元 正申東嶽 冥京十王 血湖正朝 救苦法懺 貢祀諸天 漂放河燈</p>
15	<p>Zhengqing Zhongyuan, Gongci Zhutian, Zhuling Huanghua, Yuanman Jianjia, Shishi Jiyou. 正慶中元 貢祀諸天 朱陵黃華 圓滿錢駕 施食濟幽</p>	<p>Zhengqing Zhongyuan, Jiuku Zhengchao, Shengshen Zhengchao, Yuanman Jianjia, Tieguan Hushi. 中元慶聖 救苦正朝 生神正朝 圓滿錢駕 鐵罐斛食</p>

The rundowns of Qingyang Gong were arranged by the same *gaogong*, thus they appear very similar to each other. Yet, rituals under the same theme, place, and *gaogong* can still be performed in different ways. Furthermore, some *gaogong* would like to take it as a challenge to show their cleverness in rituals. This showcases their vision and capabilities. I might be a little over-interpreting here; in fact I cannot be sure if Taoists have much impulse to show a unique personality. But they indeed feel satisfied when they create a beautiful rundown. They also comment on other Taoists' practice in private; however, they will not think about comparing or impersonating, for it is out of their tradition.

Compared to the Qingyang Gong case, the rituals in Heming Shang were held quite differently by two different *gaogong*. They used two kinds of rites. The first kind was plain rites and *Qingji* rites, which support and enrich the whole ritual; however, sometimes, they seem not to be the essence of this ritual occasion. As to the rest, especially rites with screen dots, they are much more in the spirit of *Zhongyuan*. Those rites were highly repetitive, but in very different orders. I believe it is because the two *gaogong* thought in different ways. Anyway, they all followed basic setting rules strictly, for example, they must report to Dongyue first and then to

the Ten Kings; and the “*Jiuku*” must be performed before “*Jianjia*”, and lotus lamps (*Liandeng*) must be released to drift out on rivers before 7/14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>286</sup>

We can take rituals of the same category (*Yin Zhai* or salvation of suffering souls in this case) as a repertoire which contains rites that are interchangeable or support each other. The *gaogong* can choose the rites he prefers from the rich resource to fill up his rundown.

I had a chance to talk with several Taoists on this issue (most of them have *gaogong* ability). A Taoist started talking about his ritual experience outside Chengdu city; another junior *gaogong* seemed interested in this story and asked some questions. Then, they exchanged opinions about ritual setting. Some felt comfortable following tradition while some expected a lot in terms of “creation”. At this time, the junior *gaogong* showed his personal notebook. In this notebook, he wrote about five to ten rundowns a page and had around five or seven finished pages (I did not get the permission to take a picture). There he recorded many rundown lists of what he had done or heard of. Some of them were even created by imagination and had not been actually used yet.<sup>287</sup> I believe this is not an isolated or atypical case of a *gaogong* trying to improve himself or practice by reading and arranging rituals, and thinking about it in the course of daily life. This is why a *gaogong* always makes his decision fast but calmly.

There are many procedures in setting a ritual. How and who have the right to create a rundown? Generally speaking, the leading *gaogong* has the most authority in rituals in the temple; he can decide almost all matters. In Zhengyi and folk altars, this person in charge is the *zhangtanshi*. The situation becomes complicated if a *gaogong* is invited outside and cooperates with a team he is not familiar with. In this situation, it depends on his position in the ritual. If he is just a supporter or the second *gaogong*, he does not need to do anything but just be an actor in the altar and follow orders from the leading *gaogong*. On the contrary, if he is invited to be the leading *gaogong*, he takes all responsibility. He must decide on and handle everything. He even has to prepare *wenjian* (sometimes, for the reason of long distance, it could be prepared by someone else). In this kind of situation, the *gaogong* sometimes has to modify the rundown a little during the ritual and consider the

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<sup>286</sup> “*Jiuku Zhengchao*”, 15-30, No.269; “*Piaofang Hedeng*”, 14-57, No.175.

<sup>287</sup> Fieldnote 2012-08, with Xiao. Taoists keep the rundowns of the rituals they have performed in various ways. In modern times, more and more Taoists prefer computer editions that are helpful in both announcement and storage. In this situation, it is unnecessary to “dispose of *wenjian* (*duanzhang* 斷章)”.

opinions of the patrons or the *zhangtanshi*. If the manager is a retired *zhangtanshi*, he could help prepare beforehand. All these variations must be agreed on before the performance of the ritual because they concern everyone's obligations and payment.<sup>288</sup>

In the field, I felt clearly that all Taoists respect the rundown. Since it is publicly announced, they obey the order without a word – even if a *jingshi* with the title of *gaogong* has a different point of view regarding the arrangement, he must still respect and follow the *gaogong* totally. The public can of course criticize the rundown, especially regarding errors against basic rules. As to variations from different traditions and personal understanding, there is no such problem.

Aside from my informants' opinions, I give many interpretations myself. This is because I believe that the setting of rituals is a rational process, and everyone who has enough knowledge and experience can understand it, or can even create one (at an abstract, intellectual level, of course). What I would like to present here is that there are indeed rules and principles behind Taoist ritual practice, and the way they work always make sense. Nonetheless, not all the rules are indubitable; they can of course be criticized by the public. Each rundown is, in fact, a creation by a different *gaogong* from different backgrounds, making it impossible for all rundowns to be uniform. On the other hand, the arrangement is created following rational principles, making it impossible for a rundown to be arbitrary. *Guangcheng* Taoists always keep an open mind on ritual practice by people (Taoists and believers). Taoists with a strong belief can make decisions confidently, thinking that they do not need to depend on agreement from the gods. At the level of ritual setting, Taoists try their best to achieve the perfect performance. After they have done everything they can, they face gods and patrons confidently.

### 5-5 Modern Changes and challenges to *Guangcheng* Rituals

Nowadays, the recovery of *Guangcheng* ritual is going well. More and more temples and folk altars are revived, and the number of ritual/rites known and understood is increasing. But compared to the past, today's situation is still weak. I

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<sup>288</sup> Fieldnote 2012-08-29, with Xiao. The payment is based on whip-round from each position (for example, everyone gets at least one point; the *gaogong* and *shuji* can get one more point. Members with more responsibility or job get more points. For a case study of Qingcheng Shan, see Gan Shaocheng 2000: 48, 61.



believe it is because many ritual manuals have been lost, and the gap between the old and the young Taoists is immense.

There are rites that are not used anymore. Some of them lost their importance because of the rise of science and medicine; others are simply lost. As for the effect of scientific and medical progress, rites like eliminating illness and plague (especially the chickenpox) are almost not used anymore. Patrons accept modern science while also wanting to ask for the gods' help. This is especially the case with serious illnesses; sometimes they turn to and seek religious support. Although Taoists would rather not perform fruitless rituals, they do approve of and perform rites like "prolonging someone's life or destiny" (*jieshou*, *jiexian* 接壽/接限). Modern engineering and building technology also reduced the need for some rites, like "*Anlong Diantu*" (Chengdu people still to do so when digging out an ancient tomb, however). Related rites, like "*Rangyi Pansan* 禳蟻判散 (expelling ants)" are used less and less, even in the countryside. As for rites for natural purposes, such as rain or sun-praying, protecting seedlings, expelling locusts and eliminating plague, they are essentially no used anymore.<sup>289</sup>

A lot of rites, including "*Taishan Jiao* 泰山醮 (offering to Mt. Tai)" and "*Shier Dayuan* 十二大願"<sup>290</sup>, might never be recovered unless we can find the rituals texts again.

Another form of decline is the simplified setting of rituals. For instance, Sichuan Taoists have not created an open-air altar by ramming earth for one ceremony since the Republic era.<sup>291</sup> Taoists also face a problem when reviving a lost rite. For example, not every *Guangcheng* Taoist knows how to deal with dual-rites of "*Zouan*" and "*Youan*" (eastern and western "table", i.e. sub-altar). Today, as far as I know, they perform rituals in two ways---- rituals are rarely on a huge scale, and when done they are done at the same time on two altars (if the ceremony involves several altars); some rather separate the eastern and western table rites into morning and evening.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> The following are examples, "*Jieshou Zhengchao* 接壽正朝" (13-86, No.86), "*Qirang Shibagao* 祈禳十八誥" (13-89, No.89), "*Rang Douzhen Quanji* 禳痘疹全集" (13-60, No.60), "*Tu Huang Jiao* 土皇醮" (13-98~100, No.98~100), "*Dianxie Gumu* 奠謝古墓" (14-103, No.235), "*Rangyi Pansan* 禳蟻判散" (14-21, No.140), "*Longwang Zhengchao* 龍王正朝" (14-5, No.124), "*Baomiao* 保苗" (14-13~17, No.132~6) and "*Wenjiao* 瘟醮" (15-40~45, No.279~84), etc. There are more examples, and they can connect with each other.

<sup>290</sup> Fieldnote 2012-07-16, with Dong.

<sup>291</sup> Fieldnote 2012-07-16, with Dong.

<sup>292</sup> It is more strange Taoists outside of Sichuan knowing but not using the *Guangcheng* liturgy. They

There are rites that were successfully recovered, however. Both “*Fangsheng Keyi* 放生科儀 (freeing captive animals)” and “*Caishen Zhengchao* 財神正朝 (worshipping in audience to the God of Wealth)” no longer have complete texts (not even in the catalog of *Guangcheng yizhi*). However, these two rites were revived in recent years in response to the public demand. It has been five to ten years since people restarted holding *Fangsheng Hui* by the Yangzi River and its branches every 4/8<sup>th</sup>. It is the same situation with worshipping Caishen. They are all performed frequently and by many different groups. They also face the same conundrum: we cannot judge if the liturgy is original or newly created. All the versions we can see nowadays are in computerized type-setting or even on the Internet. Although they follow the exact formation and arrangement of text and practice common to all *Guangcheng Yizhi* texts,<sup>293</sup> not all people accept them.

Ritual practice also developed some variations. Taoists not only have different opinions for the rundown, sometimes they hold on idiosyncrasies within rites. Heming Shan observes a special rite for “*Baidou*”, worshipping the Dipper, which is combined by three related rites: “*Jingdou Randeng* 靜斗燃燈”, “*Chaozhen Lidou* 朝真禮斗” and “*Baidou Jie* 拜斗解厄” (Fig.10). These three rites can, of course, be performed independently. But since they have a same purpose in common, Taoists take “*dou*” in the center and connect them together into a large rite. The new rundown begins with the step “starting altar and purifying” and ends with “*Yuanman Huixiang*”--- like every other *Guangcheng* rite. In the process, Taoists perform them in the order of *Jingdou* → *Chaodou* → *Baidou*. The practice is to carry each rite on when it goes into repeated parts, the “inviting the deities”. This method omits the repeated parts (inviting deities and some steps at the beginning and ending) and combines the advantages of three into one. Thus, the “*Baidou*” rite can serve more purposes.<sup>294</sup> The Qingyang Gong sometimes changes a little in the rite “*Gongtian*” by repeating some parts to magnify its scale.<sup>295</sup> Such ways of combining rites of

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make many guesses and none of them correct, like first left, turn right; or to alternate at will. Fieldnote 2011, 2012 with Feng, Shanshan and Huang.

<sup>293</sup> It is hard to identify an unfamiliar text not listed on the catalog. First of all, we cannot tell its origin by its contents, and it is impossible to identify just through an electronic file. Thus, some Taoists judge them based on the style of rites and whether they are necessary, but some insist those texts are nonsense since they do not already belong to the catalog. Both sides have a point.

<sup>294</sup> Many Taoists believe it is the special tradition of Heming Shan. This method can be traced back to 1985 (I have no information to the earlier situation yet). Qingcheng Shan has a special “*dou*” ritual named “*Guangcheng Yizhi Qingjing Chaozhen Lidou Quanji* 廣成儀制清靜朝真禮斗全集” (aka “*Chaodou*”) which also performs these three rites into one. (Gan Shaocheng2000: 290-1) I have not seen that ritual performed in Qingcheng Shan so cannot tell whether they are the same.

<sup>295</sup> The leading *gaogong* explained it because of different traditions and claims this has no specific

similar essence together and cutting out and collating them rationally into a new rundown cause the rites to show more style and fulfill more functions. Taoists do so not simply to be unconventional; it comes from their painstaking efforts through hard reading and practice.

Some traditional differences have been carried over for years so that people accept them as normal. However, some differences have appeared in recent years; we cannot track their origins, and they are being criticized. For instance, a famous *Quanzhen* temple, one of most important venues for rituals in southwest Sichuan and also a training center where Taoists come to learn continuously, has recently come under criticism from some Taoists. Some complaints have appeared, such as “they perform differently every year” and “we XX now cannot cooperate with them anymore”<sup>296</sup>. Because this temple changes ritual steps somewhat too often (the reason is unknown. I suspect it might be caused by frequent interaction with another non-*Guangcheng* tradition and also for the sake of keeping its status as a leading place of ritual practice). However, those temples still interact and cooperate with each other. Disagreement happens when performing newly introduced magic. A *gaogong* there has added a new movement with magic exercise called “locking the altar, *suotan* 鎖壇” in the rite. In his principle, to lock and purify altar means to keep it clean and solemn, so that they may continue the rite in a respectable manner. It also means that the *gaogong* has to fence this place since he has to clean it up. But this idea does not seem acceptable to all Taoists. I have heard of a criticism that said, “how come gods come to the altar if you locked it?” (This means you cannot invite any guest since you have closed the door.) Both principles are reasonable in some way, and I am not sure if there is a final conclusion to their ongoing debates about this, and other ritual innovations.

Brand new created texts also have their own problems. These texts do not exist in *Guangcheng yizhi* at all, and they are just new creations of modern times. They are, of course, not entirely new since they follow the *Guangcheng Yizhi*'s framework and borrow lots of material from it, especially the praising, spelling and chants. Taoists try to make such creations similar as possible to the original framework of

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meaning. (fieldnote 2011-06-16, with Huang).

<sup>296</sup> These two comments are from Taoists from two temples. They complained so with a little joking and sighing, but they do not reject it totally. Besides, the attitude of cooperation is interesting. One time, I attended an inharmonious ritual; the *jingshi* progressed in a rather chaotic manner and could not achieve harmony in the chorus. I learned later that the team members came from two temples. This case points out how *jingshi* from different tradition are often caught in bad agreement, but they can still work together anyway. And they will not argue with each other seriously. More observation on Taoist identification with specific ritual practices is needed.

*Guangcheng Yizhi*. This situation is a response to modern needs and is still rather rare. For example, “*Jiuku Zhengchao*” is a complete *Yin* rite for worshipping *Taiyi Jiuku Tianzun* for the salvation of the dead; this worshipping cannot be used neither as a *Yang* rite nor for celebrating birthdays. Thus, a *gaogong* has edited the new text “*Dongji Zhengqing Quanji 東極正慶全集*” to celebrate *Jiuku Tianzun*’s birthday. With the growth of worship to Caishen, the *gaogong* in Kaohsiung Guandi Miao has edited a new text “*Caishen Zhengchao 財神正朝*<sup>297</sup>” to celebrate his birthday grandly. The two texts are included in “*Guangcheng Yizhi*”. We still need time to observe its development and see if the texts can be accepted by other temples.

The importance of a rundown arrangement, in my opinion, is that it reflects the practiced rules that lay behind Taoist rituals, and it implicates the whole range of knowledge within Taoism. Taoists can only create a good context for their performances if they continue to embody and explore these fields of knowledge. That is what we are looking for in the basic principle of rituals.

*Guangcheng* Taoists always keep their mind open to ritual traditions, whether they are conservative or creative ones. This active and flexible attitude helps them stay ready for challenges in the course of performing rituals. Thus, they insist on creating every rundown (and composing original *wenjian* as well) on their own to ensure that every ritual/rite can achieve its best effect. Maybe this phenomenon can offer a little insight to the question above – Why don’t *Guangcheng* Taoists worry about having no catalog? The answer is: because they each have their own specific one. Inside their contents, they create a practical framework, which is based on their interpretation of classification and combination relationship, which helps them associate rites with each other and create the best possible rundown for each ritual they have to perform. A specific rundown ensures that the ritual focuses on the subject and expresses the aspirations of the patrons. Any ritual rundown with variations – whether it is conservative or creative – can be an appropriate one under shared principles of good practice and rational considerations.

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<sup>297</sup> This edition is different from the other *Caishen Zhengchao* I mentioned in the beginning of this section. This edition is used only in Kaohsiung Quandi Miao now.

## Chapter 6 A Case Study: the Pay-back Ritual—Past and Present

In this chapter, I will elaborate on the way Taoists understand *Guangcheng* ritual and how they prepare and perform it. By the case study of a large-scale ritual -- *Shousheng Tianhuan* 受生填還 (“Pay-back the life debt”), I will represent how Taoists organize the whole ritual process. “Pay-back” rituals commonly exist in various parts of Han society, but practice and ritual forms differ across local ritual traditions. By briefly explaining the theological concept behind this ritual, and describing a performance that I participated in, I attempt to show how *Guangcheng* Taoists understand the essential meanings of “Pay-back” and how they arrange an appropriate rundown to accomplish the ideal ritual.

### 6-1 The Concept of “Pay-back” Ritual

The concept of “Pay-back”, briefly to say, is that in order to make sure their own reincarnation would go well, humans have promised some recompense (some consider it a loan, or life-debt) to officials of the *Wudou Xingjun* 五斗星君 (gods of five dippers), *Luku Caoguan* 祿庫曹官 (officials of stockrooms in Hell), and *Benming Yuanchen* 本命元辰 (the star gods of the years of birth) before the birth. Thus, they should pay off this sum thoroughly in this life; therefore they would be blessed with good fortune. And most important, once this person passes away, s/he can get a reincarnation as human again immediately without having to undergo judgment in Hell.

The theological background of “Pay-back” came from two Taoist scriptures: *Lingbao Tianzun Shuo Luku Shousheng Jing* 靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經 (*Zhengtong Daozang*, No. 333 of *The Taoist Canon*) and *Taishang Laojun Shuo Wudou Jinzhang Shousheng Jing* 太上老君說五斗金章受生經 (*Zhengtong Daozang*, No. 653 of *The Taoist Canon*) of *Zhengtong Daozang*. These two scriptures were composed in the Sui-Tang and Song-Yuan periods respectively.<sup>298</sup> There are no direct links between the two, and their descriptions of ritual practices are also different. But the essence of the two texts are quite alike -- they both focus on dealing with the same problem in life. Therefore they usually are used together so as to secure a better reward.

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<sup>298</sup> *Zhonghua Daojiao Dacidian*, p.151, 282; *The Taoist Canon*, p. 986~987; Hsiao Teng-fu (Xiao Dengfu) assumes these two scriptures might have been published in the same period, around mid-Tang or the late Tang Dynasty. (Hsiao 2002: 92)

Today, besides paying the debt, people also chant these two scriptures during the Pay-back ceremony (in very rare cases, people would choose only one of them).

In Sichuan, Taoists always perform the Pay-back ritual for living people according to the teaching of the *Guangcheng Yizhi*. This fact can be observed in both historical materials and fieldwork. The Pay-back ritual is always a serious one that has to be arranged as a complete and balanced rundown that last over three days (ideally over five days). It is really a big deal for a family, so that many aged persons considered it an important expectation to achieve in life. For Sichuan Taoists, performing a Pay-back ritual is also a great event, because it takes a considerable effort to prepare a huge amount of *wenjian*; indeed, the Pay-back ritual might be the ritual in the *Guangcheng* tradition that requires the most numerous *wenjian*.

In *Lingbao Tianzun Shuo Luku Shousheng Jing* 靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經 (“*Luku Jing*” simply hereinafter), it is told that when Heavenly Lord of Lingbao Tianzun preached, Guangmiaoyin Zhenren 光妙音真人 humbly asked about why people in this world were so different in physical condition, gender, property and social position. The *Tianzun* expounded that “all beings' destinies belong to the heavenly bureaucracy (*Tiancao*), and their bodies are bound to the Netherworld.” They borrowed some money “*shoushengqian* 受生錢” from the Hell on the time of birth. These amounts of debt would be registered, and condition people’s fortune and wealth in the coming life. If one failed to pay back again and again, the officials thus go to cut down one's lifetime prosperity. So in their lifetime, not only should they do good deeds and respect the Dao, but also they have to hold a *Jiao* offering for Pay-back. “Recite the scriptures according to my teaching, and pay back all your debt of *shoushengqian* to the Luku” (2a). Thus one would be bestowed with wealth, long life, fame and reincarnation into a male person the next life. We also found this system of hierarchy in the myth that the *Tianzun* bestowed Beidi 北帝 (the Lord of the North) the treasures “*Baoshu shengong* 寶樹神弓 (holy tree and a sacred bow)”. The holy tree branches stretch toward the four cardinal directions, referring to every variety of circumstances of life. When one is born, Beidi shoots an arrow: one is then granted a life according to the result of shooting, depending on the direction in which the arrow lands; this result, of course, is determined by one's karma. Then the *Tianzun* continued to inform each names and, the amounts of debt managed, of the officials of the twelve bureau of the years, *Luku Caoguan* 曹官 (counting by twelve earthly branches, *dizhi* 地支); another debt also incurred is the *Yuanchen*

*Qiancai* 元辰錢財 due to be repaid to the administration of the stars (also counting by earthly branches) when people are bestowed a new life.

*Luku Jing* is a concise text. It declares that human beings are in debt at birth, so they have to redeem it in this life. If they can fully pay off their own *shoushengqian* of Hell and *yuanchenqian* of the stars; and if “people pay off these debts and declare it by contract and *wenjian* to their specific bureau, they can obtain good fortune in this life; furthermore, they will be free from suffering in the next life” (4b). In sum, the Pay-back ritual ensures both a blessed life now and a good next life. People have to pay off the debts precisely calculated as follows:

	Number of <i>Luku</i>	Debt (wanguan 萬 貫)	First name of official
zi 子	1	1.3	Li 李
cho 丑	2	28	Tian 田
yin 寅	3	8	Lei 雷
mao 卯	4	8	Liu 柳
chen 辰	5	5	Yuan 袁
si 巳	6	7	Ji 紀
wu 午	7	26	Xu 許
wei 未	8	10	Zhu 朱
shen 申	9	4	Che 車
you 酉	10	5	Zheng 鄭
xu 戌	11	2.5	Cheng 成
hai 亥	12	0.9	Kang 亢

	<i>Benming Yuanchen</i>	Debt (guan 貫)
zi 子	Liu Wenzhen 劉文真	7000
cho 丑	Meng Hou 孟侯	9000
yin 寅	Zhong Yuan 鍾元	6000
mao 卯	Hao Yuan 郝元	10000
chen 辰	Li Wenliang 李文亮	6400
si 巳	Cao Jiao 曹交	1000
wu 午	Zhang Si 張巳	9000
wei 未	Sun Gong 孫恭	4000
shen 申	Du Zhun 杜準	8000
you 酉	Tian Jiaoyou 田交佑	5000
xu 戌	Cui Jianjin 崔漸進	5000
hai 亥	Wang Shuang 王爽	6000

*Taishang Laojun shuo wudou jinzhang shousheng jing* 太上老君說五斗金章受生經 (“*Wudou Jing*” simply hereinafter) narrated that *Laojun* explained to *Wufang wulao tianzun* 五方五老天尊 (Sovereigns of Five Directions) and the other deities how the essence of *Yin* and *Yang* effect human’s life and destiny. When people are born, they correspond to the different *Qi* of the universe which also correspond to the twelve Stars of years. The *Qi* of five directions (each *Qi* belongs to two hours of people, counting by Heavenly stems, *Tiangan* 天干) decide people’s fate, so they have to hold rituals to worship *Wulao* in days of *Sanyuan*, *Wula* 五臘, *Beidou* and the person’s own birthday. With chanting the incantation *Wufang Zhenwen Shenzhou*, it helps to enforce human’s spirit and body with the cosmic *Qi*.

On the day a person is granted life, s/he promised two *shaoshengqian* to *Tiancao* and *Difu*, the amounts of money (counting by *guan* 貫, that is, one thousand coins) are calculated by each personal specific *Dou* and *Qi*. These *benmingqian* are kept temporarily in the storeroom of the twelve *Benming Ku* of Heaven and twelve *Luku* in Hell. People must know exactly who are the officials in charge of their own case. The *Wudou Jing* teaches that it would be best to perform the ritual to pay off the money on one's birthday. For poor people who cannot afford the cost of the ritual, they might hire Taoists to their house to chant the *Wudou Jing*, or chanting by oneself is also allowed. Every chanting of the scripture can replace ten thousand *guan* of *shoushengqian*. The following table shows the *Benmingqian* and detailed items of each stockroom.

Time of birth	Belonging	Benmingqian (wan guan)
Jia 甲, Yi 乙	Nine Qi of the East Dipper	9
Bing 丙, Ding 丁	Three Qi of the South Dipper	3
Wu 戊, Ji 己	Twelve Qi of the middle Dipper	12
Geng 庚, Xin 辛	Seven Qi of the West Dipper	7
Ren 壬, Kui 癸	Five Qi of the North Dipper	5

Number of <i>Ku</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Time of birth	子	辰	申	亥	卯	未	寅	午	戌	巳	酉	丑
	zi	chen	shen	hai	mao	wei	yin	wu	xu	si	you	chou

We can find out the two scriptures are different in contents and practice; moreover, they even seem have no clear relationship to each other. Nevertheless, they share the same point---- what *shoushengqian* is, why people have to pay-back *shoushengqian*, gains and losses of paying back or not, and how to pay-back the money.

This debt influences a lot on not only the fortune and fate of one's life but also one's merits in the next generation, because of the power of *Tiancao* (of stars) and *Shaosheng Yuan* (in Hell). Thus,

“After having burned all the *shoushengqian* debt money, people can easily find a peaceful and joyful life here and now. He can have smooth travels and successful business. He can pass a



wonderful and long-lived life. After all this, he can be reborn as a human again, and enjoy another new life with great blessings from all stars.” (*Wudou Jing*, 7a-b)

「燒醮了足，即得見世安樂，出入通達，吉無不利，所願如心，自有本命星官常垂蔭祐，使保天年。過世之時，不失人身，得生富貴文武星臨財星祿星伍福照要，身命胎宮，安樂長壽，不值惡緣。」(《五斗經》7a-b)

In these two scriptures, both gods Lingbao Tianzun and Taishang Laojun emphasized that the *shoushenqian* should be fully paid back in one's lifetime. This is the concept of “*Yuxiu* 預修<sup>299</sup>” (performing in advance). For instance, in Lin Lingzhen's *Lingbao Lingjiao Jidu Jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書 (*Zhengtong Daozang*, No.466 of *The Taoist Canon*) of the southern Song Dynasty, it is mentioned several times that one must hold a “*Shousheng Jiao* 壽生醮<sup>300</sup>” whenever one is having the “*Yuxiu huangluzhai* 預修黃籙齋<sup>301</sup>”, and to burn enough *shoushengqian* and paper-made horses (*Jiku caima* 寄庫財馬) (juan 2). Besides, this liturgical compendium specified some rules for Pay-back, in “*Keyi Chengli Pin, Tiancao Jiku Jiaoyi* 科儀成立品,天曹寄庫醮儀 (juan 173) and *Wenxi Fabiao Pin, Yuxiu Diezha Guanzou Shenzhuangbiao* 文檄發表品,預修牒笱關奏申狀表 (juan 313). Within this compendium, a total of eleven different passages mention the term *Yuxiu shousheng* 預修受/壽生, and also the name of sixty *Tiancao* officials, as well as all *wenjian* needed for such rituals. These descriptions are quite similar to those found in the *Guangcheng Yizhi*.

The same opinion appeared in *Shangqing Lingbao Jidu Dacheng Jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書, compiled by Zhou Side 周思德 in the early Ming dynasty. In its juan 40, it said that although one can use the “*shoushenqian* on deposit in the *Luku*”

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<sup>299</sup> “*Yuxiu*” is a term that applies to all *Yin* rites held for people when they are still alive. Taoists can transform *Yin* ritual performing style into *Yang* style for different petitions; that is *Baishi Hongzuo* 白事紅作, like Pay-back in this case. Some *Guangcheng* rites offer this choice in stage “division of purposes”, e.g. *Nandou Zhengchao* 南斗正朝, *Beidou Zhengchao* 北斗正朝, *Zhengzou Tiancao* 正奏天曹, etc. The *Guangcheng* tradition has elaborated much on purposes, for example, a common rite of *Nandou Zhengchao* 南斗正朝 is divided into five purposes: *Jiaohui* 醮會, *Yumin* 裕民, *Douyan* 斗筵, *Yuxiu* 預修 and *Wangzhai* 亡齋. On *yuxiu*, see James Robson 2013, Li Hongzhi 2008.

<sup>300</sup> The two Taoist scriptures mentioned above all used “受生”. As for “壽生”, according to Hsiao Teng-fu, it is used in Buddhist scriptures (Xiao (Hsiao) 2002). However, we can find the mix between 受生 and 壽 in *Dacheng Jinshu* and *Wushang Huanglu Dazhai Lichengyi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 (*Zhengtong Daozang*). I believe there is no clear distinction drawn between them; I use “受生” in this dissertation for the sake of consistency.

<sup>301</sup> For example, the *Lingbao Lingjiao Jidu Jinshu* provides some lists like *Yuxiu Huanglu Zhai Wuri Jiemu* 預修黃籙齋五日節目 (juan 2), *Keyi Chenglipin Yuxiu Huangluyong*, *Sanri Jiuchao* 科儀成立品預修黃籙用, 三曰九朝 (juan 161~3), (*Yuxiuyong*) *Tiancao Jiku Jiaoyi* (預修用)天曹寄庫醮儀 (173) and models for *shenwei* 神位 (6), *zhenwen* 真文 (271), *cunsi* 存思 (285), *wenjian* (197、311~3), etc.

after death, he must pay off in total during his lifetime. Until he passes away, he can take the contract to open his *luku* in accompanying with the official *Kuguan*; then they check out the money together and reimburse the debt immediately. Even though Taoist Ning Quanzhen 甯全真 and Zhou Side declared that this ritual was not established in the beginning of the history of Daoist ritual, but was expanded by the later generations (juan 40). One thing we can be sure is that at least in Ning Quanzhen's time----Song Dynasty, the Pay-back ritual had become one of the most popular *Yuxiu* rituals, and was celebrated on a very substantial scale.

Modern research by Hsiao Dengfu indicates that *Jiku* “depositing money in the treasury”, was already existing in the late Tang Dynasty. The common use of paper money at that time could probably be the outcome of some scriptures about *shousheng* from both Taoism and Buddhism<sup>302</sup>. Paper money<sup>303</sup> being the most important and massively-used materials in “Pay-back” ritual, it is reasonable that it should have appeared before the idea of *kuyin* 庫銀. However, Hsiao's article over-emphasized that paper money is going to supply one's needs in the afterlife (in the Netherworld) and the next life (in this world). I believe this idea was not so emphasized in the earlier scriptures; it seemed more like the result of the expansion of the practice by later practitioners. It could make the Taoists sound more eloquent when explaining the ritual to common people<sup>304</sup>; and it definitely reflected what believers wish for. Nevertheless, I insist we should focus on the original meaning of “Pay-back”, that paying off the life debt assures people of blessings for this life and future lives. It is quite different from accumulating wealth for future lives.<sup>305</sup>

The concept and method of “Pay-back” ritual seem simple, but the actual practices are quite complex. The ritual takes at least three days; but five or seven days duration is much more preferred. The numerous *wenjian* and instruments require considerable time and labor to prepare; so does purchasing, folding and

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<sup>302</sup> Xiao (Hsiao) 2002: 79.

<sup>303</sup> The discussions on paper money exclusively for Pay-back, see Hou Ching-Lang 1975.

<sup>304</sup> “The *jiku*. The most ridiculous story is women from rich family desire to have another good livelihood for the next life. They have blind faith in *Luku* in the Hell so that they would like to burn paper money and get the contract. They hire Taoists or Buddhists performing Pay-back ritual for pre-storing richness for the next life.” (*Sichuan Shengzhi · Minsuzhi*, p. 441. This review was cited from *Hechuan Xianzhi* while it was actually cited from *Juexuan Zalu*). This sentence explained folk people's opinion of next life and the necessity of the contract. It also reflects that poor people might not have ability to have a Pay-back. According to *Zhonghua Daojiao Dacidian*, (entry on *jiku* by Liu Zhongyu) “the *jiku*” is a popular religious activity in most of China; and it is for the usage after death. This probably suggests the practice variations of Pay-back rituals.

<sup>305</sup> For instance, nowadays, the popular ways of wealth-praying is to re-supply the stockroom of wealth, or so-called *Jinqian Buyun* 進錢補運. It emphasizes on re-supplying the deficient wealth and fortune of this life with paper money.

decorating the piles of paper money. In Sichuan, until the Republican era, Taoists had always performed the “Pay-back” ritual for families and households in their house (rather than in the temples). Because of the high cost, many families could not afford to do so. Sometimes people saved money to prepare for the ritual for several generations. The elders were often anxious about not able to make it before their death. Today, in Chengdu city, most petitioners for Pay-back are the aged; they have kept asking Taoist temples to revive this ritual right after the loosening of religious policy during the 1990s. Since then, the Pay-back ritual has transformed, as Taoists have started to hold it for large groups of people, who jointly contribute labor force and costs.

## 6-2 *Guangcheng Yizhi* “Pay-back” Ritual Practice Nowadays

There are four related ritual texts on “Pay-back” ritual in *Guangcheng: Zhengzou Jinlu Shousheng Quanji* 正奏金籙受生全集 (13-95, No.95), *Shousheng Hongzhai Yingkuguan Quanji* 受生鴻齋迎庫官全集 (13-96, No.96), *Shousheng Tianhuan Quanji* 受生填還全集 (13-94, No.94) and *Jixiang Shenli Fuding Ji* 祭享神吏夫丁集(14-55, No.173). These four texts constitute the main core of “Pay-back” rituals as performed by Guangcheng Taoists, with of course other rites being added to the programs. Their contents are introduced briefly in the order as follow.<sup>306</sup>

*Zhengzou jinlu shousheng quanji* 正奏金籙受生全集: for inviting deities and submitting the petition. Taoists worship Wufang Wuling Wulao Tianzun 五方五靈五老天尊 at first, and then turn to Jiutian Jinlu Wuliang Shousheng Zhenjun 九天金籙無量壽生真君, *Nandou*, *Beidou* and all Nine heavenly deities (this list is parallel to the order in the *Wudou Jing*; here it also indicates that it “follows the teaching of *Wudou Jing*” (8b)). As an overture of the ritual, it is the formal occasion to explain the petition to the gods.

The main principle in inviting gods is always to follow the order from the superior to the inferior. As the first rite consists in inviting the superior deities, it has to be organized under a serious and solemn environment. For example, when Taoists chant *Wufang Lingzhang Mizhou* 五方靈章密咒 to invite Wufang Wulao Tianzun,

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<sup>306</sup> The order of these four rites is by the succession of ritual process as performed nowadays; it does not correspond to the serial number in the edition ZW of *Guangcheng Yizhi*. The same orders (for the first three rites) appears in catalogs of Old Qingyang gong and Baiyun guan (the three texts were in vol.32, rather the rest text *Jishang Shenfu* was in vol.10), and the new edition ZW.

they have to vow the twelve grand promises and re-attribute the merit to the Three Treasures. Taoists also have to “call Tuohua shousheng Tianzun 托化受生天尊, one sentence one call, one call with a bow” (9b) at the stage of sending off. That reinforces the message about the essence of the ritual. These three rites of Pay-back are similar in structure. They are all about inviting deities, submitting petition and asking for good fortune; they also observe the order of hierarchy and intent by increasing details.

Shousheng Hongzhai Yingkuguan Quanji 受生鴻齋迎庫官全集: inviting the sixty bureaus of *Luku* from *Yuefu Shoushengyuan* 嶽府受生院. Those officials are “in charge of *jiku* 寄庫” (13b) that means they save and manage *shoushengqian* 受生錢. Obviously, this rite of *Guangcheng Yizhi* was affected by *Luku Jing* and *Wudou Jing*. It enriches this concept and extends the number of officials to sixty *Kuguan*, the total numbers of ten Heavenly stems multiplying by twelve Earthly branches; furthermore, it indicated that each person has another debt on chanting *Shousheng Jing*. Regarding the insistence on *Yuefu Shoushengyuan*, I believe *Guangcheng* texts adopted more from *Luku Jing*. In practice, Taoists must invite the other fifty-nine officials as “colleagues of the same function” but only the one in charge of the patrons of the ritual is actually called on to take action.

Taoists have to take a bow or knee down when inviting each and every *kuguan*, and offer incense (with the gesture *Yunxiang* 運香<sup>307</sup>) after inviting every group of ten *kuguan*. The reason to invite the other fifty-nine *kuguan* is for their role as witnesses and supervisors, which makes this ritual complete. After inviting them all, Taoists have to set deities tablets for entertaining them during the whole duration of the ritual. In the past, Taoists set two tablets: the *kuguan* of the petitioner and the other *kuguan*. Since this ritual is performed for the public nowadays, tablets are not divided so anymore.

Shousheng Tianhuan Quanji 受生填還全集: this text follows on the former. In the text, the scripture is cited as “*Jinzun Jinlu Wudou Luku Shousheng Jing* 謹遵金籙五斗祿庫受生經” (6a). It is clear that it relied on both *Wudou Jing* and *Shousheng Jing* and mixed them into one. The gist of this rite is reimbursement, and worshipping and reporting the Pay-back ritual practice to the deities *Wudou Xingjun*,

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<sup>307</sup> In the *Guangcheng* tradition, the *gaogong* offers incense in many ways: *shangxiang* 上香, *yunxiang* 運香, *xianxiang* 獻香, etc. The differences are because of the hierarchy of deities or the stages in the ritual process; sometimes it is about secret magic. Except for the varied shapes of incense (by a whole stick or an inch), casual observers cannot easily tell the differences among them.

Benming Yuanchen Xingjun and the Luku Caoguan, and count-down the debt to: 1. the ○Dipper ○*Qi Xingjun*, 2. the bureau of *Benming Yuanchen Gong* 本命元辰宮, 3. No.○ of *Difu Shousheng Yuan Yiluku* 地府受生院衣祿庫; and the total ○○ thousands of *Guan* coins. And then making an offering to all these three officials to thank their testifying to the completion of the process.

We can find their different functions in the precise manner they are worshipped. For example, Taoists ask for longevity to the ○Dipper ○*Qi Xingjun*; a stronger spirit and better health to Benming Yuanchen Xingjun and “to record all items clearly and immediately; to make sure all the debt has been reimbursed already and there is no outstanding debt, and this forever” (11b) to *Difu Luku Gong*. Moreover, the officials of *Luku* have to manage *Luku* well so that the person can “open the stockroom and use that money for reimbursing by checking the contract after the death. S/he can enjoy his/ her merit and have a better next life.” (12b)

*Jixiang Shenli Fuding Ji* 祭享神吏夫丁集: this rite is for feasting the officials and porters. Though the status of porters is low, their help is important to transport the *shoushengqian*. After officials have checked each point in turn, a feast should be made for the porters, who have been assigned to this task by the *Chenghuang* 城隍 a day before the rite. These feasts are the only one which is not vegetarian during the five-day ritual. The food and drinks should be prepared in a just amount and not generous, and some cockscomb blood (without killing any cock) which reflects their fierce, blood-lusting nature that has to be domesticated. Due to the need of commanding and entrusting a lot of money to the porters, the *gaogong* has to use more secret magic in this rite. He encourages the porters to work hard and endure the long trip; exhort them to handle the treasure chests with care and not to be greedy. After this, it starts to burn paper money packages *Jinyin Baofu* 金銀包袱 (including some rewards to *Chenghuang*, *Tudi Gong* 土地公, the officials and the porters), *shuwen*, *yinwen* 引文 and *Huocuo* 火冊. So far the *shoushengqian* is delivered into the *luku* for temporary storage.

The gist of this rite is for rewarding the hard-working porters and notifying them the operation guidelines. Actually this rite is not designed exclusively for Pay-back ritual but for any ritual which requires to incinerate large amounts of paper money. Due to the limitations of ritual types still performed today, it is probably used rarely outside of Pay-Back rituals.

### Case Study 1: A Shousheng Jiao of Guangcheng Ritual

This ritual took place on November 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011 (21<sup>st</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> of the 10<sup>th</sup> month, year of *xinmao* of lunar calendar) in Huangbei Qu 黃陂區, Wuhan City, Hubei Province. This was when I participated in a Pay-back ritual for the first time. *Guangcheng* Taoists from Heming Shan were invited to perform the ritual at Siyuan Guan 思源觀. The full title of this ritual was “*Taishang Qingsheng Zhuguo Yumin Tianhuan Shousheng Chouhuan Xiudai Jiaoshi Yizhong Tongchen Wuzhouxiao* 太上慶聖祝國裕民填還受生酬還宿貸醮事一中通陳五晝宵”. They performed all rites following *Guangcheng Yizhi* manuals.

I had previously met the Siyuan Guan abbot, Taoist Wu, in Heming Shan, near Chengdu; at that time he was in his “cloud traveling” around the country and training in self-cultivating and meditation. When I and some Taoists talked about the Pay-back, he seemed very interested and said this tradition once existed in Wuhan until the Republican era<sup>308</sup>, and he looked forward to have this ritual performed in his temple. That conversation contributed to this ritual being revived in Wuhan.

There were seven Taoists participating in this ritual, six *Kundao* 坤道 (female Taoists) and one *Qiandao* 乾道 (male Taoist), all from Heming Shan. The *Qiandao* was the senior Taoist, honored as *Shiye* 師爺 (a term of address that other Taoists understand as “grandmaster”). This *Shiye* was the only Taoist not living in Heming Shan; he was the abbot of a neighboring Taoist temple, Chuanwang Gong 川王宮. Chuanwang Gong keeps a very close relationship with Heming Shan as “*Xiayuan Xingshi* 下院形式 (a direct branch)”. We can find some cases of master-disciple relationships between the two temples, and they still interact and support each other frequently now. The *Shiye* thus came to help, as the group from Heming shan needed an experienced *gaogong*. In fact, there were four Taoists in the group from Heming shan who had the qualification as *gaogong*, and three of them indeed performed as *gaogong* during the ritual. The lineup was thus quite strong.

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<sup>308</sup> For example, *Changchun Guanzhi* 長春觀志 (by Li Lian 李理安 of Republican era) cited two kinds of situations in *Jiao Lianpin* 醮聯品: the “*Shengri Shousheng*”生日 and “*Shousheng*” that included twelve pairs of gate-posts. One of them reads: “to pay back paper money to reimburse the *shoushengqian*, to store the fortune for a better next life (納鏹酬冥以答生錢借貸，投財寄庫堪為後世良圖)” which shows clearly that concepts of loans before this life, repayment in this life and receive merit after this life and next life. This theme is quite like that in the *Guangcheng Yizhi*. In Wuhan, the Taoist rituals were very numerous during the Qing and the Republican era, but we do not know how they performed the Pay-back ritual.

As I mentioned previously, Pay-back ritual is very strenuous. One of the reasons is the amount of required *wenjian* is tremendous. Each petitioner at least needs to prepare four different forms of envelopes, *wenshu tongzi* 文書筒子 (with one in form of cuboid and three as flat envelopes) and five *wenjian*. Above these, numerous *biao* and talismans for different deities and situations are required in every single rite during the whole ritual. There are also, of course, lots of paper money packages and paper-made materials. Most Taoists I know agree that the Pay-back ritual might be the ritual that requires the largest amount of *wenjian*. So for them, “it is too hard to prepare to perform; but we have to do so because of many requirements. However, it brings lots of merit.”<sup>309</sup>

Taking this ritual as an example, because it was the first Pay-back ritual held for decades in this region, and also because the believers of *Siyuan Guan* (especially abbot Wu) were numerous; there were about one hundred and fifty people enrolled in advance; and the number eventually increased to more than one hundred and eighty (due to the extremely time-consuming preparations, the deadline for registration was one month before the ritual. In most situations, the temple will not accept extra or late applicants). Before this, many Taoists had prepared all necessary equipments for one month in Heming Shan. They not only had to transcribe numerous *wenjian* and handwrite talismans, but also handmade all material of envelopes, tablets, packages and seals. (Fig.8, 14, 15)

The five *wenshu* and four envelopes for each person are as follow (described in the order where they were used):

--to *Tiancao Difu Gong* 天曹地府宮 (with the cuboid envelop, *fanghan* 方函): includes a *shuwen*. It is for explaining the intention of the ritual and inviting gods to witness the reimbursement and the merits generated thereby. It is used in the rite “*Jinlu Shousheng*”.

--to “*Yuefu Shousheng Yuan* ○*Ku* ○*Caoguan* 嶽府受生院第○庫○曹官 (envelope): includes one of the *Yin-Yang* contracts which is an identification for repayment. A formal seal stamp is affixed on these two sheets of the contract at the same time so its authenticity can be ascertained. The first one (the *Yin* contract) is received by the official in charge; after this person dies and go to *Difu* (subterranean courts of judgment), he/she can show the second one (the *Yang* contract) to the

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<sup>309</sup> Fieldnote 2012-02-14, with Lu.

official and then they can open the stockroom to check the repayment. It is used in the rite “*Shousheng Yingku*”.

--to “*Yuefu Caiku’an Zongjian Caoguan Zhuzhe* 嶽府財庫案總監曹官主者” (with envelope)”: includes a *diewen* 牒文. It is for reporting to the official in charge, and explains the intention of the ritual and applies for management. It is used in the rite “*Shousheng Tianhuan*”.

--to “*Benxian Chenghuang Zhuzhe Fude Zunshen* 本縣城隍主者福德尊神” (with envelope): it includes two *wenjian*. The first *diewen* is sent to the local City god to explain the intention of the ritual and invite him to supervise the proceedings. It means that the City god acts as a witness and a mediator. The second one is the *Yang* contract. The *Yang* contract should be kept by the petitioner him/ herself at first, but for avoiding the risk of losing it, it is actually transferred to the divine offices for safekeeping (this operation is obviously an easy method in contemporary days; of course there are some temples that still maintain the tradition to ask participants to keep the *yang* contract themselves). It is used in the rite “*Jishang Shenfu*”.

By analyzing the contents of the above *wenjian*, we can observe that the very purpose of Pay-back ritual is to indicate petitioners’ name, time and place of birth (when he obtained this present life), and to list the total of *shoushengqian* paid, and the responsible *kuguan*’s name; and then ask the *kuguan* (as well as all the sixty officials) for help. Every statement keeps to the purpose of Pay-back announcement; to request officials to check the money, to keep it save, to record the transaction, and to cancel the debt. Each name, every counting of the transferred money, number of times of scripture-chanting, every item of the ritual has to be recorded with double scrutiny. Only then could this Pay-back ritual conclude successfully by praying for good fortune.

The structure and arrangement of the entire ritual emphasized completeness and balance. Beyond deities directly related to the operation of Pay-back, it still needed to invite more gods from the higher hierarchy so as to achieve good fortune and peace in the three realms. This Pay-back ritual thus was arranged as follow:

Time	Rundown	Text from <i>Guangcheng yizhi</i>	<i>gaogong</i>	
<b>Day 1</b>	<i>Kaitan Qishi</i>	<i>Kaitan Qishi</i> (RJ 223)	⊙	10/21 <sup>st</sup>
8H50	<i>Sajing Yanjie</i>			Day of <i>Yihai</i>
9H35	<i>Shenfa Sanjie</i>			



	開壇啟師 灑淨嚴界 申發三界			Add: purifying
10H20 12H10	<i>Mishu Huangfan</i> <i>Yangfan Zhaogao</i> <i>Daojie Huangfan</i> 秘書皇旛 揚旛昭告 禱結皇旛	(text no left) <i>Yangfan Zhaogao</i> (13-2, No. 2) <i>Daojie Huangfan</i> (14-50, No. 168)	Z	
14H40 15H25	( <i>Guanzhao Fushi</i> ) (關招符使)	<i>Guanzhao Fushi</i> (13-52, No. 52)	Z	
15H40 16H35	<i>Sigong Zaojun</i> <i>Kuanjia Tingke</i> (add: <i>Chaofan</i> ) 祀供灶君 款駕停科 (兼作朝旛)	<i>Anfeng Zhaojun</i> (RJ 244)	Z	
<b>Day 2</b> 8H10 9H30	<i>Zhengqi Sanyuan</i> 正啟三元	<i>Zhengqi Sanyuan</i> (13-1, No. 1)	Y	10/22 <sup>nd</sup> Day of <i>Bingzi</i>
10H10 11H05	<i>Nandou Zhengchao</i> <i>Chaofan Xuanbang</i> 南斗正朝 朝旛宣榜	<i>Nandou Zhengchao</i> (13-82, No. 82)	Y	Add: purifying
14H25 15H05	<i>Riyue Zhengchao</i> 日月正朝	<i>Riyue Zhengchao</i> (13-8, No. 8)	W	
15H15 16H25	<i>Tiancao Zhengchao</i> 天曹正朝	<i>Tiancao Zhengchao</i> (13-4, No. 4)	W	
16H45 17H15	(chanting: <i>Luku Jing</i> and <i>Wudou Jing</i> )			
18H00 18H30	<i>Anjian Hanlin</i> <i>Tingke Huixiang</i> 安建寒林 停科回向	<i>Anjian Hanlin</i> (14-54, No. 172)	Z	
<b>Day 3</b> 8H10 9H05	<i>Xingzhu Zhengchao</i> 星主正朝	<i>Xingzhu Zhengchao</i> (13-85, No. 85)	Z	10/23 <sup>rd</sup> Day of <i>Dingchou</i>

10H05 11H40	<i>Jingdou Randeng</i> 靜斗燃燈	<i>Gongtian</i> (13-6, No. 6) <i>Jingdao Randeng</i> (RJ 205) <i>Chaozhen Lidou</i> (modern copy in Qingyang Gong) <i>Baidou Jiee</i> (RJ 189)	Z	Add: purifying
14H30 15H20	<i>Tongchu Wuxiang</i> (add: <i>Chaofan</i> ) 童初五相 (朝旛)	<i>Tongchu Wuxiang</i> (14-25, No. 144)	Z	
16H00 17H15	<i>Zhengzou Jinlu</i> 正奏金籙	<i>Jinlu Shousheng</i> (13-95, No.95)	Z	
<b>Day 4</b>	※forbidden day of Wu※ (Day of Wuyan)			
<b>Day 5</b> 8H45 9H40	<i>Shousheng Yingku</i> 受生迎庫	<i>Shousheng Yingku</i> (13-96, No.96)	W	10/25 <sup>th</sup>  Day of <i>Jimao</i>
10H30 11H25	<i>Shousheng Tianhuan</i> 受生填還	<i>Shousheng Tianhuan</i> (13-94, No.94)	Z	Add: purifying
12H20 12H35	(a simple ordination ceremony, not related to this Pay-Back ritual)			
14H35 15H20	<i>Xiefan Huanshen</i> <i>Yuanman Jianjia</i> 謝旛還神 圓滿餞駕	<i>Xiefan Huanshen</i> (no publish) <i>Yuanman Jianjia</i> (13-54, No.54)	⊙	These rites were actually practiced in the reverse order.
16H20 16H50	<i>Jishang Shenfu</i> 祭賞神夫	<i>Jishang Shenfu</i> (14-55, No.173)	Z	
18H25 20H20	<i>Tieguan Hushi</i> 鐵罐斛食	<i>Tieguan Hushi</i> (14-73, No.205)	Z	
10H10 11H30	[private/ 私人家內事] Lidou 禮斗*	<i>Jingdao Randeng</i> (RJ 205) <i>Chaozhen Lidou</i>	Z	10/26 <sup>th</sup> Day of <i>Gengchen</i>  Add: purifying
14H30 17H00	Duwan 度亡	<i>Duwan Zhuanzhou Ke</i> (modern copy in Qingyang Gong)	Z	

The five-day ritual rundown was arranged into four days because of the forbidden day of Wu.<sup>310</sup> This ritual progress thus became more compact in time, but we can see the numbers of rites were unchanged. Rites last different durations according to the scale of text; most rites take up around 40- 50 minutes. The 6<sup>th</sup> day ritual was an additional private ritual from several close families (this arrangement was also set already in advance); and not included in the main Pay-back ritual. The cost of holding a ritual (whether in the temple or at a house, with at least three or five Taoists) is always expensive, so adding some more rites/ rituals beyond the main ritual is very common. Furthermore, some minor requests always come up from the patrons of the rituals to the Taoists in the course of the ritual (often without prior notice), like eye-opening for icons, asking some advice on one's personal destiny and *fengshui* consultations.

By arranging rites correctly, *gaogong* made this rundown balanced and satisfactory in the eyes of other participants. In my opinion, the “balance” in *Guangcheng* ritual means to structure the rundown in both appropriateness and regulation. Taoists must be aware of following rules, having modest manner in inviting deities and embodying the essence of ritual. Furthermore, they also have to perform some pure and *qingji* rites at the right junctures, and never forget the balance of *Yin* and *Yang*.

The requisite rites of ritual structure are basic and indispensable to almost every ritual. In this case, they are: “*Minggu Falu* 鳴鼓發爐”, “*Kaitan Qishi*”, “*Sajing Yanjie*”, “*Tingke Huixiang*”, “*Tingke Kuanjia*” and “*Yuanman Jianjia*”.<sup>311</sup> In short, these stages are the beginning, ending and pause parts of the ritual, playing the function of fixed routine to support the main purpose. That is the rite of “common use”.

“*Minggu Falu*” was the first rite in this ritual, and was geared at establishing a serious and pure altar. It also indicated the start of the ritual, and announced the living (Taoists and laypeople) to behave in a solemn manner and the deities and

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<sup>310</sup> The taboo of the Wu day is to interdict offering incense, chanting, worshipping and holding a ritual in these days (six Wu-day: the day of *Wuzi*, *Wuting*, *Wuchen*, *Wuwu*, *Wushen* and *Wuxu*). It has a long history: we can trace it as far back as the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子; in the *Daomen Dingzhi* of the southern Song Dynasty, it was defined by law not to offer incense and pray then. Quanzhen Taoists also followed this prohibition strictly after the Qing Dynasty. See Min Zhiting 1990: 46.

<sup>311</sup> The texts are: “*Jiantan Qishi*” (13-44, No.44), “*Yuanman Jianjia*” (modern copy in Qingyang Gong, it is acceptable to use other similar texts like “*Jianjia Huiluan* 饒駕迴鑾” (13-54, No. 54). The two stages of “*tingke*” were performed in a more simplified way to combine with the previous rite and did not use the *Guangcheng Yizhi* manual.

ghosts to respect or avoid the ritual area. Taoists invited their ancestor masters immediately afterwards in “*Kaitan Qishi*”, to show the respect of teaching transmission and their strong support of the tradition. Taoists also relied on the masters to communicate with the deities. Thus ancestor masters were the first group of supervisors in the altar. To “*Sajing Yanjie*” is to purify the altar. There are many ways in purifying. In the *Guangcheng* tradition, Taoists prefer to purify the environment by talisman-water which was reinforced by the general Jiufeng Pohui Song Dajiangjun 九鳳破穢宋大將軍<sup>312</sup>. They choose big or small-scale *sajing* for different scales of time or space. Both the “*Tingke Huixiang*” and “*Tingke Kuanjia*” marked the pause of a day. It asked gods to take a rest or go back to their palaces at night for the temporary pause in the ritual; it also has a function of re-attributing the merit. These two rites are similar and can be exchanged for each other. At the end of the ritual, “*Yuanman Jianja*” meant to offer thanksgiving to the gods for their help and blessings. So Taoists re-attributed the merit to deities and reported their contribution up to Heaven, while Taoists thanked them again and again and sent them off respectfully.

Besides those basic frameworks, the *gaogong* arranged some appropriate rites to match the ritual scale. “*Shenfa Sanjie*”<sup>313</sup> announced this new to three realms. “*Tiancao Zhengchao*” in the second day meant to worship and ask for help to all-layers Heavenly officials, to make this ritual run smoothly. “*Sigong Zaojun*” (having only a modern copy of the manual from Qingyang Gong) is a must-have rite for several-days rituals. Taoists had to clean up the kitchen and set the tablet for “*Jiutian Yunchu Jianzhai Shizhe* 九天雲廚監齋使者”. As for the “*Tongchu Wuxiang*”, it is a rite to worship the five *Zhenjun* (perfected lords) who are said to excel in ritual practice, and is a *qingji* rite to receive good fortune.

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<sup>312</sup> Belongs to “Nanfang Dantian Shijie Jiufeng Yuhuasi 南方丹天世界九鳳玉華司”. There are many ways in purifying the altar. It is the most common method in the *Guangcheng* tradition. In this case, Taoists also used and recited “*Sanqing Jiechu Yanhui Zhenfu* 三清解除厭穢真符” which was stamped on a *Sanbao* stamp and signed with secret symbols in red ink.

<sup>313</sup> Although there is text of “*Shenfa Sanjie*” (modern copy in Qingyang Gong), here Taoists performed it combining with *Qishi*. It is a simplified practice way called “*liantan* 連壇”.

Here, the *gaogong* arranged three rites of royal flags<sup>314</sup>: “*Mishu Huangfan*<sup>315</sup>”, “*Yangfan Zhaogao*” and “*Daojie Huangfan*”. There are many kinds of flag ritual in Taoism, but the “royal flags” is the specific type proper to the *Guangcheng* tradition.<sup>316</sup> Taoists can tell the signs of good and evil (auspicious vs. inauspicious) by the ties and knots that form on the flags, and each local ritual tradition has its own method to set up the flag and interpret the results. In the *Guangcheng* tradition, the main royal flag is a huge oblong yellow flag with elegant decorations; it carries the sacred title of the Jade Emperor on it. Its foot side is divided into five tassels, Taoists thus judge the result of flag feet ties to tell which one general has come down and taken on the task of being the supervisor of the ritual. When opening this royal flag, it needs to be smoked by burning pine branches, and purified and consecrated by the *gaogong*. After the *gaogong* and the petitioners (who took Siyuan Guan abbot Wu as their representative) reported to the Jade Emperor, they hanged the other nine flags (of blue dragon, white tiger and seven stars of Dipper) one by one. During the process of tying, all participants had an audience ritual with three Heavens and prayed the Jade Emperor to come down. An official or general would receive the Jade Emperor’s order to come down first to pave a road that allows all deities to come to the altar. This official will be the main supervisor of the ritual during these days, Taoists can tell his status by checking the figures of ties from *Huangfang Yunzuan* 皇旛雲篆 (15-33, No. 272).<sup>317</sup> (Fig. 13, 20).

For this ritual of good fortune, some worshipping rites need to be arranged. “*Zhengchao*” is the rite to explain the intention or worship certain gods (most *zhengchao* in the *Guangcheng Yizhi* are not for celebrating the god’s birthday). It is very common to choose one specific *zhengchao* among the large choice offered by the *Guangcheng Yizhi*, based on the function of the god or just by reason of *qingji*. Moreover, it also has the function of eliminating disasters. Because the Pay-back process implies the spirits of the five dippers, and the stars that correspond to the date of birth, the rundown here arranged many rites of *Dou* worship: “*Nandou Zhengchao*”, “*Riyue Zhengchao*”, “*Xingzhu Zhengchao*”, “*Jingdou Randeng*”,

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<sup>314</sup> There is another rite of this series, “*Cuijie Huangfan* 催結皇旛” (14-51, No. 169). It is, as the name implies, a rite to urge royal flag tying. It is a rite with tougher manner and more secret magic for achievement. The process during the particular performance described here went very well and thus this extra rite was not needed.

<sup>315</sup> Just as I mentioned above, no text of “*Mishu Huangfang*” is extant. Nowadays, the *gaogong* change practices to combine “*Mishu*” and “*Yangfan Zhaogao*” together and simplifies some lost secret magic.

<sup>316</sup> It is usual to hang flags in Taoist ritual. But there are very different in types and numbers in different traditions, and the practice methods are thus also very varied.

<sup>317</sup> See Chen Liyi 2014.

“*Chaozhen Lidou*” and “*Baidou Jie*”. The “*Dou Jiao*” are all rites referring to stars worshipping. There are numerous advantages of *Dou Jiao*, such as praying for longevity, careers, improved destiny, avoiding disasters caused by the stars, health and family prosperity. Thus we can clearly see that this rundown concerned not only the appropriate rites to the idea of *shoushen* and *Dou* and *Qi*, but a good future for all participants.

There is one more requirement of *Guangcheng* ritual practice,,: keeping the balance of *Yin* and *Yang*. For this reason, some *Yin* rites for saving souls were added: they were “*Anjian Hanlin*” and “*Tieguan Hushi*” in this case. Setting *hanlin* is a necessary rite for any over three-day ritual; it is for settling lonely souls for temporary repose. The rite “*Tieguan*” came after the “*Yuanman*” that indicated the vivid opposition between *Yin* and *Yang*. Most *Guangcheng* rituals end with the rite “*Tieguan Hushi*”.

### 6-3 Case Study 2: Considerations and Variations in Ritual Arrangement

Here I present another case of Pay-back ritual of *Guangcheng* ritual. It was “*Taishang Jinlu Shousheng Tianhuan Yingxiang Fahui* 太上金籙受生填還迎祥法會” performed at Gu Niangniang Miao, Chengdu city in 2012. The rundown was made by the *gaogong* Pan. He made a grand-scale ritual for five days and laid the dates ending before 04/17 of lunar calendar---- the “Hell-opening day”<sup>318</sup>.

Day	Rundown
1 <sup>st</sup> day 04/12	* <i>Kaitan Qishi</i> , * <i>Yingshui Danghui</i> , * <i>Shenfa Sanjie</i> , <i>Anfeng Jiantan</i> , * <i>Shenqi Chenghuang</i> , <i>Anfeng Zaojun</i> , <i>Anjian Hanlin</i> , * <i>Tingke kuanjia</i> *開壇啓師 *迎水蕩穢 *申發三界 安奉監壇 申啟城隍 *安奉灶君 *安薦寒林 *停科款駕
2 <sup>nd</sup> day 04/13	* <i>Zhengqi Sanyuan</i> , <i>Tiancao Zhengshen</i> , * <i>Tongchu Wuxiang</i> <i>Zhengqi Wulao</i> , * <i>Tingke Kuanjia</i> *正啓三元 天曹正申 *童初五相 正啓五老 *停科款駕
3 <sup>rd</sup> day	<i>Biaozhang Zongchao</i> , <i>Huanglu Wuyuan</i> , <i>Zhengshen Dongyue</i> ,

<sup>318</sup> Ever since the Niangniang Miao has restarted performing this ritual every year (this has been the case for more than five years), the Taoists there have insisted that they choose this day for the opening of *Luku*. I cannot find any written source of the Hell-opening day yet. Heming Shan used to hold it at *Xiayuan* (10/15<sup>th</sup>), for its character of relieving misfortune. But the date is not unchangeable, for example, in 2012 they held it at “*Laojun Hu*” (2/15<sup>th</sup>), “just for fate.” (Fieldnote 2012-02-14, with Licheng).

04/14	<i>Zhengshen Fengdu, Zhengshen Shiwang, *Tingke Kuanjia</i> 表章總朝 黃籙五院 正申東嶽 正申鄂都 正申十王 *停科款駕
4 <sup>th</sup> day	<i>Shousheng Yingku, Jinglu Shousheng, Shousheng Tianhuan,</i>
04/15	<i>Jishang Shenfu, *Tingke Kuanjia</i> 受生迎庫 金籙受生 受生填還 祭賞神夫 *停科款駕
5 <sup>th</sup> day	<i>Jiuchen Zhengchao, *Gongsi Zhutian, *Baidou Jie,</i>
04/16	<i>*Yuanman Jianjia, *Tieguan Hushi</i> 九宸正朝 *貢祀諸天 *拜斗解厄 *圓滿餞駕 *鐵罐斛食

I marked as “\*” to show the repeated rites from the ceremony in Wuhan (described above). There were about half the rites repeated; and most of them were part of the basic framework.<sup>319</sup>

Few repeated rites between the two rituals did not belong to the framework rites: “*Tiancao Zhengchao*”, “*Tongchu Wuxiang*”, “*Baidou Jie*” and “*Tieguan Hushi*”<sup>320</sup>. Among them, “*Tiancao*” and “*Tieguan*” are “plain rites”; as for “*Tongchu*” and “*Baidou*”, they are worshipping rites, which aim at reporting and praying to Master *Wuxiang*<sup>321</sup> and lords of the stars. They, basically, are rites of pure and *qingji*, and have the general functions of absolving sins and giving good fortune. We can conclude that this phenomena that a large number of repetitions occur between different performances results from a consensus among Taoists about the nature of this ritual -- they, of course, still introduce something different in each performance. This Pay-back ritual arrangement has existed for a long time since the mid-Qing dynasty without major changes.

As for the difference between the two rituals, there are two interesting issues worth discussing. The second case (the Chengdu Niangniang miao) added a little more worshipping rites, “*Biaozhang Zhongchao*” (15-47, No.286), “*Jiuchen Zhengchao*” (13-9, No.9), “*Gongtian*” and “*Zhengqi Wulao*” (13-93, No.93). The rite “*Biaozhang Zhongchao*” is also called “*shangdabiao* 上大表, sending off the most important memorial”, is the most serious audience rite in the whole *Guangcheng* tradition. It is for worshipping and praying to the highest Taoist gods,

<sup>319</sup> I got this rundown from the *gaogong*. I actually did not attend this ceremony myself (but had some conversation and pictures on QQ). So I can only explain and interpret by the rundown, and cannot know if he made any special arrangement, like to simplify or combine rites.

<sup>320</sup> This is not more than a hypothesis on my part. After all, the position of plain rite is still important.

<sup>321</sup> Tianpeng Yuanshuai 天蓬元帥, Tianyou Fushuai 天猷副帥, Yisheng Baode Zhenjun 翊聖保德真君, Bei Ji Xuantian Shangdi 北極玄天上帝 and Zhengyi Jingying Zhenjun 正一靜應真君.

the *Sanqing*, Three Pures. This rite takes more preparation and time than others, so that Sichuan Taoists always say “it is very hard to report to the Jade Emperor, however, to report to the *Sanqing* is even harder”. I believe it is because in this rite the *gaogong* emphasizes to an extreme degree the solemnity and beauty of his performance, so he chose to add more worshipping rites when he designed this rundown. It definitely matches the original essence and spirit of the Pay-back ritual; however, not every *gaogong* stresses this side as well -- he of course can arrange this part of the rundown at his will.<sup>322</sup> Also, the Niangniang miao *gaogong* set “*Gongtian*” as an individual program, whereas in the Wuhan case, Taoists performed it by combined with series rites into a mixed larger rite which was a relative convenient modification for saving time.

The second point is about *Yin* rites, such as “*Huanglu Wuyuan*” (14-81, No.213), “*Zhengshen Dongyue*” (14-28, No.147), “*Zhengshen Fengdu*” (14-28, No.147) and “*Zhengshen Shiwang*” (14-27, No.146). Although these rites are all for saving souls of relatives, they also match the essence of Pay-back by a special side, “doing a *Yin* ritual though the *Yang* form, *Yinshi Yangzuo*, 陰事陽作 (or *Baishi Hongzuo* 白事紅作)”. This kind of rite is so-called “*Yuxiu* 預修, performing rites in advance”, which means petitioners ask for holding some *Yin* rituals of salvation for themselves when they are still alive. There are many reasons for people to consider doing so<sup>323</sup>, in this situation, it is because the teaching of the Pay-back scriptures.

Most *Guangcheng* texts have several possibilities in “division of purposes”, which can easily change its situation to balance the *Yin* and *Yang*, and that can satisfy this special requirement for a “joyous funeral, *xisang* 喜喪” in the mood of peace and happiness. Take “*Dongyue*” as an example: in this rite, the *gaogong* praises the Emperor of the Eastern Peak in different ways, according to the different possible purposes of *Zhai* and *Jiao*.<sup>324</sup> He stresses “the peace and prosperity for the whole world and the wish that all people may live in happiness” in a *Jiao*, and “saving souls and then letting them be reborn as humans again” in a *Zhai* situation (3a). Comparing the two formulations within the same rite, they actually come from

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<sup>322</sup> Just like inviting an important guest to a party, the host might ask him to make a speech or just to seat. There are considerations for arrangement, and it is not easy to comment.

<sup>323</sup> In the early Republican era, some rich old ladies in Beijing would assign to have a living funeral in their birthday, to show off their richness and prosperous offspring (Chang Renchun 2001:97-100). I heard a case nowadays that an old lady in Chongqing worried her descendants would not pay much money for her funeral, so she held one for herself in advance, “she even had the paper-made house burnt already.” (Fieldnote 2012-08-29, with Qing).

<sup>324</sup> In this case, there is the third division for protecting seedlings and good year, it says: “may good weather all the year, and all grain harvest” (4a).



the same concern -- praying for the blessing to both the living and the dead, repent for one's transgressions and then ask for good fortune. This rite in this rundown also reflects the key point in the need to balance *Yin* and *Yang*.

Pay-back ritual is a *yuxiu* ritual of the *Huanglu Zhai* category, it thus no doubt is a *Yin* ritual. But comparing to a "*Shoushen Jiao*" of the *Guangcheng* tradition, we can find more concept of *Yang* in the arrangement. By emphasizing the living people as petitioners, it makes *yuxiu* ritual showing more meaning of peace and *qingji*. Thus, to make a joyous funeral, in fact, is exciting. Sichuan people ignore its *Yin* character more and more, in the end, they follow the spirit of the ancient scriptures: one must repay his debt when alive.

However, plans can not always keep up with life changes. Sometimes people pass away suddenly before they have had any chance to pay their debt. To deal with this exception, people have to revise the plans as soon as possible. This insistence is far different to some other places where the local ritual tradition is for the Pay-Back to take place after death.<sup>325</sup> In the *Guangcheng* tradition, they deal with such contingencies by performing a Pay-back ceremony when the person has just died. The arrangement of the ritual also needs to modify some stages to fit with the situation; especially in *wenjian*, it not only has to rewrite its intention, but also change the address office. As far as I know, there was no case of a Pay-Back ritual performed for the dead that happened in the Chengdu area after the 1990s.<sup>326</sup>

The cases of Pay-back rituals discussed above (in Wuhan and in Chengdu) were both impressive and successful; when compared, they have both major similarities and major differences. Under the same basic ritual structure, Taoists maintained principles to keep the whole structure unchanged. As to the rest place, the *gaogong* can arrange it by his special scheme. No matter whether he stresses peace and joyfulness in this world, or death and merit, the chosen arrangement are considered by participants as thoughtful and appropriate. Thus, the *gaogong* always tries hard to make sure he has considered all possibilities, utilized all knowledge and avoided all taboos as much as he can; and, of course, he has made an overall consideration for petitioners. There is, again, no absolute right or wrong in arrangement. The *Gaogong* always make their decisions for different considerations and situations under their different training traditions and knowledge.

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<sup>325</sup> For example, in Taiwan, people used to hold it shortly after death, and before the seventh day. see researches from Lee Fong-mao, Hsieh Tsung-hui, Hiroshi Maruyama and Asano Haruji, etc.

<sup>326</sup> According to all my informants' opinions.

#### 6-4 The Ideal Form of Pay-Back Ritual (in Former Times)

I have described above some cases I met and heard in the field. But comparing to the earlier times of the late Qing or early Republican era, all these cases seem far less complete in their arrangement. Here, I would like to try to recover an ideal imagined arrangement for a Pay-Back ritual as complete and gorgeous as possible, based on my readings and fieldwork.

Let us assume the petitioners are a rich and powerful family, living under the Qianlong or Jiaqing reigns, the Liu Family.<sup>327</sup> They lived in Shuangxi Si (place name), Xingdu County which is a little distance north from Chengdu City (now it lays inside Chengdu area). The head of Liu family is named Liu Jiying 柳繼郢. When Mr. and Mrs. Liu got older, they started to think about having a special Pay-back ceremony on their own. So they invited the most famous Taoist in that time, Chen Fuhui to manage this ritual. This ritual was named “*Jinglu Shousheng Dazhai Yuxiu Jiku Pufu Youming Daochang* ○*Zhouxiao* 金籙受生大齋預修寄庫普福冥幽道場○晝宵” (*Yayi Ji*, 16a) which took place for five (or more) days in their house. The number of *jingshi* (some might be active altar Taoists or laypersons) was over seven.

This ceremony was held in the third month of the lunar calendar.<sup>328</sup> The chosen days might be meaningful to the petitioner, such as his birthday.<sup>329</sup> In generally, the whole preparation should start six months before (at the very least two to three months before). The petitioner, Mr. Liu, described to Master Chen Fuhui all his purposes, family members list (each person’s information) and budget (money, days and place...); and then Chen (who was the manager and *gaogong* of the temple, thus he could made all decisions by himself) drew up a proposed arrangement for him and prepared everything before the ceremony. To the Liu Family, this ceremony must have been a long-awaited major affair.

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<sup>327</sup> Here I borrow the case from *Yayi Ji*; there were two *wenjian* for the Liu left (2-13, 3-38). It was the only case in the *wenjian* collection that provides the actual names of the patrons.

<sup>328</sup> *Yayi Ji*, 3-38.

<sup>329</sup> To hold the ceremony on one’s birthday corresponds to the recommendation in the *Wudou Jing*. For example, “*Weimu Tianhuan Kucai Shu* 為母填還庫財疏” (*Xinxiang Miaoyu*, 4-27) indicated clearly he did so for celebrating “his mother’s birthday” and that day can just reflect the meaning “getting birth”.

There were lots preparations before the ritual. Take *wenjian* as example, it needed as follow (integrating with the three *wenjian ji* and my fieldwork):

- *Shu, Duyi* and *Bangwen*<sup>330</sup> ...
- *Diewen*: *Qing Kuguan Die* 請庫官牒, *Ji Kuguan Die* 祭庫官牒, *Touku Die* 投庫牒, *Kaiku Die* 開庫牒, *Tudi Die* 土地牒, *Chenghuang Guangfu Die* 城隍關夫牒, *Guanqu Huangfu Die* 關取皇夫牒.<sup>331</sup>
- *Heting* (contract): *Huanjuan Die* 環券牒, *Jinlu Duming Hetong Qijuan* 金籙度命合同契券 or *Hetong Juandie* 合同券牒, *Yinyang Die* 陰陽牒, *Jiuzhen Jiedie* 九真戒牒.
- *Huoce* 火冊, *Shuiyin* 水引 (and other *Yin*), *Yuxiu Xiandie* 預修獻帖, *Chouhuan Longmian* 酬還籠面, *Fengtiao* 封條...

*Bangwen* and different kinds of *diewen* are documents full of highly formal language and exquisiteness sending to related deities; as to the *hetong*, that were made in duplicate for each person separately. *Huoce* and *xiandie* are lists of offering and personal belongings, which stated in detail every rite's name, offerings and all paper-made materials (buildings, treasure chests and wrapper package of paper money) prepared for burning. Besides, there properly had “*Zhaitan Zhengmeng Bu* 齋壇証盟簿” or “*Jingdan Bu* 經單簿<sup>332</sup>” for recording all members and materials involved. Chen Zhongyuan as the person in overall charge should take full responsibility in all arrangement and draw up lists of needed *wenjian*. Considering he was also a respected *gaogong* and *shujiguan* (secretary, person in charge of *wenjian*), it is quite possible that he made the rundown and *wenjian* by himself or closely supervised his major disciples when they did the paperwork. All *wenjian* must be transcribed after writing, and they all (except the talismans) need separate envelopes---- sometimes one needs more than one envelope with different material quality. Those materials were hand-made and hand-written. That was a huge project, labor- and time-intensive.<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> In this list I underline the *wenjian* that I saw in Wuhan. Some might have slightly different names, and, after all there are differences between *wenjian* used for public and private Pay-Back rituals. There are different lists of required *wenjian* in contemporary practice; it might come from different usage from Taoists. Like replacing “*Shuilu Guanyi*” but commanding in rite *Jishang Shenfu*, or Taoists write “*Huoce*” in different forms.

<sup>331</sup> These items are most certainly not comprehensive, but we do not have enough records of *wenjian* used in the past. I presume they at least used more “*Jinyin Qianshan Zhuang* 金銀錢山狀” and “*Jinqian Yin* 進錢引” (*Yay jii*, 3-32-3) (from articles, they were addressed to the Taishan Emperor, but they were very similar with each other).

<sup>332</sup> Hu Tiancheng 1996: 380-422.

<sup>333</sup> According to a case “*Jielong Sangxi* 接龍喪戲” in Ba county around 1990s, they used 467 *wenjian* in total for a five-days funeral ritual. This ritual mixed Taoist and Buddhist elements;

Few days before the ceremony, the *jingshi* group went to the Liu Family and started to prepare the altar. They lived and ate there during this time (accommodation was made available for them in the Liu compound). Taoists took texts, *wenjian*, ritual implements and things needed with them. They also had to create specific religious decorations adapting to the environment. During the whole period, all people involved ---- Taoists and family members had to take vegetarian meals and keep themselves pure and respectful.

The ritual started by a hundred and eight drumbeats on the morning of the first day to announce to all beings of this world and the other world. We cannot know the real rundown from Chen Fuhui for a lack of records, but it is reasonable to assume his general features. First of all, the basic structure rites, like starting altar, reporting ancestor masters, purifying, setting gods' tablets, praising stove, sending off... are irreplaceable; the four purpose rites: *Jinlu Shousheng*, *Shousheng Yingku*, *Shousheng Tianhuan* and *Jishang Shenfu* are of course necessary (and must come in this order).<sup>334335</sup> Furthermore, concerning the *wenjian*, it should have a rite “*Zhengshen Dongyue* 正申東嶽” or “*Mingjing Shiwang* 冥京十王<sup>336</sup>” to cooperate with “*Dongyue Jiku Biaowen* 東嶽寄庫表文”; have rites of *Baidou* for lighting “*Beidou Qixing Yansheng Xingdeng* 北斗七星延生星燈”; have “*Gongtian*” for offering “*Daluo Zhutian Baoju Jinggong* 大羅諸天寶炬淨供 (numerous candles)”. And, for the sake of balancing *Yin* and *Yang*, it had to add at least “*Tieguan*” and “*Hanlin*”. In this case, the date was right on the petitioner's birthday, it had better to hold some *qingji* rites like “*Xingzhu Zhengchao* 星主正朝” and “*Beidou Jinxuan Yuzhang QuANJI* 北斗金玄羽章全集” that all attract the good fortune to the petitioner.

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although it was not a perfect *Guangcheng* ritual, it is still related and comparable to a certain extent. Hu Tiancheng 2000:3.

<sup>334</sup> The order of the catalog is: *Wuliao Zhengqi*, *Shousheng Tianhuan*, *Jinlu Shousheng*, *Shousheng Yingku* and *Chuandu Yinlu* (both old Qingyang and Baiyun edition do so), but it is not the same with today's edition. These five rites might be arranged in Pay-back ceremony in the past, but we cannot be sure of their setting order. Besides, “*Zhengqi Wulao*” (13-97, No.97) is a rite reporting to Wulao Masters and based on *Duren Jing*; “*Chuandu Yinlu*” deals with giving a certificate to laymen petitioners who have accepted precepts (it also appeared in *Yayi Ji*, 3-2), Taoist of Qingyang Gong bookstore also recommended me to have it. These two are closed to essence of Pay-back although they are not specific for it. Fieldnote 2011-06-21, with Lu.

<sup>335</sup> We only can find these four related texts now. A Taoist told me that there were far more than these before (fieldnote 2012-07-16, with Dong). I consider this very plausible, but we cannot sure how many.

<sup>336</sup> Also “*Zhengshen Shiwang*” (14-27, No.146), it indicates as “*Zhengshen Mingwang* 冥王” in the center column on the page.

Besides “*Tieguan*”, it is usual to add some *Yin* rites for saving the souls of dead family members. For this purpose, one can take “*Guanshe Wanghun* 關攝亡魂”, “*Jiuku Zhengchao* 救苦正朝”, “*Xuehu Zhengchao* 血湖正朝<sup>337</sup>” and several rites of *Duren*. This was an additional part and was not within the main ceremony (Pay-back), so it should be held after the ending of the Pay-Back proper, that concludes with the rite “*Yuanman*”. According to memory, before 1949 “the *Hanlin* must not be set before the proper business had finished.”<sup>338</sup>

Aside ritual practice, there were much spare times for chanting Taoist scriptures and making repentance (*baichan*). Mr. Liu needed to chant seventy-two times “*Jinzhang Luku Shousheng Zunjing* 金章祿庫受生尊經七十二卷<sup>339</sup>” (*Yayi Ji*, 3.28b). In fact, there is no such text, I suspect it is a combination of *Wudou Jing* and *Luku Jing*; the same mixed title also appears as a quotation “*Jinglu Wudou Luku Shoushenjing* 金籙五斗祿庫受生經” in the rite *Shousheng Tianhuan*) mainly and several other related scriptures and repentances. Because the total numbers of chanting is very considerable, people of rich and powerful family always start to do so by breaking up the whole into parts in their family altar several years before. Sometimes, they hired some laypersons chanting for them during the ritual (by setting another altar for chanting only). All chanting must be finished before the end of the ceremony.

Paper money is another major aspect of the ritual. Everyone owes two debts to a) the stars of *Beidou* and b) *Yufu Shoushengyuan* (*Yayi Ji*, 3.27a). Those were cited clearly from each *wenjian*. Mr. Liu as the head petitioner, had the right to be titular (also mentioning his personal information) on all kinds of *wenjian*; or he transferred this honor to his live parents. As to the rest, they had only *hetong* (and Pay-back related *wenjian*) individually.

The Liu family had to prepare the place before the ritual, including the inner altar, the chanting altar, the *Hanlin*, stove and residence for the Taoists. They also needed to prepare paper money, incense, oil and candles (the manager will let them know

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<sup>337</sup> In generally, “*Xuehu*” is a specific rite for women. But in *Guangcheng*, it is divided into four usages for all people dead by childbirth, loss of blood, wars and big accidents. It can save all souls dead from bleeding. I believe it might be arranged thus because the huge number of violent deaths during the *Jinchuan* Wars that had by then just came to an end.

<sup>338</sup> It is acceptable if petitioners do not want to add so. Even though, they have to set *Hanlin*. Then Taoists have to set *Hanlin* right after *Yuanman*, and perform *Tieguan* immediately (it should not last overnight). It is reasonable, but I am not sure if it is a rule. Fieldnote 2012-07-13, with Pan.

<sup>339</sup> In fact, there is no such *Ku* of seventy-two volumes. It is possibly an amount of two texts or modified for private use by Chen Fuhui.

the required amounts in advance). The amounts and variety of paper money were huge, people used to invite a worker in the house to “make money, *zaoqian* 造錢<sup>340</sup>”. This worker can also serve the funeral paper offering and cabinet work (for constructing higher altar, pavilion...). If he needed some specific *shoushengqian*, the petitioner could buy them from the Taoists directly (they often managed stores selling religious goods such as paper offerings, incense, coffins etc.) or went to an incense shop in advance.

The numbers of *jingshi* were seven or nine. The Liu might also invite bands or local opera folk groups to collaborate with the *jingshi* and celebrate the ceremony (they were familiar with *Guangcheng* tunes and popular Taoist songs). The Liu family would welcome relatives and friends as well; they would offer a banquet after the ritual.

During the ritual, Mr. Liu had a specific duty, to hold the *wenshu* plate behind the *gaogong* in the inner altar. It is an honored position as the representative of the Liu family. But because of his advanced age, it is quite possible that he requested a member of the junior generations or hired a Taoist boy to replace him. The other members can come in the altar and worship in the ritual at will.

With well-oiled collaboration and appropriate behavior observed by all participants, this ritual followed the rundown strictly and ended in a satisfactory way. Everything went on smoothly and no incident took place.<sup>341</sup> It finally finished at the last stage, burning paper money. After treating the officials and porters, the whole paper money should be burn by firewood outdoors. Paper money should be prepared, sealed well with envelopes and chests, be covered by a straw mat and lighted with an oil-lamp already burning in the house from three days before; it was believed the divine officials will come and count the money at night. The sealing wax on *wenjian* envelopes were sealed tightly so that only officials of the *Tiancao Yuan* and *Huangding Lishi* can open. In some cases, one of the *gaogong*'s hairs was even wrapped in as a guarantee.<sup>342</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Cutting a pair of semicircles to make it looks like a coin. People use rough paper make paper money, the form of three lines with nine coins each is for heavenly officials, and three lines with seven coins each is for use in Hell. These paper money are small bills so it is needed in large quantities. It still can be found in the countryside but they are ready made article. Only remote villages keep the custom of inviting workers to hand-make the paper money. Fig.6.

<sup>341</sup> Believers like to discuss things miraculous or supernatural that happen during the ritual; they judge that as sign of future. For instance, the weather change, the sound and flying ash while burning the *wenjian*, if someone has a special dream, etc. Fieldnote with Wu, Pan and FY.

<sup>342</sup> Behaviors like counting money, sealing and wrapping a *gaogong*'s hair were common in the late

The last night, all paper money packages were disposed like a mountain outdoors. Every petitioner had his/ her package and all were recorded on the list. Because there was so much paper money, it always took a long time for all of it to burn out.

After the ritual, every petitioner obtained the *Yang* part of the *hetong* and *Jiuzhen Jiedie* of their own. Those documents must be kept seriously and will be burned as a funeral object after death. So far, the Pay-back ritual was almost finished. Considering the divine officials will change every three years, one should also hold a little thanksgiving to thank the departing officials and encouraging the new. This required not a rite, just reporting to their superior official; it is better to do so in a temple, facing to the North at the day of “opening the storeroom<sup>343</sup>” mainly. One then still had to offer a little paper money and dishes, and sometimes four pairs of straw sandals. This simple procedure, held every three years, should continue to the death. Persons with strong belief or who interact with Taoists closely often kept this strictly. After the person has died and has paid all his/ her debt finally, s/he can reborn as a human, again.

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Qing dynasty, and it was described to me by a Zhengyi Taoist. I believe it was the specific method of *Zhengyi Guangcheng* Tan. Today, *Zhengyi* Taoists do not perform Pay-back rituals anymore (after 1980s). Fieldnote 2011-06-17, with FY.

<sup>343</sup> Taoists might also use the “Hell-opening day”. Beyond this day, Taoists still can chant “*Kaiku Jing*” (I have not been able to find this text) or magic spells to open the storeroom (in Shanxi, Henan and Shandong provinces). This day also must follow the taboo of *Wu* days. Fieldnote 2011-06-16 with Huang, 2012-07-13 with Pan.

## Conclusion

The *Guangcheng Yizhi* is an immense text collection, and the current Guangcheng ritual practice involves many Taoists, at many sites and many types of performances; it is thus a daunting task to attempt to draw the whole picture. As a scholar and an outsider to this tradition, I cannot but realize how preliminary my work is, and how much remains to be done.

In this dissertation, I focus on two main aspects of the *Guangcheng* tradition: its history and its current practice. I combined some large historical issues, linking the development of the *Guangcheng* tradition with the Sichuan political and social history. *Guangcheng* rituals underwent three periods of development from the mid-Qing Dynasty to the present, but they have by and large maintained their foundation and essence as a cohesive body of texts and practice that offer all-purpose ritual solutions to the local populations.

However, some historical questions must remain open at the present, as I have not been able to address fully in this dissertation; some of them are waiting for new evidence to emerge in the future, but some simply seem impossible to answer, which always made me anxious when conducting fieldwork. For example, is there a final and authoritative catalog of *Guangcheng*? The answer might be no, counterintuitive and frustrating as this may seem. Or, in other words, how come *Guangcheng* Taoists do not worry about it? After hearing many indifferent responses to my questions on the topic, I tried to give a reasonable answer of my own: maybe to most *Guangcheng* Taoists it is unnecessary to handle the whole collection, or they actually have some personal opinions of the contents of the collection. This hypothesis helped me think through an organic model of rites, whereby Taoists connect and develop Guangcheng rites into their own system. Yet I do not think this question has been thoroughly solved. It requires more research on both historical records and detailed contents of ritual structure.

The variety and vibrancy of ritual practice in the field has been a challenge, albeit of course a welcome one. There are so many traditions/lineages just inside the Chengdu area, and it is not easy to apprehend them all. Thus, I use a new term, “*Guangcheng* Taoists,” to refer to all Taoists performing ritual from *Guangcheng Yizhi* regardless of their lineage. The advantage is that this term indeed reflects the reality that all Taoists can collaborate together under this shared practice style, and it



also avoids the endless task of tracing all extant lineages. It thus involves all my research informants, in spite of their variety. This term, of course, first appeared because of the lack of data, but I believe it is an appropriate usage even for future research because it also carries the idea of place identity (*benshan*) in Sichuan.

In spite of complaining about the lack of information, I have actually often felt troubled when handling the extremely abundant data from liturgical texts. At first, I started reading *Guangcheng* texts while knowing nothing of its practice. After the long process of reading, classifying, taking notes and archiving, I finally entered the field with a rich, but abstract knowledge. My preconceived ideas about Guangcheng ritual helped me get into real-life situations soon but with a biased concepts of the text collection that disagreed with those of the Taoists and the *gaogong*.

I have seen several times situations in which Taoists quote sentences from classical texts immediately to explain some points of Taoism. These impressed me a lot. Thus, I put this impression and my personal reading experience into a metaphor that treats *Guangcheng Yizhi* (and its relative *wenjian ji*) as a huge database. Therefore, I intend to find the connection between single rites and combine them with each other through a reasonable mental map; further on, I wish to understand how Taoists connect rites and build complex ritual arrangements when devising a rundown for a ritual performance that they are invited to preside.

In pursuing these explanations, I have gone beyond common sense and neutral analysis, and have developed real-life analogies that may sound surprising in a scholarly analysis of ritual. It is probably not a good idea to put so many personal opinions in the dissertation, and readers may have preferred instead more dialogue with advanced theories. But I do have passion for the topic and feel impelled to express my impressions from observing the ritual practice of the Guangcheng Taoists. Both the colorful database of texts and the vivid lifestyle of Sichuan Taoists push me into this direction of the subjectivity involved in performing and observing the rituals. I would like in the future stages of my work to elaborate more on the process of considering and deciding on how to perform rituals. Unlike the common research approaches that take *gaogong* and Taoists as mere informants on the history and meaning of the ritual texts, I would like to show more sides of their activities besides just asking and recording.

To structure a rundown with single rites built into several-days rituals, to set them into regular frameworks, and to arrange the rundown into a reasonable process;

these production processes always fascinate me. The logical reasoning and organic arrangement behind such processes can certainly extend our understandings of ritual practice.

I believe any outsider researcher would like to have an equal communicating situation with his/her Taoists informants. I am very fortunate to have had favorable conditions of time and environment. Most Taoists I have met keep an open mind and friendship to my unconstrained and speculative questions, and still replied to me with patience. I thus got to familiarize myself with the rules of ritual structure. This led me to believe that we can try to approach a convincing conclusion just by analyzing the Taoists' ritual practice with good enough textual knowledge and fieldwork experience. So that we can try to reproduce (and extend to some extent) the process of producing ritual; that is a practicable way to reinforce ritual studies.

However, all Taoists studies must return to its ultimate concern – Taoism and Taoists. No matter how intellectually satisfying the models I devised are, one must still turn around and ask whether they also satisfy the Taoists. I interpreted their thinking by applying an anthropological mode of participant observation. It is a tactics to approach the same goal by different means, for I still hope my model can resonate with the *Guangcheng* Taoists' opinions in the end.

Although I heard some complaints from Taoists stating that the current ritual revival situation is not good enough, especially since many ritual performances are lacking or simplified; I was rather astonished by the tremendous ever-changing situation; on each of my visits, things had noticeably changed since my previous visit just a year before. New situations are created by increasing the scale, frequencies, material items and expense of the rituals. The “revival” brings a spectacular boom; it also raises some doubts about the orthodoxy, such as how to distinguish right from wrong, how to examine the validity of a newly revived, or invented rite, or the attitude toward ritual innovation in general. We must observe more on the practice and new texts and liturgical materials<sup>344</sup> in the future.

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<sup>344</sup> We can see some cases where *Guangcheng* Taoists release new catalogs or texts on the internet, but one cannot be sure of the reliability and source of such digital documents. Besides, with the economic situation, the altar decorations and implements tend to become ever more luxurious and costly. Yet, because of the lack of qualified local masters of handicrafts, Taoist robes and ritual implements are more and more the result of mass production, lacking local characteristics. Some Taoists feel ever more unsatisfied by such a loss.

In addition, not every small difference in the practice of the various Guangcheng Taoists is minor and unimportant. For example, sometimes Zhengyi Taoists might modify to call “*Jinzhēn Yanjiao Tianzun* 金真演教天尊” instead of “*Quanzhēn Yanjiao Tianzun* 全真演教天尊” from the text at the stage “calling the *tianzun*”; those who do so take the opportunity to highlight their own tradition and lineage, and negate others.<sup>345</sup> These modifications are of course very meaningful, but they are often too small to be observed easily.

I hope this dissertation provides an adequate report and analysis of my great experiences in Sichuan. Taoists there gave me so much valuable experiences with their open and friendly manners, leading me to believe that they are among the most hard-working, learned and generous Taoists in the world. I can easily see their achievements of both practice and cultivation in ritual. However, they are also so generous in sharing not only information but also their concepts and visions, aside from secret magic which they are wary to discuss. I look forward to having more communication with them in the future, and further develop my analysis. I am very honored to have had such a good opportunity of studying the topic of Guangcheng ritual in modern Sichuan.

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<sup>345</sup> Fieldnote 2015-01-01, with Qin (who is a *Quanzhēn* Taoist).

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67	67	Jiuhuang Chaoyuan Jiaopin Wuxi Quanji 九皇朝元醮品五夕全集	Worshipping the Nine Sovereigns, day 5	13
68	68	Jiuhuang Chaoyuan Jiaopin Liuxi Quanji 九皇朝元六夕醮品全集	Worshipping the Nine Sovereigns, day 6	12
69	69	Jiuhuang Chaoyuan Jiaopin Qixi Quanji 九皇朝元七夕全集	Worshipping the Nine Sovereigns, day 7	13
70	70	Jiuhuang Chaoyuan Jiaopin Baxi Quanji 九皇醮朝元八夕全集	Worshipping the Nine Sovereigns, day 8	12
71	71	Jiuhuang Chaoyuan Jiaopin Jiuxi Quanji 九皇會朝元九夕全集	Worshipping the Nine Sovereigns, day 9	12

72	72	Jiuhuang Shoujiao Zhenren Ji 九皇壽醮真人集 三	Celebrating the birthday to Lucan Star, day 3	10
73	73	Jiuhuang Shoujiao Wenqu Ji 九皇壽醮文曲集 四	Celebrating birthday to Wenqu Star, day 4	11
74	74	Jiuhuang Shoujiao Danyuan Ji 九皇壽醮丹元集 五	Celebrating birthday to Danyuan Star, day 5	10
75	75	Jiuhuang Shoujiao Wuqu Si 九皇壽醮武曲集 六	Celebrating birthday to Wuqu Star, day 6	11
76	76	Jiuhuang Dajiao Guangao Ji 九皇大醮關告集	Announcement for a Nine Sovereigns offering	8
77	77	Jiuhuang Dajia Yingjia Ji 九皇大醮迎駕集	welcoming the gods for a Nine Emperors offering	17
78	78	Jiuhuang Shoujia Tanlang Ji 九皇壽醮貪狼集 一	Celebrating birthday to Tanlang Star, day 1	11
79	79	Jiuhuang Shoujia Jumen Ji 九皇壽醮巨門集 二	Celebrating birthday to Jumen Star, day 2	9
80	80	Lingtian Shouzhi Qianya Ji 臨壇受職簽押集	Receiving one's assignment and signing documents (for Taoists before a ritual)	10
81	81	Nandou Zhengchao Quanji 南斗正朝全集	Worshipping Nandou (southern Dipper)	10
82	82	Nandou Zhuwen 南斗祝文全集	praying the Southern Dipper	13
83	83	Beidou Zhengchao Quanji 北斗正朝全集	Worshipping Beidou	14
84	84	Beidou Jinxuan Yuzhang Quanji 北斗金玄羽章全集	Praying the Big Dipper	15
85	85	Xingzhu Zhengchao Quanji 星主正朝全集	Worshipping <i>Wudou</i>	13
86	86	Qirang ShibaGao Quanji 祈禳十八誥全集	For peace and expelling calamities	14
87	87	Mingri Chongzhen Jianshan Ji 命日崇真建善集	Reporting in advance (of ritual)	11
88	88	Baoda Sien Quanji 報答四恩全集	Thanksgiving and repaying the four favors	17
89	89	Jieshou Quanji 接壽全集	Prolonging one's lifespan	9
90	90	Song Taisui Ke 送喪	Sending off <i>Taisui</i>	3



		送太歲科		
91	91	Shiwang Dazhai Youan Quanji 十王大齋右案全集	Salvation for private funeral (the second part)	16
92	92	Shiwang Jiaojing Quanji 十王絞經全集	Saving souls (private funeral)	11
93	93	Yuxiu Zhengqi Wulao Quanji 預修正啟五老全集	Reporting to the Wulao	14
94	94	Shousheng Tianhuan Quanji 受生填還全集	Pay-back ( <i>shousheng qian</i> )	14
95	95	Zhengzou Jinlu Shousheng Quanji 正奏金籙受生全集	Pay-back (reporting)	11
96	96	Shousheng Hongzhai Yingkuguan Quanji 受生鴻齋迎庫官全集	Pay-back (inviting <i>ku</i> officials)	16
97	97	Xingxian Jushan Chuandu Yinlu Quanji 興賢舉善傳度引籙全集	Ordination for lay person	15
98	98	Tu Huang Jiaokuan qitian Quanji 土皇醮欸啟壇全集	Setting and starting altar	13
99	99	Tu Huang Jiaokuan wufang Zhenwen Ji 土皇醮欸五方真文全集	Releasing five true-word talismans	12
100	100	Tu Huang Jiaokuan Anlong Ji 土皇醮欸安龍集	Thanking Earth and placating dragons	15
101	101	Shuihuo Jupian Dafa Quanji 水火瑠篇大法全集	Salvation by water and fire	10
102	102	Shuihuo Liandu Quanji 水火鍊度全集	Salvation by water and fire	32
103	103	Shuihuo Fuzhuan Ji 水火符篆集	Dispensing talismans	20
104	104	Dangang Bazhen Zaochao Quanji 丹罡八鎮早朝全集	pacifying the ritual place, in the morning	15
105	105	Dangang Bazhen Wuchao Quanji 丹罡八鎮午朝全集	pacifying the ritual place, in the noon	17
106	106	Dangang Bazhen Wanchao Quanji 丹罡八鎮晚朝全集	pacifying the ritual place, in the evening	12
107	107	Hetu Sanchen Xingjiao Zaochao Shangji 河圖三辰星醮早朝上集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> , in the morning	16
108	108	Hetu Sanchen Xingjiao Wuchao Zhongji 河圖三辰星醮午朝中集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> , in the noon	16

109	109	Hetu Sanchen Xingjiao Wanchao Xiaji 河圖三辰星醮晚朝下集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> , in the evening	12
110	110	Dangang Shihuo Zaochao Quanji 丹罡誓火早朝全集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> , in the morning	10
111	111	Dangang Shihuo Wuchao Quanji 丹罡誓火午朝全集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> , in the noon	14
112	112	Dangang Shihuo Wanchao Quanji 丹罡誓火晚朝全集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> , in the evening	11
113	113	Liming Zhengchao Quanji 離明正朝全集	Forbidding fire and praying for peace	14
114	114	Jiaopin Sihuo Quanji 醮品祀火全集	Purifying the territory	9
115	115	Dangang Shihuo Qishe Shuitan Quanji 丹罡誓火啟設水壇全集	Setting water altar	4
116	116	Chouxiehuo Quanji 酬謝火全集	Thanksgiving after a fire accident	22
117	117	Yushu Zhenjing Xuanjing Quanji 玉樞鎮靜宣經全集	Reciting the <i>Yushu Jing</i> (for Puhua tianzun)	43
118	118	Silei Zhengchao Quanji 祀雷正朝全集	Worshipping Thunder ministry gods Or celebrating birthday of Puhua Tianzun	17
119	119	Leiting Zhengchao Quanji 雷霆正朝全集	Worshipping thunder deities	20
(120)	**	Silei Ji 祀雷集	* * not exist * *	
	14--			
120	1	Hetu Sanchen Xingxinag Wanchao Ji 河圖三辰星象晚朝集	Expelling calamities caused by the stars	15
121	2	Sigong Taiyang zhengchao quanji 祀供太陽正朝全集	Worshipping the Sun	12
122	3	Shuifu Sanjie Quanji 水府三界全集	Purifying and inviting officials	6
123	4	Shuifu Zhaolong Quanji 水府招龍全集	Calling/ inviting dragons	11
124	5	Longwang Zhengchao Quanji 龍王正朝全集	Worshipping dragon kings	8
125	6	Leiting Shuijiao Zhengqi Sansheng Quanji 雷霆水醮正啟三聖全集	Praiyng for rain, or to stop floods	10

126	7	Guangao Leishen Quanji 關告雷神全集	Reporting to the Gods of thunder	5
127	8	Gongsi Shuifu Quanji 祀供水府全集	Worshipping the Gods of the rivers	10
128	9	Gongsi Fengbo Quanji 祀供風伯全集	Worshipping Fengbo (Duke of Wind)	12
129	10	Yangsi Zhengchao Quanji 楊泗正朝全集	Worshipping the general Yangsi	8
130	11	Guanyin Zhengchao 觀音正朝全集	Worshipping Avalokitesvara, Guanyin	8
131	12	Baomiao Guangao Huijiang Quanji 保苗關告會將全集	Protecting seedlings, calling the eight officials	10
132	13	Baomiaojiao Yanghang Zhaogao Quanji 保苗醮揚旂昭告全集	Protecting seedlings, for smooth going agriculture	7
133	14	Baomiao Yingzhen Jiejia Quanji 保苗迎真接駕全集	Protecting seedlings, inviting gods	16
134	15	Baomiso Yandi Zhengchao Quanji 保苗炎帝正朝全集	Worshipping Yandi	14
135	16	Baomiao Sanyao Chanhui Quanji 保苗三曜懺悔全集	Protecting seedlings, for thanksgiving	16
136	17	Tianhejiao Jiejie Jifu Xiezhen Quanji 田禾醮結界祭符謝真全集	Expelling locusts and appeasing local unrest	14
137	18	Hewen Zhengchao 和瘟正朝集	Worshipping the epidemic deities	11
138	19	Huode Zhengchao Ji 火德正朝集	Worshipping the Fire god, to avoid fire calamities	8
139	20	Shenqi Chenghuang Ji 申啟城隍集	Submitting a petition to the City God	4
140	21	Rangyi Pansa Quanji 禳? ([示良]) 蟻判散全集	Driving away ants	9
141	22	Gongsi Chonghuang Quanji 祀供蟲蝗全集	Expelling locusts	8
142	23	Huoling Zhaoshe Quanji 火鈴詔攝全集	Expelling calamities of fire or plague	13
143	24	Yangjiaopin Tianhuang Zhaoshe Quanji 陽醮品天皇詔攝全集	For peace and expelling all calamities	11
144	25	Tongchu Wuxiang Zhengchao Quanji	Worshipping Wuxiang and ancestor	15

		童初五相正朝全集	masters	
145	26	Yingzhai Shanggong Quanji 迎齋上供全集	Offering (during the ritual)	8
146	27	Zhengshen Mingjing Shiwang Ji 正申冥京十王集	Reporting to the Shiwang (Ten Kings of hell)	9
147	28	Zhengshen Beiyin Fengdu Ji 正申北陰酆都集	Reporting to the Fengdu Emperor	9
148	29	Xuehu Zhengchao Quanji 血湖正朝全集	Salvation for all those who have suffered violent death	13
149	30	Yangong Shejiao Ji 言功設醮全集	Reporting the merits (at the end of an offering)	8
150	31	Chuanshou Jieyan Quanji 傳授戒言全集	Saving dead souls by conferring precepts on them	8
151	32	Lingzu Zhengchao Quanji 靈祖正朝全集	Worshipping Lingzu	8
152	33	Sanyuan Zhai Zuoan Quanji 三元齋左案全集	Salvation	18
153	34	Sanyuan Zhai Youan Quanji 三元齋右案全集	Salvation	16
154	35	Zhengchao jinbiao ji 正朝進表集	submitting the memorial (for peace and <i>qingji</i> )	15
155	36	Yudi zhengchao ji 玉帝正朝集	Worshipping the Jade Emperor	15
156	37	Baoen Hongzhai Youan 報恩鴻齋集右案	Saving the dead souls	28
**	38	Yiming (anonymous) 佚名	Xingfu Gaojian, (refer to 13- 27)	
157	39	Shizhong Baoen Quanji 十種報恩全集	Saving the dead souls (of parents)	30
158	40	Baoen Zhaiji Zuoan Quanji 報恩齋集左案全集	Saving the dead souls (of parents)	21
159	41	Baoen Zhaiji Youan Quanji 報恩齋集右案全集	Saving the dead souls (of parents)	17
160	42	Nandou Liandu Quanji 南斗煉度全集	Liandu sublimation ritual (For peace and <i>qingji</i> )	8
161	43	Duiling Jiuku Quanji 對靈救苦全集	Saving the dead souls	21

162	44	Suiyuan Wangsheng Shifang Zaochao quanji 隨緣往生十方早朝全集	Saving the dead souls	11
163	45	Suiyuan Wangsheng Zouna Wuchao quanji 隨緣往生奏納午朝全集	Saving the dead souls	15
164	46	Suiyuan Wangsheng Chanhui Wanchao Quanji 隨緣往生懺悔晚朝全集	Saving the dead souls	9
165	47	Jiazi Dajiao Zhengzou Sanhuang Quanji 甲子大醮正奏三皇全集	Local grand peace <i>Jiao</i>	10
166	48	Jietan Sanjie Quanji 解壇散界全集	Thanksgiving and re-attributing the merit	4
167	49	Zhaijiao Chishui Jintan Ji 齋醮敕水禁壇集	Purifying the ritual area	23
168	50	Leiting Daojie Huangfan Quanji 雷霆禱結皇旛全集	Hanging up royal flags	20
169	51	Cuijie Huangfan Quanji 催結皇旛全集	Urging to hang up royal flags	7
170	52	Zhuguo Yiwen Quanji 祝國儀文全集	For peace and <i>qingji</i>	4
171	53	Zhixie Shuaijiang Quanji 致謝帥將全集	Thanking the generals and deities	4
172	54	Zhupin Zhaijiao Anjian Hanlin Ji 諸品齋醮安建寒林集	Setting <i>Hanlin</i> (resting place for summoned souls)	4
173	55	Jixiang Shenli Fuding Ji 祭享神吏夫丁集	Thanking officials and porters	5
174	56	Chipo Jiuyu Quanji 敕破九獄全集	Saving the dead souls	30
175	57	Piaofang Liandeng Ji 飄放蓮燈集	Salvation ritual for dead souls: letting lotus lamps drift away	12
176	58	Shiwang Gaojian Quanji 十王告簡全集	Setting the tablets of the Shiwang (ten Kings of hell)	31
177	59	Zhaijiao Zhengshen Dongyue Ji 齋醮正申東嶽集	Reporting to the emperor of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue)	9
178	60	Liushi Jianba Quanji 六時薦拔全集	transgression in six times (1/ 6)	9
179		Liushi Jianba Quanji 六時薦拔全集二	transgression in six times (2/ 6)	6

180		Liushi Jianba Quanji 六時薦拔全集三	transgression in six times (3/ 6)	6
181		Liushi Jianba Quanji 六時薦拔全集四	transgression in six times (4/ 6)	6
182		Liushi Jianba Quanji 六時薦拔全集五	transgression in six times (5/ 6)	6
183		Liushi Jianba Quanji 六時薦拔全集六	transgression in six times (6/ 6)	6
184	61	Shuilu Dazhai Puzhao Guhun Quanji 水陸大齋普召孤魂全集	Summoning all ghosts for an universal salvation	24
**	62	Yangong Shejiao Quanji 言功設醮全集	Re-attributing the merit	8
185	63	Fengdu Baku Zhaiyi Zouan Quanji 酆都拔苦齋儀左案全集卷上	Saving the dead souls 1	14
186		Fengdu Baku Zhaiyi Zouan Quanji 酆都拔苦齋儀左案全集卷下	Saving the dead souls 2	12
187	64	Fengdu Miaozhai Youan Quanji 酆都妙齋右案全集卷上	Saving the dead souls, 1	7
188		Fengdu Miaozhai Youan Quanji 酆都妙齋右案全集卷下	Saving the dead souls, 2	8
189	65	Qingwei Shiwang Zhuanan Yizhi Quanji 清微十王轉案儀制全集	Saving souls for new dead (reporting to <i>Shiwang</i> )	24
190	66	Jiuzhuan Shengshen Dazhai Quanji 九轉生神大齋全集	Saving the dead souls	13
191		Shengshen Dazhai Erzhan Quanji 生神大齋二轉全集	Saving the dead souls, 2	13
192		Shengshen Dazhai Sanzhuan Quanji 生神大齋三轉全集	Saving the dead souls, 3	12
193		Shengshen Dazhai Sizhuan Quanji 生神大齋四轉全集	Saving the dead souls, 4	13
194		Shengshen Dazhai Wuzhuan Quanji 生神大齋五轉全集	Saving the dead souls, 5	13
195		Shengshen Dazhai Liuzhuan Quanji 生神大齋六轉全集	Saving the dead souls, 6	13
196		Shengshen Dazhai Qizhuan Quanji 生神大齋七轉全集	Saving the dead souls, 7	13
197		Shengshen Dazhai Bazhuan Quanji	Saving the dead souls, 8	14

		生神大齋八轉全集		
198		Shengshen Dazhai Jiuzhuan Quanji 生神大齋九轉全集	Saving the dead souls, 9	15
199	67	Jiuzhuan Neifu Ji 九轉內符集	Producing the talismans	4
200	68	Jiulian Fansheng Quanji 九煉返生全集	Saving the dead souls	16
201	69	Yuqing Liandu Fansheng Yufu 玉清煉度返生玉符	Figures of talismans	3
202	70	Jiutian Liandu Quanji 九天煉度全集	a liandu ritual for saving dead souls	15
203	71	Zhaowang Ke 詔亡科	Summoning the dead souls to be saved	14 ?
204	72	Qingwei Zhaoshe Xuanke 清微詔赦玄科	Saving the dead souls	8
205	73	Tieguan Hushi Quanji 鐵罐斛食全集	Grand salvation of the dead souls with (Sa Shoujian's) iron bottle	42
206	74	Qingxuan Jilian Tieguan Hushi Quanji 青玄濟煉鐵罐施食全集	Grand salvation of the dead souls with (Sa Shoujian's) iron bottle	93+3
207	75	Sizheng Shensheng Zaochao Quanji 四正生神早朝全集	Saving the dead souls: morning audience	11
208	76	Siwei Shensheng Wuchao Quanji 四維生神午朝全集	Saving the dead souls: noon audience	9
209	77	Yiqi Shensheng Wanchao Quanji 一氣生神晚朝全集	Saving the dead souls: evening audience	9
210	78	Jiutian Shensheng Zongchao Quanji 廣成儀制九天生神總朝全集	Saving the dead souls: conferring talisman	18+2
211	79	Xuehu Qishi Quanji 血湖啟師全集	Reporting to ancestor masters for a blood-pond salvation	14
212	80	Xuehu Dazhai Sanshen Quanji 血湖大齋三申全集	Reporting to gods for a blood-pond salvation	13
213	81	Huanglu Wuyuan Ji 黃籙五院集	General salvation: reporting to officials	10
214	82	Shuilu Dazhai Shangwang Tianyi Quanji 水陸大齋傷亡天醫全集	Salvation ritual (for victims of accidental death)	8
215	83	Guangao Fengdu Xuehu guanjiang Quanji 關告酆都血湖官將全集	Reporting to officials	10

216	84	Xuehu Yingzhen Ji 血湖迎真集	Inviting deities	10
217	85	Xuehu Dazhai Hunyuan Liumu Quanji 血湖大齋混元六幕全集	Inviting <i>Liumu</i> officials	16
218	86	Xuehu Santu Wuku Quanji 血湖三塗五苦全集	Saving the dead souls (public ritual for all souls)	8
219	87	Poan Randeng Quanji 破暗燃燈全集	Saving souls, lighting the Hall	8
220	88	Xuehu Qushe Quanji 血湖曲赦全集	Salvation of <i>Xuehu</i> : re-attributing the merit	12
221	89	Xuehu Dazhai Kepin Quanji 血湖大齋科品全集	Saving dead souls (women mainly)	38
222	90	Lingbao Yulu Xuehu 靈寶玉籙血湖	Saving dead souls suffering the blood pond	12
223	91	Xuehu Zhengchao Ji 血湖正朝集	Worshipping Xuehu Jiaozhu	8
224	92	Zhengzou Tiancao Ji 正奏天曹集	Reporting to Heavenly officials	8
225	93	Sanshiliu Jie Qishi Quanji 三十六解啟師全集	Reporting to ancestor masters	8
226	94	Xiang Sanshiliu Jie Ji 祥三十六解集	Expelling calamities	60
227	95	Wangzhai Jieyuan Shijie Quanji 亡齋解冤釋結全集	Reconciling dead souls locked in a feud	23
228	96	Jindao Duansuo Jieyuan Wangzhai Quanji 金刀斷索解冤亡齋全集	Saving dead souls (victims of suicide)	12
229	97	Yinjiao Zhaoan Qiqing Quanji 陰醮招安啟請全集	Thanking earth (in a funeral)	8
230	98	Yinjiao Xuanjing Quanji 陰醮宣經全集	Thanking dragons (in a funeral)	4
231	99	Yinjiao Touzhuang Quanji 陰醮投狀全集	Thanking <i>Wufang</i> (in a funeral)	7
232	100	Yinjiao Mingdeng Quanji 陰醮明燈全集	Offering to the deities (in a funeral)	8
233	101	Yinjiao Biaoshan Quanji 陰醮標山全集	Reporting to earth deities (in a funeral)	11
234	102	Yinjiao Jiling Quanji	Sweeping the tomb	4



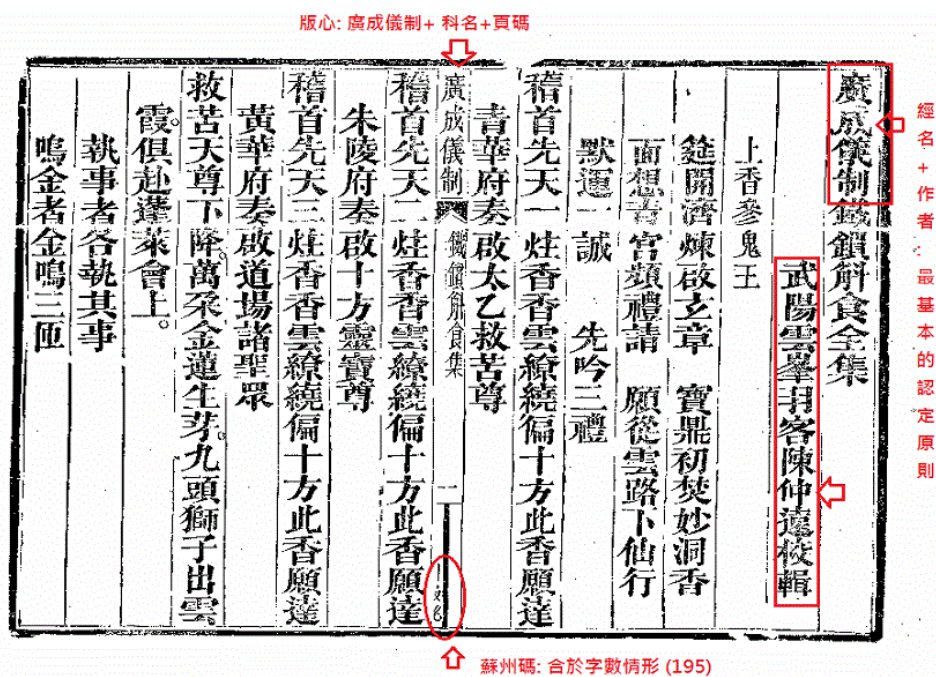
		陰醮祭靈全集		
235	103	Yinjiao Dianxie Gumu Quanji 陰醮奠謝古墓全集	Comforting spirits (accidentally disturbed when digging a grave)	6
236	104	Anwei Xianghuo Ji 安慰香火集	Reporting to the ancestors (when rebuilding the house)	11
237	105	Sidi Zhengchao Quanji 祀地正朝全集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> (in the course of building a house)	16
238	106	Yangjiao Wufang Mingdeng Quanji 陽醮五方明燈全集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> (before building)	7
239	107	Yangjiao Xietu Anzhen Jiugong Quanji 陽醮謝土安鎮九宮全集	For peace and <i>qingji</i> (before building)	16
	15--			
240	1	Duren Tigang Shangbu Zuoan/youan Quanji 度人題綱上部左右案全集	<i>Huanglu Zhai</i> , saving dead souls	85 (1~40)
		Duren Tigang Xiabu Zuoan/Youan Quanji 度人題綱下部左右案全集	<i>Huanglu Zhai</i> , saving dead souls	85(41~85)
241	2	Durenzhai Yishi Zouan Quanji 度人齋一時左案全集	<i>Huanglu Zhai</i> , saving dead souls, left-1	14
242	3	Durenzhai Ershi Zouan Quanji 度人齋二時左案全集	<i>Huanglu Zhai</i> , saving dead souls, left-2	12
243	4	Durenzhai Sanshi Zouan Quanji 度人齋三時左案全集	<i>Huanglu Zhai</i> , saving dead souls, left-3	14
244	5	Durenzhai Yishu Youan Quanji 度人齋一時右案全集	<i>Huanglu Zhai</i> , saving dead souls, right-1	9
245	6	Durenzhai Ershu Youan Quanji 度人齋二時右案全集	<i>Huanglu Zhai</i> , saving dead souls, right-2	7
246	7	Durenzhai Sanshu Youan Quanji 度人齋三時右案全集	<i>Huanglu Zhai</i> , saving dead souls, right-3	9
247	8	Duren Dazhai Yiguo Ji 度人大齋一過集	Saving dead souls, 1/ 10	9
248	9	Duren Dazhai Erguo Ji 度人大齋二過集	Saving dead souls, 2/ 10	10
249	10	Duren Dazhai Sanguo Ji 度人大齋三過集	Saving dead souls, 3/ 10	9
250	11	Duren Dazhai Siguo Ji 度人大齋四過集	Saving dead souls, 4/ 10	10
251	12	Duren Dazhai Wuguo Ji 度人大齋五過集	Saving dead souls, 5/ 10	9

		度人大齋五過集		
252	13	Duren Dazhai Liuguo Ji 度人大齋六過集	Saving dead souls, 6/ 10	9
253	14	Duren Dazhai Qiguo Ji 度人大齋七過集	Saving dead souls, 7/ 10	8
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281	42	Wenjiao Nianwang Basheng Quanji 瘟醮年王八聖全集	For expelling plagues and restoring peace to the locality	15
282	43	Beidi fumo Quwen Gaofu quanji 北帝伏魔法瘟告符全集	Driving out plagues (by calling North Emperor, Beidi)	16
283	44	Beidi Fumo Jiaopin Zouna Quanji 北帝伏魔醮品奏納全集	Inviting deities (during a public <i>jiao</i> )	21
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288	49	Leimen Xiejiang Quanji 雷門謝將全集	Thanking thunder officials	10
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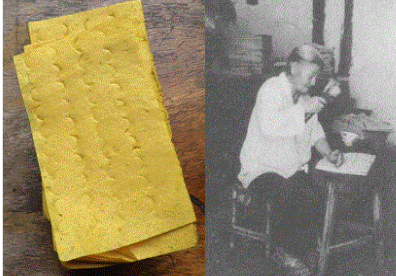
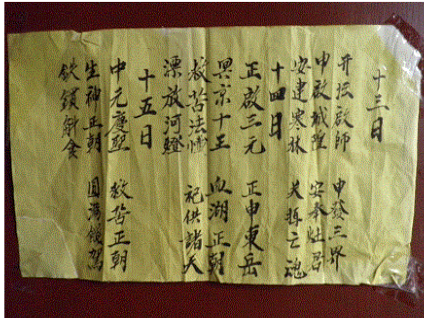



Figures

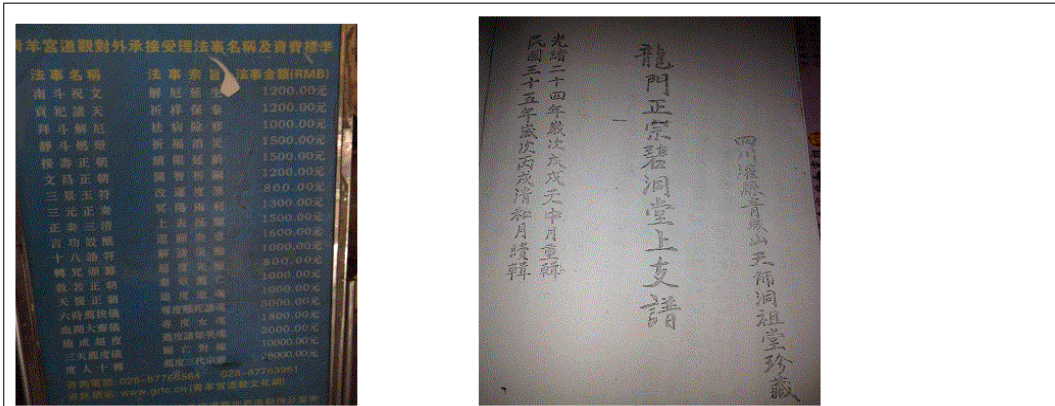


1. The typical layout of the *Guangcheng Yizhi* (Erxian An edition)



2. The misunderstanding of Du Guangcheng in some Publication in Sichuan

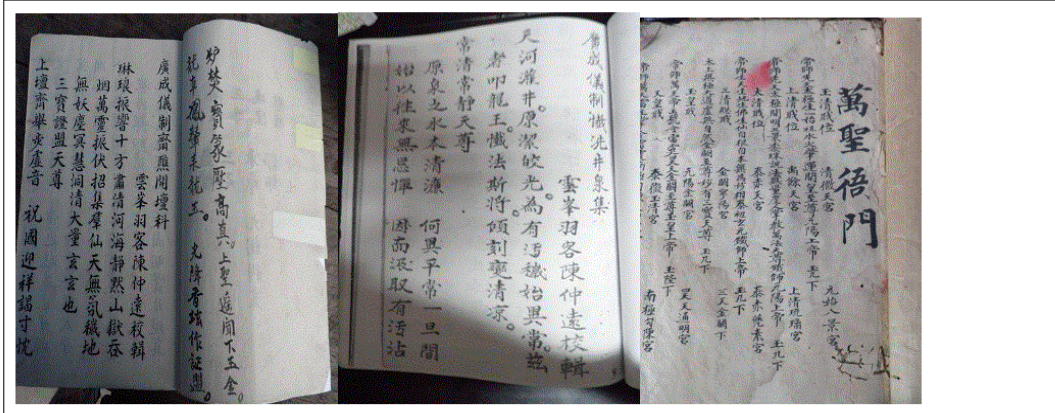
	
<p>3. Seals: Heming Shan, Erxian An and Qingcheng Shan.</p>	<p>4. Printing the texts by hand in Qingyang Gong bookstore.</p>
	
<p>5. <i>Erxing</i> 二星.</p>	<p>6. Coin-shape paper money and making money (old picture before 1949, online source)</p>
	
<p>7. A simplified-form rundown inside the altar.</p>	<p>8. Envelopes.</p>
	
<p>9. Reading out a talisman. "Baidou" in Heming Shan, the offering table faced out.</p>	<p>10. In Heming Shan, for special usage "Baidou", Taoists bound these three texts according to the order.</p>



11. L: rites price-list in Qingyang Gong (before 2011). 12. R: Longmen Zhengzong Bidong Tangshang Zhuyi.



13. L: Daojie Huangfan 禱結皇旛. 14.M: contract of Pay-back. 15.R: paper money package and chanting certificate



16.L: manuscript copy of a Guangcheng text. 17.M: privately collected Guangcheng text that is not included in ZW. 18.R: practice handbook of Zhengyi/ Guangcheng Tan.

分工明細 (以下准备工作在10月15日前完成)

銀錢道：廣理函：燈芯一百個、錢封十個、可編六個、黃方函二十個、外紅方函一個、紅方函二百個、白方函一個 (以上含宮口紙、封條)

朱油生：開壇符一道、開天符三道、十個符一套、斗廳召請土地符一道、斗廳召請功曹符一道、斗廳召請司命符一道、斗廳召請陰司符一道、潘散謝一道、護送關一道

丁發珍：宣傳、登記法事內容、召集填寫脫生符 360 道、折黃表

潘理滿：總意大榜一首、全套文牒、小符、寶器、粘黃、尚黃、引繩、吊掛、呈主牌位

經師班重點複習經韻：連起關、開壇符、廷芳韻、萬福芳、朝禮、斗結號、禮北斗、玉焚黃、十理歌、齋子韻、四景韻、阿向韻、參禮、玉爐香、慈尊讚、黃籙齋、召請尾、出生咒、廣成子、三柱香、二郎神

19. Arrangement of responsibility (Niangniang Miao)



20. Foot sign and its figure in “Huangfan Yuanzhuang 皇旛雲篆”

廣成儀制 十一 大羅集

九皇醮 延生醮

消災醮 禮斗醮

雷霆祈禱醮

答報天地醮 酬恩謝醮

祈詞醮

預修齋 黃籙齋

祈祥保病醮

預修齋 黃籙齋

密運鴻鈞廣垂玄造布真炁於五行昭明梵化

合生津於一象錫降元禮星度順行乎瑤極

功助上紀乎丹書

21. The “division of purpose” into eleven different rituals (into which the rite can be used) in *Shiyi Dayao* (13-51, No. 51) and (a part) of the explanation.



23. L: “explaining the intention”, facing the inner offering table (Qingyang Gong). 24. R: participants help lighting numerous candles in the rite “Gongtian”.



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## Appendix: Chinese edition (chapter 1-6)

Writing and thinking about Taoist ritual is difficult in any language other than Chinese, where the rich and elaborate lexicon has no equivalent whatever; on the other hand, it is a major advantage of doing sinology in another language, as the exercise of translating forces us to think comprehensively through the Chinese text, down to the latest word. For these reasons, I have first written my dissertation in Chinese, and then translated myself into English. I have chosen to add the bulk of the Chinese version to the present dissertation, in order to provide the reader with the original wording that is closest to the source material.

## Chapter1 近代四川道教與《廣成儀制》簡史

### 1-1 近代四川道教簡史

道教歷史悠長，作為發源地之一的四川當然如此，高道、信仰名勝眾多，傳說與崇拜活動亦難計數。

雖然道教的信仰與實踐隨著時間綿延累積，箇中還是出現斷層，讓局部發展出現某種程度的重新洗牌。本文主角《廣成儀制》及其科儀的形成背景亦在這樣的一個契機，雖然承載著傳統，卻得以在相對開放的環境下完成。為了強調這個進入新的情境，本文只將歷史討論集中在清及其後，依據筆者對其時的理解與《廣成儀制》一輯及其傳統，將歷史的敘述劃分為三個時期：清—民國、民國—1980年代、1980迄今。這個分期並不完全遵照政治政權時間，而是以筆者認定的重大事件及其影響為分水嶺，政治於此的影響力仍相當巨大，但事件的發生到後續效益，餘波盪漾，時間總是連續不斷，依據單一政治時間分歧是不可能的。請注意歷史與人心都是連續與輻散的，此分期並不能認定為極明確的日期。

#### **I 期：清初—民國**

四川的道教發展雖然歷史悠久，但政權與人口造成的斷層屢見，不能總視為連續不斷的傳統。清建立之前，甚至上溯到明末，川地遭受到極大的旱災飢荒、疫災與兵禍，連年禍事讓這個「天府之國」農作失收，人口銳減；從各方面來說，四川此前的傳統幾乎消散。直到康熙中期政權大勢底定，為了解決人空地荒的問題，政府向全國大規模地鼓勵或強制移民，給四川重新注入活水——這就是史上有名的大移民「湖廣填四川」，此後的四川可說已然是全新的人口與文化局面<sup>346</sup>。

除了人口銳減、民生凋敝，宗教方面亦是同樣遭遇；雖然歷史上慣常用「十不存一<sup>347</sup>」這樣悲慘的倖存比例，還是可以零星看到地方道廟道士恢復宗教信仰的努力。以離首府成都最近的道廟「青羊宮」為例，明末(明代稱作「青羊萬壽宮」)毀於戰火，損害嚴重，青羊宮一帶「盡成草萊，山麋野豕交迹其中。<sup>348</sup>」

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<sup>346</sup> 關於其時禍亂、移民的當代研究可參考：曹樹基 1997a, b、王笛 2001、謝桃坊 2004、張莉紅與張軍學 2011 等。

<sup>347</sup> 確如其數十分之一者如廣元縣、雙流縣(據縣志)。當然各地倖存情況不同，平均來說「合計四川土著殘存的比例不足 10%」(曹樹基 1997a: 77)。

<sup>348</sup> 出自清 王澐《蜀游記略》，該版收於清 王錫祺編《小方壺齋輿地叢鈔本》第七帙第一冊。

康熙初年開始修復時，觀內情況是極其破敗的，甚至連有主持事務能力的道士都沒有，反須外求「命道士陶來御居之，使奉獻事<sup>349</sup>」。康熙六年(1667)巡撫張德地捐貲修建青羊宮(以三清大殿為主)，才逐漸修復或重建。其他地方雖有零星例子顯示即使戰亂中道教信仰依然活動著，不過規模數量上都相當簡單<sup>350</sup>。

戰禍稍歇，道教的復興以全真道士的活動紀錄較為清楚，根據道教史，龍門派碧洞宗的開山祖師陳清覺（1606~1705，號寒松、煙霞，湖北武昌人）在湖北武當山出家，拜師詹太林（龍門派第九代律師），是為龍門第十代弟子。康熙八年（1669）與道友穆清風、張清湖、張清雲、張清夜、張清仕入川，於青城山天師洞修道。隨後陳清覺往城中主持青羊宮與武侯祠，各位道友亦分別往川內各處整理道觀，以此龍門玄裔在四川開枝散葉<sup>351</sup>。「陳清覺入川之前，四川的全真道士極少。<sup>352</sup>」康熙三十四年（1695）陳清覺受巡府趙良璧的支持與供養，營建二仙菴，趙還將陳清覺事蹟上書皇帝，得到康熙皇帝的重視召見，康熙四十一年(1702)，賜匾「丹臺碧洞」，因此有「碧洞真人<sup>353</sup>」的稱號。自此丹臺碧洞宗在二仙菴開創，四川道士多宗陳清覺為祖師，其支派傳承的字輩排序，遵循龍門派派詩<sup>354</sup>。龍門道士漸在四川取得人數與支配力的優勢，一改歷史上正一獨大的情形；民國以後到現在的中國共產黨時期，情勢一直如此。

「碧洞宗」以二仙菴與青城山為中心，向外可延伸到四川大部分地區，到了清末時約有二十三縣五十五座以上道廟是由龍門碧洞宗道士主持<sup>355</sup>。銜接了人口與信仰的空窗，碧洞宗創立後便快速地一改原本正一獨霸四川，「只經過了

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<sup>349</sup> 〈重修青羊宮碑記〉(康熙十年，1671)，巡撫張德地撰。關於陶道士的事蹟在《民國·大邑縣志》提到，本為明末隱居羽流，受張公命主持青羊宮，「遂為是刹鼻祖，今殿後遺像猶存。」(卷十一，烈士志、仙釋)。陶道士門派不詳，僅可確定當非龍門派道士，而是捱過戰禍的四川本地人。且當時的青羊宮百廢待舉，維繫維艱，所以對這位非龍門的前輩，沒有額外記載。

<sup>350</sup> 如《民國·新都縣志》記載「玉皇觀」早在康熙三年(1664)便又重建。《民國·灌縣志》則留有「重修顯英王廟碑」(黃廷桂撰，時雍正十一年(1733))。這個時間是遠早於全真傳統的入蜀，也大大早於成都地方的承平(以康熙二十年(1681)三藩之亂結束，成都省會功能恢復。)

<sup>351</sup> 穆清風往成都梓潼宮演教，是龍門第十代傳戒律師；張清湖接任天師洞，張清雲往三台縣雲台觀。(《中國道教史》四：151~3)

<sup>352</sup> 王志忠 2000: 94。

<sup>353</sup> 「二仙菴道人臣陳清覺祇領御賜扁額「丹臺碧洞」御賜詩章「赤龍黑虎各東西，四象交加戊巳申，復始自知能運用，金丹誰道不成功。」另賜珊瑚、金杯等物。」((雍正)《四川通志》卷三十九，清 黃廷桂 纂，清文淵閣四庫全書本)。清至民國的記載大都不脫於此，至於近代文章稱「碧洞真人」之號乃敕封，其實還找不到確証。

<sup>354</sup> 全真派詩為：「道德通玄靜。真常守太清。一陽來復本。合教永圓明。至理宗誠信。崇高嗣法興。世景榮維懋。希夷衍息寧。速修正仁義。超昇雲會登。大妙中黃貴。聖體全用功。虛空乾坤秀。金木性相逢。山海龍虎交。蓮開現寶身。行滿丹書詔。月盈祥光生。萬古續仙號。三界都是親。」根據後人說明，前四十字相傳為丘祖所傳(又一說僅為前二十字)，後六十字為康熙所加。《青羊宮二仙菴志》p. 25。

<sup>355</sup> 《中國道教史》第四冊 pp.137~8。關於清單書中有詳細羅列，此不詳引。該資訊出自教內資料《龍門正宗碧洞堂上支譜》，無出版，現藏於青城山天師洞。

一、兩代，碧洞宗就傳遍了四川的大部分地區。<sup>356</sup>」陳清覺(及其師兄弟數人)除了在四川開宗立派，開展了全真在四川前所未有的版圖，科儀道樂上也帶入了湖北武當山的傳統，挹注了當時川地的缺乏。兩地在地緣上的互動至今仍有，經韻、旋律上也很相似<sup>357</sup>。

讓廣成科儀形成氣候的是龍門第十四代弟子陳復慧，名仲遠，別號「雲峰羽客」(這也是他在《廣成儀制》科儀本上最常使用的自稱)與「青城道士」，擔任過溫江縣盤(蟠)龍寺住持。關於他的生卒年說法多，大致落在西元 1734~1802 之間<sup>358</sup>。陳復慧與《廣成儀制》的關係簡單來說是他收集整理了其時四川地方的科儀風尚，加以校正統合，成為與今日所見相同的面貌(此乃根據科本裡佔絕大多數的自署：「武陽雲峰羽客陳重遠校輯」)；方志對他的描述是：

「陳仲遠青城道士也，淹博能文，校正《廣成儀制》數十種，清乾隆間，邑人患疫，仲遠為建水陸齋醮，會川督巡境臨灌，聞於朝，敕賜南台真人，別號雲峯羽客，著有《雅宜集》。新采。」(民國《灌縣志》卷十二，人士傳下，35b)

「羽士陳復慧字仲遠新津縣人。少時即好黃老，學從漢州老君觀道士毛來至，受玄門奧旨。後來溫江住龍蟠寺<sup>359</sup>羽化。著有廣成儀制連珠集等書。」(民國《溫江縣志》卷四風教，宗教)

陳復慧在將《廣成儀制》集大成一事上的角色無庸置疑，從廣成在段落、架構的高度相似可以判斷，必然有人(一說可能是以陳仲遠為首的多人)預設了一個框架好融入所有當時四川地區流行的道法，並在底定的最末階段為這些科儀做最後的粉飾，這個人當就是有資格在科本底下署名的陳仲遠了。

他對廣成科儀的貢獻反映在實際操作上，「對道教齋醮儀式及音樂頗有研究和貢獻<sup>360</sup>」，科儀所傳音樂以「細膩含蓄」著稱，即所謂「廣成韻」或「南韻」。傳世文檢可以證明他不能親自操演廣成科儀，且為之編寫了諸多專用科儀文書。廣成科儀在民間的流傳便成了「廣成壇」，成員以火居的正一道為主。於是

<sup>356</sup> 王志忠 2000: 94~5。

<sup>357</sup> 曹本治 1993: 393~410。

<sup>358</sup> 關於生卒年的說法主要有二：1.《廣成儀制·原序》：雍正十二年~嘉慶七年(1734~1802)；2.《青羊宮二仙菴志》：1736~1795(p.175)。兩件說法來源皆不詳。本文採用年代跨度較大的第一種說法。「原序」無出版，田野中蒙全真碧洞宗董道長所贈，特此申謝。

<sup>359</sup> 本段與《龍門正宗碧洞堂上支譜》(以下省稱《支譜》)有兩處不同：a.師名「毛來玉」；b.住「盤龍寺」。師名部分筆者以為就來源性質而言當為「毛來玉」；寺名部分雖然縣志應有較高權威，不過這邊卻是個孤例，別處皆呼作「盤(蟠)龍寺」，本文先以常用名稱為準。《支譜》完整篇幅不詳，筆者所得僅一小部分，乃田野中一位道長相贈(訪青城祖堂時的翻拍檔案，見圖 12)，特此申謝。

<sup>360</sup> 《中國道教史》第四集，p.156。

民間漸成：「近世羽流建修道場有兩派：一為「廣成壇」，即陳復慧啟；一為「法言壇」<sup>361</sup>，則開派於雙流舉人劉沅(1768~1855)。<sup>362</sup>」可知清代起四川民間便形成兩大壇門：「廣成壇」與「法言壇」。一般相信壇門的出現要晚於《廣成儀制》的編纂與使用，是為了區別道法傳統後出的法言壇才以廣成壇自居。

四川地方的道教科儀傳統，以陳仲遠為劃分，他將此前不同來源不同傳統的道法加以收集鑑別，統整、改編為規格高度相似的「廣成儀」科儀，此後無論是宮觀與伙居道士盡皆採用之。當然這是指大家依照科儀文本的架構流程，在道術傳承，特別是祕法方面仍保有各自的傳統。

陳仲遠之後的整個清中到晚期，《廣成儀制》與科儀的流佈狀況其實並沒有太多直接史料或文字記載，我們只能以之後的盛況來做反推。不過還是能找出幾個間接事証來表明其時的傳布接受已極具規模，以川西為中心向外覆蓋多數四川以漢人為主的地區。首先是陳仲遠所編輯的文檢集《雅宜集》之「刊募雅宜集敘引」(一--22<sup>363</sup>)與「募刻經卷疏引」(一--31)這兩條公告分別是陳氏為刊印其專為廣成科儀所用文檢集《雅宜集》與其他某些道經，公開向民眾信眾募款的記載；由此可以證明廣成科儀已使用頻繁，並且能廣為四川民眾所熟知。其次，「法言壇」創立人之孫劉咸炘(1897~1932)<sup>364</sup>曾清楚提到：「我祖師(案即劉沅)看見這事廢了，因此另作一部科書，也採取些《廣成儀制》，存留這真正事神的法則。<sup>365</sup>」可見廣成之科本在劉沅造作新科書時——也就是至遲不過陳仲遠完成編纂後半世紀，其科本已經成為既能流通又普及的科儀底本與模範了；且雖然無法明白劉沅時代廣成科儀可能近乎「百家爭鳴」的混亂情況，但可以想見必然不只單一門派、單一傳統在使用，其實際運用時又加入的新意，想必也是多元熱鬧的。至於描述成都鄉俚各色情狀的竹枝詞，雖沒有直接對道教門派壇門的書寫，信仰行為的記述也相當豐富<sup>366</sup>。

龍門碧洞宗在川地的發展日益壯大，還是要再次提醒，其時川內的道教，仍然有如正一、神霄、其他龍門支派等諸道派活動著。作為極具影響力的碧洞宗，以青城山與青羊宮二仙菴為中心，「多數在川西，少數在川北、川南和少數

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<sup>361</sup> 法言壇：又名「法言會」、「劉門」。川西與川南地區有影響力的民間火居道派。創派人係清代乾咸年間雙流舉人劉沅，字止唐，號訥如居士；劉在學術上立有綜合三教的「槐軒學派」，在法言壇使用科儀採自創的《法言會纂》。

<sup>362</sup> 民國《溫江縣志》卷四風教，37b。

<sup>363</sup> 《雅宜集》是專門邊就配合《廣成》使用的文檢集，底下的篇章會有詳細介紹。篇章的簡記如「一--22」，是指第一本中第22則文檢。以下原則皆同。

<sup>364</sup> 劉咸炘，字鑒泉，四川雙流人。史學家、文獻學家和書法家。出身儒學世家，幼時即為鄉里目為神童，曾講學私塾及四川大學。著作極豐，總名為《推十書》。

<sup>365</sup> 劉咸炘 2010: 102。

<sup>366</sup> 如邢錦生《天香閣詩稿》(1902~1932年間作品)中有：「三更放戒正臨街」、「謝土相傳重火居」、「福德祠前影戲開」等諸多宗教活動的描寫。(《成都竹枝詞》pp. 139~41)



民族地區，足見其傳播之廣泛。<sup>367</sup>」《廣成儀制》其經其儀就在陳仲遠變革立基之後，很全面地被接受使用，此後在文本與壇場威儀上就似乎沒有變異修改的痕跡了。道教歷史裡還有一些關於陳的評論，說到在齋醮儀式與音樂方面他都算是有貢獻的罕例，「儘管龍門碧洞宗擁有很多道士和宮觀，是四川很有影響的一個道派，但其徒眾中於道教學術有造詣的，卻如鳳毛麟角。<sup>368</sup>」這裡也可以呼應陳仲遠之後迄清末民初，四川的道教活動並不沉寂但卻沒什麼高道名師的說法。

於是科儀活動方面的發展史一躍來到了清末二仙菴。清光緒十八年(1892)二仙菴方丈閻永和倡議刊刻《重刊道藏輯要<sup>369</sup>》，歷經時局動盪、收集刊校與募金等諸多困難，重刊工作在光緒二十五年(1899)開始，光緒三十二年(1906)告竣，耗時七年。同年完成的，還有原本計劃將歸入《輯要》之中的，廣成科儀的文檢集們：《雅宜集》、《心香妙語》與《靈寶文檢》——它們在刊頭與版心都有「重刊道藏輯要」的標識，到了目錄刊刻正式出版時卻被抽掉取消了，為了某些原因改成了單獨裝幀出售。《廣成儀制》稍晚于此開始，但雕版型式風格與《輯要》相同，是由同一批工匠完成。《廣成儀制》並不如《輯要》有著清楚的起迄時間標記，僅能從部份零星科本的年代註記裡找尋，其刊作的時間約從光緒三十三年(1907)跨進到民國四年(1915)；因為註記不夠完整，所以可能有正負兩三年的誤差。

## II 期：民國初年(六年，1917)~PRC 1980s

時序進入民國，中國結束了數千年帝國體制，接受新的政體。本期放進了兩個政權時期，是因為這段時間內，他們對道教採取相似的態度：漠視、輕忽、打壓到剝奪。道教(其他宗教亦然)在此進入低伏，幽微的傳承之火暗中維繫，無所成就。特別是 1960s~1970s 間的「文化大革命」影響甚鉅，但除了一些讓人憂傷的故事，實際損失還很難估算。除了考量宗教活動不活躍，主要還是因為這段時間相關資料稀少難以詳述，所以決定先不予細分<sup>370</sup>。本期以《廣成儀制》雕版竣工的民國六年(1917)為開始。

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<sup>367</sup> 《中國道教史》四：155。

<sup>368</sup> 同節被述及的另外三人分別是：清中期王來通(?~1779)對都江堰水利工程很有貢獻，咸豐年間張合修善音樂，與近代易心瑩有學術。(《中國道教史》四：155~6)皆不見再與道術科儀有關。

<sup>369</sup> 道書集成《道藏輯要》，首次編輯刊刻為蔣予蒲(1755~1819)，到了清末(1906)賀龍驤、彭瀚然與二仙菴住持閻永和以《重刊道藏輯要》再版；1984年同由巴蜀書社出版之《道藏輯要》。全書分二十八卷(象二十八星宿)，道書總目則隨不同版本不同。關於《道藏輯要》的研究頗多，請參考 Monica Esposito 2006, 2009, 2010; Mori Yuria 2007; Elena Valussi 2008 等。

<sup>370</sup> 這段時期對宗教大有影響的政治社會部份，請參考 Goossaert and Palmer 2007、黎志添 2013 等。

民國初年是個極大的曖昧過度期，時間上它接續滿清，《輯要》、《廣成儀制》的刊刻並沒有因改朝換代而立即停工，宗教活動上則逐漸承受沉重的壓力。政府對僧道的不重視、取消保護<sup>371</sup>，與「民智大開」後議廢「迷信」，大大打壓宗教的活躍度。打著教育和地方自治的大旗，寺廟、神明會等的財產逐步掏空<sup>372</sup>，也使得僧道生活窘迫，人數漸少；種種因素交迫，道教與道士的處境很快變得惡劣。民國四年(1915)時全川的道士有 35856 人，到了 1949 年剩下 4177 人，當時的所有宮觀約 787 座，幾已改作他用<sup>373</sup>。

發展停滯不等於沒有活動。向來香火興盛的四川(中國西南)第一十方叢林青羊宮，在風雨多事之際，仍努力維持宗教活動舉行<sup>374</sup>。當時的各地前來掛單的常住道士約有五十過百餘人，遊方掛單人數大約也是相當。不確定是原有產業太過雄厚或是特例，民國時期青羊宮與二仙菴產業仍然豐裕，即便政府租用(不付租金)或佔用部分土地水田，其每年依靠水田、土地、街房等租賃，以及自耕田地仍能「生活富裕」；此外二仙菴每年花會期、在外承接法事、傳戒或是出租法事用具也有不錯收入，還有部份金額來自開辦手工業(養蠶、織布)、中藥鋪，附設之「丹台碧洞書房」販售《輯要》等道書<sup>375</sup>。在某些特殊時候政府還是會借用宗教力量，如民國二十六年(1937)四川遭逢嚴重旱災，成都仕紳耆善士延請佛道合作祈雨法會，道教方面的主壇者還請出二仙菴已退隱的方丈王伏陽擔任<sup>376</sup>。

另一個山頭，碧洞宗祖庭的青城山也小有發展，有高道彭椿仙(1883~1942)<sup>377</sup>、易心瑩(1896~1976)<sup>378</sup>等善與時人交接闡揚道教，從《廣成儀制》部分題記可以看到時天師洞監院彭至國對廣成有抄寫收集。民國三十五年(1946)天師洞還對《龍門正宗碧洞堂上支譜》做了最後一次添續<sup>379</sup>。

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<sup>371</sup> 如民國《合江縣志》(1929)卷四·禮俗：「民國後人民受國法制裁，無宗教之區別。」(p. 558)

<sup>372</sup> 以什邡縣為例，在清光緒二十八年(1902)為開辦學堂而抽收廟產十分之二，民國初年為地方剿匪團練事，征收十分之四到五(這裡是直接使用方志的計法，用更直觀的講法應該是徵收之後，十分之四到五的廟產消失；即此時剩下(全部的)十分之五到六的財產)，民國十四年(1925)教育局統一學款基金，取了(總)十分之七到八，十五年(1926)田司令擴充部隊，將剩餘廟產搜括殆盡。此後各廟幾乎僅有香火費了。(《重修什邡縣志》(1929)，卷七之下·禮俗「神會興廢」p. 811) 另外，廟產興學可參考 Goossaert and Palmer 44-50; Xu Yue 2008, Liang Yong 2008。

<sup>373</sup> 1915 年資料取自《四川省志·道教志》，1949 年資料取自《四川民俗大典》，p. 146。

<sup>374</sup> 如陳宗和青羊宮花會竹枝詞寫道：「(老君聖誕前夜)癡人為祝神仙壽，環坐神龕坐一宵。」在青羊宮給太上老君暖壽是由來已久的習俗，是夜信眾靜靜圍坐，並會吃壽麵、誦經，迎來隔日的賀壽法會。

<sup>375</sup> 楊錫民 1984: 40;《青羊宮二仙菴志》，pp. 9、21。

<sup>376</sup> 參〈四川的求雨風俗〉(周開慶 1976: 32~3)。疑是同事描寫還有竹枝詞「擊破轆門鼓有聲，兩壇全仗術通靈。霏然指日舒民困，請得龍潭水一瓶。」(作者邢錦生，《成都竹枝詞》p. 141)

<sup>377</sup> 道名至國，貴州軍節人，於常道觀出家。

<sup>378</sup> 道名理輪，遂寧人，在天師洞出家，PRC 文革期間對青城山文物保存功勞甚大。

<sup>379</sup> 根據《支譜》封面所載。

收羅民國二十一年(1932)以前民間藝文作品的《成都竹枝詞》，可以看到很多關於青羊宮花會、其他齋醮事、街巷白事，和其他諸種民間法事崇拜活動的參與描述，是廣成科儀尚在活動的證明。

二仙菴自光緒十四年(1888)公開開壇傳戒以來，其活動持續到民國三十四年(1945)，傳承六代六十多期，受戒者約 6000 多人，這些全真戒子除了四川本地人，主要來自西南鄰近省份；在此數字之上，四川正一道士的人數恐怕還是要超過四川全真道士許多。關於正一道的發展情況紀錄非常有限，我們知道「解放前在成都市區開設的道壇有數十家，其中南門羅清教的「霞真道壇」和北門盛祝筭的「全德道壇」最有影響力。此外無法立壇的散居道士有 200 餘人。」<sup>380</sup>看得出來四川的宗教活動在時局壓迫下仍然活躍有生命力。

民國時期宗教界為因應改變，紛紛成立新式教會組織，民國二年(1913)四川八大宮觀住持聯合發起成立「四川道教總分會」，該會於 1946 年改名作「四川省道教會」；「成都道教會」成立於民國三十年(1941)，會址在慶雲南街惜字宮內，1947 受政令改組，旋又改為「四川省道教會成都分會」，會址改為青羊宮。1949 年時的成都市轄下有 15 縣市設有道教會。

1949 之後中國國民黨主持的民國政府退守台灣，中國改而由中國共產黨主持的 PRC。一如上個政權的交接，PRC 建國初期新政的影響力由淺而逐漸加溫。1956 年於北京成立的「中國道教會」(其中代表四川地區的理事是青城山天師洞監院易心瑩道長)，1958 年成立「成都市道教徒學習委員會」，1962 年四川省也成立道協，此時全省道士剩下 1309 人，道觀 79 座；這是由於「解放後」讓道士道姑還俗返家的政令。

這些不同時期道教會由於現實情況嚴峻奧援也少，他們的目標或是規章，明顯看得出就是跟隨政權與世俗公益的主流觀點，並整合資源組織起不同以往的團體模式。在努力邁向「新時代」之路上跌跌撞撞，嘗試創新突破，力求站穩腳步，所以在很多地方不見得已經能發揮實際功能，相形在對教義、信仰與科儀等方面顧及得較少。

我們對 1960s、1970s 之後的四川道教所知甚少，從史料著作新修方志來看，只能知道「迷信」活動遭到禁絕，寺廟被關閉、徵收改用，僧道也強制還俗(如新修之《三台縣志》便載明「解放後，道士道姑相繼還俗，各就他業，道教活動基本停止」<sup>381</sup>，如此驚心復感傷的敘述)。而根據道士之間的回憶，成都市

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<sup>380</sup> 本段三處數值與句子的引用分來自：《青羊宮二仙菴志》p. 71，《四川民俗大典》p. 146，《成都市志·民俗方言志》之「宗教崇奉」p. 131。

<sup>381</sup> 《三台縣志》，p.806.

區基本上是完全嚴格地取消宗教活動，遠離政治中心的鄉野間，則視管制鬆緊，或多或少地進行著，與其他學者的意見大致相同。

這個時期約八十年的時間跨度，除了信仰氣氛低迷，在缺乏帝國政權的贊助扶持後尋求生存與轉型，對信仰本身最沉重的打擊還是在於 1960s 的「文化大革命」。道教活動從低潮、壓抑直到幾近無聲，信仰與儀式的保存守護，不論是大環境造成經濟、道士人數驟減，或是人心主動或被動的離散，在 1980s 改革開放之前的宗教環境，基本上就是宛如僵死般最低程度的保存而了。

除開文革時期廟宇、古蹟、碑刻與珍貴文物等的損壞，諸種傳承的斷層造成的知識失傳，是另一項既鉅又難以估量的浩劫損失。最讓人心酸的是，當中的眾多空白至今仍是空白；就以《廣成》來說我們至今未能確知當中究竟喪失了多少篇章，又有多少是深鎖在藏經閣中聽任生滅，或是流散在民間沒還有積極尋訪，也就是說，我們連真實的損失情況都還沒有徹底評估掌握。

### **分期 III：PRC 1980s 至今**

本期開始的標示是中共對宗教政策的重新容許、開放。1978 年四人幫政權結束後的「中共十一屆三中全會」，當中糾正了文革的錯誤，對宗教問題的正確方針與政策得到恢復<sup>382</sup>。1981 年提出通過開放第一批中國二十一處「全國重點宮觀」，四川省佔了三處：青城山的常道觀(即天師洞)、祖師殿，以及青羊宮。

1982 年中共發表的「關於我國社會主義時期宗教問題的基本觀點和基本政策」可視為此後宗教政策的指導性方針，內容提及落實教職人員、宮觀廟產各項政策，保障道教基本權利與正常宗教活動，「劃清道教與封建迷信的界線」。雖然人民公開信仰宗教與共產主義的唯物觀點扞格，中國道教的確緩步地恢復發展。中國官方對道教的管理仍藉由層層向下的道協組織；以成都為例，每個省、縣市區都有自己的道協，道觀亦各設有辦公室。

道士養成方面，根據「關於全真派道士傳戒的規定」(以及「關於道正一派道士授籙的規定」)，在 1989 年的北京白雲觀與 1995 青城山天師洞前後舉行了兩次傳戒大典，皆有百名以上道士參加。正一派自 1946 年中斷後，經由宗教事務局批准，分別在 1991 年開放對海外道士，1995 恢復對中國內地道士報名授籙，於江西龍虎山嗣漢天師府舉行。四川廣成壇的正一道士也開始出現有往龍虎山授籙取得資格<sup>383</sup>。道職資格之外，對道士的知識教育(有時還需結合基本義

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<sup>382</sup> 本節關於 PRC 政策描述，資料主要引自李養正《當代中國道教》、《成都市志·宗教志》與網路資料(歷史相關)。筆者本身對其中盡量注意不添加個人性議論。

<sup>383</sup> 以筆者報導人一支來說，2011 年時約只有不到五人受籙，到了 2012 年 11 月場次有七人參加，

務教育)則開創了各地的「中國道教學院」，對象以道士深造為主，如專修班、高功班等，這裡的高功培養課程是普遍性缺少地方特色的基礎教育，學習方式採課堂教學、制式課本，與傳統師徒一對一的授受有非常大的不同<sup>384</sup>。

四川在科儀方面由青城山率先恢復，當時的青城山道協會長兼常道觀監院傅圓天(1925~1997)開始重新傳授年輕道士科儀，成立了青城山的經班與道樂團。青羊宮的張元和、劉理釗道長在教學上貢獻亦大，接著鶴鳴山與老君山相繼恢復。民間的正一道士在鄉間的活動可能略早於全真，他們以較低調簡單的方式，從管轄寬鬆的地區起，得到默許，默默地為民間需要服務。傳承上正一可能保留較多，但年齡斷層好像比較明顯，此外由於正一所行科事規模較小，因此有些疑是變得少作或不作了。

21世紀之後，四川各地的科儀日漸恢復，宮觀之外，鄉野間甚至是成都的街頭慢慢看得到法事舉行(街頭臨時搭棚舉行的通常是初亡停靈的新喪)。民眾對紅白法事的認知，興萌起邀聘法事解決人生困境的情況增加，相對祈請類型也隨著社會變遷有了變化，特別反應了齋主對現世冀求的變化，賦予科儀現代意義。根據訪談，青羊宮、鶴鳴山道觀與孃孃廟代用法事還是先粗分為紅白事兩類，白事部份由於現在已不外出作法事，主要剩下普渡與為亡故親人做各種薦拔道場。

清吉事方面，與傳統相似的求福祿壽仍為大宗，心願情境固然變得現代，本意還是萬變不離其宗：事業、投資、考試、升遷、家庭、婚姻子嗣，到官司口舌等等。宮觀重新開放後，信仰活動的重頭戲自然又回到了熱鬧的廟會神明會<sup>385</sup>，如目前青羊宮的老君會、慈航會、九皇會，鶴鳴山道觀的天師會，孃孃廟的娘娘誕「拴娃娃」<sup>386</sup>，近年莫不舉辦盛大，參加者眾。此外，見於記載中的傳統如「放生會」、「還受生錢」等近來也陸續復興<sup>387</sup>。

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但本次中有不行廣成科儀的正一道士。(Fieldnote 20110617、20121124)

<sup>384</sup> 當然道教學院並非常態，多數的情況還是師徒間的學習。參加道學院通常與增加學歷或宮觀指派有關，其高功所需主要知識還是從師父來。這種新型態的道士培養由於與地方、門派傳統較不緊密，未來可能會產生傳統或地方認同的困擾，如祖籍廣東拜在四川廣成壇底下的正一小道士，師父為了讓他增加學歷送去武漢的道教學院(全真派系統，但並不教授《廣成儀制》)讀書兩年，暗自困擾將來該在哪裡使用哪種科儀道法。(Fieldnote 20130311)

<sup>385</sup> 這裡指神明降誕、得道飛升等慶賀活動，而非傳統信眾自組以崇拜、進香、行善為目的的組織。這類組織昔日極多(可參考《雅宜集》)，今不存。

<sup>386</sup> 求子的民俗活動，民眾會趕在這天去爭取木刻童子，作為懷孕得子/女的吉兆。如同治《重修成都縣志》卷二，風俗；《成都通覽》之「成都之迷信」(pp. 244, 248)。

<sup>387</sup> 成都的放生會極有意思，歷來皆定期在農曆四月初八佛誕日舉辦，但卻是不折不扣的道教活動。舊日的相關記載很多，如傅崇矩 2006: 37、244，王笛 2010: 81 與竹枝詞。近年成都也有團體趁此日到鄰近江河邊；放生法會亦使用廣成科儀，已不完整，目前所使用為新編版本「放生會集」，筆者未能得見內文；《心香妙語》四-73 有「放生疏」。還受生部分將在第六章專門討論。

雖然行科儀的道士在住觀道士中所佔比例很低，托《廣成儀制》作為當代仍使用最完整的科儀書，以及中國道教史上最後完成的一套科儀書這樣的盛名，近年前來四川拜師出家的道士越來越多(可能到了三分之一比例)，道士入道亦有年輕化的趨向<sup>388</sup>。外來的道士很多是為了學習廣成科儀而來，多數留了下來，少數將廣成帶出了四川；肩負道法離開的高功有可能把廣成推廣出去讓更多人知曉、學習，也有可能孤掌難鳴，為了配合新地方的傳統，擱置(甚或是放棄)廣成轉而學習當地科儀傳統，新的擴散的影響還有待未來繼續觀察。

中國的宗教發展表面上隨著改革開放與經濟生活的提升，越來越開放且為人民所接受、崇拜。不過第二分期尾期發生的文革，對綿延的道教發展畢竟造成了無可抹滅的殘暴的斷裂，這個損失既巨大又多是不可逆的。除了古蹟文物的破壞，傳統人心的動搖才是最無可估測的損失。筆者在田野中對此感受極多，道士們見證者們對此前情況含糊其辭，沒有認真面對、清點逝去的寶藏，如此其實更容易使已大受滅絕威脅的既存傳統，在沉默的隱晦中，在若無其事地佯裝下不知不覺地淡去，到了這時，我們恐怕連真正失去了些什麼都無法確定。

## 1-2 主要田野對象及其宮廟簡介

我們對四川道士成員的了解，以全真龍門與正一為主；其中龍門派又以四川唯一的地方支派碧洞宗為最多。但龍門的其他支派也活動著，比如昔日青羊宮歷任住持很多就不屬於碧洞宗<sup>389</sup>。正一派在民間影響深入，特別是遠離都市的鄉村地方身兼服務各項生命禮俗大任的道士，其傳統與師門複雜，還不太清楚。

此外，據聞起碼還有清微派、靈寶派與神霄派道士在四川活動<sup>390</sup>。較可惜的是成都市區內的正一道教發展受到壓抑，在田野中接觸相當少，所以現階段的研究成果以全真派為主。這也是筆者進入田野時對成都道教最初也最大的印象。

現今四川道教以全真為大的局勢，政治面的影響是主要原因，中共對道教會組織與成員的認定，和「道士證」(「合法」的道士)的核發，大大影響了所謂「國家認定/合法」的道教樣貌。這種情況在都市裡尤其明顯，而隨著宗教開放後的道教復興，成都與鄰近不遠幾處歷史悠久的勝地陸續恢復，形成了「四大山

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<sup>388</sup> 田野中遇到許多很年輕即出家的道士，18歲以前或更早，更有幾個不到二十歲已是頗為優秀的高功了。目前中國有規定未成年出家者起碼要初中畢業、得到家人的同意，這樣的例子確實是存在的，背後原因沒有探問。(field note20120828 賈)

<sup>389</sup> 《中國道教史》四，pp.137~8；《青羊宮二仙菴志》pp.26~7。

<sup>390</sup> field note20110614，與黃。

頭」這樣的說法：青羊宮、青城山、老君山、鶴鳴山(無排名先後別，以筆劃排序)。而筆者的主要田野以其中之二的青羊宮與鶴鳴山道觀為主。

青羊宮(與二仙菴；此二道觀雖然比鄰而建，僅作一牆之隔，歷來互動密切，但其實他們的宮務是完全獨立不相干涉。直到中共在 1955 年將之生產合併、1980 落實宗教政策合併。故本文接下來若述及當代事件一律稱為「青羊宮」。關於歷史說明，則視史實所涉各別稱呼)位在今日成都市的西側的一環路西二段，這樣的地址在現代化的市區相當精華，但清時其實已經出了城門外，而在「青羊宮在縣西南十里。老子謂關令尹喜曰，約千日後尋於青羊肆，因此名青羊宮。<sup>391</sup>」不過已是最鄰近成都市區(省城/府治)規模最宏大的道教名觀。青羊宮的歷史極早，相傳老子西出函谷關後千日會尹喜於青羊肆，人們便在此老子說法處建立宮觀，時維西周，是最早的記載；其規模奠基於唐代，唐乾封元年(666)高宗封老子為「太上玄元皇帝」，改名「青羊宮」，之後代代皆有改建擴建，香火旺盛，羽眾極多<sup>392</sup>。清乾隆十年(1745)更擴大成為「十方叢林」，是中國西南的全真傳戒中心。與青羊宮原本是一牆之隔的二仙菴，落成於康熙中期，乃官吏趙良璧為供養道士陳清覺捐金修建。

改革開放後的青羊宮是 1982 年十一全會後通過開放的首批二十一處全國重點宮觀之一，宗教活動恢復得早。目前住觀道士約在六、七十人之譜。除宮中常行的歲時法事，1998 年起成立了宗教活動辦公室，正式對外承接一般信眾的請託法事<sup>393</sup>。根據主殿三清殿前的公告，約有二十種左右紅白齋醮服務可提供<sup>394</sup>；民眾請託亦頗熱烈，相信應是四川各宮觀之冠。目前所有法事皆在廟裡舉行，歲時、神誕或私人請事，以在三清殿中行事為主，也會在各祖師神前(神誕)或廟前空地(普度事)；除非是國際、省際宗教活動邀請，否則已不再像清代時會應制外出私人家中作法事(這裡是指整班經班，個別高功或經師還是可以外出承接的)。有宮裡自己完整的經班與道樂團(管樂與絃樂)。法會以沿襲傳統的二月中「老君會」(即昔日的青羊宮花會期<sup>395</sup>)、七月半「中元會」與九月初「九皇會」最盛大，廟中有塑像的神明聖誕也多有法會，此外重要歲時如除夕開年、中元、臘月錢灶等也有。

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<sup>391</sup> 《四川通志》卷三十七，寺觀。

<sup>392</sup> 《青羊宮二仙菴志》pp. 2~5。

<sup>393</sup> 《青羊宮二仙菴志》p. 142。

<sup>394</sup> 是一塊稍大於半開的告示牌，其上詳列法事名稱、主要功能與價格。據《青羊宮二仙菴志》(2006)與筆者造訪所見(2011 與 2012)，法事的項目與價格都小有更動。參見圖 11。

<sup>395</sup> 俗稱「趕青羊宮」，每年的二至三月份進香觀花，遊人如織，清末的「勸工(業)會」亦曾假此舉辦(傅崇矩 2006: 36, 37, 96)。民間以竹枝詞記其勝事更是多不勝數，如民國劉師亮專寫〈成都青羊宮花市竹枝詞三十首、又續七十首〉等。(林孔翼 1982: 88~98)

自中共宗教政策開放以來，四川地區道教科儀的復興，主要靠著青城山傅圓天、青羊宮江至霖(1908~1996)、劉理釗(生卒年不詳)等幾位老道長的回憶傳授。這幾位被尊稱為「老師爺」的老道長憑著記憶將主要的科儀架構、曲韻、道壇配置，以及最重要的秘訣祕法恢復起來。最早被恢復的是《廣成儀制》之「貢祀諸天」(十三--6, No. 6<sup>396</sup>)與「鐵罐斛食」(十三--73, No. 73)兩科<sup>397</sup>，可說是廣成科儀最常用又最根本需要的科事。

稍遜於青羊宮的熱鬧，離開市區的大邑縣鶴鳴山道觀，顯得古樸寧靜。1990年代以後才開放的鶴鳴山，位在成都市的西北方，約是開車一個多小時的距離。「鶴鳴」之名取自道教第一代天師張道陵在此地飛升時白鶴鳴的典故，顯見此地作為道教據點歷史悠久。此外，相傳由明代道士張三豐於此修道時在此手植的一朱古柏，是道觀著名景點之一。

道觀恢復得較晚，發展規模上也較小。近幾年有藥商集團以道教源頭為號召，在附近開發新的道教觀光兼休閒養生景區「道源聖城<sup>398</sup>」，未來可能有新氣象。鶴鳴山是傳統的「子孫廟」形式，目前常住道士(乾道與坤道)約是二十多人。齋醮科儀方面，除了嚴守每天、朔望日的早晚課，歲時神誕則以五月份「天師會」最盛大。平日(主要是週末假日)也會承接信眾請託法事，但在廟中還是以清吉事為主，沒有私人喪事。科儀的恢復，主要是在宗教政策開放後，一則當家楊明江道長本身是知名高功，恢復了主要儀式內容，二則廟裡的二當家楊道長往青城山學了一套回來，再分別教給道眾練習<sup>399</sup>。此外，互動頻繁的鄰近下院<sup>400</sup>川王宮裡也都還保有老的道法，特別是一些專門科中使用的高功密法<sup>401</sup>。受限人數，觀中止使用基本的鑼鉦樂器。不過在科儀傳授上就相當不簡單了，以筆者所知會或能夠上壇演法的道士約有十多人(經師上壇並非強制工作，廟中諸人在各有理由下，通常上壇還是維持七或九人的型制)，當中有能力擔任高功(即使是最簡單的科目)的起碼就有六人，這個比例應該是我在四川所見最高的；可能是因為鶴鳴山作為子孫廟人員流動較低，師徒間傳承紐帶也強。

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<sup>396</sup> 此編碼為依照《藏外道書》目次所排序，以此簡記方便讀者檢索。如「十三--6, No. 6」十三指的是《藏外》第13冊，6是該冊的第六科，是全套總數之第6科。以下方式皆同。

<sup>397</sup> Fieldnote 20140403，黃。

<sup>398</sup> 2005年由私人企業興建以道教為主題的風景旅遊區，目前已有新修殿宇和溫泉酒店開放。

<sup>399</sup> Fieldnote 20111129，萬。

<sup>400</sup> 「下院形式」：非十方叢林的道觀有師承關係再旁支出去的廟宇，略有尊卑關係，但觀務是各自獨立的。此例以鶴鳴山為首，它與川王宮(車程半小時之內)是在現在當家的師爺那代分出去的，目前仍保持良好的互動支援。

<sup>401</sup> 如川王宮住持卓道長從師父習得揚「皇旛」的密法，包括目前廣成已無科本的皇旛條列之一科〈書寫皇旛〉；師父從其師祖傳授(傳三徒)中又特別專精「河圖」。(fieldnote 20111119，與卓道長)



鶴鳴山的道士主要在正殿三清殿舉行宮觀內或民眾清吉法事(以「拜斗」與「貢天」法事最多)，斗姆殿前施行普渡(以「鐵罐斛食」頻率最高)，地點的決定是沿襲傳統習慣。與青羊宮一樣，雖然會為信眾作超薦法事，但不為新亡者做(即不做「七單(川話說法，即七七)」內、百日、周年等喪事)，也不會外出做這類法事---初亡白事找火居的正一道士來做(就家中或其他地方)，是長久以來不成文的習慣了。個別道士可以受聘外出作法事(這時就可以去齋主家中作新亡喪事)，只需事先向廟子裡請假。

成都市內近年還開放了一座道廟「古孃孃廟」。孃孃廟座落在成都著名佛寺「文殊院」區之內，在廟產土地上向來有些齟齬。其原是後蜀昭烈帝劉備的家廟，於成都人有特殊的地緣情懷，該廟亦以農曆三月三日「拴娃娃<sup>402</sup>」求子乞嗣活動而聞名。孃孃廟多數廟產昔日被分作民宅，至今多沒能收回，使得廟內格局扭曲侷促，但克難的空間並不影響鄰近老人家固定前來參拜。現在孃孃廟是青羊宮的子孫廟，現任住持雖然本身是前任住持弟子，職位上還是由青羊宮派任的，廟子在運作上特別是重大決定仍須由青羊宮決定。

孃孃廟在日例與歲時儀式外，也有承接一些民眾請託。科儀主要學習自青羊宮。即便如此，由於高功短缺，他們聘請了外來的潘道長擔任，更特殊的是潘道長是位正一道士，既不蓄髮也不住廟，他還不是四川人。當然這並不妨礙他想要成為一個行廣成科儀的高功---他能夠說流利的四川(官)話，也有個教《廣成》的師父，一旦克服了道法傳承與語言的問題，任何人都可能登壇演法。

本廟又因在觀道士不足，很特殊地起用了不少資深居士(有皈依的俗家弟子)充作壇班人員。居士一同上壇這點古時候並非沒有，另一個壇門法言壇也一向如此，不過這裡有點權宜作法，反觀全真派大的廟子(理想情況)是不會發生的<sup>403</sup>。筆者觀察目前約有一半經班由居士充任，居士們男女皆有，大多上了年紀，常常來廟子上，或幫忙或閒話家常，需要參加一些專門設計給他們的練習課程(功課分配情形可參見圖 19)。當前的科儀在住持(司鼓，即經班中的第二把手<sup>404</sup>)的鼓勵推動，與潘道士無私的教學訓練下，發展得很快也很有計畫組織，已很有經驗的熟手居士甚至還可以受邀外出支援<sup>405</sup>，是值得期待的新興恢復道廟。

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<sup>402</sup> 這裡的孃孃指的是北地王妃崔娘娘，以其貞烈形象為成都人崇敬，廟中有孃孃塑像，在每年三月舉行「送娘娘出駕」，也因此形成求子的習俗。案在中國與四川的道教或民間信仰中，娘娘崇拜都不在少數，乞嗣的活動也所在多有，但對象則不一定相同。

<sup>403</sup> 如老君山也有居士上堂的情形，不過不可以擔任高功；但在青羊宮的話，俗家弟子是不可以上堂的。(fieldnote 20100514，陳)

<sup>404</sup> 「執鼓師」的職責有出壇領隊，拜台法鼓，所以全真道醮壇稱鼓為「法器之王」。(劉紅 2009: 209)

<sup>405</sup> Fieldnote 20120930。

出了市區的金堂縣在成都市西南方，有一脈歷史悠久----據稱就跟廣成科本一樣久----的正一道士在此生根。我的主要報導人之一正一派楊道長便是出自這個傳統，因為田野現實的困難，對四川正一派的了解我主要依賴楊道長以及他的弟子，目前約有二十多人。這一脈是來自廣東梅山縣的客家人，在「湖廣填四川」時期移入成都東山。移來第一代祖師名馮法傳，這個「法」字輩是他身兼「法教」傳統的證明<sup>406</sup>。除了為數不多專為同鄉做的喪儀<sup>407</sup>，他們所行科儀約八成是廣成科儀。在陳仲遠之前他們使用「先天道壇」，之後他們自稱「廣成壇」道士（桌圍則使用正一的「萬法宗壇」）；私壇可以有自己堂號<sup>408</sup>，並不使用在壇場上。正一派傳承亦有其內部的看法，他們追憶《廣成儀制》中許多科儀自從他們這裡出來的，由陳復慧融合了正一與全真道法，但陳本身原不是全真弟子<sup>409</sup>，是受了三壇大戒才有了「復」字輩的道名；因為陳仲遠在溫江蟠龍寺完成了《廣成儀制》，於是該寺被視為總壇（陳亦葬在此處），民國時逢陳仲遠忌日廣成壇道士還會來在此奠祭聚會。曾有位師爺彭教遠（兩代前，「教」字輩）開過印書坊，雖然沒有刻印《廣成》，傳說印過一些經和《靈寶文檢》與其他各式文疏。科儀手本方面據說也保存不少，民初青羊宮欲刊印時師爺曾擔了兩簍子經書過去，八〇年代欲重整廣成經書時也有襄助。

楊道長並非家學出身，但他於道教頗有感應，拜師入道極早（在十四、五歲之前），很年輕就跟在師父師爺身邊跑山頭看風水，其能力在這方面很受推崇。道教凋零，他於是繼承了師爺底下多個師叔伯的傳承，據說尚待整理復興的文物（經、密本、法器）不少，我曾見過他所展示的幾部老手本（約是民國時期的東西）。

第一次經引薦見到楊道長是 2011 年夏天，他如傳統火居正一道士以承接各種民俗宗教服務，看風水陰陽宅、紅白事科儀等維持生計，今日的宗教政策已不再允許火居道士在家宅前掛上「〇〇道寓<sup>410</sup>」的招牌，他於是更像個跟上新時代的 SOHO 族，靠著高人氣與口碑介紹，平素主要以手機聯絡生意，然後再開

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<sup>406</sup> 民間巫覡請神中的「馮法二郎，（或稱「江柏二郎」）」即是。fieldnote20110617 楊；謝桃坊 2004。二郎所指對象與傳說尚不清楚。

<sup>407</sup> 目前僅剩三科（「藥師」與「渡橋」科儀），除了老人家要求現在已經很少做了；最大的不同是使用客家話（土廣東話）。

<sup>408</sup> 清代時主要有三堂（宗師才有資格立堂）：成都南門全心堂、東門外慶雲堂，與菁熙堂。fieldnote2011-06-17 楊

<sup>409</sup> 也有支持的類似說法，如是全真的俗家弟子（fieldnote 20110613 李遠國）；或可能不是全真道士（20110514 葉長青、20110621 吳理充）。不論如何，陳仲遠受了全真的戒，領受道名是不爭的事實；更重要的證據是他名列門派族譜《碧洞堂上支譜》之內，是被龍門派承認的道士，本文據此肯定他是全真道士。

<sup>410</sup> 如「念經之道士，非廟中之道人也。...其招牌則書「道寓」兩字，無家室者曰淨居道士，有家世者曰伙居道士。」（傅崇矩 2006: 194）

著車子滿市區地移動，往來各地奔波。常常是按照日子開車帶著壇班眾(也可能他們收到邀請後，各自前往)與法器前往齋主家中，也時常先在外頭說事商談。我們當時就是隨性地約在市區一間茶館，這點很有清代民國時的巴蜀遺風<sup>411</sup>。

到了2012年我再次前往成都，他已成功將金堂縣趙鎮(這裡可是道教初期張天師所定「二十四治」的「真多治」所在)「龍王廟」修建恢復，改為可住廟的正一私廟「真多觀」。

楊道長的手頭上擁有一些老本子和法器，對四川正一道教的復興與地位的提升有很強的企圖心，與他對談常能習得關於科儀的知識。但由於我對他們一脈道法與傳承還無法清楚掌握，只有有限的田野觀察與問答。但他們擁有較長的在地歷史發展與深耕是由庸置疑，很值得未來再擴展田野範圍。

以上四處是我田野資料的主要來源，此外尚有與他們有關聯但不屬於這四處道觀的道士，分別簡要地代表了全真(特別是龍門碧洞宗)道士、受聘來全真道觀裡的正一道士，以及民間傳統的正一道士——多種傳統間，各自背負不同傳統與修練方式，有對異也有能溝通兩端的漸層。

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<sup>411</sup> 王笛 2010: 75~8。

## Chapter 2 廣成儀制的編纂

### 2-1 目前所見的《廣成儀制》版本

《廣成儀制》是一套成於清中期，全為科儀書的道經總集，也是現存的唯一一部全真齋醮科儀的總集<sup>412</sup>。目前版本雖然頗見流通，但其實來源相當單一。除了青羊宮還在製作的少量手工印刷裝訂本，現代的正式出版(符合現代一般商業、出版業流通的出版形式者)只有 1986 年《藏外道書<sup>413</sup>》當中的第 13~15 冊，這也是它首次的現代出版發行。網路資源與道士間的授受流通也存在。

《藏外道書》是當代最大且由民間發起製作<sup>414</sup>，於 1989~1994 年間結合道教界與學術界的力量總結的道教經典集成，由四川巴蜀書社印行。其中「四川青城山道教協會將從未傳世的《廣成儀制》也拿了出來。<sup>415</sup>」關於這套《藏外道書》集結出版的因由，據悉是想在宗教改革開放之後力圖恢復、保存道教資料，另一方面也展現中國對宇內漢學研究積極競爭的野心。這套集子不似《道藏輯要》(以下簡稱《輯要》)將舊版新印，而是當代新的編集，針對明清有影響力但未曾被收錄過的少見道經，供道教界與學術界的需要；嚴格來說這也是首次既非惟官方力量也非惟教內自主的作為。不過在編輯出版的模式與《輯要》還是很相似<sup>416</sup>，其行政過程主要是由一兼有道教與學術界成員的委員會規劃，然後請宮觀為主的收藏單位、藏家提供。

關於《藏外》所指《廣成儀制》部分的「拿出來」，是從某藏書家商借而來的影印本，來源不只一位，但名單並不清楚<sup>417</sup>；雖然如此，可以確定藏本主要是藏

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<sup>412</sup> 陳耀庭 2010。

<sup>413</sup> 藏外道書：明清道書總集，由胡道靜、陳耀庭、段文桂、林萬清主編，1992 年由巴蜀書社出版，全書共 36 冊，共收錄道書 991 種。是中國國家「八五」重點圖書出版計劃項目、中國古籍整理出版「八五」計劃重點項目。不沿用三洞四輔十二類的分類方法，而採用按內容特點區分類別的方法，將全書區分為 11 類(一、古佚道書類；二、經典類；三、教禮教義類；四、攝養類；五、戒律善書類；六、儀範類；七、傳記神仙類；八、宮觀地誌類；九、文藝類；十、目錄類；十一、其他)。(中國道教大辭典，p.230, 劉仲宇責編)

<sup>414</sup> 《藏外道書》的出版雖得到諸多國家級單位的奧援，但主編陳耀庭提出本集並非全由道士且已無皇家支持，認為算是「由民間自發搞的」，本文沿用其意見。(陳 1996：912)

<sup>415</sup> 陳耀庭 1996：911~4

<sup>416</sup> 「1984 年，作為道教協會會長，青羊宮住持的張元和，與四川巴蜀書社達成協議，聯合重印《道藏輯要》。」(李養正 1993：280)

<sup>417</sup> 筆者嘗就此問題請教過巴蜀書社的編輯，可惜時代久遠，已沒有當時參與人員在職。只知道原件早已物還原主，亦無檔案留存。改究諸藏書章所涉人物(如「楊教遠」、「玄天道人」等)，多所探問亦無跡可尋。不過，由於不同科本上分有青城山題記與「鶴鳴山」戳印(參見圖 3)，合理懷疑借書的來源不止一處。此外，由青羊宮目前所印售的線裝本來比較，是更清晰精良的，為何當時反擇用舊藏影本，也不清楚。略知背景的甘紹成教授透露，當時對《廣成儀制》的收集並沒有齊全，因為在商借時沒有談好。(fieldnote 20110620)

家購自或輾轉得自青羊宮，也就是以清末民初時二仙菴刻印版子加以印刷的。而當年由二仙菴發起印行的《廣成儀制》，現代發行時為什麼會是由青城山古常道觀收藏來提供，除了他們是四川道協之所在地，有一說是由於對日抗戰時躲避日軍轟炸，以及中共文革時間青羊宮二仙菴遭受紅衛兵攻擊時，都曾將大量文物運送至青城山保存。不過雖然能確定有這段過往，確切時間與究竟有多少文物曾被妥善保存，目前都沒有詳細資料。古常道觀即今日之青城山天師洞，這也可以解釋我們在《藏外道書》的版本裡見到相當多的「天師洞」直式朱文章<sup>418</sup>。

最完整的《廣成儀制》在清末刊刻，約是從清光緒三十三年(1907)開始，這也是它唯一一次有刻版的紀錄。不若《重刊道藏輯要》，關於《廣成儀制》何時開始正式刊刻並沒有記載，因為兩者工作時間上有延續性，再加上雕版成品的高度相似，反而予人有像是從屬在《輯要》這個大計畫中的一個子項的錯覺；當然廣成從不曾劃歸進《輯要》之中，以版面來看，它們出自同一批師匠與時代還是很清楚的。《廣成儀制》雖然缺乏紀錄，從經本的題識來看大約是落在 1907 到 1915 年之間：以「申啟城隍集」(十四—20, No. 139) 最早(1907 年)，「保苗揚旌集」(十四—13, No. 132) 最晚(1915 年)。因為有題記的科不多，也有晚個幾年的可能。比起《輯要》的 1901~1915 稍晚。

可以推測，在編輯雕版上，因為《輯要》起著公開號召功能，開始較早，《廣成儀制》主要應付內部需要，知名度與重要性較低，踵續其後起步。進行上半數時間仍是重疊的。但是，1915 年《輯要》的完整完工是確定的；反觀《廣成儀制》則恐非如此，極有可能是政局和經濟無法再支持，提前草草收尾。時間上可以權把《廣成儀制》當作《輯要》規劃時的擴展，是後續接著的下一個計畫。

《廣成儀制》不在《輯要》選採範圍內，但閻永和在倡募《輯要》時，必然有想把《廣成儀制》一同付梓的計畫。曾收錄在《輯要》目錄中，但終究沒有一起出版的廣成專用文檢集——《雅宜集》、《心香妙語》和《靈寶文檢》<sup>419</sup>，在刊印流傳近百年後都又予重新雕版，並有收錄進《輯要》的規畫，可以表明《廣成儀制》科儀當時已是四川地方主要的使用科儀，知名度大使用者眾需求亦會增大。科本的需求量是又要高於文檢的，此前《廣成儀制》眾刻本始終缺乏有計畫的完整刊刻，躬此盛事集結付梓是很正常的想法。

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<sup>418</sup> 所謂青羊宮不足的本子由青城山補上一點已是學界共識(張澤洪 2003: 60)，基本上也很合理；但事實上青羊宮近年陸續整理又新印了不少老版子，所以出版之時的清楚是有疑惑的，但目前背後故事不明。

<sup>419</sup> 《重刊道藏輯要續篇子目》的「張集一續」列有四種道書而不見於總目，其中三種就是此文檢集(第四種乃「青玄祭煉鐵罐斛食」(有收入在《廣成儀制》中))。尹志華先生認為這是因為《輯要》當時急於流通，而沒有等到這些書完全刊刻完畢。(尹 2012: 56)文檢集會在接下來的篇幅介紹，這裡先不討論。

## 版本

刊刻百年之後的今日的《廣成儀制》，版本還算單一，些微差異極小，以常見的來源有二，再根據版面訊息可以稍作細分。

### 甲、《藏外道書》版(ZW)

《藏外道書》的第十三至十五冊。有自己的目錄，但編排方式不詳。本文主要採用本版本，所列各科檢索代號亦根據此本。

甲之一，二仙菴刻版(本文凡單稱《廣成儀制》系指此版，與《輯要》相同者)

《藏外道書》中使用這個二仙菴刻版規格的底本共有 227 部，在全集裡佔蟲的高比例(總數有 288 科，故是 78.8%)。從刻書版面來看，它們都是由二仙菴聘僱的「岳池幫<sup>420</sup>」工匠所刻，具有「刻工精獷豪邁，字體厚重渾樸<sup>421</sup>」的風格。《廣成儀制》(與《重刊》)的刻版多數相同：梨木版，雙面雕刻。每面被版心分隔作兩頁，整面雙框作圍，一頁八行(故每面十六行)，多數有細烏絲欄分行，每行十八字，使用當時流行的明體字，多數已有句讀。

版心提供了三部份訊息：上兩部份以單魚尾隔開，第一部份為全集名稱「廣成儀制」，是固定不變的，可以作為屬於本套書的判準之一。第二部份為科儀名稱，通常是全科名的四字省稱，做「○○○○集/全集」樣；如「廣成儀制高上神霄九宸正朝全集」便作「九宸正朝集」(十三--9, No. 9)，或又省略「集」字。底下的第三部份是頁碼。特別一提的是頁碼下方通常會有更小字體的「蘇州碼」，其標示意義尚不明，在道經或其他印經上也屬罕見，惟可以確定今日已不再使用。<sup>422</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> 清代成都雕版業，成員是按地域組成幾個幫：岳池幫、綿竹幫、成都幫等(公會為「倉頡會」)，以鄉籍為團結認同向外招徠工作。(《成都市志·圖書出版志》，p.227)據青羊宮道長記憶，當時當時招募工匠後，是直接聘進廟裡擇地開作坊施工，屬包膳宿的包工。如此包工形式是契約期限式的，青羊宮並沒有常設的雕版部門。

<sup>421</sup> 「是近代蜀刻中具有代表性的刻本。」(《青羊宮二仙菴志》p. 193)同評價出現在《四川百科全書》之「道藏輯要」，但引用資料不詳。百科全書中並提及 1985 年青羊宮整理再印刷這些老版子，是請「當年志在堂」的印刷師傅施工(志在堂資料目前亦闕如)。(p. 317)

<sup>422</sup> 「蘇州碼」是一種起源於蘇州的商用記數符號，因簡便好寫，廣泛普及在眾多需要速記或密記的情況。二仙菴刻版《廣成儀制》中標有蘇州碼者比例有 98%(以該科只要出現一頁就算)，幾乎可以斷定是內部常用定制。其數字所代表的意義，有些能合於該頁全部字數(含版心)，故當是刻工紀錄工錢的方式；另外一類還沒有邏輯可循。第二種用法有一個說法是，昔日二仙菴收藏經版時，為防範偷盜與偷學，會將少量經版抽換或隨機安插，版上標註的碼子就是內部管理員用來檢索正確位置的代碼(field note: 2012-07-17 董, 2012-08-29 魏)。筆者曾兩度向青羊宮印經處負責道長確認，蘇州碼現已不用，經版完全依照順序擺放，現今道士已經不識蘇州碼為何物了。(field note 2012-06-21 魯)。順帶提及，《輯要》中也有蘇州碼出現(比例沒有統計)，以筆者抽樣也有合字數與不合字數兩種情況；目前也還沒有被討論過。(見圖 1)蘇州碼雖然在《廣成》與《輯要》中出現頻繁，在其他四川清代刻版書中並不多見，目前只在很少數方志出現，如《民國·溫江縣

此二仙菴刊版不但是現行《廣成儀制》的主流，現代陸續出現的重製、補充版本也以此為範式。

#### 甲之二，生神會作「度人大齋十過」全集

這是一個年代稍早於二仙菴刻本的系列。「廣成儀制度人大齋一過集~十過集」(版心簡稱「卷一~卷十。度人一過~十過」。十五--8~16, No. 247~255)。「度人齋」屬於道教向來極重視的黃籙齋儀，有普渡天人的大效，廣成科儀中也運用不少<sup>423</sup>。要分別禮信三寶、十殿、十方神王，繼而上章表、申發符籙牒文，是連續的十科濟度法事。版型上每面以版心分隔為兩頁，版心單魚尾有集名科名頁碼，每面雙框圍，一頁十行(故每面二十行)，每行十九字，無烏絲欄分行，亦使用明體字但風格較纖細硬挺，多數已有句讀，全無蘇州碼。在最後一科「度人十過」卷末記有「咸豐五年(1855)季冬月吉日」(9a)，證明先於二仙菴版本的刻印確實存在。不過此次規模不大，可能只刻了這一組十科，主要目的是作為溫江縣某地「生神會<sup>424</sup>」籌備已久的「靈寶無量度人生神大齋」場上使用。

#### 甲之三，青城山諸科本

佔多數的二仙菴刻版以外，還有部分手寫本(或手寫形式的刻本，這點不能確定)與他型刻本，是各方因實際需要自寫或自刻的，都湊不成套，其時代不必早於二仙菴刻版，因為出版之初價格相當高昂，並不是每個人都負擔得起。手書體版型與字體小差異較多，來自「天師洞」(部份版心有「廣成儀制。天師洞置」；或僅有「天師洞」)，是彭至國任監院時期的作品，計有十多科，如「上元慶聖集」(十三—11, No. 11)等。

#### 甲之四，其他

彼此間沒有關聯的手抄本，字體、謄抄人都不同，來源亦不詳。如「報恩鴻齋集，右案」(十四--37, No.156)署「六吉堂陳鴻儒抄謄」；或「和瘟正朝集」(十四--18, No.137)署「光緒十二年四月朔一日楊教誠置」等。這樣的科較孤立散置，書寫風格大體不符天師洞的作品，不過單就此來說也不能肯定。

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志》、《民國·遂寧縣志》。

<sup>423</sup> 常見在濟度或請經相關科事，會直接引用段落或用典。如「四大歸空全集」(十三--28, No. 28)、「斗醮啟師全集」(十三--46, No. 46)等。

<sup>424</sup> 信仰者組成神會的一種，以誦念「生神經」為主要活動。根據題記「生神餘金捐錢六千文」(四過集，十五—11, 10a)可以推測很可能是會眾誦經數滿，合請道士作度人齋來完願言功；而且利用積攢的會費贊助刻印，選擇刻印十過集極可能就是為了當次盛會使用。神會是最大贊助者，其他還有新繁、郫邑、彭邑、夾江的道會司與商賈。

## 乙、網路資源：網站「白雲深處人家」(RJ)

「白雲深處人家」(以下簡稱「人家版」)是中國頗負盛名的道教資源網站，無償提供許多道教道家的資料下載。本文的使用內容以《藏外道書》為主，在版本不同或少數有缺情況下改使用人家版(會加註說明)。該站創建於 2005 年 8 月 15 日，主要收集中華傳統道家文化資料。是個純屬個人公益網站，對道教研究與電子檔案保存流通助益甚大。網址為：<http://www.byscrj.com/jmm/>

人家版掃描重製成有書籤功能的電子版，資料收集的來源沒有標示。但由於有些頁面兩側出現「藏外道書」字樣，可知有部份是直接來自《藏外》。目錄以科名首字筆畫數目，從少至多以流水號排列，總計 281 科。內容上多與藏外版相同，但稍有版面不同，這是掃描來源(紙本)的不同。內容上，則有多出藏外版所無的十五科：

NO. 人家版	科名	ZW 同版
4	九光雷醮削影科儀	○
6	九皇大醮斗姥預祝全集	○
X 25	雲臺儀九龍祈雨啟師演戒全集 (唐世廣成天師杜光庭賓聖修集)	! <sup>425</sup>
37	三天門下女青詔書 (頒行詔命集)	○
49	大放赦文	○
76	迎水府十二河源	○
X 97	玉清無極總真大洞消劫行化護國救民寶懺 (文昌懺)	X
113	先天禮斗	○
136	祀供泉井	○
141	祀供鑾華	○
X 154	邱祖垂訓文 (+冠巾科)	! <sup>426</sup>
189	拜斗解厄	
194	恭迎天駕集	○ <sup>427</sup>
195	恭迎地駕集	○
205	清靜朝真禮斗全集 (版心作「靜斗燃燈」)	○

<sup>425</sup> 版面形制與 ZW 二仙菴刊版相同；版心有「廣成儀制」樣，卷首題識沒有但卷末則有(作「廣成儀制祈雨啟師全集」)，題識作者杜光庭。案，藏外版並無收「祈雨啟師」相關。

<sup>426</sup> 版面形制與版心皆與 ZW 二仙菴刊版相同，但內文明顯不可能是陳復慧所作。

<sup>427</sup> 版面形制與版心皆與 ZW 二仙菴刊版相同，惟卷首作「靈雲儀制」，孤例，原因不明。



上表十五項裡標註灰色網點的三科，雖與廣成科儀很有關係，但因對作者有疑慮(RJ-25)，或並非科儀本身(RJ-97、154)，先決定暫不採計。

目前已知 1907 年之前的刻版版本極少，主要以各式手抄本型式傳佈。它的傳佈可能也沒有多大不同，可能都是容許鈔傳、公開的；當然並不像科舉、童蒙用書那般唾手可得地流通，但它從未對購買/傳鈔者嚴格限定身份或強調祕傳，可見在態度上是頗為開放的——雖然在「丹臺碧洞書房」販售的科本，實在是「因價昂而銷售不暢」<sup>428</sup>。

此外，筆者還收到純目錄三種：

### 丙、清代二仙菴刻版目錄<sup>429</sup>(以下簡稱「老青羊目錄」)

封面題識「廣成儀制諸品仙經目錄」，為「大清宣統二年庚戌 重刊」(1910)，版心僅作「經科目錄」，下頁有「四川省成都二仙菴道經流通處印」大朱文章。目錄共分四十二卷，計 275 科。

此版目錄在板面編排上與藏外版不同，除了「二仙菴」大印之外則沒有與二仙菴或青羊宮有關的題記。筆者曾以此就教過曾在青羊宮管理經卷的道長，他明白指出他雖然也看過這份目錄，但這並不是真正的目錄，而是流通處印行的「徵印單」<sup>430</sup>。這點可以暗合印章上的流通處單位。

### 丁、《廣成儀制·原序》目錄(以下簡稱「原序目錄」)

署「光緒丁未年成都二仙菴藏版」(即光緒三十三年，1907)。還收有不著撰人的「原序」一篇，講述祖師陳復慧生平德行，與閻永和在 1906 年作「重刊廣成儀制序」。這個版本是筆者田野期間所獲贈<sup>431</sup>，但本身已是 2012<sup>432</sup>年的電腦排版重制，沒有見過真本。

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<sup>428</sup> 楊錫民 1984：40

<sup>429</sup> 本版目錄乃尹志華先生所收(據聞得自北京白雲觀一位老道長)，經香港蓬瀛仙館范先生轉贈，特此感謝。

<sup>430</sup> fieldnote 20120716，董。

<sup>431</sup> 關於廣成儀制的兩篇序，筆者手頭上有兩個版本，排版不同，但都是電腦排印。兩個版本在內容上完全相同，且序中故事筆者在田野中也曾聽其他道士說起，合理相信這份序文與目錄在目前的廣成道士間仍有流通，但或許不多。(第二份有序文沒有目錄(該道士本身有，但沒有給我)，這裡不列入討論)

<sup>432</sup> 卷末署「中華人民共和國六十三年歲次壬辰仲夏」西蜀龍門正宗第廿一代 末學董至光副刊。

原序目錄除廣成儀制還附錄有「諸品經懺」(老青羊目錄雖也附有諸品仙經，但內容不太相同)，《廣成儀制》的部份共分四十卷，扣除非關科儀的經書，總計 273 科。本目錄紀年稍早於老青羊版，目次上雖稍不同，若說老青羊版是重刊再版，也還是說的通。

## 戊、當代青羊宮印經目錄

這是青羊宮重開印刷部，所提供的「流通書目價格表」。在《青羊宮二仙庵志》中(相同的)附表雖標為「《廣成儀制》及其他書目錄」(p.249)，實際可取得的書單上並沒有特別標誌，僅將全部收在「科儀類(木刻古裝)」項(另外還有教理教義類、法懺類、戒律類；不過這個分類並不精確，我們還是可以看到零星幾科廣成科儀被放到非科儀類中)。

這個目錄有方便檢序的流水號(與其他類接續著一起排)，其排序與上面幾種順序並不相同，也看不出關聯意義。此外，就筆者手上有的幾個版本(2006、2011、2012<sup>433</sup>)可見，版本都沒有標示年份，但很明顯每年都有更動，雖然基本格式不變，但箇中排序會小有變化(流水號也會)，還有錯字誤字。負責印經處的道長對此認為沒有什麼關係，也不構成什麼困擾。

現在四川的廣成道士壇上所用幾乎全是從青羊宮「請」回來的單科科本<sup>434</sup>，目前青羊宮所販售的版本仍維持以老版子(少數已損壞的再予補過，但版面與刻工明顯較差)人工油墨印刷，內頁使用宣紙(連史紙)，單冊作包背式六孔線裝，外用藏青色書皮貼白簽條，成套購買還有匣裝，保持與昔日一樣的裝幀。如同經目持續都有增減，青羊宮印刷部的出版科書也會變動。根據約是 2010 年左右售出的套書，共分為十二函，共 256 科。<sup>435</sup>

## 2-2 刊刻的完成與流佈

把西元 1907 當作開版啟始、1915 年視作《廣成儀制》雕版的完工日並不精確<sup>436</sup>，事實上有可能往前後再延展個一兩年，特別是結束的時間點，因為當時

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<sup>433</sup> 2006 年版即《青羊宮二仙庵志》pp.249~54，另兩年的版本則是筆者在青羊宮索取。書目表可向販書櫃檯或專管印刷部的道長索取，即使是一般人也不會被拒絕。

<sup>434</sup> 筆者在壇上見過幾次手抄本，雖然古舊，但至多是幾十年前最多不過百年之物。至於道士或研究者的意見最多是民國時期而不早於清末。

<sup>435</sup> 此根據香港蓬瀛仙館圖書館採購版本所附之目錄，目錄亦作單冊線裝，內文以毛筆手書，但錯字誤字頗多。單以目錄比較，有如「祈雨啟水」、「亡三十六解」、「修真寶傳」等藏外與人家版全無收存的科本。青羊宮印售的線裝版價昂難見，期待未來有機會就此版本好好比對。

<sup>436</sup> 根據青羊宮現代出版套書所附目錄前的「簡介」，提出《廣成儀制》刊刻的工作時間卻是

政治與經濟條件的迫窘，使刊刻工作斷斷續續，不得已先暫告一段落，後續沒有清楚的交代。雖然《廣成儀制》以單科作冊的裝幀性質較不容易發現其未完成的事實，我們從兩份老目錄：即上一節介紹的「原序目錄」(1907)「老青羊目錄」、(1910)作比較，可以看到在科目排序上就有差異，我以為除了表示刊刻計畫主持人對各科間的分卷(分組)、排序還在考量，其數目、內容的參差也暗示了當時收羅仍在進行中，以《廣成儀制》最完整的規模而言並未底定，甚或是說「《廣成儀制》尚未成集」<sup>437</sup>。

《廣成儀制》的「完工」沒有興作醮儀，也可以當作一個疑點。《二仙菴歲時文》之「刊刻道藏輯要焚書呈天修齋疏」(No. 19)可知《重刊道藏輯要》正式完工時曾舉行盛大的醮典，以啟秉神明與祖師，這台「黃籙度人大齋」從(農曆)十月初一持續到十二月二十一日(實年不詳，疑即是 1915 年)，規模極為宏大；反觀齋醮科儀科本總集的《廣成儀制》，卻完全沒有圓成的相關活動紀錄，實在說不過去。筆者亦持《廣成儀制》其實不算徹底完成的看法。

即便如此，今之所見廣成科儀的範圍仍相當廣大。因為缺乏有力目錄之故，《廣成儀制》究竟有多少科數很需要探討。田野之中常常聽到道士們對數量的形容是，當年如果科儀完全不重複，可以連續不斷地作達 60~180 天(取各說法的極大/ 小值)。以習慣一天約四或五科的安排，推估應該就有 240~720 或 300~900 科之譜，距數實在太大。

我的檢查方式是點算來自「藏外版」與「人家版」所公開有全文的科事，扣除重覆或不齊全的，再加上田野所採佚經科名(尚無緣得見內容，我們對這些內容的完整甚至是正偽都無法判斷，還有待未來的收集判讀)約 24 科以上，且還在增加中。目前已有三百科以上是肯定的，至於可以以上到什麼數量，還很難估計。

筆者統計，「藏外版」《廣成儀制》出版部份有兩百八十八<sup>438</sup>科。對此我的判定標準是以每卷卷首有「廣成儀制○○全集/ 集」(有時在卷末還會出現「廣成儀制○○全集/ 集終」)，這樣標示的科書基本可以認定為獨立一科。如果以《藏外道書》每冊所附目錄為主，會遇到一個大集合底下有數個子項，但目錄只簡省地題了個全稱，但其實每科都獨立存在，便會擴大給予每科一個序號，如「六時薦拔全集」(十四--60)其實是「六時薦拔集 一~六」，配合六個時辰的科事共六集(十四-60，No. 178~183)。有一科卻劃分為兩科，雖然分別都有卷頭，

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1909~1914，此說法的依據不明。

<sup>437</sup> 陳耀庭 2000: 213。

<sup>438</sup> 研究者對有效計算各有不同標準，如尹志華認為《藏外》版有 275(尹 2010: 44)。

但因為頁碼有所連續仍判定為一科；如「度人題綱上部左右案全集」與「度人題綱下部左右案全集」(十五--1, NO. 240)。此外，我扣除了目錄上有的四科：

1. 「中元大會慶聖正朝集」(十三--21)：重複列入(十三--20)故只採計一科。
  2. 「祀雷集」(十三--120)：有目錄但確無此內容(凡非可計為單科內容者概不予流水號)。
  3. 「佚名」：其內容雖是「行符告簡」(十三--27)的部份，它非但重複還不完整，不予計數。
  4. 「言功設醮集」：重複列入(十四—30、十四--62)故只採計一科。
- 以此規則計數下，依總號共計為 288 科，讀者也可參考附表的完整總表。

另外再比對了「人家版」《廣成儀制》，在其流水號共 281 科中，經與「藏外擺」比對，有十三科不同(詳情請見上節所附表)。至此，我們可以確定有完整內容的科本起碼有 300 科<sup>439</sup>。

計數加總到這裡，可見一般談論廣成約有三百科以上，是很保守但得當的估計。即便只是估算，目前仍可以肯定其無所不包的完整性：上對帝王下至庶民，內起宮觀外到生活日常，可說能滿足任何情境需要。也因此科儀本身也得到四川以外道教的重視，有向外流傳的情形。

還有一個與編印有關的疑問是，《廣成儀制》是否有更早的版本。自陳復慧編就以來，《廣成儀制》蒙清高宗皇帝嘉許為可傳世之才，直到了清末二仙菴刊刻之前，期間約莫一百多年裡，刊刻情形卻很模糊。除了目前已知有很零星的手本或如「度人十過」般的少量刊刻，大規模的集結似乎不曾發生。但若從閻永和在光緒三十二年(1906)所作「重刊廣成儀制序<sup>440</sup>」來推論，在此之前應該還是有過出版，不論規模。此外，在閻序中提到

「是書也，由武陽陳雲峰較(案應為校之誤字)輯以成，由崇陽劉合信<sup>441</sup>搜尋而得」(2a-2b)  
又

「在昔散見於殘篇，至今纂集為完璧」(2b)

明顯可推論還有其他版本流散。又按龍門派詩第十一到二十字輩：

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<sup>439</sup>從數字來看，筆者對屬於《廣成儀制》範疇的判定較為狹隘，即只認定科儀科本。這可能是受到《藏外道書》集結的影響，形成先入為主的偏見，就不如老青羊版與原序版兩目錄的詳備。這點可以再討論。

<sup>440</sup>「重刊廣成儀制序」署為「光緒三十二年(1906)歲次丙午仲春月成都二仙菴笙嗜道人離離子閻永和謹識」。

<sup>441</sup>劉合信生平不詳，惟見於《廣成儀制》中「光緒三十三年(1907)六月六日抄騰。漢源羽士劉合信抄。」(「保苗揚旂集」，十四—13, No. 132)可知劉乃龍門十六代弟子。

「一陽來復本，合教永圓明」

由陳復慧到劉合信再到閻永和，彼此之間只各差一代(請注意由於支脈擴展，字輩的前後不總表示入道先後，每代間的時間差也不見得有規律)，時間間距當不致造成巨大的差異(筆者推測至多不超過四五十年)，卻已顯示出很大的混亂與失散，這段經過在道教史上的確不夠明白。而來自田野的徵詢則都對沒有更早刻版表示肯定，相信只有抄本還留存。這裡只能暫時解釋為其他版本太稀有又不流通，且當前所有道士都只使用二仙菴刻本。至於其他文檢集更早都有出版機會，《廣成儀制》遲遲未能成套付梓；《雅宜集》中對雅宜文檢集曾有募刊，更有募刊其他經書的文疏(一--21、30)，卻不見對《廣成儀制》流傳的紀錄。這其中想必還有什麼因素是我們所不知道的。

一般認為二仙菴在閻永和刊刻《輯要》之前沒有印經處，我以為這個說法應該再精確一點。首先，此前的二仙菴的確只有藏經處而沒有「傳統理想」上的印經院——能自行刻版、印刷流通，甚至還能自己造紙——此前此後向來都沒有。《輯要》到《廣成儀制》等一系列的刊刻都是向岳池幫工匠聘請刻工來廟子完成的。也就是說雖然工程持續這麼多年，它也還是個臨時性的作坊。可以說二仙菴歷代住持都不曾設想過常設一個刻經部門，而是一直都便宜地採取有需要時暫時聘請的方式。最好的例子是光緒十四年(1884)二仙菴首度公開傳戒，我們知道傳戒就必須刻印「登真錄」，可以證明此前二仙菴也有需要刻印的時候。可見常設印經坊從來不是二仙菴的選項(即便他們的經濟實力是全川道廟之冠)，不過這完全不妨礙廣成科儀的廣泛流通。所以我以為應該是說川地的道廟都沒有設置常態印經處的傳統<sup>442</sup>。當時道門中也有其他刻印書刊的事蹟，如灌縣二王廟住持王來通，他協助整飭都江堰後刊印了三部關於水利整治的書籍，這也是募金刊刻的暫時設置，但很明顯不是道書。比較例外的是深具儒家教誨的劉沅一脈的法言壇，傳人設有自家的刻書坊與書店，他們的刻印出版是以劉家著述為中心，並非唯有法言壇所需<sup>443</sup>。

透過一些痕跡，我們可以發現在中國的其他地方，也有廣成刻本向外流通的證明。當然這可以視作四川以外的地方道教知道並想了解這套科儀，但並不能表示他們也使用了這套科儀。

筆者在田野時獲得的一份《廣成儀制》老目錄，題識作「廣成儀制諸品仙經目錄」(即上節討論的「老青羊版」)，是大清宣統二年(1910)所印製。這份目錄

<sup>442</sup> 然而這樣的作法並非孤例，如清時的北京諸道觀也是如此。可參見 Goossaert 2007: 211, 278。

<sup>443</sup> 成都府純化街的「守經堂」，在光緒中年開業，是專門印刷出售劉沅著作，之後還增加其孫劉咸忻等的作品。(劉東父 1979: 157)，關於其時的印經，可參考 Valussi 2012 and Olles 2013。

的取得相當微妙，是來自北京白雲觀一位老道長所收藏；根據曾在青羊宮多年並熟知內部的道長指出，這份並不能算是正式目錄，而像是印經處販售用的「徵印單」。它被遠帶到北京，推測應該是清末二仙菴住持閻永和北上白雲觀受戒，間中的交流中留下來的。參酌交流的原意必然是有，但北方的全真教素來自有其科儀傳統；雖然以目前來看，能行的科事相對不如廣成來的豐富多樣，通篇採納或引用《廣成儀制》的情形應該沒有出現。

採借參考的作法並不限於全真教內部，民國時期的正一道也有一例。據昔日海上高道陳蓮笙<sup>444</sup>(1917~2008)回憶，民國時期他在上海城隍廟時藏書有《廣成儀制》44冊(沒有細目，未能知道詳細有哪些科目)，著者為「雲峰陳仲遠」，由「成都二仙菴」刊印；此外另有《心香妙語》與《靈寶文檢》(兩者皆登記為「綿竹陳復烜含樸」1840年刊印)。應該是僅作收藏<sup>445</sup>，沒有實際使用，。

另根據研究，中國浙江、溫州地區在清末民初時曾有四川全真龍門派道人將四川全真道使用科儀傳入，例如還在使用的「薩祖鐵罐施食焰口<sup>446</sup>」，用的還是二仙菴刊本。又根據二仙菴《重刊道藏輯要·全真正韻<sup>447</sup>》在中國的傳播，主要從道教音樂在浙江、雲南、湖南等地使用的「十方韻」來反推，皆與成都道教音樂有密切的關係，彼此間有所聯繫<sup>448</sup>。

當代台灣也有一例，現代出版的《謝土安龍全集》採用廣成科儀之「謝土啟壇全集」、「謝土真文集」、「謝土安龍集」、「酬謝火全集」(十三--98、99、100、116，No. 98、99、100、116)四科。四科廣成科儀被帶進台灣道教科儀的使用脈絡，賦予新編的節次甚至是價值，再添加了原經裡所沒有附的九道「安龍符訣」(對四獸及五方)，這是與四川「土皇醮」不同的科儀設計概念<sup>449</sup>；這裡借用了四川留下的豐富刻本，移用為能配合當前科儀需求的新格式。<sup>450</sup>

<sup>444</sup> 正一派知名道士，原名吳良敘，上海人，曾任中國道教協會副會長、上海市道教協會會長、上海城隍廟住持。陳氏出身道士世家，從六十三代天師張恩溥頒授「三五都功經籙」。

<sup>445</sup> 此藏書資料是陳氏舊藏，在1961年前後著錄，所藏現皆不存，僅存目錄，現作「上海市道教協會籌備委員會舊藏道書資料冊」。此外其稿中還收有《道藏輯要》的細目(光緒三十二年(1906)成都二仙菴)。(陳蓮笙 2009: 324、328)

<sup>446</sup> 應是「青玄濟鍊鐵罐施食全集」(十四--74，No. 206)。藏外版(光緒二十六年(1900)手書形式)卷末提到本經乃由碧洞堂第一代方丈親到北京白雲觀受戒時請回，故爾學者多以此科非陳復慧所校輯(人家版題識為「二仙菴方丈閻笙嗜校刊」)，質疑其列入《廣成儀制》的正當性。筆者考量本科雖非陳氏親改，但因為早被排進廣成目錄實用(人家版所收宣統二年(1910)二仙菴版，板心確有「廣成儀制」，RJ No. 271)，四川地方還是有使用(如雅宜集一--32。目前以「鐵罐斛食」為上選)，還是先列入。

<sup>447</sup> 此名稱乃根據版心字樣，事實上《輯要》當時並沒有收入。

<sup>448</sup> 劉虹 2009: 284-5。

<sup>449</sup> 台灣的「安龍奠土」使用在廟宇興建或重建時，有重新安定宇宙界域的極慎重意涵，在情境意義上是不同的。可參考：呂鍾寬 2009《安龍謝土》，臺中市：行政院文化建設委員會文化資產總管理處籌備處。

<sup>450</sup> 此處僅就此新編刻本(1997 出版)而論，筆者在台灣未曾親見以此為本所做的安龍科，是否真

## 2-3 陳復慧：《廣成儀制》的編定者與校輯者

《廣成儀制》每科之卷首多識有「武陽雲峰羽客陳仲遠校輯」，但對這位編校了清代兩部道教重要科儀集子之一<sup>451</sup>的陳仲遠，我們的了解還是很少。歷史上留下來的記載主要來自前揭《民國·溫江縣志》與《民國·灌縣志》的寥寥數語；此外，《廣成儀制》原序中也稍有簡單生平。總的來說，陳是新津縣江家沱人(今之武陽鎮)，生於雍正十二年(1734)，年幼失恃怙，便拜老君觀毛來玉(龍門派第十三代)為師，成為龍門碧洞宗第十四代弟子，後來還拜過一位貢生老師學習儒理。毛師歿後去到溫江縣文武宮，之後接任盤龍寺住持，直到嘉慶九年(1802)羽化，享年六十九。在成就方面

「著文制錄璉珠雅宜二集，廣成儀制齋醮科本。裕國裕民無不應驗，並符篆箋表申章詞牒不下三百集，版刊者尚少，謄寫者尤多，蓋其間之苦心，擢髮難求。」(《廣成儀制》原序 2b)

與

「陳復慧。住持溫江盤龍寺，註有雅宜集行世。」(《龍門正宗碧洞堂上支譜》，頁碼不詳。)

陳氏欲「效法古仙而救世之心惓惓於懷」(《雅宜集·序》1b)，於此他的方法是發揚科儀道術。我們知道陳仲遠精於齋醮科儀，除了既有的傳承，他必然還多方尋訪採集；由他造作的豐富文檢內容可知，當時他已為四川地區的道廟道士與民眾編排設計好了這套縝密多元的集子，足以應付人們所需的一切情境。至於搭配儀式撰寫的文檢《雅宜集》與《璉珠集》(已不存)，更是「特恐人之祈禳不知禁忌，尤慮世之邀福及受災愆，故擇日必趨吉避凶，建醮克祈天永命。」(以上兩則引文皆出自《雅宜集·序》卷一 1b，張銑<sup>452</sup>撰)當與《廣成儀制》同時問世，搭配使用。從《雅宜集》的內容歸納，可以看出陳的活動範圍以盤龍寺為根據，主要來往於成都與灌縣等地方。他曾為灌縣青城山的(古)長生觀、上元宮等主持許多法事，其中又以長生觀留下的紀錄最多，計有 7 事 11 通，齋醮事對聯與春聯 3 事 19 聯 10 匾，可見法事之盛，互動之繁。

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有使用情形或科本新出造成新的影響，有待未來的田野發現。

<sup>451</sup> 另一部是婁近垣(1689—1776年)所編《清徵黃籙大齋科儀》。婁為清代正一派道士。雍正時受封為龍虎山提點(四品)，欽安殿住持。創立正一道支派正乙派。

<sup>452</sup> 由題記知張銑乃茂州人氏，官議敘功貢，與陳復慧是知交好友，其餘生平不詳。時維清乾隆己亥年(1779)。

《廣成儀制》命名來由有兩處值得討論。首先是「廣成」一詞的使用，雖然有些道士也會解釋為廣博、圓成的寓意，但對道教史稍有了解必然會立即聯想到唐五代時高道杜光庭<sup>453</sup>(850~933)，他號「廣成先生」，於道教科儀的修正創發極有貢獻，世尊為「科醮三師」之一。他晚年隱居青城山，是四川道教歷來極受推崇的道士，是以本套科書祖述杜天師之名是相當合理的。這樣命名除了致敬，也很有道法傳承的寓意。<sup>454</sup>這個看法是很普遍的，如民間道壇法言壇傳人，清末四川地區著名學者劉咸炘便提到：

「五代後蜀時期青城山有個道士杜真人名叫光庭，道號廣成天師，也有功侯，傳出一個壇門來，便叫做廣成壇。嘉慶年間青城山陳真人名叫復慧，號仲遠，訂正一部《廣成儀制》頗為流行。」（劉咸炘 2010：101~2）

今之學者尹志華也持相同看法：

「陳復慧…取名《廣成儀制》是為了借重唐末五代道士杜光庭的科儀宗師名稱。…是想表明他所匯集的科儀書，乃是淵源於杜光庭，同時也有以杜光庭後繼者自居之意。」（尹 2010：44）

權威的《中國道教史》中也持同樣看法，在說到〈皇旛雲篆〉科本時便以：

「杜翁所傳皇旛一事」，

來論證：

「故知《廣成儀制》的主要內容為唐末五代隱居青城山的廣成先生杜光庭所定齋醮科儀，而為清代青城道士陳仲遠所校輯。」《中國道教史》（四 pp. 527~8）

這樣的過譽在民間也不惶多讓，習慣將所有科儀成就附麗其上，程度甚至到了

「昔人謂道經多為蜀道士杜光庭所撰。」（民國《巴縣志》卷五，p. 799）

「今道家經典，多光庭所定也。」（劉咸炘 2010：12~3）

這樣的程度。但事實上，道教科儀與四川道教的傳承早已多有改變，杜氏與陳氏在處理科儀的選擇與風格上有了大的不同。筆者認為四川在此間的確遇到巨

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<sup>453</sup> 杜氏於神學科醮著作豐富，於後世影響很大，現代研究評論可參考 Verellen 2001、周西波 2003、孫亦平 2004 等。

<sup>454</sup>如《廣成》使用的文檢集之一《靈寶文檢》的命名源自道士金允中、甯全真的兩部靈寶金書，有承其教之意。（《靈寶文檢》原序；森 2007：363~5）



大的接續斷裂，造成人口和文化的重整，在道教的地方發展與道士上亦然；但以宏觀的中國的道教史來看，這只是一時的挫敗。新的道士移入道法傳入道經流入，很快又可以補上了地方道教的需要。但是，基本的道教信仰不變、地方祖師不變(特別是杜光庭等)，並不等於交流雜揉後的道法不變——特別是深具地方性的傳統。好比行廣成科儀的全真道士無法與北京白雲觀道士容易地搭配登壇行道，但不影響理解彼此的科儀架構。杜氏《太上黃籙齋儀》與金、甯二師的靈寶金書等，於《廣成儀制》或是在節次、重心上已有改動，今之廣成道士深造時還是會好好研讀。以此觀點，筆者以為宏觀而言道法一脈相承，科儀書中實際的鋪排，卻因為陳復慧其時其地的特殊性出現了參差，與《廣成儀制》內容上直系嫡傳的授受上，還必須做更細緻的比對；當中可能不僅是道士在情感或精神、密法上自認的一脈相承，不能驟下結論。

杜光庭在蜀地名號響亮，陳仲遠使用了「廣成」之名固然有附麗之意，但反而也受杜氏之盛名之累，反過來造成後人的錯誤攀附，對道教史有錯誤的理解。光緒年間的《增修灌縣志》以及清末彭洵(1825~1896)<sup>455</sup>所著《青城山記》之對杜光庭的敘述便有所誤會：

「以道德二經註者雖多，皆未能演暢其旨，因註廣成儀八十卷，已術稱是，識者多知。<sup>456</sup>」(《青城山記，事實記下·方技》)

我們知道杜光庭對道德經的注釋其實是《道德真經廣聖義》，這裡的「廣成儀」恐怕是作者將「以術稱是」的杜天師的著作記偏了名字，與作為科儀本的「廣成儀」做了太巧合的聯想，正充分反映了一般民眾對杜氏的觀點：精於道法科儀的廣成先生，自然可能是廣成集的編撰者。

本科與杜天師的間接傳承無庸置疑，那麼是否有可能有直接傳授關係呢？陳復慧在《雅宜集》裡寫道：

「依按廣成天師杜真人金亭序儀範」(卷一，36a)

文檢集《心香妙語》的編寫者綿竹道士陳復烜在〈重刊道藏輯要·心香妙語序〉同樣提到：

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<sup>455</sup> 彭洵灌縣人，還編輯有《灌記初稿》與《彝軍記略》。

<sup>456</sup> 目前所見的兩個版本：1.《道藏輯要》所採用光緒十三年(1887)「彭洵敘於種書堂」，與2.光緒二十一年(1895)「彭氏玉蘭堂刻本」；此外民國彭襲明(1908~2002)《青城近記》也採其說，「因著廣成儀八十卷」(筆者按，該段引自《五代史補》，而原書實為「廣成義」。)雖然是三個不同的刻版，但此部份內容一致，可見作者們確實抱持、承襲此意見；也可以衍伸認為熟知四川文史的民眾，很可能就是這麼理解的。(附圖 2)

「五代時廣成先生編立**金亭儀制**，而始有表詞箋奏疏狀關申用文字」(1a)

這是部未曾見於記載的經名，我們不知道其內容為何。無獨有偶，我們從《廣成儀制》中也發現兩處這樣的說文：

「**金亭**廣序，而後載定元儀。」(〈九皇大醮關告集〉1b，十三--76)

「**金亭**啟教，北斗儀昭。」(〈九皇大醮迎駕集〉1b，十三--77)

雖然這些文字指向杜光庭曾編撰「金亭儀制」，和他可能還有一個字號金亭，可惜目前都沒有資料可以支持這兩點。「金亭儀制」是部佚經或是某經的省稱(或說不定只是誤稱)，都須有新資料來解答。

命名的第二個重點是「制」字的成立。這個典故來自《廣成儀制·原序》，該序作者不明，約是光緒年間人。文中說到陳仲遠大真人編集了齋醮科本「廣成儀」，乾隆四十三年(1778)受命修建水陸大齋以安慰超度此前四川兵亂亡故的軍民。<sup>457</sup>因有神驗於是制憲(官名)將此科本

「恭呈御覽，始荷皇恩，增添制字，書可傳世，論為翰院之才。」(原序，2a)

於是後世道人便遵以為範本，不增減一字。《廣成儀制》其名由是確定。

至於陳復慧如何決定以「廣成」定名，從原序所載其所啟支派「蘭臺派<sup>458</sup>」的三十二字派詩，可以稍微揣測：

「光開蘭碧。仲紹體純。妙元自溥。化理維新。**圓融大洞。了悟上真。領依正果。乃曰廣成。**」(4a)

「廣」字所欲博取者乃「大洞」與「上真」，也可以理解為至道，是道教玄之又玄的本義根髓，精於齋醮科儀的陳真人憑其專長開基立派，自許藉由儀式操持來體悟正道和累積功德，以求得最後領依正果，此即圓「成」。

目前所見《廣成儀制》的分科題記多自署為「武陽雲峰羽客陳仲遠校輯」，可知做為這套科儀書集大成者的陳仲遠，心中給自己的定位是它的纂輯校訂者。那麼他到底編集了什麼？又校改了什麼呢？我以為陳仲遠應對當時在四川

<sup>457</sup> 據陳仲遠氏《雅宜集》卷一〈為灌邑武廟請建水陸稟敘〉，啟道場時間為乾隆四十三年(1779)農曆 2/28~3/9 (恰逢清明時節)。雅宜集全四部中，與此次水陸大齋有關的文檢總有六通。

<sup>458</sup> 其傳承未知，有一說是正一「廣成壇」道士的法派，又或說是行廣成科儀高功專有的一派，尚無法證實。

傳播活躍的諸道派都有深的認識，他兼採了各家所長，盱衡當時宗教活動的一切需要，總集了所有科事。如劉沅寫道：

「正一科愚下未曾看過，看過廣成科，倒是很詳備的。」(劉咸炘 2010: 102)

可見陳氏編整了廣成科儀後，來自各種傳統的四川道士都已大加改用，逐漸取代了原本各行其是的傳統。至於纂輯方面，表現在科儀架構的一致性，在書寫編排上來說就是他給予科本內容統一的格式，再加上了使用相似曲牌與壇場配置，不同背景的道士容或傳承有異，登壇演法時外顯的表現就顯得很形似。當然除了安進一個架構之外，有做了多少刪節添加，還是不太能明確指出來的。這個架構成型之後，廣成科儀的當代樣態可能便已形成，沒有太多變化地延續到了今日——道士們皆相信科本或科儀自此後或許規模不同，但並沒有改變。

相類的例子發生在稍微晚的《心香妙語》(相差僅約一甲子<sup>459</sup>)，同樣屬於四川全真龍門派的道士陳復烜(1773~?，綿竹縣人，曾主持真武觀，生平不詳。他並沒有列名在《支譜》中，或許不屬於碧洞宗<sup>460</sup>)，在每卷頭下的自署同樣也用了「綿竹退隱陳復烜含樸校輯」的說法。自序裡他對於他所作的校輯工作的說明是

「(因緣收到了金甯版《靈寶文檢》與呂元素《定制集》)…雖有志行而力不逮也，但不忍遺棄，謹按原書親手抄錄，脫略者補之，錯謬者正之，俾歷善本付梨棗而公海內。」(卷一，一左~二右)

陳復烜當然是使用廣成科儀的，所以他沿用「校輯」二字必然有其體悟，很值得作類推。不過他的自序對文本來源交代得很清楚，這是《廣成儀制》相當關如的，所以在討論廣成科儀匯整的職責分布上，就顯得揣測較多。

因為資料缺乏，對於陳仲遠與廣成科儀間還存在很多小問題/ 議論。如他的身分，根據《支譜》他身為全真龍門派道士的身分無庸置疑，不過這並不妨礙他可以有其他的繼承，也的確以廣成所涉的道術之廣，他絕對不只是尋訪取得，而是多方涉略學習，但關於他的其他師承則沒有詳細資料，也沒有在《廣成》的請師聖中反應出來。學者或民間認為他應該是正一道士，或許就是看到他的這一個面向。此外，關於《廣成儀制》是單單出自一人手筆編寫就或是眾人努

<sup>459</sup> 《心香妙語》自序作於道光二十年(1840)，而據《雅宜集》序成書在乾隆四十四年(1779)。

<sup>460</sup> 在民國《綿竹縣志》卷十七宗教有「真武觀。在城西三十里，清乾隆四十四年(1779)道人李來儀建修，嘉慶十四年(1809)道人陳復煊補修，道光十一年(1831)增修。」觀「烜」與「煊」極相似，又都曾在綿竹真武觀，此二人有可能是同一人。就時代與字輩推算，屬於全真龍門派道士是無疑慮的。

力的結晶，筆者還是傾向由陳氏獨立為之。雖然其篇帙龐大，我們也不能肯定的說陳仲遠的完成貢獻度有幾成；然細讀科本文詞，會發覺他能適當並巧妙地使用相同概念甚至文字，整合功能相同或有連續關係的科目。如相似功能的「款駕停科集」與「款駕停參集」(十三--33, 55)裡，不但採用了一樣的「衛靈咒」，在說文上也大有相同：

「今宵略伸回向，明晨薰香啟請，念信人歸向之誠，赦弟子冒瀆之咎」

(十三—33, 3b-4a)

「今晚略伸回向，明晨薰香又啟請，念道眾皈依之誠，赦弟子瞽狂之咎」

(十三-- 55, 4a)

實在不容懷疑是出於同一人之手。此外，陳氏應該還把這種強調語意上連貫與活用的整體感，進一步延伸到文檢的寫作上，如「川主正朝」(十五—36, No. 275)以及同氏所做《雅宜集》之「古長生觀顯英王壽會疏」(二--2)有一小段的重複：

「治事田疇，資諸水澤。千支萬脈，源源之灌溉何窮。四境兩川，浩浩之涵濡甚廣。」

然後分別接上

「續由蜀守，位鎮萬天。」(川主正朝。9a)

「續由蜀守，位證英王。」(古長生觀顯英王壽會疏。6a-b)

顯見其巧妙地利用對同一神祇的諛詞，接續轉折出不同目的的段落。我以為很可以證明陳氏對科本內容掌握上，深入而細緻。

其實陳復慧之前的道教科儀傳統早就相當成熟，各種節次安排更已有論證定見，不容太多踰越造作，陳氏所做校輯實際變動可能不大。陳氏的「校輯」應該在表示他兼採了各家的優點，並且還可能背負了雜揉各家的傳承，經過添加潤飾，《廣成儀制》的格式架構相當統一，這個外在骨架之下，骨子裡還是繼承著數派數代人的智慧結晶。

《廣成儀制》到底總共有多少科始終是個謎團，不僅因為缺少最終且有權威的目錄，此前的一切紀錄言談也完全不曾提到準確的數字。《民國·灌縣志》等多處提到陳「曾校正廣成科儀數十種」顯現當時就不曾對廣成科本的總數有個稱法，而僅僅對種類有個說法----甚至對究竟有哪數十種也沒有討論過；如此也看不出《廣成儀制》是否果有編集完成。持正面(有編輯完了)的考量在於陳復慧並非突然羽化，後世的評論亦多有對其編制之周到完整的讚美，不似有缺憾，連同時編寫或可能稍晚幾年的《雅宜集》都編排完整，廣成理當不遜於此；此外一般咸以為陳氏之後四川並沒有出現其他科儀大師，後人踵續其志的行為應該沒

有發生。否定的質疑在於完全沒有過可信的實際數字宣稱，讓人不免懷疑陳氏其實一直還有打算再做擴充，或是對分門別類、齋醮科儀定義等再做琢磨。

## 2-4 諸文檢集

目前所見直接與《廣成儀制》搭配使用的文檢集有四部：《雅宜集》、《心香妙語》、《靈寶文檢》與《二仙菴歲時文》。《廣成儀制》原序中提到陳仲遠的另一部作品《璉珠集》已不存世。

現在這四部經都可以在青羊宮購得，從版面型制來看都與《重刊道藏輯要》相同，且前三部的版心都標示有「道藏輯要」，光緒三十二年(1906)重刊。《二仙菴歲時文》則單標記「二仙菴」，雖未有刊刻年，但據內文判斷可知當晚於光緒丁未年(三十三，1907)。梗概介紹如下(因為資料取得的緣故，本節都以二仙菴重刊版為討論)。

### 甲、《雅宜集》

《玄宗通事雅宜集》是「武陽雲峰羽客陳復慧仲遠著」，是他唯一傳世的文檢集。全集共四卷——分名以「靈」、「機」、「暢」、「達」，表現出作者對文檢功能的期許，以文檢類型分卷：序記與榜意、表疏、雜文與事文、敘聯，計文書 158 通，敘聯及匾 30 類。根據「序言」(撰於乾隆四十四年(1779))與「募刊雅宜集敘引」(一--22)，可知本集在陳氏有生之時便曾刻版發行，初版今已不見，今之所見者仍來自二仙菴的重刊本。集中記有陳之嗣派徒、門人「本」字輩(龍門派第 15 代)八人、嗣教孫「合」字輩(16<sup>th</sup>)一人與刻工一人名字。

文檢集的編集通常有留用範本的意思，《雅宜集》中半數以上文書都保有明確的時地人物訊息，雖然仍極具參考價值，作為本人文集的意味濃厚。對此陳氏對自己作品的評價是「俱因事立言，雖詞語未工而循真就實，幸免虛浮之弊；不慙鄙俚，欲付棗梨。」(卷一，十九右)，這很能反應廣成道士活用但堅持自寫文書的態度，因為「章表詞箋啟申疏牒遂有定式，其間清簡切約固為萬世法，而臨事措詞達人意念，則未之及也於戲，修崇既異，事理相殊，若執一定之辭，則失之者豈淺鮮哉。」(卷一，十九右)我們也因此取得了一些陳氏齋醮活動的痕跡，如《廣成儀制》序中提到讓陳復慧博得帝王讚賞的金川大戰後所打之水陸大齋，即是乾隆四十三年(1778)於灌縣武廟所修「太上玉籙鴻齋水陸廣濟道場十一晝霄」(農曆 2/28~3/09，正好在清明前結束)，這場「玉籙齋」等級的法事，由四川道州府滿漢官員、灌縣地方善信與二王廟道士王來通共同請託(任齋主)；集

中留下四通文書、一則規程<sup>461</sup>，還有專門寫就貼在武廟內外地點——各師聖壇、使者前、寒林法橋、監齋堂所等三十處的對聯四十二對，可見齋儀安排宏大豐富。為同一事件所修水陸大齋，還有戰後四年(實際年份未標註)於汶川桃關，11/25~12/4 之「太上水陸大齋冥陽普福道場九晝霄」，亦留下了文書三通與敘聯十對三匾<sup>462</sup>。

從《雅宜集》中述及的地名宮觀名，可以看到陳氏主要的齋教活動範圍以灌縣為中心再向外延伸，從：青城山的長生觀與上元宮、武廟、伏龍觀、龍溪廣福寺、龍溪天官會，到成都龍潭寺、綿陽楠木園等等。當時他在溫江縣主持盤龍寺，但究竟青城山與成都的道教活動興旺，彼此相鄰也不遠，還是需要時常往來其間。陳仲遠可能在年輕時於川內(甚至川外)四處訪道，多方尋求科儀本子，中年之後行腳漸趨穩定，才潛心於此校正編修《廣成儀制》，羽化後也瘞骨於斯。

《雅宜集》還能反映其時社會的信仰復興與經濟復甦。首先是關於廟宇修復興建的文書很多，關於募金、各種廟宇設施的開工與圓滿慶賀，捐款主要為了塑神像、鑄造鐘、爐、磬<sup>463</sup>等，可見當時川西地方的道教信仰場所正逐步翻新修復。為宮廟或是神明會行法事的疏文不少，公眾法事主要有例行賀壽、慶祝或是濟度；神明會也以賀壽聯誼為主，兼有組織朝山<sup>464</sup>。民間活動方面，與農事相關的有祈晴禱雨、謝桑蚕(蠶)等活動。和經商有關的有祈求船運順利以及對失竊、結夥時明志的賭咒兩大類，看得出當時四川社會與向外省連絡經商的模式(特別是如木材、鹽業等與鄉籍結合的行業<sup>465</sup>)，富有移民色彩。當然個人的種種謝罪求福必也存在。還有數則與都江堰修築相關文疏，留下清代水利督工的紀錄。全集文檢中訴及的事件豐富，對了解陳氏當時四川民眾的生活很有幫助<sup>466</sup>。

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<sup>461</sup> 分為：「為灌縣武廟請建水陸稟敘」(一--1)、「為武廟設建水陸鴻齋都意」(一--32)、「為武廟水陸道場僉立書記榜」(一--49)、「為武廟水陸道場僉立經員榜」(一--50)，與規程「特建水陸廣濟道場序並附條程」加附「文制臺遣官致祭文」(一--2、3)。敘聯「為灌縣武廟修設水陸鴻齋聯句」(四--5)。

<sup>462</sup> 分為：「為桃關設建水陸鴻齋都意」(一--33)、「為桃關修建水陸道場疏」(二--3)、「為桃關修齋剩餘銀兩繳廟疏」(二--25)、「為桃關修設水陸道場聯句」(四--11)。桃關位在灌松茶馬古道之一的岷江左岸大路上，金川大戰時是很重要的軍糧與公務往來要衝。

<sup>463</sup> 如對同一宮廟勸金文疏最多的古長生觀為例，單就鑄鐘、爐相關文檢便有八通，還不計在長生觀舉行各種法事的文疏。(因類別分散在：一--4,5,6,7、二--41、三--13,14、四--16)

<sup>464</sup> 如「靈巖會朝丹景山榜」(三--48)。按丹景山在今四川省彭州市，距成都西北方 50 公里。

<sup>465</sup> 清代的四川是典型的移民社會，各省移民與居住區域、工作類型常有獨占關係；如廣東人的蔗糖、福建人的煙草、陝西的鹽...(曹樹基 1997: 113~8)向外貿易於是如有「木商答謝神恩疏」(二--42)、「糧夫酌願疏」(二--18)，是商人外出經商平安的謝恩；也有的是不同行業對風調雨順、水利、禳火等的祈求。

<sup>466</sup> 《成都通覽》之「成都迷信神道之禮節」中收錄各式文疏 87 通(pp.229~43)，對我們了解其時崇拜神明與訴求都有幫助；但該批文疏出處不明，還需要進一步梳理。善用碑文與帳記也往往有幫助，如歷來對妙峰山的研究、陶金 2010，對北京舊日民俗活動有很好的復原。

因為同作者的關係，本集是最可以契合專用於廣成科儀的文檢集，其編排擘畫科儀的本意亦當最與廣成相合。從文檢的詳細陳述，可以了解更多儀式施行或準備的細節，特別是主要節次，與對供物、誦經等的要求。就以「為桃關設建水陸鴻齋都意」(一--33)為例，內文對九天道場中的主要節次、諸真符、點燈、施食、供物等都有條列，安排也很能符合於《廣成儀制》。如首日節次的安排為：

「一之日 發申文字，勞符使以通傳。開啟道場，迓宗師而降鑒。迎水汶江，挹靈源之玉液。投詞丹界，蕩凡宇之妖氛。特宣勅牒，播告攸司。」

上行的疏文文雅講究，將此節次轉換成廣成科目，便可能是：「申發三界」、「開壇請師」、「迎水蕩穢」、申(土地或城隍等)攸司、「安奉竈君」<sup>467</sup>等等諸科。<sup>468</sup>可惜的是雅宜集中同一事件所收文檢往往不全，不足以復原全貌。這點上就不如《靈寶文檢》對編排與內容上保留的比較完整，更堪籌畫時參考。

## 乙、《心香妙語》

署為「綿竹退隱陳復烜含樸校輯」，根據序言當在清道光二十年(1840)，陳復烜六十八歲時初版。全篇非陳氏親作，而是搜得《心香妙語》(原作者姓名時代皆不詳)殘卷，苦心修補脫漏而成。二仙菴重刊版分為四卷，471通。大概以功能來分，之下再有文類別，實用但略顯瑣碎。如卷一的類門就作：慶祝類、平安類(再分榜、疏誥)、星辰類(榜、疏誥)、工役類(榜、疏誥)等七項。人、時、地等留為空白，內文則重點精簡，兼具提示性，容易使用者代換套用。卷四記有「本」字輩(龍門派第15代)嗣派徒二、姪徒與門人各一、派徒孫、姪徒孫「合」字輩(16<sup>th</sup>)共三人。

本集所行所有科事皆在廟宇之外，由地方善信或家戶請齋，沒有專為宮廟內使用的文書。所收民生相關項目更細，很難統整說明。公眾事多以地方太平、氣象相關，如晴雨驅蟲、四季平安；私人家內概有平安類(以還願為多)和白事，經商、官司、水火等。就名目與數量來說，有幾項民生反映極有意義，

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<sup>467</sup> 如可能選用：「建壇啟師」(十三--44, No. 44)、「開壇啟師」(RJ 223)、「敕水禁壇」(十四--49, No. 167)、「申啟城隍」(十四--20, No. 139)、「筭灶安奉」(RJ 244)...等。請注意這個節次是筆者從文檢描述中代出最直覺最簡單的安排，並非陳復慧實用；當中可能的變化大大不止於此，科儀安排的巧妙接下來會陸續討論。

<sup>468</sup> 在壇場用度上有「奠告。元始符命金籙白簡救苦真符，元始符命金籙白簡長生靈符，東極青宮九龍遷拔丹靈惠光等符。宣演元始度人經旨內義題綱全集。加持。大梵神咒。點放。紫陽破暗九幽神燈，清微濟危河燈。判施。西河薩翁鐵罐無碍法食一筵。傳給。幽魂戒帖一萬五千一百四十四張，生天冥衣一千件，金銀錢山四座，排點路炬三百六十莖。」(36a~38a)

如疾病中或痊癒之願謝有 82 通(特別的有眼、足疾和保產、得女)，白事薦悼 62 通，其對象極廣，從父母兄弟子女等常見近親到叔伯丈人都有，也有薦夫或妻，最特別的是「薦牛」(四--151)，從細微處看到了中國的重農；「水火類」40 通，多為火災之後的醮謝；此外「獄訟類」有 26 通，大大印證蜀人負氣好訟<sup>469</sup>的印象。《心香妙語》中文疏短小精簡，所以數量較大；但各文之間往往沒有關係，加上對象多屬家戶內私人請事，規模上較諸宮觀內是小而簡單的——科數(甚至天數)與用度皆是。

文檢中的項目很多可以直接判斷出要使用的《廣成儀制》，很好地增強我們對清中後期四川地區廣成科儀活動的想像。比如之前提到的「放生會」(使用「放生會集」)，根據「放生疏」(四--74)可以知道，地點要選在河邊，對「本境河伯龍王水司真宰、沿江水府諸司三界神祇」信禮，放生鳥或魚類。卷一慶祝類的「觀音」兩則(一--9、10)都是在農曆六月十九日的觀音成道日，本日較諸觀音聖誕來得更被重視，這是四川對觀音(道教稱慈航道人)崇奉的不同之處(使用「觀音正朝」(十四--11, No. 130)；當然有些地方聖誕也會慶賀，此時科本相同，但祝禱和文疏內容會變動)。

如陳復烜所自命，盡其所能復原殘書，所以很多文疏他也忠實地將作者保留，當中不乏川地小有名氣的文人手筆，如程宗洛、彭韜、彭賓、梅信天<sup>470</sup>等，是請地方鄉紳撰寫科儀文疏的常見情形。與文士作者很大不同是道士造作的文檢通常更能反映信仰與靈機的奧秘，這方面陳復烜的體悟透過注釋很好地向我們說明，如讚太上老君：「金液鍊形(清靜經)。玉英孕秀。得一二三生生之道。(道德經)顯八十一化化之靈。(啟聖集)...」(一--1, 2a)括弧內的經名典故是陳氏自注，後世道士使用同時還可能濡化自我的道教知識。

### 丙、《靈寶文檢》

署為「靈寶中盟祕籙南曹執法真士金體原編輯。古零步雲房重修。晉熙後學陳復烜含樸重校。」版的《靈寶文檢》雖在道光庚子年(1840)初刊，但陳復烜在道光五年(1825)便已完成(據自作序)。根據序言，陳氏仰慕高道金體原繼承金甯真人的靈寶文檢與呂樸菴的定制集，終得真蹟，於是加以勘正行世，以濟利世人。晉熙是綿竹縣的古稱，金體原可能是明洪武年間浙江道士金法銘<sup>471</sup>，至於「古零步雲房」其人則尚不清楚。

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<sup>469</sup> 批評如「州境訟獄極煩，雖箕帚豆觴銖金尺帛之微，罔有不訟。」(《涪州小學鄉土地理》卷二政治門第二十課訟獄，p. 416)案例又可見《清代巴縣檔案彙編》等。

<sup>470</sup> 程宗洛婺州人，明嘉靖鉛山知縣；另三位生平尚不詳。

<sup>471</sup> 尹志華 2010: 45；MORI 2007: 371。



現今青羊宮出版《靈寶文檢》共十四卷<sup>472</sup>，末四卷其實是後人所添，原本《重刊》時期的子目裡唯有十卷。全集以科事性質分卷，有齋與醮兩大門類，大體有：黃籙大齋、九皇大醮、祈安保病醮、土皇醮、祈嗣醮、酬恩答款醮、答報天地醮、平安清醮、禳災謝火醮、祈晴禱雨醮、殄穰蟲蝗醮、謝雷霆醮、玉籙血湖齋、金籙受生齋等等，地方與民間所需，大致都能照顧到。後添的四科多是符篆類，是搭配文檢(或本身就是一通文檢)的道場必用內容。

陳復烜之於《靈寶文檢》既非原創又不是修訂的第一人，但他的貢獻並不僅在讓書本修復重新問世。他制定了「重刊道藏輯要靈寶文檢凡例」(總目錄，9a~13b)，這是陳氏綜合《定制集》與豐富經驗寫成的注意事項，這個加強版既周到又細緻，至今仍相當有參考價值。此外他也參予了部份的編修，將《靈寶文檢》調整形塑成適合四川地方《廣成儀制》使用(專用?)的文檢，如凡例中提到「今採雅俗以及陳公仲遠作述刊入備用」(11a)；卷二「黃籙大齋正告牒笱」之「城隍關夫牒」題目底下註明有「見雅宜集」(31a)。另外本集對齋與醮的定義直接區分在白事與清吉事，即「陰齋」或「陽醮」，取消了從前「先齋後醮」的意涵，這點也與《廣成儀制》的使用習慣一致。可見若陳復烜對《靈寶文檢》的內容或編排做了哪些改變，那就是使其更適合於廣成科儀的運用。可惜的是不太能據此析分出陳氏的貢獻度。

《靈寶文檢》雖是舊物，原編輯者也非來自四川，但二仙菴版的刊本可能是目前唯一流通的版本(私人或宮觀密藏不計)，如台灣進源書局出版，易名為《道教文疏牒全集》為例(民國十四~六(1925~7)大泉普濟壇抄本，抄寫者背景鄉貫不詳)，是目前二仙菴刊版外唯一可見的出版版本，除了幾處手誤，在內容上(包括「陳復烜」與「雅宜集」的標註)是一模一樣的。很可能這個版本在清末就已向四川之外傳了出去，且很有可能並不必要與《廣成儀制》搭配使用。

《靈寶文檢》是四部文檢集中篇幅最多的，也因此它對單一科事所需要的文檢類型，比其他都來得豐富。這個數量遠遠不足以完整，對於有實用需要的道士來說大概已足夠；一方面是重要不可少的部份大致都保留，另則是其實也可以在全書其他章節找到參考，凡例中便提醒「文奏箋申狀牒有同前二字者留心細玩自能聯絡」(9a)，這需要經驗與熟讀<sup>473</sup>。

#### 丁、《歲時文》<sup>474</sup>

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<sup>472</sup> 《靈寶文檢》有十與十四卷本，今青羊宮版作十四卷，卷頭中有七卷印作「重刊道藏輯要上清靈寶文檢」，餘下多標為「重刊道藏輯要靈寶文檢」。關於卷次的增補，可參考森 2007: 368~78。

<sup>473</sup> 當然還要包括本文一直強調的傳承，因為即便如文檢也藏有隱諱陷阱，必須要取得了傳授資格才能得窺真正正確的堂奧。

<sup>474</sup> 本書影本蒙森教授贈送(2005年購於青羊宮)，特此申謝。

題識全名為《二仙菴常住應用歲時文》，署「成都二仙菴住持閻永和沐手抄錄」，顯見其首次集結刊刻時間就在清末民初<sup>475</sup>，與《輯要》工作同時，版面特徵亦相同。全書共收 26 通文書，內容概分做兩部分：前 15 通為二仙菴與川內宮觀使用，一如其名歲時，是按照一整年的節令祝日例行醮事排序——與四川傳統的年俗多吻合，錄上科儀所用文書範本；後半部(11 通)則分別為川內民眾(公眾事)或私人請託。就所行科事來看全為陽事——惟二的例外是中元祭孤與軍後修齋，但兩件都是追薦類，可以認為屬於冥陽兩利；這點與青羊宮等全真宮觀至今保持不在廟內做喪葬事相合。常行科事除了諸主神、祖師壽誕，民眾請託主要以禮斗、祈禳解厄與皇經為多，也與今日相似；另外尚有各種香會組織(如太陽會、月斗會等)、年俗活動，表現二仙菴作為一方信仰重心提供信徒的服務。

本冊供正統的全真宮觀二仙菴內使用，故文中秉職就會使用「嗣教(小)兆」、「無上混元宗壇」、「臣係祖師龍門正宗大羅天仙狀元邱大真人門下 玄裔」等。但回應現代封面所貼書名《靈寶歲時文》，還是忠實地反映出全真原本不善科儀，借用他派傳統的背景，實際需要之下，借用他派道法便必須請該派祖師臨壇，如請「祖師三天扶教輔玄體正靜應真君張 主盟」(26b)，這種情況在《廣成儀制》裡頗常出現。此命名回應全真科儀的源流之一，也呼應底下將要談到的，四川道士對科儀很普遍的看法——「天下科儀出靈寶」。

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<sup>475</sup> 文中自陳部份有作「大清國四川省西道成都府成都縣西門外五甲二仙菴...」，與「中華民國」，後又有補版作「中華人民共和國」(5a)，顯見成書後起碼有兩三次的更動，本經刊刻當在光緒三十三年(1907)之後，最後一次修改則不早於 1950 年。

## Ch 3 四川的「廣成道士」

### 3-1 傳統四川道士的分類

道士具有多面向，歷來對其的區辨方式也不少，如最常見的外顯特徵：住廟或在家、全真或正一——請注意，這組分類並無絕對的類比關係；而這些粗略的區分，主要是從居處、生活飲食、服著、蓄髮等簡單的外顯特徵來看，常常是不得當且有誤解的<sup>476</sup>。四川方志<sup>477</sup>裡也能看到幾組不同的二分法，如：

「巴縣羽流居道觀者，以正一龍門二派為最多。正一出於天師，龍門出於邱真人。」(民國巴縣志，卷五 62b。文中有註解「採自巴縣道教會」)

「分兩派。以鍊丹求仙卻老為主者，曰丹鼎派；以祈禱符咒療病為主者，曰符籙派。…大概分住各廟，斂財啖經司香燈鐘鼓而已，別有火居道士，率為人修建齋醮誦經禮懺，以超度或治符水禁咒以祛病降魔符籙派之遺也。」(民國合江縣志，卷四 38b)

「敘永道教有隨山龍門兩派。隨山派分住廟內司香火者約數百人，道姑數十人；龍門派有住廟者，有住家而為人禳災祈福者，實為職業之一，無所謂教也。」(民國敘永縣志，卷四 15a-b)

「(成都)無室家者曰淨居道士，有家室者曰伙居道士。」(成都通覽，p. 194)

這些分類無法直接使用的原因，除了其非分類指涉不夠精確，也因為本文旨在探討行持科儀甚至於專精科儀的道士，暫時無法旁及其他；而科儀只是道士養成不可勝數的云云志途裡其中之一項，並不能兼及所有發展。齋醮濟度是一門辛苦又專門的修煉之道，並非為所有道士所好；此外對有志於此發展的道士也有些先後天稟賦的要求，所以最後往科儀鑽研的道士比例上並不高。

以今日成都周圍為例，受過基本訓練，起碼能夠上堂的全真道士約佔全數的十分之一(有能力行科儀的宮觀比例會高一些，有的地方小廟還沒有獨立操辦的能力，可能僅有少數幾個，在這個基礎上請道士過來搭配或外出支援，慢慢累積實力)，至於高功則又約是能行科儀道士中的七~八分之一了。正一的比例則要高得多，特別是近年年輕道士前來拜師，就是為了學習科儀(當然也有少數

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<sup>476</sup> 外顯特徵固然有助於區辨道士，也往往造成誤解。學界近年開始出現對這些成見的反省，如 Goossaert 2013, 黎志添 2013。

<sup>477</sup> 此四例皆成於民國時期(初版年各是 1939、1929、1936 與 1909)。明以前四川方志留存極少，今之所見率以清、民國為多(何金文 1985: 3)，此處資料雖成於民國時間，但由於其編寫很多是承襲清代，在人物、釋道部分多為沿用改變不多，與清中後期差別不大；至於《成都通覽》則是作者在清末年的見聞，反而或更能代表二十世紀初期的情況。

並不習法事，而選擇鑽研醫、卜、道樂等專長自養，或因為分工而改事後場籌備或打下手)。民初之前由於識字率不高經師<sup>478</sup>人數又更少，以青羊宮來說，行科儀的道士也就只有一個班子(推測約就十數人上下；保守估計約是總人數的二十分之一)要應付宮內及各方蜂擁而至的邀約，幾乎是天天都背著箱子出宮作法事。正一方面(以及其他道派的火居道士們)作法事的情形應較全真更活躍許多，不只是因為人數上的優勢，還考量了業務範圍更廣可能。但由於資料不足，尚不宜對行齋醮的正一(及其他火居)道士的規模驟下評論。不過全真不承接七七內喪事的規矩在昔日基本上還是被切實遵守的<sup>479</sup>。

這批在四川行道教科儀的道士，傳統研究上對他們主要有兩種分類：「火居」與「住觀」、「行壇」與「靜壇」；這兩對二分法基本上可以完全對應到正一與全真。住廟與否的區別很明顯承自民間的普遍看法，並不拘於能行科儀與否。至於行壇與靜壇，就是四川地區很獨特的稱呼方式。道教音樂的研究者們對此下的定義是：

靜壇音樂<sup>480481</sup>：又稱道觀音樂。川西道教音樂的流派之一。即四川西部地區全真道觀中那些以觀為家、頭上挽髻、身穿道袍、不娶家室、注重清修的出家道士(即全真道士)掌握的音樂。

行壇音樂：又稱道壇音樂。川西道教音樂的流派之一。即四川西部地區城市、農村中那些身居家中、平時如俗人打扮、有妻室兒女、注重行藝，並以齋醮活動為業的在家道士(又稱伙居道士)掌握的音樂。

這個分類是以道樂的風格流派、壇上做動的文武表現來區分。靜壇派是在宮觀裡作法事的全真道士，所以「其風格典雅莊重，殿堂氣氛濃厚。」至於屬於正一的火居道士展現的是「民間道場音樂，其風格較明快活潑，有濃厚的民間世俗色彩。<sup>482</sup>」在道樂成分來說，靜壇派以清代從湖北武當與北京白雲觀傳入的

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<sup>478</sup> 成都道士對上壇參加科儀道士的稱呼隨意，並無固定，「經師」「經班」「龍虎班」這樣的叫法我都有聽過。

<sup>479</sup> Fieldnote 20120814 云+FY、20140403 黃。本段所描述清末民初的情況是根據道長們轉述聽來的師祖輩們的回憶，不能算是第一手資料。青羊宮雖然經師不多但工作量多，所以民初時有「二仙庵肥死人」的說法，暗示民間對僅僅一隊經班承接了大量法事，帶來豐厚進帳的想像。(楊錫民 1984：40)

<sup>480</sup> 此兩段引自《中華道教大辭典》，撰寫人川音甘紹成教授。該詞條雖以音樂為主，但解說清楚明確，門派與音樂可直接等同，故採用之，亦可見道樂研究對四川科儀研究的先驅與貢獻。使用此詞條主要是因為其說明雖簡單但精確，沒有有疑義的衍義；當然後續還是需要補充其他學者的意見。道教音樂研究自成一個領域，實非多看多聽即可貫通，特別是樂理與風格分析，實非筆者強項，往往無法清楚甄別，所以在書寫上會較依賴現有的音樂研究。

<sup>481</sup> 《中華道教大辭典》中還有一條「善壇(或「堂」)音樂」。是川西地區城市、農村中一部分信奉道教的慈善會成員掌握的音樂。(p. 1600)案此條惟出現於此，未見於其他四川道樂研究中。

<sup>482</sup> 蒲亨強 2012：191。

「十方韻<sup>483</sup>」(在此又稱「北韻」)為主，行壇派所傳音樂則是被認為由創始人陳復慧所傳下，以細膩見長的「廣成韻」，又稱「南韻」。南韻由於原本是清代川西流行的地方韻，吸收了許多地方歌謠戲曲、清音、川劇等(也融合有各省移民帶進來的曲調)，很為四川民眾接受，後來靜壇派也部分採用此調，而漸成為十方韻與廣成韻共存兼用<sup>484</sup>。目前的使用情形仍是如此，各廟各壇有自己傳下來的習慣，十方韻與廣成韻仍然兼用，但使用比例略會不同<sup>485</sup>。

上壇行儀，兩方道士都使用《廣成儀制》，除了服著(法袍、髻式與冠)的不同，觀者臨場多少能感受到些許「靜」與「動」的區分，可能是動作的秀雅與豪邁，或是樂曲的徐緩與響亮；此外，入壇、秉職與壓朝版等步驟，也是較容易看出差別的細節。

就樂器演奏來說，靜壇的壇場上只以「細樂」(或叫「小樂」)呈現，通常以笛子、鑼子、鉸子為主奏樂器，或再配以音色柔和音量較小的樂器<sup>486</sup>。壇上視人員多寡可能有兼奏分配，分為：笛子曲牌、法器牌子、鑼鉸牌子三種。行壇上除了使用「細樂<sup>487</sup>」還會使用強調大鑼大鼓剛勁洪亮的「大樂」(有噴吶、鑼鼓兩種牌子)。<sup>488</sup>樂器中值得一提的是「二星」，它是將兩個厚薄不同的鑼子並排綁成一對的手持敲擊樂器，因為敲擊起來有高低兩個音而得名；筆者在田野中常常聽到道士們說起這是廣成獨有的法器，允為區分廣成科儀的一個特色<sup>489</sup>(圖 5)。

靜壇與行壇的區分從名字上就很有既視感，容易讓觀察者理解：靜對動、文對武、肅穆對熱鬧、宮廟對市井等等，這可能就是最初起名時的靈感。樂曲樂器作為區辨的重點，得益於中國道樂研究累積的豐碩成果，也大大助益科儀研究本身。好比靜壇/行壇這樣的稱呼就是學者們田野工作中所採得，並非當代研究的發明。事實上，這組稱呼的歷史可能與正一「廣成壇」的生成一樣久遠。在《廣成儀制·原序》裡提到「光緒十一年有溫邑行壇弟子董圓青<sup>490</sup>」這樣

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<sup>483</sup>「十方韻」主要指在宮觀傳唱的全真道樂，現流行的約有 60 多曲，其中就有 56 首出現在《重刊道藏輯要·全真正韻》之中。(劉紅 2009：290~1、蒲亨強 2012：191)。另外音樂形式出版可參考李豐楙編輯導讀之《全真道教經典音樂全集》。

<sup>484</sup> 劉紅 2009：290~6。

<sup>485</sup> 如目前在青羊宮，做早課時用「南韻」(如龕子韻、二郎神...)而晚課則用「北韻」(如下水船、單/雙吊掛等等)。而有的常見曲牌南北韻都有(如最常見的小贊韻)，這時就看當堂怎麼決定，不過多用南韻。(fieldnote 20120710 黃)

<sup>486</sup> 概有笛子、提鑼、鉸子、二星、小吊鈴、碰鈴、搖鈴、中/小木魚、堂鼓等。

<sup>487</sup> 在「行壇」中則分作鑼鉸、笛子套打、絲弦套打、絲竹套打樂隊四種。

<sup>488</sup> 劉紅 2009：303~4。

<sup>489</sup> 事實上同為四川壇門的法言壇也有使用(感謝徐菲提供資訊)。在台灣，筆者僅見於展覽圖錄中，(名為「雙音/陰陽鑼」，《道教文物》p.195)，但多方詢問都沒聽說還有在使用。

<sup>490</sup> 董圓青生平不詳，僅知為廣成壇的行壇派弟子，曾致力恢復祖師陳復慧的墓塋，其後可能管理溫江蟠龍寺。其名字以時序來看(1895 A.D.)，與全真「圓」字輩(第十九代)有重疊，但目前不

一位傳人，顯見在當時已是個既定的稱法。目前，靜壇行壇的使用似乎多在道樂學者的論著中出現，以筆者的經驗，道士之間好像不如此稱呼，但若試著在言談間使用起來，也沒有感到困擾，一般信仰者或居士則就對此陌生。但這也可能是研究者間報導人沒有重複且重點不同，此外筆者的田野還不夠深入民間。

另外，在民間的火居道士還有「廣成壇」與「法言壇」這組重要的分類，他們雖然都是火居道士，在道法上的差距反而還要大過於全真與正一之間。一般認為廣成壇道士即是受陳復慧廣成科儀傳承的正一派道士或是俗家弟子。他們尊陳氏為祖師，以溫江蟠龍寺為根據地，並在每年陳氏誕日返回蟠龍寺謁祖塋(此習慣現已不存。陳氏塋墓據聞仍在，但乏人管理可能已不容易尋找。田野中有聽聞整修復原的規劃，但似乎還沒有付諸行動)。「廣成壇」雖然可說是川內規模最大的道士科儀群體，在組織和傳承上其實相當鬆散，或是說缺乏強制的認同；所以使否已自成一個「壇門」(特別是相比於法言壇<sup>491</sup>)還需要更多定義。在四川行廣成科儀的正一道士，雖然會稱自己是廣成壇的道士，但他們卻不見得以此作為最基本(常用)的自稱<sup>492</sup>；他們其實還各有壇號，壇場佈置無使用「廣成壇」，啟師秉職時也不見得使用<sup>493</sup>。即使如此，「廣成壇」一名的起緣卻很早，一般相信它除了承接陳復慧的道術傳承，其實更可以說是被陳氏統合四川道教科儀的所有對象；也就是說，其成員們應該是早於這個名詞出現。「廣成壇」成為一個專有名詞可能要到了區別「法言壇」的時期才出現。

「法言壇」一支獨秀於四川道教，在於它有非常獨特的創立與訓練背景。創始人劉沅(1786~1855)是清咸豐年間雙流人士，得過舉人，劉家在當地是極負文名的大戶人家。他在因緣際會下接觸道教，建立了以儒學為本的門派：「劉門」。法言壇在行使科儀上用的是劉沅自己造作的科儀書《法言會纂<sup>494</sup>》，也就是這個壇門命名的由來。劉沅修習內丹、博覽道經後以擅長的儒學文學背景，發明了科儀書與文檢集，基本節次架構、科儀行持、密法上多借自道教，但其

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能確定廣成壇行壇道士是否也沿用龍門派詩。

<sup>491</sup> 「壇門」或有其他民間宗教的定義，在此援用歐福克的用法(Olles 2013: 64)。

<sup>492</sup>如同道士修道之路多元，他們的自我認同隨著不同情境也是多變的。在言談間，筆者所記下較多的自陳片斷是「正一道士」與「行廣成科儀」。當中所能反映的脈絡還不能很肯定。筆者在田野中所遇的廣成壇道士並不多，可能無法反映事實，另則，我還以為 80s 年代之後宗教恢復在認同與傳承方面仍有斷層，新的認同和定位可能正在形成。

<sup>493</sup> 以筆者報導人正一楊道長為例，他說一般主要以嫡系親傳的祖師為主，再來就是要看法事的性質請相關的神祇祖師，當然還有科本上所開列的神明。(fieldnote 20110617, FY)以壇號(指「廣成壇」或私壇)用於壇上、桌圍等裝飾為判斷，在四川大概不是個慣習的認定條件(這裡不能肯定，不過壇上使用全真「混元宗壇」與正一「萬法宗壇」還是確實的)。

<sup>494</sup> 卷首題「清訥如居士撰」，共五十卷。內容為劉氏撰造科儀與文疏。現代商業出版見於《藏外道書》第三十冊。關於「法言壇」的研究，請參考 Olles 2013 與徐菲 2013。

實他們有自成一派的授籙、請師<sup>495</sup>與修練教訓，所以並未獲其他道士的普遍認同；只流傳在川西川南地區，沒有再傳出去。

劉沅在編造《法言會纂》時曾大量參考當時已廣為流行的《廣成儀制》，加之參酌一般道樂與科儀規範，在臨壇的節次架構上頗有幾分像是簡化了的廣成科儀<sup>496</sup>。民初以前法言壇在川西川南頗有發展，某些縣份的聲勢甚至還高於正一或全真。又因著劉家歷來政治、文學上的影響力，能夠進重要廟宇如青羊宮、青城山諸道觀作儀式，甚至有扶鸞活動<sup>497</sup>；現在在這些地方還存有一些劉家所題贈的碑匾墨跡。在田野中行廣成科儀的道士們(正一或全真)皆表示知道有法言壇的存在，不讀不用《法言會纂》，但若有需要可以登壇支援法言壇的法事(任經師不任高功)---主要是在道曲上可以配合，而且法言的科儀比較簡單，但相反過來法言的道士是不可能上得了廣成科儀的壇場<sup>498</sup>。目前法言壇以新津老君山劉家祠堂<sup>499</sup>為祖庭中心，除了每年九次的例行法會，也會受邀為人齋醮。

從上面多組分類可見，對四川道教科儀的研究，因為從不同切入，所以得出不同定義。其涵蓋範圍雖不致稱作盲點但仍顯得顧此失彼，或不夠細緻或不夠全面。「道士」這個身分是多元的，不論是道士自我認定的門派，清代官僚對這群奉道之士的理解，或從道樂方言來區分，研究者怎麼對之下定義，都是既對又錯的。所以我認為若在此聚焦於廣成科儀的研究上，不妨先關注更大的群體，即所有使用《廣成儀制》科儀本的道士們為對象，暫時放下較小差異上的伎求---彼此間的不同當然重要，但目前更需要先描繪一個可能更大更完整的圖像。

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<sup>495</sup>劉沅在造作科儀書時，將從他自身起以上劉家列祖賦與神號，甚至還有神誥。對《廣成儀制》的編校者陳復慧也給予了「天仙門下五品仙官陳真人(陳電師)」的封誥，相當尊崇。(Olles 2013: 198、204)

<sup>496</sup>《法言會纂》其科儀書在內容上自廣成有諸多參酌之處，除了劉沅其孫(上引不再重複)，法言的研究者歐福克也持同樣看法(Olles 2013: 62~4)。這點從科本上來看其實無庸置疑，不論是科目設定或是內容架構都可見痕跡，不過筆者本身還無緣親見法事，所以不了解實踐上的差異。

<sup>497</sup>劉家作為地方世家對宗教活動頗多贊助，所以他們可以進如青羊宮來做法會，但不使用《廣成》科本；扶鸞活動則比較像是借用場地，青羊宮本身的道士是不參與的(fieldnote，黃+楊胖子)對道士簡單的詢問，大概是都知道從前(1970s 之前)會有往來，但現在則幾乎不往來了。

<sup>498</sup>廣成道士們對法言壇的評價，來自田野中的閒談，由於並未深入所知較淺。惟特別對法言道士不能上廣成的壇這點，是所有曾詢及廣成道士(起碼有五位高功)的共同答案。此外，關於法言壇與這些道長們的宮觀或祖輩有往來，他們都表示好像有這回事，如青羊宮的扶鸞(從說明聽起來有點像是借場地，供當時頗時興的文人扶乩活動，至於有無道士參與目前沒有證明)或曾與劉咸炘(指標性的文學人物)有唱和，但都只有印象淡薄的簡短幾句話。相較起來，當前與法言道士間互動可能已大大不如昔日那般密切。

<sup>499</sup>劉家家廟之一，應位在名剎老君廟旁或其內。劉沅及其後人歷來對老君廟多有捐貲贊助，也是劉家昔日行慈善的據點，淵源一向深厚。(徐菲 2013: 108~9)

### 3-2 「廣成科儀」與「廣成道士」

本處提出以「廣成道士」為研究對象的手段，主要是認為道教內道派、支派眾多，師承、傳統等雖都是必須要考慮的，但這些資訊常常是隱諱不易詢問；而且往往又不一定與科儀有關，現階段對廣成科儀的薄弱理解尚不須過度地對門派嚴加細分。當我們專注強調四川道士們行廣成科儀的面向，將其他特質相形的忽略，的確可以發現共同使用一套科儀傳統的確將他們圍出了一個(暫時)可以超越門派與其他修行考量的共同體----或許不能稱之為超越，而是到了實際操作時自然便產生的群體。這些有能力有資格行廣成科儀的道士，又特別是高功---有師承、有籙(授籙或撥職借職<sup>500</sup>)能秉職為基本條件，可以皆視為「廣成道士」。

「廣成道士」一詞並不是以慣常使用的觀念或專詞，但由於本文中很可以表現筆者所欲呈現的全體對象，既不只是全真或正一，還包括目前所知或還待細分的道派，也不可能以往觀火居來簡別。更重要的是他們就是要在惟視廣成科儀的學習與實踐的目的上，才最能清楚理解之。畢竟就如本文所強調，成為一個道士及其養成都是多元而深沉的，無論從哪個方向切入，只是先側重一個面向作為逼近手段，都不完整。科儀的範疇下，我選取以「廣成科儀」為出發點，力求以最單純的方向逼近理解科儀活動的中心。

「廣成道士」雖非既有研究理絡，也不是已約定俗成的說法；但筆者相信以此凡四川行廣成科儀道士為全體，暫且放下過分探求門派傳承時(請注意，並非是不探問)，可以較多地呈現以地方須要形成的人事聚散，從實踐面來看儀式實踐的真實情形，百年來累積作用在四川形成的真實結果。

這個定義完全是站在專注於使用《廣成儀制》科儀書及其所規範的廣成科儀與否。簡單來說，可以想像成帶有屬地主義色彩的「本山派<sup>501</sup>」概念，強調這套科儀固著在川內的流通使用。地方之內，道士不論門派，共同服膺這套能為大家共同承認，富含地方特色，又能滿足地方需求的科儀傳統。當然在以「廣成」作為最大公約數底下，也容許箇中滲入不同傳承與風格的小差異。由四川地區行科儀道士共同鑄造，取得最多道士與信仰者認同。

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<sup>500</sup> 籙在田野中得到的訊息很少，依稀僅知，全真之中由於並無授籙，只有接受「撥職」，即借邱祖的籙(表現在「秉職」上)，正一道士往龍虎山授籙不多，川地普遍只由家門師門傳承(俗乎「私籙」)，主要根據《天壇玉格》。

<sup>501</sup> 這個解釋的靈感來自與南投太和山張道長聊天。張道長學自武當山，他解釋整個武當山有這麼多的廟子這麼多的山頭，門派各異，教誨和修練也不同，但是為什麼還是可以合在一起作科儀，就是因為總的有一個稱作「本山派」的科儀傳統，亦即道眾平日可依各自傳承有不同修習，但說到科儀就只能做「本山」(可理解為以我武當山為本)的東西(fieldnote 20130412)。



「本山派」的概念其實並不獨特，作為「武當本山派」專有名詞之外，常常也帶有對某地有所本所依的意涵。當然以武當山道教來說，就是個完美的例子。武當山範圍之內道士，為了共同行持科儀，形成一套兼採而獨特的統一作法。從「武當韻」道樂研究顯示，在風格上它吸收了南方與北方的風格，所以能不生硬也不呆版。在門派上來說，「武當道教就以博採眾家教理教義顯其特徵」呈現為全真、正一(此兩種合稱為「山上宮觀派」、伙居(音樂風格稱為「山下伙居派」)的「三派合一<sup>502</sup>」綜合體制。與四川道教內的交流情形相同，武當山的道長們，無論全真或正一，不但可以同住宮觀、共演科儀法事，道場上配合良好，在生活上亦是交往深厚的良友；彼此間合作的表現上可視為「融會貫通的交往關係」。<sup>503</sup>

帶有明顯地域色彩的「本山」概念，主要就是借由風格建立與排他性的產生，劃出勢力範圍。此作法並不罕見，在各地都會出現各有的勢力範圍。類似的例子可見北京白雲觀，白雲觀為十方叢林，清末時住持孟永才為降低游方道士習得科儀便離開的頻率，放棄使用「十方韻」，改用不同於其他地方的「北京韻」，如此道士便會因為無法適應其他地方而專心留在白雲觀<sup>504</sup>。

四川之內「本山」也可作如是觀。以川內的《廣成儀制》為主要(甚至是惟一)文本的所有道士，彼此間互相認識，可以共同上壇行持廣成科儀，共有一定搭配默契與對科儀的理解脈絡，便是本文認定的「廣成道士」。

### 3-3 廣成道士的互動交際網絡

#### 「廣成不出川」

在前面的章節已經說明筆者之所以提出先以「廣成道士」為整體討論對象的原因，實在於《廣成儀制》這套科儀書確實為不同門派傳承的四川道士共享共用，他們不但都使用這套科儀傳統，在實踐上也大致相同，彼此間並不因門派有別而無法互相了解，甚至還能互相合作。

筆者將這樣的理解方式，類比作帶有屬地主義色彩的「本山派」概念，強調一套科儀固著在一特定區域內流通使用的現象。該地方之內，道士不分門派，共同服膺一套能為眾門派共同承認，富含地方特色，又能滿足地方需求的科儀

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<sup>502</sup> 在史新民 1990 的研究中，他把「本山」的所有成員還細分成：全真—應付—伙居，以居住位置、作法作出有階序性的層次。

<sup>503</sup> 王光德等 1999：51、64~6。

<sup>504</sup> 張鴻懿 2001：410。

傳統。當然在廣成的最大公約數底下，也容許箇中滲入不同傳承與風格。由四川地區行科儀道士一起鎔鑄，取得最多道士與信仰者認同，讓廣成科儀在四川更能扎根茁壯。如果說造成此現象的手段是「本山派」的約束意識，那麼其結果，可以套用當地的一句俗語「廣成不出川」以完美想像。

這種內聚而成的地方性是中國常見的現象。其優勢是構成當地道教科儀的統一性，團結使聲勢壯大，成為主流。就廣成科儀來看，可以說整個四川除了法言壇傳統之外，咸行此法。這個認同除了科本的限定，主要還有語言(四川官話)、道樂(北韻、廣成韻)，當然還需要四川之內廣成道士長年的互動合作，逐漸形成的同一性與默契。

如此不但道士們承襲這套科儀書的操作與分類，甚至信眾也已熟稔、接受它們。道教儀式並非只存在道士言談或方志筆記，日常生活中大批的信仰參與者，也用自己的方式解讀、記憶儀式。特別是退休年長的老人家，他們會花較多時間留在廟子裡，從不錯過附近的任何法事活動，熱心地交流信仰與靈異的經驗；也常常經由引述道士的說明(如介紹法事性質，說服信眾參加)、預測法事接下來的步驟(如在「供天」時算好時間自動地上前來幫忙點大量的小燭，在「開光」後急切地上前接取壇上用剩的水)，甚至是評論該場高功的表現(說唱、手勢、精神等)，來展現自己對該堂科儀的嫻熟，很能感受到年長信眾對法事有較多的主見<sup>505</sup>。

據知在 1949 以前的廣成科儀的確離不開四川省這個範圍，極少數聽說過的例外，也只外徙到四川周邊(如隔鄰的雲貴陝鄂，但靠近四川的縣份)，這些據點(壇口道寓)的師承來歷多少還說得清楚，最重要是方言可通之地方<sup>506</sup>。可見有語言與道樂的共同文化背景仍是被接受的主要考量。宗教改革開放後的九十年代，四川地方由於恢復有成，吸引許多其他省份的道士前來，也使不少學成道士改往其他地方。新血道士一旦學習廣成科儀，並使用四川話，便可以融入。肩負著廣成科儀傳統的道士們，去到了別的地方則開始有不同的選擇。道法與資歷深厚的道長可能是受託到其他地方主持道務，他可能會試著將廣成科儀帶進當地，也很可能因為缺少能配合的經班，孤掌難鳴，還是選擇配合當地原有的傳統，後者的情形也往往是未來將返家鄉的外省道士的擔憂。另一種傳播則是取經式的學習，如台灣本沒有全真道的傳統，科儀更是完全空白<sup>507</sup>，上個世紀末開始有道士前往中國拜師甚至出家；其中高雄關帝廟的主事者特別傾

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<sup>505</sup> fieldnote20120929 在金堂縣。老人間的意見交流多屬旁聽沒有訪談。

<sup>506</sup> fieldnote 20110614 黃。

<sup>507</sup> 蕭進銘 2009。

慕四川道教，支持其高功來四川學法，將近七八年的時間已發展了自己的經班，且主要科儀使用《廣成儀制》<sup>508</sup>。

## 對馬口

前面提到了廣成科儀極為重視唱誦表現，道士們上壇演法觀眾首先注意到的也是唱誦曲韻的合諧優美。對於有能力培養自己經班、樂隊班子的子孫廟或正一道壇當然不成問題，但若是成員來自四面八方的十方叢林，或不同來歷的道士間有需要互相配合，便會因為彼此傳承的差異，在曲韻(如起韻或選擇曲牌的習慣)上有不同。要避免實際登壇時出現不同調的困境，事前就需要討論、確定，針對流程變動、起韻、音調所做的事前確認、彩排，昔日有個專門的稱呼——「對馬口」。

「對馬口」一詞由來不明，應該是跟四川的方言有關，特別可能與民間戲曲用語有關。這個舉措其實並不常見，今日則似已不復使用。主要的原因是(從前)四川從事科儀的道士並不多，彼此間常早就熟識，建立好合作默契，甚至是全真與伙居正一間在曲韻上也很有共通，所以很正式地彩排一次實在不多見。所以若是沒有特殊安排，通常只需在兩班人馬第一次合作時稍加討論安排對馬口，之後就沒有必要了。

既然對馬口是不曾合作過的團體內的預先討論彩排，那麼發生的歧異要怎麼決定？自然是由高功來決定。高功在諸多段落會起到起韻、領唱獨唱的角色，加上高功是整場科儀行進的主導者，也最能掌握科儀精神，理解最深刻，理當由他來定調。不過有時高功也會少數服從多數，特別是受聘到別人的場子上就會尊重對方的偏好，「人多決定，嗓門大<sup>509</sup>」。不過一旦登壇，高功站在面對神明的位置而背對經班，此時若臨時失誤亂了套，指揮的工作常常就落到了龍班(左)首位打大鼓的道士(他通常是壇上的第二把手)身上，藉由他敲擊鼓聲的節奏，提醒並重新引導道眾回到原軌。

說到現在道士間已經不再「對馬口」，除了因為行廣成科儀的道士彼此間多已熟識，主要是 1980 年代起宗教改革開放，能復興科儀的指導師資有限，使得目前的科儀表現較諸以往顯得貧弱且統一。但即使一開始重新傳授的來源不

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<sup>508</sup> 關帝廟的高功陳道長約從 2007 年起在四川老君山學廣成科儀，由於時地限制，他每一兩年只能過去數週時間化整為零地學習。他負責廟中經班的訓練，由於廟上歷史發展與成員幾是居士的原因，壇上使用國語並唱十方韻(廣成道士是贊成應該使用方言來展現語韻。實際表現上並不順暢。惟用十方韻是早期發展所致)。關帝廟現同是高雄市全真道教會會址。Fieldnote201106。高雄關帝廟並非筆者田野重點，由於地緣關係稍有接觸，是有趣的對照組，可能擴展為未來的研究。關於它的發展背景可參考彭嘉煒 2013。

<sup>509</sup> fieldnote 20110620，黃。

多，經過時間空間的傳遞，特別是口傳心受這樣的方式，表現在地方與個人上難免還是開始有了不同<sup>510</sup>，這只是使用習慣的問題，幾乎不會造成困擾。一般以為搭配上最需要協調的還是在唱腔，但大家也不需要嚴肅的調校，稍有經驗的道士在第二場時就可以變得過來，甚至「靠經驗，音樂一下便知道<sup>511</sup>」。筆者便多次見到不同來歷的道士在私下閒談間就彼此所習唱腔、動作提出討論、比較，過程常常是大家便唱作了起來，熱情地比較、印證所學。

固然有道士是出了家/拜了師終其一生都在同一個廟子/壇班裡活動，但也有不少道士因為各種原因雲遊、掛單過多個道觀。因為不同道士們在法事配合上不太遇到問題，於是曾經合作過的道士，很容易組成潛在的人力支援網絡，是當一個道觀需要臨時人力時的好選擇。比如曾經在青羊宮與鶴鳴山都修道過的秦道長，目前遠在重慶附近主持一間小廟，為了維持道觀生計，他經常往來成都間支援法事需要，總是在大節日來臨前提前在自家廟子裡先做儀式(照顧地方信眾)，到了正日子(節慶的當天)就受聘來成都道廟幫忙<sup>512</sup>，在這幾個地方登壇對他與其他經班成員而言都沒有適應上的問題。另外如青城山，山內多間道觀集中，加之道眾較多，道觀間通息密切，便傾向山內人員整合來滿足需要。至於與民間壇門法言壇雖然儀式有所不同，但若「(法言壇)需要道士比較多，也會請廣成的來幫忙。<sup>513</sup>」；不過相反情況下，廣成科儀並不會請法言道士幫忙，實在是因為兩者在科儀的繁簡與對道士身分的要求仍不同，一言以蔽之，「因為傳承差太多了<sup>514</sup>」。

## 結親家

行使廣成科儀不同傳統的道士群，彼此之間互通聲息，可以互相合作，歷來維持著良好關係，那麼在正式上壇之前/餘，他們又怎麼能確保知識、聲息的理解與一致呢？平時的互動，除了一般的往來走串，還有一種更深刻的結盟方式——四川道士稱之為「結親家」。所謂的「親家」是擬親屬式締結關係的方法，與傳統漢人拜乾爹媽的涵義一樣；在道士間指的則是收徒(也包括俗家弟子)或收彼此弟子為徒。

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<sup>510</sup> 近年隨著各地(不同派別；跨省份，甚至跨國的)道教間的交流，以及各山頭間潛在的競爭心態，近幾年的科儀又開始出現差異。較外顯的特徵在服裝、佈置器用文書，動作走位，到花腔樂器，開始變得華麗繁複。這些證明了近年道教的投入人口、注意力增加，也出現新的詮釋的爭議。其牽涉的範圍更廣、細節更多，值得未來好好討論。

<sup>511</sup> fieldnote 20120830 肖。fieldnote 20110614 黃。

<sup>512</sup> Fieldnote 20120829 秦。

<sup>513</sup> 徐菲 2013: 119。

<sup>514</sup> fieldnote 20110616，黃。

如同親屬制度的研究向來複雜難解，層出不窮的可能性讓「結親家」這種擬制難以定義。以筆者在成都的見聞，最寬鬆的解釋是，讓家裡的子弟拜道士為師，如此師傅與弟子一家便有了如「親家」的關係，師傅與弟子的父母便會互稱「親家」<sup>515</sup>。

道教修行方式眾多，道門之內向來鼓勵道士為了精進能力，取得「本師」（首位拜師的師父，也會叫「恩師」）同意後，再拜新的師父，這裡要注意的是拜新師父是為了習得新的知識，所以大原則是此前的師父所能夠的教導範圍內，便不應該再拜重複的師。有時候，為了求取更精深的知識尋訪名師，引薦是必要的，這時很大程度也關乎著本師的人脈交際網絡和師徒關係。

本來拜師就該由徒弟自己下定決心，同時師父收徒時對弟子也有所考覈，師父與其父母間的關係是被動的，其實沒必要特別強調；所以以筆者所知為數不多的例子，會強調這層關係的情況，弟子通常年歲不大，拜師通常由其父母所決定。家長讓自家的小朋友拜師，常常跟孩子的八字命途有關，這種情形類似拜神明做契子女的習俗，有改運求庇的考量；也有的是單純希望孩子可以多接觸傳統文化或學習道教體術。這類的關係較淺，此層級的師父的傳授多限於道德或慈愛，親家間的互動可能只比一般信眾多一些，也常與忠實信徒和供養有關，道士(出家或火居)與俗家信士間的互動與信任，是廟宇香火長久維繫很重要的一項因素<sup>516</sup>。

筆者在四川見到一個特殊的例子值得再加討論。這個擬親屬締結時弟子還很小(約國小生)，是雙方「家長」做主的意思強一點。兩方親家背景頗特殊：正一派楊道長家的兒子拜了鶴鳴山全真龍門派的楊道長為師(兩位楊道長並沒有血緣關係)；我們知道此前兩位道長私交便好，平常時也有往來，更聽說兩邊在從前的師輩子就有交情往來，若談及專業交流也不見遲疑或避諱，不過我並不確定在科儀上有合作。

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<sup>515</sup> 擬親屬的成立固然是兩方關係的聯結，但是否所有這樣的關係下，師父一家長間都會如此互稱則不能確定。本節所舉的例子(即筆者在田野間所有見到的情境)其實都是出現在長輩決定而非徒弟自主的狀況下。

<sup>516</sup> 筆者曾見過兩次簡單的拜師儀式，分別有全真與正一派各一次。過程相似：先由師父奏告神明祖師(正一那場還有高功擔任司儀引導的功能。該高功是師父的大弟子，正處於高功功課修畢的時節，所以這裡也有讓他登場實習的意思，不見得表示一定需要高功主持)，然後弟子向師父叩拜行禮，師父接受奉茶並稍加訓勉，耗時僅約十多分鐘。這兩次拜師禮中的弟子都是已跟隨師父一段時間的俗家弟子，或是需要一位生肖相合的師父(在全真場中有一位孩童便是如此，他與母親所拜師父不同，這次他所拜的師父完全是以生肖相合為考量，此前師徒未曾見過面)，「只是缺個正式的禮儀」，由於這兩次所收都是俗家弟子，所以所見者是否是簡化版本，不能確定。(20111120 與 20120929)

第一次見到這位「準道士」楊小朋友(他從小就在父親身邊耳濡目染，本身也表現出興趣，現在已能到父親的廟子上幫忙，還沒能上壇；理論上他已拜在父親或某位正一道士底下。)就是在鶴鳴山上，當天是週末，作為父親的楊道長帶著小弟子上山來跟師父請安(應該也可順勢稱作「走親戚」?)作為師父的楊道長慈愛地關懷問訊一番，小朋友年幼好玩很快就跑得不見人影，大人們則熱絡地泡茶擺起龍門陣。約莫兩年後再見到，小弟子(約是初中，12~14歲)沉穩不少，或是家學淵源或是開竅早有天份，一群師兄弟(他入門早但年紀最小)言談間可以看出他往往是懂得多記得多也看得多的那一個，顧盼間稍顯露出見識豐富的自傲。我不知道這段時間他的全真楊師父對他道法成長有哪些助益，其間他是否曾有系統地學習全真方面的科儀，還是聽得出來他對全真科儀的熟悉是多於其他師兄弟的。

誠然這個例子最吸引人的就在「親家」雙方來自兩個不同的四川道教科儀傳統，但這個締結其實是很私人的，完全是基於雙方私交甚好。兩個傳統間無芥蒂的自在交流，也表現在四川地方道法合作和科本流佈的開放素習。目前還不清楚在四川類似的案例有多少，但必然不是首創，也沒有任何忌諱，相信箇中也談不上什麼陰謀考量。至於若干年後小楊道長一方面浸淫在父親正一(傳統自師爺繼承來的，與近年往龍虎山學習來的)氛圍中成長，又從全真的師父耳濡目染另一種作法，將會有什麼新氣象令人期待。<sup>517</sup>

### 3-4 壇班成員：職司與養成

廣成科儀中，壇上兩側的經師除唱誦經文，隨著次第、節奏運用樂器，往往還有其他職責，或是配合行進的動作，或監督、支援，以協力完成整場法事。他們的工作一般簡稱為「六職」<sup>518</sup>：高功、監齋、督講、侍經、侍香、侍燈。簡單的職權設定依次是職事之首總攝要務、糾管典法、唱讚引導，以及主管經文科本、香爐香案、燈燭用具。

相似的職能我們從《廣成儀制》的「臨壇受職簽押集」(十三--80, No. 80)一科也看得出來。更有甚者，陳仲遠對操辦一堂盛大齋醮，是有更完備也更華麗的籌劃編制。這一科的行使通常是安排在五天以上法事的前一夜或當日頭科

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<sup>517</sup> 距離田野一段不小時間後，筆者很偶然聽說了這位楊道長，還又結了另一門親家，是一位重慶的全真道士(使用廣成科儀，與成都的道士們往來密切)。其他詳細情形還不清楚，惟簡單補充之。Fieldnote 20150101。

<sup>518</sup> 道經裡也不乏對壇班的分類與定義，如《無上黃籙大齋立成儀》(洞玄部威儀類鳳~食字號)之卷十三「知職榜」與之十六「文職與威儀」。一般或謂「六職」乃正一說法，不為全真採用，不過在功能類似的《廣成儀制》「諸品大齋醮告符啟壇集」(十三 43, No. 43)中亦提到「臨壇闡事，六職同升。」(3b)

「宣榜」時，法事規模雖宏大但本科做法其實很簡短，由高功帶領禮敬三寶、五師及列幕師真後，使所有負責內外壇、前後場的負責人敬來神前起誓，藉由逐個點名出列畫押，再次說明工作叮囑職責，俾使眾人法事期間盡忠職守、恪守規定。各職司的劃分及其職責依次開列引述如下：

「內壇」的人員有：

高功(在此又稱「都壇法師<sup>519</sup>」)：深明道義，默契真宗。德行優隆，統一壇而為首；科儀練達，合六職而居先。威禁甚嚴，恭承當謹。

副科：官守有恆，庶務亦資乎佐貳；壇宗定制，典儀爰設乎副科。

津濟：內鍊玄機，外明梵咒。變食度魂，默運坎離之用；遷神攝炁，宜恭造化之宗。

都講：贊助典儀，佐宣經籙。肅壇場則嚴淨攸司，按節次則題稱所繫。戒警眾職，命令大魔。允為利益之師，當秉威嚴之範。

表白：職在代宣，功司啟奏。字句詳明，勿犯差說之咎；聲音調正，須分清濁之宜。必盡虔恭，庶臻孚應。

知磬：禮儀備曉，節次洞明。雅韻悠揚而不違其序，清音振響而恰應乎中。遙聞三界，妙協一如。

主經：職掌琅函，專司寶笈。嘯咏揚音，勿使爭差字句；誦持演教，必當嚴整衣冠。

主懺：稱揚聖號，敷衍靈文。一念皈依，必如臨而如在；千聲讚詠，宜勿怠而勿荒。

書記：一切文緘，皆經繕錄。點畫分明，毋混魯魚之跡；文辭通暢，美分江筆之花。天真鑒允，聖澤榮加。

侍職：玉符龍泉，預備行持之劍水；寶瓶獸鼎，經司作用之香花。

掌禮：引導為先，朝恭以序。禮歸雍肅，正儀度於皇壇；意注寅恭，凜操存於性地。

散侍：整理壇儀，協恭法會。

「外壇」人員職責如下：

齋主：既崇善事，應體玄章。必存誠而存敬，貴有始而有終。

証盟：檢閱文詞，革除俗語。肅清內外，其致意於端嚴；奉祀神祇，當存心於寅畏。

總管：總司善務，協贊齋修。事無巨細，俱歸之於經承；職在壇場，悉聽之於警策。

侍香：香燭是司，神祇所鑒。

莊嚴：經承蠟燭，整飭壇場。

典作：職在庖廚，工調品味。

揚幡掛榜：布綵懸幡，備員從事。

焚疏淨壇：焚函灼楮，當壇有司火之人；潔地拂筵，在會設清塵之職。

司樂：雅韻五音，亦法筵當奏。…務嚴章節，莫亂規條。

<sup>519</sup> 經中提及的所有內壇人員職司，咸敬稱「○○法師」，可見慣例上內壇人員必皆為道士。外壇則否。

在陳仲遠活躍的清中葉時期，「受職簽押」可能不是太罕見的一科，但凡五七日以上的齋醮便可能施行，以示慎重虔心。與此相似的科目如《廣成儀制》諸品大齋醮告符啟壇集」，也是強調法事中「分門任事，領職當虔」(3a)，使逐位臨壇上香。文檢集《雅宜集》中有兩通使法師簽榜的文書，分別是(應為同場的)「為武廟水陸道場僉立書記榜」(針對知章表、申狀、榜意、疏牒事等四員)與「為武廟水陸道場僉立經員榜」(主經、副經、龍虎單多人，與執殿、知磬)(一--49~50)。這兩通榜文所針對的成員與「受職簽押」科並不相同，科本裡主要分內壇道士(事前籌備不登壇也算)和後場事務信士，而所見文檢只針對登壇的與不登壇的道士故合理懷疑所需的僉榜應該不只這兩件<sup>520</sup>)。目前雖無法得知當時操辦的實況，但應該常見於科儀次第中，並且有相當科儀可供搭配<sup>521</sup>。至於這類開壇領職的科事間有什麼差異，或如何選擇，從現有文獻來看還不清楚。

相形之下，本科在當代的使用則幾乎沒有。雖然曾有高功表示五天以上的法事就可以安排來做，但實際上不論筆者待在成都期間或其後與多位道長保持聯繫，這兩三年的時間，並未曾見或聽聞過有舉行。聽說過有一次概是 2011 年，四川多個宮觀應邀到台灣高雄聯合舉行的法會，規模宏大到同時開了十一個壇連做七天以上<sup>522</sup>，到了這樣的規模才把這科排了進去。其他時候雖然符合可作情境，卻常因為時間(花費成本)考量而擱置。當然「受職簽押」並非孤例，現今科儀在安排上的確顯得簡省(如在開壇後跟著「簽榜」一起作)。

傳統上對廣成道士<sup>523</sup>在科儀中的職權分類，還有一個來自民間技藝與音樂知識的標準。其中概分七項能力，即七種在壇場上講究的技藝：吹、打、唱、念、扯(拉)<sup>524</sup>、寫、做。能好好掌握五門<sup>525</sup>以上技巧的便可稱為「全掛子<sup>526</sup>」或

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<sup>520</sup> 其他可能有關的還有《雅宜集》「醮事禁止屠沽約條事」、「壇門禁條事」(三 16、17)，關於齋醮法事舉行時地方內外的注意事項。

<sup>521</sup> 如同以「諸品齋醮」開頭的多科：「諸品齋醮建壇啟師集」、「諸品齋醮請經啟事集」(十三--44~5，No. 44~5。這兩科不但在序號上有所相連，內容上也可視作接續)，又或是「齋醮懸幡昭告集」(十三 2，No. 2)、「大品齋醮關告投文全集」(十三--34，No. 34)，在內容上有承續或通用的可能，惟並不清楚是否有必需成組而不能單用的限制。

<sup>522</sup> 這裡同時開的十一個壇，是主辦單位多方邀請的各團體，四川的廣成科儀只佔了其中一個，而此處的「受職簽押」科也只專對本壇道士舉行。(20120222 黃。由於時間太久，報導人的回憶有些模糊)

<sup>523</sup> 或許此處要專針對為廣成壇道士，因為這是根據甘紹成對「行壇派」道士所需的技藝研究。這些分類項目多數是民間音樂和在宮觀外作法事之技藝需要有關；雖然不能說在宮廟內的全真道士完全不需要，但確實較不被強調。

<sup>524</sup> 劉紅教授曾根據其實際經驗指出，道壇有音樂搭配其實是約近二十年開始的事(即約是八〇年代)，此後道士受到影響才開始多學音樂。(fieldnote 20141026)

<sup>525</sup> 最基本的五皮齊指的應該是：吹、打、唱、念、做。這五門是凡上壇的道士都必須操持的，相對於可以事前代勞準備的寫，與不見得必須的扯，更要基本許多。筆者以為此五門無論對行壇或靜壇道士而言都很必要，惟靜壇道士在訓練學習上可能無此稱呼。筆者在田野中沒有聽聞這樣的詞彙使用，不過這並不能表示已經不再使用。



「五皮齊」道士，即可以擔當高功、掌壇師的重責了。當中並不存在必然的先後順序，而可能是跟入門的時間點或師父的專長有關。初入門的道士便是從這五大項開始各自修習，若能掌握了一到兩門技藝便稱為「單片子」，努力讓自己兼及最多的功能，朝著足以擔任高功的通才式全能的「全掛子」為目標<sup>527</sup>。道士們漸次取得各門知識的訣竅，在壇班上也會更加受到重視。

目前的壇班狀況主要是維持七或九人的基本配置，即一位高功與龍虎班各三四位數目對稱的經師。所有成員的職等可簡單分為高功與經師兩階層<sup>528</sup>，高功在科儀上幾乎具有絕對的權威，經師間撇開入門的先後尊卑，在壇內運作上基本上是平等又可互相支援替代，沒有明顯的高下或階序關係。不同的工作分配或使用何種法器樂器，工作量上雖略有輕重，功能安排主要考量是根據嫺熟程度，以「全掛子」為目標，各道士在學習過程逐步操作過所有法器。不同法器樂器講究不同韻致，不同職責在過程裡需要穿插提綱、唱和等效果，可以幫助道士們更細緻完整地理解且實踐廣成科儀，累積足以擔當高功的一切能力。

至於登壇前如何指派或自願擔任職務，除了經驗與能力考量，以筆者側面觀察，可能還有些很人性的有趣因素。全壇經師大概都有足以彼此間支援/ 替代的能力，即人員職位相當流動的情況下，很容易形成兩兩一組的默認搭檔——這通常在師徒授受或同期練習的學習過程，已形成的默契，這樣的組合在儀式中往往也能展現順暢的好氣氛。所以常可見某些不成文的安排慣例，如擔任高功的師父，常常令其(青眼有加，有意訓練繼承高功的)弟子上前宣表，或是準備香煙法器；分別站在龍虎班的提科、表白，也常是固定地一對搭檔<sup>529</sup>指派，因為他們在默契、音調與聲量上往往最是均稱。

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<sup>526</sup> 「全掛子」：重慶方言，形容一個人很能幹，多才多藝。(簡摘自中國網頁：百度百科)可見是個民間常用但並非道教專有的辭彙。(案雖然是四川方言但似乎不只川人使用，在一些清時小說和早期白話文小說裡也能偶見)

<sup>527</sup> 甘紹成 2000；甘紹成 朱江書 2013：96；同氏 2009：77。

<sup>528</sup> 其間或許可以加上一層司鼓的二把手的指揮角色，但這並非總是存在或需要。高功與經師的區分除了所站立位置不同(面向神位或龍虎班)，收取的酬勞(紅包)也不同；但是經師間則都是一樣的，並且經師間的工作內容彼此間也很有替代性。

<sup>529</sup> 這個組合也反映在廟中的日常生活，兩兩分組的名單出現在日常工作分配(如守殿)，或如朔望日雲集前的敲鐘鳴鼓。

## 四、高功與科儀的基本形式

### 4-1 如何成為一個高功

#### 成為經師 / 高功的先天與後天條件

前面的章節曾經提到，登壇演法是修道的一個選擇路徑，並不是所有道士都會選擇這條路，相對的，也不是所有道士都可以選擇這條路——雖然限制不多，但對於能成為一位經師，甚至是高功，還是有一些先天與後天的限制。

最基本的生理條件，是身體外觀的完整。即，要求道士的身體必須四肢健全，此外五官俱在，並不得有嘴歪眼斜等明顯殘缺，是基本講求。因為登壇的道士必須展現道場的端正肅穆，有其行止上的威儀。此外，道士需要唱誦，所以若有口吃的情況也要盡量避免。這是一般登壇道士的普遍限制。

對全真道士而言，必須束髮出家，所以還要考慮到是否能斷離塵緣。師父要推算弟子的八字、觀其手面相，最好是無感情線、無子嗣婚姻、孤獨的特殊八字，「若是命中有兩層「華蓋」者最佳<sup>530</sup>」。

經師們長期浸淫，對唱韻與法器操作逐漸純熟，欲往高功學習路子上走的，無論是有意被培養的或自主爭取來的，會慢慢加以重用，從中觀察其適任性。對這些高功學習者主要的觀察與訓練重點，首先有步伐與儀態，比如上壇的走路、腰板等；其他的動作，特別是詳細的分解動作，比如正確地使用朝版、令牌，如何捻香、上香等；有洪亮的聲音、清楚的咬字發音，能使唸白與誦唱清晰優美，腔調動人，也是很加分的項目。這幾項評估較有表演性質，所以也常常會成為一般信眾評價一位高功的主要依據。

雖然高功不一定要兼任書記官，但能書寫章表文檢還是相當必須。高功必須要會撰寫各色文檢，明白撰寫、製作時的規範禁忌，懂得不同文檢型式的使用情境，知道如何查找翻閱文檢集與必用集等。除此之外，壇上臨時用度，特別是紙製的各式吊掛、文書筒子、旛、牌位等也都要會製作。也需要知道幾種類型的壇場的擺放規矩(起碼要知道斗醮、雷醮、祈雨等)。

在「術」的部份，重要的是內祕的訓練。高功必須發動許多術，所以平素就需要練氣養氣。高功修煉氣功幫助自己的內祕發動，每天都需要自發規律地練法、

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<sup>530</sup> Fieldnote 20110620，卓。華蓋：中國古代星官之一，也是八字神煞。為僧道之星。命帶華蓋者頭腦聰慧，喜愛藝術，但性情乖僻捉摸不定，一生多憂少樂，即貴亦孤。

打坐。廣成科儀中與雷法有關科事多，也考慮雷法立應效果強，往往能雷厲風行，所以修練雷法者亦多。<sup>531532</sup>

## 兩年出師

一般來說由經師成為高功，大約需要兩年左右功夫。這兩年時間，一如其他修道訓練沒有明確的時間表或規程，受訓練中的道士在身份、職稱上也沒有不同，當然大家會開始放手讓他接觸更多細緻的知識與操作，要求也被提高。這些知識雖然也對所有經師開放，但不少是牽涉到實作上的講究，不是人人都有機會碰到或是有興趣。

已為經師的道士有可能因為個人選擇不想向高功之途進修，但若是他本身極有意圖，機會基本上是同樣開放公平的。多數的老青高功間有很強的師徒紐帶，畢竟高功養成不易，有師長點撥與長時間浸淫相當可貴。但若是自己的恩師並不修習科儀，其弟子還是可能憑藉個人意願與努力成為高功，特別是在十方叢林裡(以目前情況來說，十方叢林才可能接受較多道士人數)，筆者在田野中也見過幾位恩師並無習科儀的道士，因為志向堅定最後為高功。此外，受廟裡推薦參加地方道教會公辦的「高功班」更是當前很重要的一個途徑。

兩年的磨練期說來也很平常，除了照常參與科儀(有可能被委以重任而次數增加)，知識長進或加強練習，還是要利用平常時間增進，會因努力程度有不同。筆者經綜合理解，歸納有三大類型的進修方向：首先是經典、文檢的知識，前面提過《廣成儀制》基本上是公開任閱的，即便如此，與大部分科本道經一樣不易理解，再加上沒有放進刻本正文的內祕、符文，甚至有刻意作錯的地方，都要靠師父的教導改正。

理想上師父會鼓勵弟子平常多看經書，一則多識繁體字、增加國學能力，能更好理解科本內容，培養日後自造文檢的能力，一則培養常用語句咒文的熟練，最好還能做到觸類旁通。如同俗諺「師父領進門，修行在個人」，師父開列了書單，指點了資訊應當如何吸收何處搜尋，但最終弟子能如何地深廣知識，或文檢可能自創或照抄(甚至是書法的好壞)，還是得看弟子在當中下了多少功夫心思。

其次是高功唱作的身段手勢。從入壇這個關節起，觀眾目光主要都聚集在主導儀式行進的高功上頭，高功的一舉一動，步伐手勢莫不深具涵意義象，從

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<sup>531</sup> 以上段落說法綜合多個田野資訊 20110620、20111119、20120912 等。

<sup>532</sup> 科本對祕法提及不多，但部分署有「全真演教某雷壇」，可見雷法在行使科儀上頗獲重視。如在保苗相關科目(十四--12, 15~6, No. 131, 134~5)。

怎麼壓朝版，怎麼叩拜、秉職，到步罡踏斗、推掌捏訣，再到數不清的祕法，都是登壇前必須好好掌握的。實習者除了乘機對高功多加觀察，平日最好也要多練習。有時師父見時機成熟，也可能利用法事終了的内壇，在事事具備的難得情境下允許弟子有較正式的練習。生活中，成都的道士還喜歡聽戲，甚至是票戲；適當的訓練嗓音沉浸在傳統戲曲(特別是與富含地方音樂特色的廣成韻有關的樂曲)，對道士行科儀是很有幫助的。

最後，我們知道所謂的「演法」絕非照本宣科，科儀中所謂的「法」雖然不過分強調神通，但仍含有必須溝通天地神鬼、役令風雷自然的「術」。高功能擁有過人的法與術，靠得是平時累積的練炁打坐。不同傳統對取炁練炁有不同著重，比如對日對月，或強調雷法等。打坐的時間也有不同講究，通常是剛過子時的十一點或三點(生活規律的道士一般在晚間九、十點便就寢了，然後夜起打坐約一時辰又回去睡)。三大類的修行中，練炁打坐最講天份，資質悟性上佳的道士進展往往快速，但成就的累積同樣靠的是堅持每天認真的訓練。

經典理解、科儀作動與內練，此三者可謂兼備了文武講究的全面修習。能在三門學習都交出好成績當然是理想，不過在評比上講求的是綜合均衡，而不宜大好大壞。比如，一位不常擔任高功的道長便自評，覺得自己的中氣不足音色不夠宏亮，動作柔軟沒有氣勢，所以不太擔任高功。雖然他已擔任高功多年，只願做一些小科，較大的便未曾承接過<sup>533</sup>。

### 初登場：晉身或退回

如同訓練與篩選，晉階也沒有明確的考核標準：沒有學分點數計算，也沒有畢業考之類機制。一般來說，往高功路上努力的經師，無時不受到師長檢驗評分的眼光，在三大項的才能：經典掌握、身段唱腔與修練的綜合成績達到師父的標準(再次強調沒有現成的客觀量表，多時候更取決於師執輩的私心，或當時的環境條件如需人孔急)。當然成為高功靠的絕不是運氣人脈，個人有多少實力周圍的觀察還是雪亮的。

當一位「準高功」在三大綜合評比成績達至平衡且過於標準，就可以準備迎來他的初登場了。師父(或掌壇師)在數天前便給他預告，說明即將舉行的科事如何如何，將由他登壇主持。準高功得到授命，若自己早就信心滿滿，便摩拳擦掌進入準備狀態。師父這個決定除了要確定自家弟子在身心上已準備好迎接挑戰，在科事的選擇上也會特加篩選，安排都是較為簡單、簡短的小法事，且是廟內的陽法事。這是基於幾項考量，首先當然是讓新手高功由簡易入手，循

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<sup>533</sup> Fieldnote 20111115，萬。

序漸進；其次，還考慮民間齋主的請託責任重大，當嚴謹看待不容冒險(請注意，並不是師父對弟子信心不足，這裡要突顯的是受託於信眾所要抱持的重視心態)，廟子裡的陽法事又多是吉慶朝賀，當中發生遲滯小差錯，神明較不會見怪<sup>534</sup>(自己廟裡可以承受?)。這些小規模清吉法事，大多是朝覲或賀壽等一些俗稱的「小科」或「平科」。這個選擇同時還有一個重要原因，就是往後的日子裡，這些科事將是最頻繁一用再用必得嫻熟的科事。

就算事前準備排練得再充足，正式登場仍說不準會出什麼差錯。除開怯場生嫩這樣的新手心理，還是可能不幸地發生準備不足的失誤，如無法好好地起韻，行進步驟顛倒卡住，此時旁人會盡量不著痕跡地從旁暗示協助，但仍需本人有始有終地完成這場科儀(場上的失誤，事後會有如跪香、罰香/油/錢等或其他處罰)。筆者在田野中曾見過類似的情形，法事數天前高功有事必須離開，但剛好有一科正朝，他的弟子(當時在他手下學習，但其實是學道中途由原本師父轉介過來學科儀的；原本的背景不清楚，來廟子上才幾個月)於是有了稍稍提早上場的良機，由於師父隨機提出的幾個口頭試題都答得頗中式，弟子又表現得自信滿滿躍躍欲試，師父便允了此次的登場。該日的法事據說不太圓滿，田野那天師父督促還要好好努力的叨念不絕，配合的法師也私下有些小埋怨(主要指出年輕人太自信，準備不足。但是沒有對法事的不完滿表示生氣或擔憂)。這個挫敗讓年輕的準高功悶悶不快了好久，師父方面也對此更加仔細管教。師父做出的處分是弟子必須回過頭把訓練補強，基礎紮實。至於弟子什麼時候可以再獲肯定得到第二次重來的機會，還在師父更嚴格的把關之下，等待時機<sup>535</sup>。

這次談話讓我印象深刻的是師父的態度，他雖然對弟子的錯誤予以責備，但對已造成的事實卻意外地寬容。他認為，的確是弟子準備不足，自視太高，而既然這次不完滿，那就回去再來過。另外我也小小質疑了對弟子誇口自己能力，為什麼沒有在事前多些質詢，這未免不夠嚴謹。師父則正色回答我，做為一個道士，本來就應該在這方面自己負責，因為他面對的不只是自己還有道與神明。所以道士不會隨便懷疑另一個道士的說話，這是對他的身份、認知種種的尊重；我也曾在質疑科本真偽的討論裡從另一位道長聽到這樣的見解，此中高潔的情操令我感佩。

### 「過經」

在高功登場之前，特別是他第一次任高功或第一次行持新的一類型科儀之前，還有一道小小的手續，那就是請師父為他「過一次經」。

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<sup>534</sup> Fieldnote 20120912，潘。

<sup>535</sup> Fieldnote 20121008，潘。

所謂的過經就是請師父針對即將首次行使的廣成科儀，預先帶領他瀏覽一遍，這堂教學可長可短，視高功的經驗與已把握的程度而定，看是可以簡要地提綱挈領，或是必須從頭到尾不缺漏地順過一遍。過經的必要性在於，我們都知道坊間一般流通的純刻本並不完整，又特別是針對高功之所需，很多該提示的地方是隱藏空白的，比如祕法、符訣、文檢提示的闕如，還有印刷時有意的錯筆，甚至是同一科儀安排要因應時間(早晚、四季)不同有微調等等<sup>536</sup>，都不會紀錄在上面(一般認為該部分約佔總量之 20%，如此分割收藏的習慣，至今仍謹慎地襲用著)。於是過經時新手高功將接觸到這些平素不開放給所有人知道的專門知識，漸有經驗的高功則是再次確認其知識。

最細緻地過一次經，就等於是師父從第一頁第一行開始，逐字逐行地解說、唱誦加作動到結尾，就是說最多花費一整堂科儀的時間。細緻講解的優點是確保每個冷僻字的讀音、段落的句逗起伏正確，採用的曲韻也會好好唱誦。到了科本沒有標明的部份，特別是密法部分，就是師父需要特別說明的部份，讓新手高功能好好地筆記在自己一份的本子上。論理上過了經後高功就要能完整、靈活地理解、支配這堂 / 類科儀。

畢竟《廣成儀制》科數實在龐大，實際上不可能做到每一科都能 / 需要過經，當然也是因為在陳復慧成熟的編寫下《廣成儀制》的節次結構極有規律，況且以實用角度來說，並不是每科都用得到，再三重複類似的教學對師徒來說都顯得畫蛇添足。所以正常的作法是，除了基本的「平科」應該切實掌握，餘下的眾科目則根據性質分做幾大項類，每一個類型擇一科代表教授即可，其他便任學生儘量理解，觸類旁通(當然以當地師徒關係的緊密，很容易隨時補充請益的)，這個做法也暗合於《廣成儀制》的幾個大類分類屬性。

#### 4-2 廣成科儀專有的神秘支派：「西竺心宗」與「南台派」

本文之所以將高功專門提出來談，也幾乎將重點擺在高功身上，實在是因為在廣成科儀來說，高功的功能至關重要，甚至能一人身兼多角，比起其他地方可能還要再更被倚重。

以當前的狀況而言，對登場經師的對低要求其實不高，除了他最好是道士，最低限度的要求只是能操持一項法器，會唱誦(合唱)再稍多於早晚課的韻曲即可。這是因為高功一個人可以承擔整場法事多數的(或有一半以上?)的工

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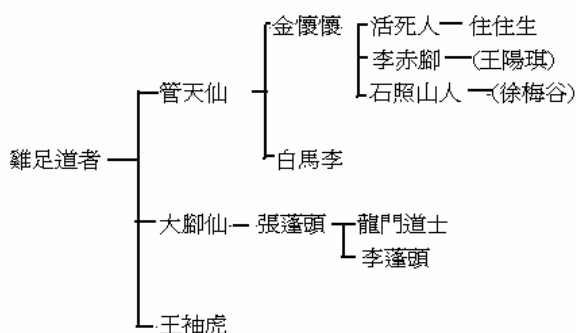
<sup>536</sup> 錯筆最經典的例子當屬「靈」一字，「不同地方有不同的寫法」(fieldnote 20120713, with Pan.)。又如「靜斗燃燈」在平常應該選有「七」的陽日來做，中元時則該在上午九時作。(甘 2000: 290-1)

作。雖然沒有具體事証，但以識字率和高道闕如的現象來看，我以為在清代、民國到八〇年代以前的情況不會差太多。高功對法事的高度掌握支配的獨大現象在廣成科儀行使應當是一直都存在。

筆者在田野中獲知兩個與密法傳承有關的秘密支派，主要專對高功開放傳授。

### a. 西竺心宗

「西竺心宗」是龍門派底下一個很特殊的支派。他的創始者世稱「雞足道者黃律師」，自稱野怛婆闍(?~1790?)，西竺月支人，精於西竺斗法。清順治十六年(1659)至北京白雲觀受戒於王常月(崑陽)，取名黃守中，為全真第八代律師。後返雞足山傳弟子管天仙等。此派傳世時間極短，又因重視神通，弟子極少。西竺心宗各人的記載主要來自閔一得(1758~1836)<sup>537</sup>《金蓋心燈》，不但如此，一般認為這支域外斗法的旁支之所以加入全真之列，與閔更是有極大的淵源。



西竺心宗世系簡表

根據《金蓋心燈》，雞足道人在進入中原求取道法之前，已懷有精湛的斗法（「西竺斗法」），本身是個深具神通的術者，行事隱密且極高壽。他在白雲觀主要為求取戒律，所以從王常月受了大戒便離去。閔一得在清乾隆五十五年(1790)前往拜謁，以大戒書向道人換來了堪稱西竺至寶的斗法，即其所改纂之《大梵先天梵音斗咒》。道人同年尸解後，嘉慶三年(1879)復現於四川青羊宮。(卷六上，1b~2a)其傳人如大腳仙、王袖虎、金懷懷等亦往來於雲南四川之間。(5b、7b、9b)當中尤其是王宗師金懷懷，他從管天仙得斗法後去蜀遊歷，也在青羊宮待了一段時日，並從李泥丸(其人不詳)學了黃白之術。(10b~19a)

<sup>537</sup> 閔一得浙江金蓋山高道，所撰《金蓋心燈》收有豐富道譜源流，當中對龍門諸派重要傳人的事蹟記載較詳細。

根據研究，「黃守中所傳「西竺心宗」這派其實是道教中的佛密派，其法多採用道教符籙派的「雲篆」，和佛教的真言，佛秘色彩濃厚<sup>538</sup>」。這點與向我透漏西竺心宗的道長的認知相同，他本身雖然沒有繼承到這塊祕法，但就他的了解，這派的特點是有很多斗法，所以特別擅長作斗醮，其中諸多祕法來自西藏，目前不多地流傳於四川和雲南<sup>539</sup>。我循著這條線索詢問過青羊宮熟識的高功，答案是否定的；不過由於青羊宮是十方叢林，常住與往來道士多，再加上黃守中與金懷懷兩位都有於青羊宮佇留的記載，我對接下來可能有新線索還是感到樂觀的。另一方面，鶴鳴山的道長則給了正面肯定，他們對雞足山還有印象，記得師長輩曾提過昔日(可上溯到清光緒時)與雞足山還有互動，約莫幾年前廟子裡還有人回去掃墓，記得墓碑上寫著「祖師 蕭○○」<sup>540</sup>，但也僅有模糊印象。一如《金蓋心燈》所述其派傳承飄忽，我們也暫時無法從鶴鳴山處詢問出西竺心宗的明確傳承(當然包括是否有所謂特殊斗法)，稍可附會的一點是，鶴鳴山道觀目前在做拜斗法事時確實有一套獨特的作法，是將多門斗科融合唯一的巧妙作法<sup>541</sup>。此點尚不足以證明必是得自西竺心宗所傳，很遺憾目前還需要有更多的佐證。

此概可知西竺心宗在黃守中之後確實在四川留存下來，在四川有不只單傳一脈。不過畢竟只是關乎廣成科儀的高功祕法之中(但也不是絕對必要，此外也沒有證據指出只有高功能夠修習)，且保留程度還不清楚；但溯本而言，它與《廣成儀制》內容的編寫收錄應該沒有關係。

#### b. 「南台派」(或「蘭台派」)

「南台派」顧名思義便是《廣成儀制》的編校者，受封為「南台真人」的陳仲遠所創立的宗派。最直接的證明是《廣成儀制·原序》中提到了陳氏後來自行開枝立派創立「蘭台派<sup>542</sup>」，留下派詩三十二字 (4b)。原序內容中並沒有明確提到這是專給高功所創的門派。

檢諸歷史，無論是教內外的記載，即便是以專務蒐羅全真支派，寬鬆到沒有太多考據的《諸真宗派總簿<sup>543</sup>》，仍沒有找到一絲相關痕跡。陳氏的幾段生平

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<sup>538</sup> (胡孚琛版)《中華道教大辭典》，p. 70，本條目由曾召南撰寫。

<sup>539</sup> Fieldnote 20120713，潘。

<sup>540</sup> Fieldnote 20120610，陸。

<sup>541</sup> 較詳細的說明請參考第五章 5-5 的討論。

<sup>542</sup> 如本段開頭的說明，由於考量命名當本於陳氏封號，故採用「南台」；這裡便與原序使用的「蘭台」出現分歧。而實際上在四川官話的發音上是一樣的，又考慮原序乃現代打字排版，所以尚不能視作絕對的權威，或在更早之前口語上便已混用；至於採用與本名同音字為字號的可能，由於也是文士命名常用的手法，亦未可知。

<sup>543</sup> 載有全真道士所屬門派的簡要資訊，據說是昔日在北京白雲觀對前來掛單道士詢問累積而成。計至清宣統年間共有八十七派。



----特別是《灌縣志》、《溫江縣志》與《碧洞堂上支譜》於此亦隻字不提。這些事實莫非是推翻實有此一支派的絕佳反證？其實或正好相反，它或正暗示了南台一派的建立，設定只專對高功而成立的秘密性質。

據筆者田野所知，所謂的南台派可以視為專屬於高功的秘密支派。這個限制說明了何以民間與一般道士對此一無所知，而少數知情高功對此說明則很保留。目前大約可以掌握的梗概是：南台派具有師徒的傳承與派詩，但由於限制在高功的資格與能力，認真來說，也不能視作一個完整的道教道派(它不具備完整的理念與教訓)，南台派道士並不以此門派自稱(請注意這並不表示南台派的存在是被禁止討論的，畢竟筆者在田野就有幾次討論機會，雖然有時的回答避重就輕)，雖然是專屬於高功的支派，但並不是每一位高功都有參加(或聽聞)，且其加入的時間點、有無儀式或評估等，都不清楚；此外，雖然知道南台派是一脈廣成科儀的師徒傳承，當中帶有怎樣的祕法，彼此間是否一致也不知道。所接受高功的條件便是能行使廣成科儀。全真龍門(靜壇)與正一(行壇)<sup>544</sup>的道士都有人加入，不過都不是全部，可見沒有強制性或必然性。不過若有了多一重支派傳承，在儀式「啟師」上會有不同。

尚不能知道南台派成立這一百多年來如此低調，是出自陳復慧的訓示，亦或是有其他因素而低伏難伸。高功抱持著這個身份並不示人(但若被詢及也不會否認，惟其中涉及諸多師承與密法也不欲多談)，彼此間似乎沒有專門的組織(會員組織或秘密結社)，科儀的學習交流並無擁有額外專屬網絡；總的來說，恐怕就是一個在知名度、實際影響力上都顯得稀缺的支派。尤其到了今日，在上個世紀六十到八十年代對宗教的摧殘後，更已呈風雨飄搖的末局。有道士肯定地認為，南台派沿傳至今約是第十一代，可能已經沒有新的傳承，未來一旦負有派名的道士相繼退下故去，恐怕就再不復存。<sup>545</sup>

#### 4-3 廣成科儀的基本架構

《廣成儀制》的裝幀向來是以一科為單位，不論厚薄多少(最厚的是 110 面「玉帝正朝」，最少是只有 3 面的「送太歲科」<sup>546</sup>)都獨立裝訂為一冊發行，這不但

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<sup>544</sup> 根據甘紹成的研究，蘭台派應該是等於廣成壇(即民間正一道士)；然而這與我的田野所知不能相合，因為這排斥了蘭台派作為高功獨有/獨享傳承的說法。但他同時也承認所見廣成壇道士全依龍門派詩起道名而不曾依據蘭台派詩，可見當前實際上蘭台派的流傳確實相當隱沒模糊。(甘 2000: 52~3)

<sup>545</sup> 田野所識中有兩位高功自稱屬於第十一與第八代傳承。對於未來感到悲觀即出於其中之一位的感嘆；但相反另一位高功在不置可否下，近年卻頻繁在文書中使用「蘭台」二字。後續發展究竟如何，唯有待時間解答了。

<sup>546</sup> 「玉帝正朝」(十三--56, No. 56), 「送太歲科」(十三--90, No. 90)。關於最薄一科如何發行，由於青羊宮的現行發售中沒有這本(據 2011、2012 流通書目)，所以不能確定，只能肯定在民間仍有在使用，(據行廣成科的民間正一廟宇)現在的做法頗為簡單，「上個表然後在每年太歲神像

是出版販售的單位考量，實用上也是方便道士任意揀取採用。因為《廣成儀制》在使用上本來就是設定為(幾乎)每一科都可以單獨應用，各科彼此間也多是獨立而互不干涉。

每個單科因為功能目的與請神的不同，有規模上的差距，以今日的常見科事<sup>547</sup>來說，約在 10~25 面(一面兩頁)之間，所需時間約以 45~90 分鐘<sup>548</sup>最是常見。廣成科儀由於段落節次設定得很有規制，若無意外(可見的有「請神」多則耗時長，難預測的有「存思」)，時間的花費是很容易加總推估的。

實用取向的《廣成儀制》對每科科名的命名，走的也是清楚、明瞭路線。每科都會「集」或「全集」作結尾呼應了單獨成冊的獨立性，科名(特別是版心上的四字簡稱)中所透漏的，就是科儀的中心德目，使觀者一目了然。根據名稱所示訊息，大概可以看出廣成科儀命名時考量的幾種重點：

1. 「正朝」：用於對特定神明的朝科，或是賀壽或是朝覲。如：「川主正朝」(十五--36, No.275)、「文昌正朝」(十五--38, No.277)、「觀音正朝」(十四--11, No. 130)等。

2. 歲時、節氣相關：通常配合常年行事舉行的科事。如：「祀供太陽」(十四--2, No. 121)、「供祀太陰」(無流通出版)、「九皇醮」系列(十三—63~79, No. 63~79)等。

3. 面對神祇、星斗為主的請求行事：主要是依據神祇星斗所具職司神能的專門呼求。如：「(北帝伏魔)祛瘟告符」(十五--43, No. 282)、「南斗祝文」(十三--82, No. 82)、「祀供匡阜」(十五--41, No. 280)等。

4. 功能目的：開宗明義表明本科所欲解決事項，也是《廣成儀制》裡比例最高的命名法。如：「禳蟻判散」(十四--21, No. 140)、「六時薦拔」(十四--60, No.178~183)、「接壽全集」(十三—89, No. 89)等。

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旁邊貼道符，寫上姓名住址八字(每人一道)；在那(廟的偏殿)貼一年，每天燒香祈福燒長明油燈，做法會時都要幫他們祈福」(field note20140306, 三山)。由於次薄的一科「揚旛昭告」(十三--2, No. 2)四面確有單科出版，裝幀方面應該不是問題。

<sup>547</sup> 目前宮觀常用約 30~40 科左右，各處稍有不同。以青羊宮為例，其公告主推的陰陽法事約是二十科(根據年代稍有不同)，細目可見圖 11。

<sup>548</sup> 這是以筆者 2011~13 年間所見法事紀錄的平均，基本上各宮觀(全真與正一)相差並不大。不過根據其他紀錄，如「貢天」在青城山需時兩小時(甘紹成 2003: 93)，2006 年以前的青羊宮平均要 90 分鐘(青羊宮志: 143)，但以我之所見(最早一次已是 2011 年)，沒有超過 70 分鐘的。箇中是否是時代的差別，還需要進一步探究演變。

以上的命名原理各有不同，有的根據神祇、神能、歲時活動，有的標明功能、目的，總會浮出一兩個關鍵詞，觀者得有初步了解與印象。

這四類分法雖然足以涵蓋所有《廣成儀制》科目，但此歸納設定完全來自於筆者的閱讀、對簡單功能判定，以及名稱的關鍵詞，此固然可以讓讀者對《廣成儀制》有所了解，在學術文章的分析上也算成功，對道士而言卻可能不是這樣想的，因為兩者的理解背景和思路很大不同。一般而言他們會將科儀分成陰、陽、斗、土、水、火、瘟醮等<sup>549</sup>（這裡羅列並不完整，我試過幾次與道士討論於此，答案各有不完全，我以為類別數可能向來沒有定論，這點與《廣成儀制》沒有目錄一樣並不困擾他們。此外，或許有一種可能是一些科目會因應情境有性質的更動，不是那麼的絕對）。廣成科儀雖然以單科型態存在，每一科並不是徵印單上冷冰冰缺乏感情的名單，在道士心裡，從這些名字／關鍵字出發，自能聯想勾串成一張細密的關係網，從每個單科出發，可以拉出相同、相關、相生、互補的科儀多部，基於各自的知識系統決定出如何設計科儀。可以說對廣成分類的理解沒有對錯，完全在於每個人對理解背景與實踐形成的不同觀點。

科儀的節次上，向來對過程最簡要的看法大概是請神—神人交歡—送神的三階段說，或是作為模倣朝覲儀節的帝國的隱喻<sup>550</sup>。《廣成儀制》的常用科儀除了每科具有獨立性與容許單獨使用的完整性，在科儀結構上也相當類似，進行的節次有很大的類同。這個很有規制的模式，表現在場上，即便是一般民眾，若能有多次觀看經驗也能感受出的重複性。所以不只一位高功告訴我說，即使是沒做過的科儀只要有(廣成的)本子就可以做，科儀沒所謂拿不拿手，或是「也沒什麼擅長的(科目)，都可以做」。這個態度並非狂妄，實在是模式相同之下，很容易複製重現，對他們來說顯得差別不大。經班成員也有經驗多少之別，偶有遇上科儀是資淺經師所新遇，開始前高功或其他經師可能會給他一些提醒，如有配合上的問題也會提出來討論(意義上有點類似簡略版的「對馬口」或「過經」，但再要隨意些)。因為流程大架構已經深植道士心中，有固定模式理路可循的段落已成習慣，稍加思索便容易融會貫通，那真的是只要有本子就可以上場了。

至於廣成科儀的架構如何建立，還沒有定論，甚至可以說每個人都有自己理解的滿意的分段法，這點基於各自體悟觀點、詮釋，不妨礙儀式進行。這套大致已約定俗成的規則，雖然會因型態有變動，約可得出幾個高比例出現的常見節次，以及幾乎不變的固定節次，我將之歸納成十個步驟<sup>551</sup>：起壇→贊壇→

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<sup>549</sup> Fieldnote2012-07-16 董，2012-09-10 黃。

<sup>550</sup> 如劉枝萬 1974 與 Feuchtwang 2001 等。

<sup>551</sup> 此處乃依據閱讀與田野而來，對多家說法各有參酌。各家意見比較請參照下節對貢天所分析，在表中可以清楚看到無論如何分段，本意與固定節次其實差距不大。

說文(或三皈依)→上香(+蕩穢)→請宣科咒→秉職→請神→入意→化表→送神、回向(或「所謂道」、或十二大願)。

以時序來說，最開始的步驟是「起壇」，即全體經師依序排班出戶步入壇中，由執手磬經師領頭，高功押後，各就定位後法事開始。接著「贊壇」，以主要是「小贊韻<sup>552</sup>」曲牌唱贊，贊辭科科不同，皆巧妙呈現該科目的、對神祇的崇敬。小贊是常見道樂，在廣成更是如此，《廣成儀制》中以小贊為伊始者的比例有 25.3%(73/288)，若是算上被以「法事如常<sup>553</sup>」帶過的科目(即，扣掉確定不以小贊開頭的科數)比率則高達 67.7%(195/288)，小贊在科本內容也常出現，相較於其他傳統中的呈現，小贊在《廣成儀制》中可說是相當出風頭的特色之一了。高功「說文」常以「伏以」、「恭以」「原夫」如何如何開頭，是表情達意的提詞用法，陳意內容有固定的說理、對神的諛辭，有說明齋主基本資料(○地方人士○，為○事)，「隨門分事<sup>554</sup>」也在這個環節。陽法事裡常常會加有參禮三清或作「三皈依<sup>555</sup>」。隨後即「上香」，香煙供養在道教科儀向來極度重視，四川還有「不會燒香得罪神<sup>556</sup>」這樣的俗諺。儀式進行到這裡，通常會作「蕩穢/解穢」，原則上每場法事都要蕩穢，特別是性質或齋主不同時一定要每場作。多日法事就可以用連壇簡省(但一天起碼要有一次，超過的話如果科書上沒有標明可以選擇省略)，《廣成儀制》經文中並非每科都標註有蕩穢(此處可單純視為書寫或刊刻上的省略，對高功經師而言都不會有困擾)，高功自能區辨，在適當的地方會補充起來。「請/啟師」的情形也是這樣，在灑淨之後一定會有的步驟，而且同樣必須根據法事類型變化，但在科本上標註得頻率更少了。

「請宣科咒」多是指宣「衛靈咒<sup>557</sup>」，依情狀不同招請神靈功曹臨衛我身，是為了接下來的秉職。「秉職」是高功的自報家門，為了迎請神祇下降的慎重，高功作為依科闡事的法官，必然擁有道職(所以《廣成》中有時會說「恭對瑤壇，秉稱法職」)，在此就要周全地自我介紹，也有藉著抬出祖師名號請神祇多多看顧之意；以《二仙菴歲時文》為例，(全真)廣成道士就會自稱：

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<sup>552</sup> 道樂曲牌之一，廣泛用於各種經懺齋醮科儀，且在不同傳統中有不同唱法，表現多元，唱句式(依字數)是 4-4-7-5-4-5 的長短句。其音樂抒情優美，速度和緩。(部分參考劉紅 2009: 346)

<sup>553</sup> 編寫科儀本時將固定不變的起頭部分簡省，常以「法事如常」帶過。嫻熟法事的道士自能明辨步驟，就廣成科儀而言，有「金鼓交鳴，神祇共鑿，羽眾如儀，宣行法事。」(「上元懺悔」，十三-13，No. 13)，或是「表白引領信士上香作禮已，功披服上香作禮已，振尺云。」(「斗醮啟師集」十三--46，No. 46)等。

<sup>554</sup> 即同一科事可以被區分作多種不同功能的使用，又因為目的不同在陳事與詠讚等情節便需要不同的說法。廣成儀制在這個環節上依照分類給予不同內容，供法師選擇使用。

<sup>555</sup> 分別皈依道、經、師三寶的參禮。

<sup>556</sup> 黃尚軍 2006: 653，「諺語」部門。

<sup>557</sup> 衛靈咒通常在壇中禮師後持誦，有淨穢與納靈的功效(《道法會元》卷二四五)，隨科儀不同有各種咒文，通常以招諸神靈備衛各方、保神安鎮、衛我身形為主，也有部份是對仙真祖師的讚頌。

「臣係，祖師龍門正宗大羅天仙狀元邱大真人門下，玄裔參受太上無極大道玉冊經筭寶籙混元紫府選仙上品秉東華演教臨壇奉行○○科事，臣○○○，誠惶誠恐稽首頓首百拜上言」(29a)

為主<sup>558</sup>，因個人師承傳統會有變化。緊接著「請神」，祈請相關神靈下降法場，請聆聽心願，更請曲從寬赦更賜福佑。攸司神祇通常數目龐大，請神的步驟往往高功要(也包括身後一同跪拜的齋主)一神一拜，或多神一拜，不容輕慢，花費很多時間與體力。

恭迎神祇降真的主要目的，是為了完整但簡扼地說明心願的「人意」，由表白代為宣讀文書。文書宣讀完了，放回文書筒子闔封好，逕付燒化，即「化表」。文書在科儀開始前就要準備好放在神前，登壇後高功引領齋主三跪九叩完了，就要由齋主一直端著盛裝文書的盤子，直到此時表白取走宣化。燒化表文有一些小規矩，如應用明火而不可用伏龍火或香菸點燃，應先點燃一張襯在盤子底的黃表紙為引，再從文書筒子的頭部開始點燃，燒化的地點可以是舉行法事的大殿內，又或是殿外的專用香爐(此時則面朝外向天)，燒化時齋主或道士要盡量保持筒子直立直到完全燒盡。除了引燃用的黃表紙，燒化文書時也會順便多燒幾張<sup>559</sup>作為答謝功曹的小費，對上的上表朝科還要準備紙馬等架具。最後是「送神、回向」，隨著表文燒化上天，科儀完周便要恭送神祇回駕，此時當表達感激之情，懇求留恩降福。回向或言功<sup>560</sup>，是將法事功德和表揚神明貢獻之天酬也反饋給神明，是利益天人、普福的概念；類似的做法還有如以「所謂道<sup>561</sup>」這個簡略註記的收尾，給高功靈活補充的空間，或是以發十二大願<sup>562</sup>表達懇切之心。

#### 4-4 「平科」

<sup>558</sup> 其他全真傳統或自言：「臣係太上無極大道玉清金笏寶籙選仙上品，秉東華演教龍門正宗邱大真人門下，叨科闡事○○○」。(閔智亭 1990：134)

<sup>559</sup> 約莫八開大小素白無紋的黃表紙在(四川?)壇場上常常直接當作紙錢使用，面額不明但應該不大，凡是燒化文書或紙紮品都會隨手燒個幾張犒賞功曹。在燒化表文時可以看到兩個階段的使用，首先是引燃表文，這裡作為單純的助燃介質，沒有意義；到了表文燃燒，當作助燃開始添加的紙，特別是表文快燒盡時加入的，則有了紙錢的意思。相同的物質在沒有經過明確轉換步驟，具有了不同身分，這個象徵轉換雖然微小但非常有意義。

<sup>560</sup> 將法事功德回饋/ 分享?給神祇功曹，以示感謝與布望恩情。

<sup>561</sup> 其行文方式是回向、下壇後，即接「所謂道」，之後常接一組兩句(少數有四句)與主題呼應的七言；如「所謂道。九轉功成登蓬島，一元復始上丹天。」(〈九宸正朝集〉13--9, No.9, 11a)到了實際使用上，有高功認為這裡可隨己意添加曲或偈來結尾，有的直接照文字誦念，甚至會直接終止不說。這部份的歧異我以為較可能像是保存或復興時不夠仔細所致，而不是原有的不同傳統造成。

<sup>562</sup> 以誠心發下各種善行的許諾，作為有罪蒙福後至心向道的表現。十二大願內容在各科裡不盡相同，但本意不殊。

「平科」顧名思義就是很基本、常用、泛用的科事，它非但不平凡無奇，相反的，它可說是廣泛運用到一種極度方便的地步。

「平科」可能不算專有名詞，不過根據道士們頻繁地使用可以知道，並不是每一個可以單獨使用或簡短的科事都能被叫作平科，因為不夠符合基本、泛用的標準。一般所指的「平科」有四<sup>563</sup>：「表章總朝」(十五--47, No. 286)、「貢祀諸天」(十三--6, No.6)、「拜斗解厄」(RJ—189, 青羊宮印經處現代也有出版)、「鐵罐斛食」(十四—73, No.205)。指的是高功入門該掌握的基本知識，這裡的基本不但展現在必備能力---通曉平科便幾乎足以應付所有需求(惟「皇旛」相關例外，這是需要另外學的)；更實際的面向來說，平科還是大多數宮觀承接法事次數最多的項目。並非巧合，上世紀八〇年代四川道教最早開始恢復的廣成科儀，就是「貢天」與「鐵罐」兩科<sup>564</sup>，再一次印證平科常用、必用的性質。

平科之所以被高功視為入門款之必用 / 必學，除了其節次方正規則，時間不長(無意外情況，約 50~70 分鐘)，更重要的是它們極其泛用萬用的特質。因為它們所關涉的對象涵蓋廣泛，能解決的問題便能無限延伸，再加上《廣成儀制》在隨門分事上向來細緻，對解決信眾各種疑難雜症，實在是再適合也不過了。如《青羊宮二仙庵志》對這幾門科儀所做的簡單說明：

貢天：這朝法事也就是從報答天恩以迎福佑的目的出發，從而祀貢諸天帝君的一朝科儀。祈求的內容包括：謝恩祈福、預禳厄度、求財利運等。(pp. 144~5)

拜斗解厄：因人的命運災厄全在星宮之掌，故有災有難需投告北斗眾星，方可祈福福至，禳禍禍消。此科能解人間一切苦厄，主要用於祛病除邪等。(p. 145)

章表總朝(又名「正奏三清」)：此朝法事的場面極為隆重，僅高功秉職請聖都要一個小時左右，因為請的神靈最多，道場的設壇方式也不同於一般；對高功也講求要德行深厚，擔任三職的法師都要行科至少三年以上的道士。這朝法事一般都是為信人奏表申文，祝願某件事情可以在神靈的庇祐之下，順利地完成等等。(p. 149)

在青羊宮最早一批提供信眾請託科儀中，平科中惟有「鐵罐」沒有出現，這是因為鐵罐斛食一科在設定上雖然是單獨行事，但理想上需要有其他法事搭配，最

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<sup>563</sup> 所謂的平科究竟有哪些，由於沒有書面或傳統上的定論，這裡提出的四項，是根據田野訪談。在甘紹成的研究中則提出「平朝(即「普通法事」)」一說，乃指演禮時間一小時內，內容簡單，儀禮、經韻、說文相對較少的小型法事(計六科：告符啟壇、開壇啟師、關召符使、正啟三元、靜斗燃燈、朝真禮斗)(甘 2000: 508)。這個定義和指涉規模與「平科」相似，但沒有提出其具有核心且重要的價值。

<sup>564</sup> Fieldnote 20140403，黃。

起碼應該要「安寒林」(當然這個安排並不是絕對，如果在拔度部門只排了鐵罐一科，也可以在鐵罐一開始加強「攝招」；這邊的見聞還是指一天或以上的安排。筆者並沒有見過聽過只單作一科「鐵罐」的)。不過鐵罐的本質在於化解、超度各界幽魂，無論公眾或私人法事都適用，處理面廣又功德宏大，但凡一日以上的多日法事無論紅白，「鐵罐」向來不會缺席，特別是三日以上是當然必排的。

平科之所以常用，除了好用、泛用，在神學立場來說，它反應了道士事神的慎重與四平八穩：大凡科事可以作平科就要作平科，避免「小題大作」，為神所不喜<sup>565</sup>。

### 例子：「貢祀諸天」

這裡以平科裡最常用的「貢天」為例，做簡要的精義和節次說明，節次之外，主要想突顯出這一科到底有多好用，多被重視。

所謂「貢天」，一言以蔽之就是供奉《度人經》裡的三十二天上帝<sup>566</sup>。這句解經可以很精扼地說明本科的重點，即以「天道貴生，無量度人」為精義的《度人經》一卷本(《正統道藏》洞真部本文類天字號)，藉由朝禮讚禮三十二天上帝，祈得福佑。以供養「大羅太上三十二天上帝中央梵天帝君」(東南西北各八天上帝，各居領在九、三、七、五炁天之中)為核心，贊詞中提到三十二天上帝：

「視聽自民，具鑒觀於在在；栽培及物，篤化育於生生。凡此有形，沾恩無暨。」(1a~2b)

對萬物有覆育生成的恢弘之恩，恩澤與庇祐無極。對天崇敬酬謝，是列為「四恩三宥<sup>567</sup>」的第一大恩。供養之法是敬陳寶燭一堂，藉由宣揚離德、陽精，以「發祥光萬道，在在同輝，上徹重霄」(7b)。

「隨門分事」部門，貢天概分做三項：醮、齋、願，也就是它可以應對公、私的陰法事陽法事到私人祈願，可以說涵蓋了信人的所有委托可能。從分門的陳詞來看：

醮：星度效和，乾文協泰。機槍<sup>568</sup>歛迹，永消無妄之災。地境鍾祥，常納有餘之慶。一方清吉，眾姓平安。

<sup>565</sup> Fieldnote 20121009, 黃。

<sup>566</sup> Fieldnote 2013, 黃

<sup>567</sup> 四恩即得自天地、日月、皇王水土、父母的恩惠，《廣成儀制》中有「報答四恩集」(十三--88, No. 88)；三宥在廣成中則無詳細說明，廣成韻「二郎神」中有「四恩三宥均利益」句子。

齋：亡靈受度，凝溟津以生神。孝信承恩，集禎祥而蒙慶。凡在冥陽，均霑利益。

願：印錄願忱，益增泰眚。衍新福於一門，眷緣永泰。錫繁禧於四序，居處惟安。(4a~b)

更清楚其冥陽兩利，萬物均霑的巨大效能。

貢天的科文中大量與《度人經》有關的段落，最直接的是引用其「原始靈書中篇」(雖然有幾個字不同，多在部首差異，想是手民之誤，暫可以忽略)，此外還出現「宛若始青懸黍米」(1a)、「元始威章」(7a)、「光明會上」(9a)等，明顯受其影響。事實上，《廣成儀制》中還有不少科本字句可以看到《度人經》的影子，反應廣成科儀強調以科儀濟世度人、冥陽兩利的精神。

在行進節次上，基本也與多數科儀相同，保持端正可期的次序。劃之於固定格式，可以下表理解：

節次 A (高功視角 <sup>569</sup> )	節次 B (道樂視角 <sup>570</sup> )	人員	《廣成儀制》對應重點	頁
起壇	催班、雲集更衣、排班出戶、登壇、分班序立	全	X (法事如常)	
贊壇	說文、上香、行三跪九叩禮	功	[小贊]「禮崇清祀，嚴肅華筵，凡儀寅奉表微虔，供養大羅天，上格重玄，覃恩應善緣。」	1a
	說文、奏樂、起贊、奏樂	全		
(八句)	說文、奏樂、舉贊、奏樂	全	「寒光肅肅夜方濃，對越惟嚴禮帝宗。香靄三雲騰寶鼎，音揚八會協金鏞。彩霞影裏輦輿下，銀燭光中珂珮從。宛若始青懸黍米，微臣何幸賭慈容。」	1a~b
	說文、舉天尊	功	「金容感應天尊 <sup>571</sup> 」	1b
說文	奏樂、說文、三禮、說文、舉天尊	功	「香林說法天尊」	2b
上香	說文、三禮、說	功	「香林定想天尊」	3a

<sup>568</sup> 彗星的別稱，被視作災異不吉的凶星。

<sup>569</sup> 此處綜合了兩位道士的說法。Fieldnote 20120617 FY，20120912 潘。

<sup>570</sup> 根據甘紹成的分析(甘 2003：93)。將節次與 Type A 為對照的劃分乃筆者所為，文責自負。

<sup>571</sup> 「舉天尊」在道士行科儀與生活中經常使用，作為讚揚或呼求神祇。依形式又分作：文、武、舉、浪天尊四種，可依據情境語調與神祇來區分；所以有些情況只是在表示讚美或感嘆(如「金容感應天尊」)，就不是真有其神。其區別甚眾，運用情境也廣，還需要更多理解甄別。(Fieldnote 20120912, 潘)



	文、舉天尊			
	奏樂、說文、奏樂、舉贊	功	隨事分門：醮、齋、願	4a~b
蕩穢	說文、請召解穢、宣符、焚化、奏樂	全	請；九鳳破穢末仙官執九龍水灑淨	5b~6b
	說文、踏罡、誦咒、舉天尊	功	(灑淨) 「常清常靜天尊」	6a~b
	奏樂、宣文、喊禮	全		6b~7a
請宣科咒	奏樂、持燭、書諱、密咒、奏樂、舉天尊、宣文	功	持燭(慧光咒、金光諱、小金光咒) 發燭 「太光恒照天尊」	7a~8b
	禮懺、(誦咒) 奏樂、禮誥	功	志心朝禮(東) 原始中篇之東方八天 <sup>572</sup>	10 a~b
	禮懺、誦咒、奏樂、禮誥	功	志心朝禮(南) 原始中篇之南方八天	11 a~b
	禮懺、誦咒、奏樂、禮誥	功	志心朝禮(西) 原始中篇之西方八天	12 a~b
	禮懺、誦咒、奏樂、禮誥	功	志心朝禮(北) 原始中篇之北方八天	13 a~b
	禮懺、誦咒、舉天尊	功	「紫清介福天尊」	13b
	奏樂、宣文	全		
	奏樂、舉贊	全		
秉職(請稱法位)	具職啟聖	功	(聖位前)具職上啟	14b
入意	奏樂、宣文	全	「拜進心詞，謹申宣奏」	15a
化表	舉贊、宣奏、喊禮、送化	全	宣關、遣關、送化	15a
回向、送神	說文、奏樂、回向皈依、回向謝神、三禮	功 全	「謹申回向 <sup>573</sup> 」	15b~16 b

<sup>572</sup> 此咒出於《度人經》(一卷本)中之「元始靈書中篇」。此四方八天之文即是「大梵隱語」，相傳能齋而誦之者，將可保舉上仙；同時其音無所不能辟、禳、度、成，功能極強大。

<sup>573</sup> 科儀最後的回向或謝神部份，也常常有簡省，型態除了如本科的「謹申回向」，還常見有「所謂道(有些還再接七言詩句兩句)」(如「天曹正朝」十三—4，No.4)、「回向畢」(如「正啟三元」十三-1，No.1)。各高功處理方式也不同，可以有自己的安排設定。

	下壇、入戶卸衣	全	
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由科本中常見的貢天法事，是應對嚴謹文雅的。在開壇、啟師、灑淨與送關遣化、回向下壇等等基本/共同架構間，作動上主要是滿滿的禮、贊、對三十二天上帝的朝禮，以及隨後的入意陳事。也因為當中的環節多是基本又常用的經韻與步驟，通常法事高功與經師多能表現得冷靜從容，中規中矩。配合上貢天法事本身適合於各項公私請願的莊重和平，其本質裡萬用、四平八穩的氣質表現無遺。

由於貢天法事做得多、恢復得早，最是容易建立自有傳統與地方作法，各地宮廟的作法詮釋上也容易產生(無傷大雅的)歧異。其中值得一提的是關於供桌擺置面向的現象。成都一帶常見有兩派作法，其一是另排供桌向外，直面天空(即背對殿裡原本的陳設，與一般法事習慣方向正好相反<sup>574</sup>)如此設計的原理是認為所有人應當直接面向青天；承襲此作法的有如鶴鳴山道觀、(正一)真多觀。其二則維持法事在大殿中進行的樣貌，面向主神龕演法，和其他法事並無不同，他們所持的觀點則是既然在大殿(又通常是最高的三清)自然應該尊重地點的格局；遵行這個看法的有如青羊宮、孃孃廟。當然這兩種作法各有以其傳承與對事神的詮釋，皆各有所本，無謂對錯。<sup>575</sup>

對於全真或正一行使廣成科儀的道士來說，貢天的使用情境應該是更寬廣的。除了本質上泛用、少專對性，所以適合多種需求，如上表許願、還願，運途不順，生病等，甚至是「你想要寫論文更順利(某高功語)」，都可以用這一科。目前凡兩三天以上法事，不論陽醮陰齋，都會把貢天列入節次。這一科之所以這麼受歡迎，除了性質普遍好用，道士常用熟練了也會產生習慣偏好，此外還有一層偏愛是認為貢天的格局非常「大氣」。

貢天在廣成科儀地位向來重要，對民間信眾也是有很高知名度的一科。所以有些民眾對貢天科儀的認知不見得正確，也可能見識過的只是一套混雜了民間信仰而不完全是正一、全真作法，但對於科儀名稱卻是耳熟能詳。如在清時《覺軒雜著》或民初《成都通覽》對此都有稍異於廣成但又流露民間生活面向的

<sup>574</sup> 在法事開始前，將供桌搬到大殿正門前另加擺置，整堂儀式皆向外來做。在鶴鳴山，習慣上與拜斗有關的科事也做這樣擺置。而由於這已是鶴鳴山的傳統，外來幫忙法事的高功來此也須遵守，不能因為自有習慣而改變。Fieldwork 20120830。

<sup>575</sup> 直面向天空可能還有更豐富的神學意涵與情境，如高功在遣關送化時，有時也會向外叩拜。而若該堂供桌在殿內，經師宣表也面向神龕。兩派的作法都會如此。

描述。當代學者在巴縣的田野也記錄融雜了佛、道、巫教的一脈民間壇班作法。這些紀錄固然與《廣成》不盡相同，也值得注意比較。<sup>576</sup>

#### 4-5 高功：節次的安排與法事中的絕對權威者

根據回憶，從前宮廟承接修齋建醮等科儀請求，其事前準備較有規定。當住持受理了一件請託，就會貼出公告或是「狀文<sup>577</sup>」，其內容在說明齋主的目的要求與日期規模等條件，並開列出將參加的工作人員(高功、經班、幕後的準備工作等)，使其知曉。得知公告後首先要行動的便是高功，他要將當家的所提供的資訊多方面仔細考慮，然後選出最適合的法事以及排出次第；這場法事的行進順序基本上便決定好了，接著就貼出各式的榜。之後大家就根據高功所開出的次第行事，各自準備完成分內的工作。

雖然在一個廟子裡最高的權威者是住持，法事的承接也由其洽談決定，但一旦接下法事開始籌備，住持通常都非常能尊重專業，不會對高功已排出的次第質疑或要求變動。《廣成儀制》之「臨壇受職簽押集」(十三—80, No. 80)裡對高功的德性是這麼要求的：

「德行優隆，統一壇而為首；科儀練達，合六職而居先。」(3a)

從這個要求可以看出，廣成科儀賦予高功在科儀壇場上(近乎是)絕對權威的理由，在於它假設/認定了高功的確有統帥壇班的各項能力，對科儀熟練了然，是整壇中對科儀理悟最透徹的。所以這裡高功所得到的權威，事實上是來自他自身的修行努力，以及大眾對此的信任，並不強調神授之類的超自然權柄<sup>578</sup>。

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<sup>576</sup> 《覺軒雜著》的內文乃轉引自民國《合川縣志》：「(喪禮)散齋之日，於五更後，具茗果米糝，對天燃點小燭百餘支，朝天禮拜，曰供天，又曰然天。名其燭曰然天燭。俗傳然天燭以照小兒可以稀豆糝曰然天糝。」《成都通覽》則謂：「供天：凡各廟誦經畢，民間道場畢，街坊醮事畢，必於夜間供天。搭台設燈燭，花果點心，所燃之燭三百六十支，供品則饅頭也、糝粩也。第二日，將饅頭、糝粩分給人家，謂小兒食之，夜不夢哭。」(傅崇矩 2006：247)。關於當代巴縣的研究，請參閱胡天成 1996：135；胡天成 2000：380~422。此處巴縣的例子非常有意思，它保有很完整的科本與操作，科本乍看與《廣成》完全不同，但節次、內容風格卻驚人的相似(此處不可能單純地以文字被替換視之，因為細讀之後不難發現該作者對科儀、佛法與地方信仰都有深刻體悟)，可惜目前只囿於書本閱讀，希望將來有機會能進一步了解比較。

<sup>577</sup> 本節的描述主要根據兩段不同的田野訪談(field note 2012 黃、20120713 潘道士)，內容過程大同小異，在不影響理解下，這裡將兩者結合作互相補充。從兩位道長的背景與描述內容，可以知道講的是昔日青羊宮的情況，讀者也可以想像是大型宮觀通則或理想型，規模小的道觀應該沒辦法這麼講究。此外，根據甘紹成研究，道士會在事前觀內(靜壇)或場地(行壇)掛上寫有時、地、科事與成員職司的「交涉牌(靜)」或「執事牌(行)」(甘 2000：47~8, 60)

<sup>578</sup> 此時超自然力量的顯示往往表現在監督上面，我們從筆記小說看到不少壇上道士因為德行有虧、行科儀時不敬而獲陰譴的記載。到了現代休咎仍然是大眾評價一場法事的要點，如高功無法順利結皇幡，上壇不專心以致下壇時摔個鼻青臉腫，或法事中摔壞木魚(不只一人對我強調這很

決定次第後也不需再經由神的同意(如先放在神像前數天或擲筊，觀察有無吉凶感應)。

民間道壇的情況則相對簡單，一壇之主的掌壇師通常就是一班之首，身兼決策數職，法事承接、規劃排定、成員聘請，甚至常常要兼書記官(正一對文檢方面的傳承情況少/窄，這裡多少有對未來發展生態平衡的考量，文檢範集與秘訣通常只有一個弟子得到)與神圖法器法服等的提供。法事種類與次第安排當然是掌壇師的職責，壇班成員只須受命行事。

現在的宮觀已不存在這樣的繁文縟節，不會有層層交代的交辦，當然受託的慎重不變。除了廟子裡的常年行事，凡信眾有所託付，便直接找高功商量，若一個廟子裡有一位以上高功，則只找總管總責的那位，由他統籌辦理。

信眾懷抱著各種人生問題前來求助，高功會先聆聽才給予儀式上的建議。通常的作法是，了解信眾的訴求後，對請事的合宜性與未來發展做簡單評估，通常會看看齋主的八字或面向之類。如親人久病重傷，要看他是命不該絕或天運已到，求財求祿者是否有此注定財祿；畢竟法事也要順勢而為，不必要多行無謂，而終究人神不悅。一旦決定接受請託，首先就依請事內容決定科目，雖然與高功個人習慣或喜好稍有關，神祇或主題等大方向還是更重要的，如求福求財多作「貢天」，疾病問題多「拜斗」，求子或求功名拜「文昌」，官司類打「雷醮」或作「天曹正朝」比較恰當。選擇原理也呼應前面所說的科目命名。

在我的觀察經驗裡，高功向齋主推薦了科目，會稍微介紹一下科儀的主神、原理、預期效用等，也能針對齋主困擾作開解，算是走面對諮詢的「客製化<sup>579</sup>」設計，所以沒有聽說過被齋主駁回反對的，至多是在金錢或時間預算上需要商議。除非事態緊急(很少發生，因為高功不喜如此)，法事的決定最少在三天前定下，包括科目、高功、經班成員、用度負責等。日子的決定主要看「黃道<sup>580</sup>」，也會選對齋主八字相合的吉日，時辰則以白日為佳。配合工商社會的忙碌型態，私人法事多集中在週末假日，宮觀常行事則依曆不受影響，惟二者都嚴格恪守「戊禁」的規矩，一定要避開(前或後一天都行)。

不論道齡或在師門中的階序，某一旦受命成為該場高功，就算是擁有當時最高的決策權，大家也不會質疑。比如一個廟裡一個較固定的團隊裡會有約定

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嚴重)等。

<sup>579</sup> 齋主私人請託通常只打一科法事，這時候就需要針對最掛心的主旨及其成因。看待一個困難有諸多面向，以筆者欲祈求論文順利為例，若是一般性的擔心煩惱可以選擇「貢祀諸天」，若是感到思慮愚鈍想開智慧則建議作「文昌正朝」，又當時曾因租賃問題衍發的官非困擾，便被建議作「天曹正朝」；固然最終目的(完成論文順利畢業)一致，高功會根據困擾作最務實的建議。

<sup>580</sup> 道教配合日月運行趨吉避凶的擇吉法。最簡單的算法是利用「黃道十二日歌」。

俗成的習慣，但高功還是有權作一些變動要求，如科本上交代不詳細的起壇、回向，或一些相容道曲的替換；已行之有年者大概不會發生，但若科目科本不清者，高功便有權調配變動<sup>581</sup>。登壇演法，即便高功平日是低輩子的後生，壇上經師也要全力跟著配合，聽從調度。終了散壇，一切又回復平常的長幼關係，這個變化間轉換得很自然。所以我們會看到下了壇如果要拍張紀念照(常見於外出作法事或重要日子)，被安排在最中間的、穿著原本高功身上絳衣法袍的，往往不是原來壇上的高功，而是團體當中最資深師祖輩。

廣成科儀中高功之所以集中了更多權力，實在於他往往還可能兼代了不少其他經師的工作，所以顯得他無可或缺、專擅獨大(事實陳述，沒有貶抑的意思)。除了不可能站到龍虎班行事，舉凡所有在供桌前的工作，當沒有人員有能力協助時，高功都可以顧及。有時會看到高功彷彿一人分飾多角，可以暫代表白宣開壇符、解穢符等，可以自己來指揮齋主叩拜，還可以自己宣化表文。這當然不是常態，但臨時在人員緊縮時完全有可能<sup>582</sup>。

觀看廣成科儀的觀眾還可以發現一件有趣的現象，四川之外的道教，無論正一或全真在道場上都慣常安排三位著法袍的道士共同演法，就是俗稱「三法師」的高功、都講、監齋(或表白)。相異於兩側經師穿紅或黃色的素袍，三位法師都穿著裝飾華麗的絳衣。三位法師並肩面對香案的情況在廣成裡卻非常少見<sup>583</sup>。最大的例外是上「玉皇表 / 大表」(即「玉帝正朝」)，因為這一科情節隆重，規模也比較大；即使如此，也不是所有高功都認為三法師是必要的，甚至覺得那是排場好看，如果人力足夠可以這樣安排，但是一個人也沒有問題。上大表之外的其他法事，高功更是傾向自己一個人來作就好。其實這個想法很簡單也很務實，本來都講與表白的職責就是從旁協助，零星需要之餘，要回到龍虎班上做本來的工作(當然人力許可的情況下，可以安排香案側(站在高功左右手桌側)有人隨時照看)。田野所認識的每一位高功，無一例外地都喜歡 / 習慣一個人作。我曾向一位相熟高功打趣說，「這不就是虛榮嗎」(當時的語境是指他在壇上喜歡自己做主，不需太顧及副手，有絕對的主導權，並且觀眾都主要看他)，他聽了大笑三聲，笑而不答。

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<sup>581</sup> 如青城山作「荐亡科儀」，因為「沒有科書，演禮程序通常由主壇——高功憑經驗掌握和控制，不受科書約束。」(甘紹成 2003：48)。另外如廣成之「保苗揚旂集」(十四—13，No. 132)最末對經班所下簡單指示為「回壇。恁意。回向，下壇。」(7b)也可見編寫之時也在細節處保留了一些自由發揮的空間。

<sup>582</sup> 我只見過一次，當時因為太多事需假手高功，時間拖得比較長，過程並沒有不同。

<sup>583</sup> 筆者唯一見過的一回，是四川正一道士作科，場上採取三位法師(皆著絳衣)的形式。他們來自四川西武當(四川廣元市)，西武當山即史上有名的筆架山，道教發展悠久。他們尊江西龍虎山為祖，近年也會去龍虎山授籙。他們並不使用《廣成》科本，而似是以龍虎山現行流通科本為主。

## CH5 從法事安排看《廣成儀制》的組合要義

### 5-1 法事<sup>584</sup>組合及其分類

多場甚至是多日以上的法事組合，其頻率雖不若單科法事，在重要性與廣成科儀編輯意義來說，卻是更高的。可以說大型法事/多日法事才是廣成科儀的菁要，因為它能更完備更好地展現科儀無窮盡發展的本質。

《廣成儀制》是一套以實用目的清楚編輯的集子，縱然其內資料線索可資檢索的方面極多，本質上仍是提供道士行科儀專用的工具書。單科獨立施行之外，眾多科目如何搭配，科本上沒有具體指示，所存目錄的編排也不以類型分門或附有凡例，我們只能反求於經中內容與使用者經驗加以理解。畢竟總要清楚知道原委，才有評論的基礎，否則我們又如何來論斷一個儀式(本質上的，而不只做得好不好)的好壞優劣呢。

根據《廣成儀制》「隨門分事」部門的作法，這近三百科的科事首先以「齋」與「醮」為最先——即陰法事與陽法事，陰齋陽醮的區分在廣成中是極其明確且普遍的用法<sup>585</sup>。為了對意義與功能有更清楚的運用，齋與醮的部門底下還會再有許多分類，項目與數目則沒有定論。以《廣成儀制》中科目的名稱來看，可以整理出下列數項(羅列順序以先齋後醮，後續則照目錄順序，無特別意義；分項所舉例子，也以目錄中出現之第一科，並不一定具有代表性)：

「齋醮」合用(通用)：齋或醮兩可的萬用科事，法事中出現機率極高。廣成收有兩科：「大品齋醮關告投文全集」(十三—34, No.34)、「諸品齋醮安建寒林集」(十三—41, No.41)。

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<sup>584</sup>本章主要討論的是由多單科組成的道教法事。關於單科或多科科儀當怎麼甄別稱呼，道教傳統裡好像沒有認真定義過(或許是不需要?)，所以在書寫上有時會混用難釐。我曾請教過道士的意見，大概是一天(四科或以上)的叫「法事」或「道場」，三天(或)以上則稱「齋」或「醮」，而凡超度科一律稱「齋」。這些稱呼還是顯得彈性，不是定論。另外，閔智亭道長提出一日(或一夜或一日夜)者可稱做「簡單道場」，多日的則有時稱「大型道場」(閔 1990：121~2、173)。有鑑於雜用情形難辨，本文也無力對此清楚區分，惟加強點明單科或複數科，陰齋或陽醮。

<sup>585</sup>此二元區分從隨門分事中可以清楚證明。比如「三元齋左案集」(14-33, No.152)中，說文裡會清楚指出這是在「宣演鴻齋」(5a)，當然不免會出現口語上如「謝過上章，建設齋醮」(3b)這種口語上的泛稱說法；全篇陰法事的濟度本質是很明確的。陰齋陽醮的區分在許多地方傳統或科本都有出現，並非廣成獨創，然而廣成完整地貫徹此觀點，亦是相當清楚的特質。

水陸大齋：度亡科儀的一種，與《度人經》精義有密切關係。如〈水陸大齋迎請符簡全集〉(十三—26，No.26)。廣成中冠此名者有 3 科(另有十四--61、十四--82)。<sup>586</sup>

三元齋：對以三官為首的神祇求懺悔赦罪。廣成中以此為名者有 2 科：〈三元齋左案/ 右案全集〉(十四—33、34，No. 152~3)。

亡齋：度亡科儀的一種，與《度人經》精義有密切關係。如〈亡齋藏棺隱景集〉(十三—35，No.35)。廣成中有 4 科(另有十三—38，No.38，十四—95~6，No.277~8)

大齋<sup>587</sup>：齋事通用的單科。有「大齋行符告簡集」(十三—27，No.27)。1 科。

生神齋：以《生神經》為主的亡齋，因需轉經九過，故合為「生神大齋九轉全集」十四—66，No. 190~198)，廣成中有 11 科。(另有四正生神早、晚朝，十四—75~76，No.207~8)

血湖齋：對婦女產死或一般兵禍傷死者的超渡。如〈血湖大齋三申全集〉(十四--80，No.212)，廣成中以此為名者有 3 科(尚有十四—85、89，No.217、221)。僅標「血湖」而未加齋字者還有 8 科。

度人齋：以道藏《度人經》一卷本為核心的超渡法事。如〈度人題綱上部左右案全集〉(十五—1，No.240)(本科又分成「度人題綱上/ 下部」，故計為 2 科)，廣成中以此為名者有 18 科<sup>588</sup>(尚有十五—2~17，No.241~56)。

陰「醮」<sup>589</sup>：與亡人喪葬有關的法事，多是為新亡與土墳殮葬有關。如〈陰醮招安啟請全集〉(十四--97，No.229)。廣成中以此為名者有 7 科(尚有十四--98~103，No.230~5)。

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<sup>586</sup> 這裡是指科名中明確出現「齋、醮」一字者，而無齋醮名可能使用者暫不計入。以下皆同。多數的科事是筆者所未親見親聞，在說明上恐理解不周，所以盡量保守、簡省。

<sup>587</sup> 《廣成》中亦有出現大齋、鴻齋、大醮等稱謂，但這些與規模尺度有關的辭彙，其實並在內文裡沒有定義或闡說。我以為此等量辭使用上有兩個意圖，即欲表達法事規模宏大，又或是宣稱效能功德之巨大。無論如何，沒有定論。

<sup>588</sup> 題目只標「度人」者尚有 12 科，但實際使用上的關係不能確定。

<sup>589</sup> 與本文一直強調的「陰齋陽醮」之區分，這裏明顯是相當大的矛盾。成書的事實在眼前筆者無可否認，這系列是唯一不符合陰齋的命名原則，使用上也完全是拔度的齋儀形式。我還是傾向於齋醮的陰陽之分在《廣成儀制》裡是清楚明確的。

受生齋：以「還受生錢」為目的的法事。如〈受生鴻齋迎庫官全集〉(十三--96，No.96)；廣成中為受生齋所設計科事現存 4 科，標註齋字者卻唯有此科(詳細討論請參閱第六章)。

十王齋：以參謁十殿閻王為主的拔度法事。如〈十王大齋右案全集〉(十三--91，No.91<sup>590</sup>)，惟一 1 科有齋名者。

九皇醮：「九皇會<sup>591</sup>」專用朝覲法事，如〈九皇朝元醮品一夕全集〉(十三--63，No.63)。廣成中以此為名者有 17 科，有朝元醮品與壽醮兩種稱呼(尚有十三--64~79，No.64~79)。

土皇醮：以建築修造與安龍脈為目的的法事。如〈土皇醮欸啟壇全集〉(十三--98，No.98)。廣成中以此為名者有 3 科(尚有十三—99~100，No.99~100)。

斗醮：南北斗等星辰崇拜為主的法事。如〈斗醮啟師全集〉(十三--46，No.46)。廣成中以此為名者有 5 科(尚有十三—47~50，No.47~50)。

田禾醮：地方性祈求滅除蝗蟲與魔魅的法事，有〈田禾醮結界祭符謝真全集〉(十四--17，No.136)。1 科。

甲子醮：每一甲子年的上元所做的地方清甯法事，重要且較罕見，常見於方志<sup>592</sup>。〈甲子大醮正奏三皇全集〉(十四--47，No.165)。1 科。

保苗醮：莊稼相關法事，有〈保苗醮揚旂昭告全集〉(十四--13，No.132)。1 科<sup>593</sup>。

陽醮：消災求福的法事，內容較多樣乏一致性，如〈陽醮品天皇詔攝全集〉(十四--24，No.143)。廣成中以此為名者有 3 科(尚有十四—106~7，No.238~9)。

水醮：與時雨或泛濫有關的請謝法事。有〈雷霆水醮正啟三聖全集〉(十四--6，No.125)，1 科。尚有水府或龍王數科，相關度不明。

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<sup>590</sup> 另有 4 科以「十王」為名。

<sup>591</sup> 農曆九月初一至初九，道教的九皇大帝(北斗七星與左輔右弼)誕辰日，將於此日依次向九皇賀壽，民間也流行其時間茹素，故又稱「九皇齋」。

<sup>592</sup> 如有每年三四月街市常建「平安清醮」(如《合川縣志》卷 35，風俗 8b)

<sup>593</sup> 就內容來說極相關(但無「醮」字)的有 4 科。十四—12、14~16，No.131、133~5。



瘟醮：伏瘟解厄所用法事，有〈瘟醮年王八聖全集〉(十五--42, No.281)。1科。尚有與北帝、匡阜諸神有關瘟科，必有相關但順序不明。

由上面的整理可以看出，《廣成儀制》堅守陰齋與陽醮的區別<sup>594</sup>，對諸齋醮的命名大約還是依從關鍵字與俗稱，談不上嚴謹<sup>595</sup>，雖然說不在命名體系上著墨太多，留白可以有更多變動彈性，事實上不時出現不合於設定原則的名稱或類型，造成了對體系理解的滯礙。如就功能來說，「田禾醮」與「保苗醮」實為同一類別，標註諸品「陽醮」或「陰齋」的科目，顯得模糊不精確；「斗醮」與「九皇醮」與「大醮關告」本質上其實又系出一家<sup>596</sup>。當然最令人不解的還是「雷醮」，此看法用法不僅當前道士慣常使用，就是在專用文檢集《心香妙語》與《雅宜集》都有收錄，而這個雷部法事的醮名其實並沒有出現在廣成目錄之中。雖然如此，廣成在其內容實踐上還是給予它「醮品<sup>597</sup>」地位的認可。另外昔日民間頗為流行的「火醮」也沒有出現，而《廣成儀制》科中也不乏專用科本<sup>598</sup>。

不得不承認，即便《廣成儀制》在齋醮等科儀分類上已極有系統，在設定與連貫執行上，還是不夠完足縝密。這個批評主要著眼在使用、歸納上不能完全自圓其說，當中或許牽涉到科儀設計、歷史脈絡的考量，或習慣因襲使然，則就不是一般統計所可以測度的了。

《廣成儀制》在命名上並沒有將每一堂相關科目都安上某齋或醮之名，或有意為之的可能(如保持其開放有彈性的更多可能)。從目錄上我們確實無法掌握到底有多少種類齋醮，最清晰的線索是：

「(陳復慧)校正廣成科儀數十種」(民國《灌縣志》，卷十二人士傳下，35a)

對應上面清整出二十類左右的齋醮，我認為總數大約也就是如此之譜。此外可稽但明顯不完備的數目有，「大曜分事同全集(版心稱「十一大曜」)」(十三—51，

<sup>594</sup> 以上種種開列還漏了一項於教內很重要的活動，即拜師傳度(廣成有科本〈興賢舉善傳度引籙全集〉十三—97, No.97；此外還有理不屬於廣成但或有實用的〈冠巾科儀〉RJ 154)，也未以醮品稱之。事實上，對此科的使用目前不能確定。以內容來看，雖作為拜師發給引籙，對象卻似是一般善信，實用情境不能判定；當然也由於筆者並未親見其使用(所見的兩次拜師儀式都沒有使用)。至於對道士、宮觀內的授籙/受戒儀式，實未出現廣成的專門科本，有待後續研究。

<sup>595</sup> 如「九轉生神大齋全集」，一般稱作「生神齋」，但也被稱為「九轉齋」(RJ No.102)。

<sup>596</sup> 關於斗醮同於九皇醮的意見來自陳耀庭 2003。

<sup>597</sup> 如〈雷霆正朝全集〉(十三--119, No.119)中之隨門分事(6b)；其他項目還有祈雨、祈晴、被擊、禳病與接限，由此可見雷部法事適用的多樣性。相關者約共有 4 科。

<sup>598</sup> 兩套集子中都收有數通「謝火」法事相關。另外，每年歲時行醮也很流行，集中也收有地方一境的夏、秋祭醮。

No.51)有隨門分事齋與醮共十一種<sup>599</sup>，以及《心香妙語》十七種(六齋十一醮)。所以暫可將《廣成儀制》視作有二十多類主要的功能類型，表示它足以處理這麼多——甚至更多類型的人世困擾。它的功能類別可以不斷因為需要與個人意願來擴充，當然每種型態之下的法事安排也是如此。

自上世紀九〇年代 PRC 開放宗教活動以來，四川道教科儀還未恢復到原先鼎盛時期的樣貌。目前除宮觀常行與私人(單科)請託外，雖然多科、多日法事的舉辦漸有變多，類型與規模還是相形單調簡單<sup>600</sup>，現實因素上只有少數知名富裕宮觀有能力為之。我們或可經由詢問、(師祖口說的)追憶增加基本知識或擴充想像，但事實是當中很多科事是現代高功們不曾做過的。

以高功必經的「過經」為例，一般情形下高功最迫切需要的是斗醮、雷醮、(陰)齋、水火醮等。還是看得出當前廣成科儀的需求，停留在比較狹窄的面向。

還有一個較實用的例子，是筆者曾有機會一瞥兩位高功的書櫃，其上的書籍擺放其實大有玄機。道長們所收藏的《廣成儀制》科本以實用為主，也就是主要是常用到、有用或起碼預計要用的一些科目，才會購買(道士會說「請經」)，本子無例外是來自青羊宮(少數有自行影印的，但版本還是青羊宮的)。所收廣成本子不很多，大約是二~三十本，與現行常用科數相當。實體的本子主要是上壇行科需要，一般時候他們所閱讀、參考其餘的《廣成儀制》，在經濟與方便的考量上，多是利用輕便的電子版本<sup>601</sup>。書架上的擺放也充滿實用便利性，最常使用的、剛剛使用完的，通常就擺在書架的最容易拿取的一側，因為既顯眼又方便順手；當然這些不意外地多是常用的平科與單科，如拜斗與常用朝科等。接著才是次常用的科目，一些多科連用或多日法事必須要成套使用的架構性科儀，比如請系列神祇祖師，或三日以上必用的祀灶、寒林等科，到結皇旛相關諸科。凡是有必然成組使用或能互相聯想、代用關係者；有的表現出屬於同一類齋醮，有的必須依附在多日法事的架構下；也會呈一組一組的方式排列。愈是相關性高，愈放在一起。道士對科本的擺放多很隨性，不時有小變動，只有個大概先後而沒有固定順序，稍加區分最常用和次常用。這是有意識為之的習慣使然。

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<sup>599</sup> 九皇醮、延生醮、消災醮、禮斗醮、雷霆祈禱醮、答報天地醮、酬恩謝醮、祈嗣醮、預修醮、黃籙齋、祈祥保病醮。(見圖 21)

<sup>600</sup> 這是相對《廣成儀制》的總科目而言。事實上道教科儀近幾年的發展，不論是科目的增加(或復興)，或是壇上用度、規模，再到舉辦次數，成長得都相當快速。

<sup>601</sup> 主要以網路開放資源(人家版)搭配平板電腦使用，幾次遇過道士在閒談討論間，直接點選出電子檔，來佐證其說法。成都的道士普遍認同新式科技 3C 產品所帶來的便利，雖然目前在道場上還是使用著雕版油印的老本子(有見過一次壇班上臨時本子不夠，經師掏出了手機中的檔案應急，但明顯看得出來並不是固定依賴的方式)。

書櫃的收藏排列，實際地反映實用的經驗談，讓我們可以感受到《廣成儀制》科儀科本到底如何挑選使用，而不是研究者門外漢閱讀下的紙上談兵；畢竟科本本身而言其實不過是完整精要的三分之一，難免理解還不全面，需要對實踐面向有更多鑽研。

## 5-2 法事節次的構成

所謂節次是指(多科/ 多日)法事的安排設定，使道士可以有所依循，「依科闡事」。作為行進的最高指標，其本身必然要合理且正確，方能得到承認與權威(也包括對未可檢知儀式功效的期待)。

然而在對科儀的研究裡，研究者往往直接只看到安排後的成果，如一進到田野地就輕車熟路地去抄寫榜文，或視張貼的榜文為絕對權威。我們往往卻不知道節次是怎麼產生的，又是為何如此安排。忽視構成本身的思考理絡，對科儀節次的理解說明便顯得倒果為因。我們必須了解，所謂的構成是動態的主動去理解而後安排的過程，而非既成的不變公式。為了聚焦此一實踐，我們須要先明白法事中每個環節的性質與功能，簡單來說就是該怎麼看待/ 分類這些科目，繼而將之正確放置。如此所有單科的累積，才能組合成為正確又有意義的法事。

閔智亭道長在討論到齋醮科儀時，將其概分為專用與通用兩類<sup>602</sup>。專用與通用就字面來說非常簡單，即其使用情境是否為專門專對。專對不同神明的朝科自是專用，如「三清朝科」(這裡很有趣的一點是，就以三清與其他神明來說這是個專用科儀，但它卻又「是通用朝科，三清聖誕皆可用<sup>603</sup>」。立場之間的轉變，也很好地說明了專用與通用的意義)、「迎鑾接駕」等；至於通用則是指配合法事規模應該做的科事，好比「若是三日以上道場，就要逐日順序做多種法事，如開壇、取水、蕩穢、祀灶、揚幡懸榜、招將請神、安位供天等法事，每日三朝、上表、誦經、禮懺等等。<sup>604</sup>」當中安排可以有繁簡運用，但有一定之規。

於此大致可以了解，若是三日(含)以上的大型道場在陰陽兩類型底下，區分為行拜懺功課經或上表為主軸的法事(專用法事)，而為了支撐這些法事順序

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<sup>602</sup> 沿用其說法的還有，如任宗權 2006 與彭理福 2011。

<sup>603</sup> 閔 1990：142。閔之一書主要以中國北方(即北京白雲觀為主)傳統為例，他所提到的科事雖然《廣成》裡多不缺少，在內容、作法上仍有差異。

<sup>604</sup> 閔 1990：122。另有關於齋醮節次的討論，請參閱 p. 173。

進行，要安排一系列各種科儀(通用法事)。雖然這個分類只簡單的區分了兩類，卻有效地經由通用法事重複出現的特性，幫助我們快速篩選出一場法事的核心，並理解通用儀式所建立起的恆常架構。可惜，並不能據此展現出通用或專用法事間的關係，我們雖能判斷出了每個科儀的性質，卻無助於進一步主動地想像一場法事如何能安排。

陳耀庭先生討論道教科儀專文中提出將不同科儀的構成，以最小單元漸次疊積的概念，使道教法事可以有從單科到完整科儀的層次感<sup>605</sup>。他將儀式劃分了三個層次：儀式元、儀式體、儀式群。所謂的儀式元是在不同儀式中多會出現且內容形式又大致相同的成分(如署職、發爐、灑淨等)，儀式元還具有「使淵源於普通生活的儀式行為要素具有了固定的道教儀式的意義<sup>606</sup>」。把不同儀式元相組合就形成了不同對象與目的的儀式體，儀式體本身是一個完整法事，要再擴充增衍，便就成了儀式群。儀式(複數的組合)是由儀式(單科)放大組合而成，這個說法各方面都很好地表現了科儀構成與習得上積沙成塔的性格。

陳先生的意見大概是以規模為基礎，由小而大，從少到多。也就是強調科儀可以隨著情境需要而擴張膨脹。所以一個大型的法事就是根據時間規模來決定大小(科數等)，而沒有討論到每個單元存在的位置與意義。由於未觸及各單位內的科目差異，此三種量體當中也還有性質的問題，需要更細緻區分，否則無法理解其放大的方式或原理。此外，對儀式元、體、群之間的關係沒有清楚交代，在使用上顯得模糊。

所謂節次設計，從最簡單的行為來看，大概是接受了請託，對主題、規模(天數科數)做好預想，接著針對主題篩選相關必用的以及相應架構的科目，然後加以適當地安排組合。這個簡單敘述過程裡，分別可以看到閔、陳兩位的意見。就宏觀而言，儀式群的形成，就是諸多儀式體與群的組合。而就所有儀式元之間——也就是構成法事整體之所需眾科目，由能解決正事的專用科儀和負責支持主軸的通用科儀相搭配。

就解釋來說，兩個理論可以勉強結合，但由於這兩個論述都沒有把設定的運作背景設定細緻，也就少了可以好好發揮、定義的空間。可能是因為兩位前輩對科儀了解甚詳，加之各有側重，在說明上只簡扼帶過，未對節次構成本身多做闡釋。

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<sup>605</sup> 請參考陳耀庭 1992 與 2003。

<sup>606</sup> 陳耀庭 2003: 152。

進入田野的初期，我偶爾也會被道士反問到，那麼我覺得廣成科儀是什麼？當時我往往簡單地把科儀與高功類比作劇場與導演的關係，高功/ 導演擇定科事 / 劇目，並且加以編排引導，主持大局(本處使用之劇場、戲劇的類比，並不擴展到 **Turner** 或 **Geertz** 等對象徵層面討論)。非常幸運，道長們對我的簡答多能頷首同意。繼而慢慢多看多學，我體會到當時這個答案之能夠被認可，可能是我誤打誤撞點出的一個重點：廣成道士----又特別是高功，在這套有規制的法事系統裡，起著主動的引導位子。

這點說明又特別適合從多科以上的組合法事來看，因為這是最能展現高功能與手段的地方。對於多日的法事，我們首先便以單科規模的放大版來簡單理解。科儀無論大小長短，所行之事目的不外乎向神祇面陳請願，也就是以最基本請神—娛神—送神的三階段說來看，多日法事也不脫這個原則，不過因為規模變大，每一個階段都需要有相應相襯的擴大調度，以合乎相當於法事該具備的格局氣勢。

簡單來說，步驟被擴大，大概有環節的放大，如原本單科裡的咒水灑淨，到了大型法事加入了手續更複雜的「取水」；單科中簡單的存思、招將，視情結程度也可以單獨成立。此外，法事延長成多日，就有了作息的問題，要儘可能加入早午晚三朝的儀節，還要按時獻供(所以會延伸出祀灶、雲廚...)，整天的法事告一段落要作款駕或回向暫止讓神明休息等等。更不用說還提到的三五日以上必有的慣例。講究禮儀與人性想像的放大，成為較固定的架構，這是容易判斷出來的部份。而主題正事的科目們，和科目與架構之間的排列設計，便需要更多情境或輕重緩急的判斷，就不這麼一目了然了。

所謂的設計，其背後蘊含的各種知識難以勝數，雖然我們看了這麼多設計結果，對其過程還是比較模糊。法事這一塊的實踐，跟道教的所有部門一樣遵循著「道」的教訓：講求自然與合諧。所以在安排與增減變動上，法事可以看作一個有機體，有其生長的正負條件，最後才會長成最自然理想的樣貌，並且它要能夠功能完整、外型均勻對稱。基於這些的理論，我從日常活動中發現了兩個相當生活化的比喻，接著嘗試來說明。

### 甲、樂高積木(LEGO)<sup>607</sup>說

就像是組一個特定的樂高(LEGO)玩具模型：樂高公司販售有能組成各式主題造型的材料包，裡面包含完成這件模型所有的需要元件，可以制式但完美地

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<sup>607</sup> 這裡所提出的兩個類比說法，由於發想得晚沒來得及在田野中與道士們多作討論；但綜括在其他情境的討論，我自以為還算理解容易比擬恰當。這只是太帶有童趣的比喻，並沒有輕率的心理。

造成一個與示範品相同的成品。同時另外也零售有型制通用，可以創作或擴充規模的小單件。若是簡單地組合一個材料包，那麼就可以完成一個與商品範例一樣的模式；但如果靈活運用手頭上擁有的其他零件，則可以增加更多呈現的可能，如擴充規模(用一模一樣的元件)、改變外貌(用不同顏色)、增加功能(使用特殊原件創作或添加造景)...等。

組合一件模型就如同建構一通法事。裡面的每一顆元件(或數顆成一小組)可以視作是單科科儀，科儀們就性質的不同來想像成不同的積木：可能是不同的形狀、色彩，然後加以組合排列造出各式模型。學會製作各種類型範本之後，如果能夠再進一步，便自行修改、創作出更令人滿意的造型。

當我做如此設想，比如要蓋一棟房子(其他模型亦是)，那麼便需要幾類積木，首先構成房屋的必然所需---惟有房子才需要的，且是能讓人一眼辨別出那是房子的建材，如門、窗、屋頂等，就可視作是一通法事正核心最相關的法事，要靠它們來表達或解決最主要的目的。支撐結構的樑與柱，負有讓所有積木作品矗立穩固的功能，不論怎麼樣的模型都需要基本骨架的支撐，算是普同情況下所有科事必備的架構，如開壇、迎請、安位...的步驟，支持核心科事，使節目安穩地擺放在各適切的位子。至於建材間填補的牆面、版築工事，像是與主題相關的科儀，或是平科等萬用清吉事，良好地連結整合了模型整體，它可以較自由地選擇搭配，並因藍圖的規模作豐儉調配。

所以實作上，當我們心中有了一幢房子的理想藍圖，就必須取得足夠的三種類材料：主要建材、筋骨、版築裝飾(意即滿足三種功能的科儀：主題群、結構與相襯配合的清吉科事)。首先，主要建材很自然決定了建物的風格主題，如中式西式或者蓬門大戶，合襯主題的樣貌進一步決定了整體的用度。建築需要符合物理法則，其外型與規模決定足夠的樑柱基材，這就是安排相當的固定科事，要考慮到天數、科數，決定相應、禮數周全的事神科事；比如關係到應開壇數、請神位數、所有用度的規模(特別是法器、神位、旗旛與文檢的準備等)。從這點來說，的確可以看作是單科的放大版，但是也不可忘記，如同考量建築工法，所以材料性質有其擴展的上限，法事規模的擴張並不是單純的花費放大，還有更多條件必須被考慮。完成了值得依賴的架構，牆面空間的妝點不僅展現美學與平衡，也完備作為一件建物的功能。所有材料的選擇都要留意能配合主題來，才能貫徹風格。

簡單來說，一堂科儀的設計就如同一幢結構的安排。需要有適當與充足的單科作為成分，其間功能各異的科儀代表著不同型制成分，將彼此巧妙地整合鑲嵌起來，成為完整的一堂法事。而由於架構起來的元件充足又均衡，使得節次兼顧了功能與平衡。

LEGO 基本組合一說，較諸戲劇編演的理解優勢在於它更具體表現出當代科儀展演，可預期、有規劃的一面。首先是對類型，無論將廣成科儀分成幾個類別，同類裡屬性相近的科目可以代用、互換，以至隨勢添減；這方面如果用同顏色(或色系)同造型的積木來比擬，比例上可以一目了然。其次是時間的計算運用(即規模)，從總量到每日安排時數的限制，能夠/應該排進的科目受到制約，將一般篇幅平科當作基準(如四~五十分鐘)，那麼更大更小篇幅的科目，就好比同功能但大或小一號尺寸的同型積木，因為擁有相同的基本單元，即使拼裝後仍然密實整齊，完全不會影響到外觀的完整。

以此為比喻，很好地兼顧了分類與規模骨架的呈現。因為積木有不同顏色、形狀和尺寸，就可以輕易看出各類材料在建築裡的功能，對展現其模型的完整度是否還有缺乏，並且判斷其堆排方式是否正確；此外，不同類型材料的使用數目，又可以幫助我們檢討此規模模型建構的合理性。不過畢竟只是一件模型的製作，各方面的複雜度還是不能與法事安排比肩，沒有辦法呈現與其他法事的關聯及意義。

## 乙、(電玩遊戲中)選裝備的藝術

如果只將科事的規模(本子的篇幅、時間)作為主要選擇因素，雖能搭蓋出架構極其端整的節次，卻不能好好展示出高功在選取科目時篩選評估的苦心孤詣，畢竟是量產式的積木，間中的優劣差距的確無法突顯。

為了突顯程序篩選上的思慮，有一種休閒活動應可以進一步幫助理解。目前坊間多流行的競技式電玩遊戲，即運用手段資源達成目標或消滅敵人。對玩家而言開戰前的佈置作業，是一個很挑戰經驗與判斷力的環節。玩家要選定自己的裝備組合，組合的選擇往往需要周密考慮到各種限制。比如說面對汪洋似的火藥庫，卻有採購總額上限；或是裝置各有攻守不同的功能，取用數量上卻有限制，又或者是對玩家本身的經驗等級有要求。無論規則如何變化，要義在考驗玩家對將面臨的挑戰，對可期會需要的工具，應該怎麼做最明智的取捨。

以常見的戰鬥遊戲來說，玩家在決定裝備時必然好好預想了接下來這一局的挑戰項目，審慎地分析敵我優勢。於是對負責攻或守的各種武器彈藥、糧草後援，提出最佳搭配比例。有了心目中最適合於這場競賽的組合當後盾，玩家才可以在競賽中攻守有據，冷靜地處裡掉所有已預知的陷阱，達成任務。

遊戲中的所謂解任務可以看作是通過舉行法事還完成心願目的。主理其事的道士為了完成任務(一個請託)，必須要有通盤深入的考量。首先是切合主題

的選擇，以求最完善解決疑難；再來是面對有條件供應的資源，時間或金錢物資等，怎樣做最妥善的利用。兩者在過程中產生的心理活動實際上頗為相似。此外，云云玩家們心思喜好各異，卻終能成功破關，就像是承襲著不同傳統下，道士也會因著各自所學與偏好，設計有獨到之處的法事。法事組合沒有絕對處方，沒有絕對的對錯(在完全符合禁忌為前提下)，凡是調配得宜都可以得到一樣效果。在對錯之上，還有所謂高明、睿智的巧妙手段，對基本設定各顯神通，道士/ 玩家為追求更崇高境界精益求精。

### 5-3 安排的過程

過往學界並不把重心放在解釋或觀察節次編排本身，而是只將開列出來的節次當做既有事實抄寫紀錄下，宛如按圖索驥，依著這個順序觀察法事進行，所以對法事的討論常常顯得靜態，較少想回溯到更上頭去提問甚至質疑其設定<sup>608</sup>。而這個思路卻是旁通著整個道教的宇宙觀與神學。

此前的道教科儀研究並不特別強調設定節次這一環，然而它卻對之後的整個法事走向影響巨大，原因無它，節次既是法事進行的劇本、指示說明，代表著它的決定差不多已經能預視整場法事。只是這個設計過程往往相當私人、不公開，主要是它僅需一人為之，且過程快速輕巧---甚至只需要腦內活動，我們很容易忽略掉它的存在；偏偏它就是接下來一切準備的基礎，法事順利進行的大關鍵。本章強調於此，就是希望凸顯思索、鋪排節次的這個過程，對於道教科儀的理解或許可以再進一步：知道它為什麼要這麼做，來了解這麼做所帶來的影響。

這裡之所以用「設計」一詞，在於我認為廣成科儀幾乎每一場法事都有不一樣的節次，由高功視其旨趣酌予安排(當然重複在所難免，特別是科數較少的情況下；此或可稱之巧合，但幾乎不會是故意沿用的)。與單科請託流程類似，高功得到受命，清楚了目的主旨，便依據齋主能力需求決定將舉辦的天數、科數(目前常見的慣例約是一天安排 4~5 科，三天、五天以上的法事宮觀較私人為多)及其他用度。接著便依旨趣需要搭配出高功以為最適切的法事節次。「設計」的過程，以一個經驗頗豐富的高功來說，大約需要三十分鐘左右，其中他要把情形通盤考量，選出適合、理想的科目，並且正確地將它們排定順序<sup>609</sup>。這個過程裡他自然可能有疑慮、刪改，不過一但確定下來大概就都不會變了。再次發

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<sup>608</sup> 其實至今為止仍有許多精采的研究，對道教科儀提出了很多有意思的探討，本文也是奠基於前人的新的啟發，惟以更加強調道士主動參與設定的一環。請參考如 Boltz 1996，黎志添等 2007 等。

<sup>609</sup> Fieldnote 2012，黃。



揮高功在科儀場上的權威，一但排定公告的科事，就會被嚴格遵守，認真執行，理論上大家不得有異議或質疑。

所謂的安排看似輕巧簡單，其實是高功畢生所學的菁華，迴避儘可能多的禁忌/ 錯誤，在短時間內下達最好的決策。這個過程其實相當充滿理性與邏輯思考的。所謂的理性決策，指的是高功清楚地知道法事底下每一個科事步驟的意義重要性，他能判斷出必須與非必需，最適合與次適合，然後衡量局勢，勇於取捨，作出符合經濟理性的結論。另一層理性，是所有的道教科儀背後其實極有規則和科學的運作法則<sup>610</sup>，都該嚴格遵守。這裡大約是指與神祇有關的知識、實踐面上的注意事項，以及與祕法、行止有關的知識和常識。簡單列舉如下。

與神祇相關的知識，不外乎要明白神明間的性質職能、高低位階，並清楚各個主題下該請該設的神位共有哪些。請神必然是由上請到下，《廣成儀制》中「請聖」部分很清楚可看到階序尊卑的排列。擴展到多日法事時也要如此牢記，法事開壇灑淨後，首先是請師(自家師門，不完全算在神聖列中；先請下來有監壇之意，又隱含有請迴護弟子的親暱意味；相反的如果是崇高遙遠的門派祖師，往往又排在請神名單之中<sup>611</sup>)。

請神科目的安排，也要依照神位的高低排順，不能錯淆。比如在「正朝」時要先奏三清，接著奏三元五老，再依主題往下<sup>612</sup>。行「斗醮」，參拜諸星斗星君也有正確的順序：星主→斗母→北斗、南斗→斗中<sup>613</sup>。科目或許會因考量跳過不做，但順序作為大前提是不可變的。

還有一種順序是動作的前後，有道是事有輕重緩急，要好好判別每個步驟的主次先後，方不致成了無效作為又失禮。比如「預奏」之後才會「正奏」，因為預告總要先於正事；相對於請神的由大而小，上表則要自下而上行，這就像是層層傳遞公文，要先由專司的最小部門同意受理，才能往上一關關地批核，所以文書筒子上的「貼黃<sup>614</sup>」才會做成多張浮貼成一疊的小紙頭，上面註明所司，好讓由下到上所經的各處神明完成後揭除。

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<sup>610</sup> 這裡強調的規律與法則，指的是具備階序性或規律性而可預期的結果，無涉微異或休咎。

<sup>611</sup> 如廣成杜真人、靈寶窟、金真人、海瓊白真人、虛靖張真人、紫虛魏元君、本師長春邱真人等，視主題有不同。這裡的啟師兼及各傳統，再次印證登壇演法時對道法溯源的尊重。

<sup>612</sup> Fieldnote 20120713，潘。

<sup>613</sup> Fieldnote 20120716，董。

<sup>614</sup> 原本是用在詔敕上的貼補修改或補充說明，在道教法事上是用來作文檢行移時貼在封筒上，標書對象的一種方式。

關於多日規劃上的慣例，廣成科儀一般習慣凡三日以上法事，無論齋或醮，都要安寒林、祀灶與鐵罐等<sup>615</sup>，多半也會安排懸「皇旛」（比較不一定，因為相關事項較多，但若外出作法事或五天以上，幾乎就一定放進來了）。多日法會通常還要酌量排入一些清吉的平科/單科，如「貢天」是最受歡迎的首選。若是五日以上法事，則還要加作「安奉監壇將帥集」（十三--36，No.36）<sup>616</sup>。此外，廣成科儀還講究「有始有終」，即開始與結束的一科，要由同一位高功擔任，例如「開壇」與「餞駕」，「寒林」與「斛食」兩組法事<sup>617</sup>。

至於看黃道擇日，絕對避開戊日，或是配合法事目的諸時令、正日子，都要牢記在心。此種種極是瑣碎，族繁不及備載，基本上是難以全盡的。它們散見於道經與必用集等之中，也可能因為不同傳統略有強調、忽視或抵觸。高功們要儘可能牢記於心，努力讓自己所排的節次中式得越多、犯忌得越少，然後就越得式。

以上零散的從高功聽來的規律，可以看出來在設計安排儀式來說，有豐厚的規矩律律存在，需要認真遵守以合乎(道教)道理。節次安排並不是一件避諱、神秘的事，而是可以討論交流，甚至高功的安排固然含有無可質疑的權威，但若是有了違了準則，仍是要受評價的。

### **例子：N 廟事件**

筆者田野期間便意外遇到了這麼樣一個例子。成都市內 N 廟<sup>618</sup>的高功因事必須缺席自己廟子上的中元法會，於是經人介紹聘請了一位外地來的，亦行廣成科儀的道士擔任該次高功；兩位高功並不認識，洽談也只是透過電話有簡短的交流。基於對聘請高功的尊重，也因為有些倉促，當次科儀決定由聘來的高功自行決定。那年的法事進行得不太順利，除了這位外來高功下壇時跌了一跤，壇上有人不小心摔破木魚，沒能與新高功好好搭配的經師們也頗有微詞。待得 N 廟原本的高功回來，聽了大家的反應，就法事安排一環私下對我提了幾點抱怨<sup>619</sup>。我們先來看看當時的實際節次與理想版本對照：

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<sup>615</sup> 關於非做不可的科目，每位道士各有見解，不見得完全統一，這邊列出的是應該沒有疑問的。另外如「靈祖正朝」、請水(Field note 20121009, 黃)，或更多(閔智亭 1990: 122)。

<sup>616</sup> Fieldnote 2012 黃。

<sup>617</sup> Fieldnote 20120713, 潘。實際的例子可參見第六章的一個完整法事的節次表，即是「開壇啟師」與「圓滿餞駕」兩科，皆由 Z 高功完成。

<sup>618</sup> 由於恐怕論述不太正面，本例中所有姓名皆姑隱其名。惟內文描述確實無誤。

<sup>619</sup> 對其他高功的作法作直接批評的情況其實頗為罕見，道士們對彼此間不同作法多只以不統傳統/傳承視之，相當寬容。在這個例子裡，原本的高功應該是因為事涉自家宮廟，口氣上便比較直接不客氣，對其中錯誤亦是直指無諱，算是不尋常的例子。此外，基於尊重每一位報導人的意見，我也不會以 A 說法交詰 B 說法，所以得到這個評論，實在是意外的收穫。

	實際版本(2012)	評議版本
十三	開壇啟師 申發三界 中元慶賀 安奉灶君 安薦寒林 大開方隅	開壇啟師 連壇蕩穢 申發三界 靈祖正朝 安奉灶君 申啟城隍 大開方隅 招攝亡魂 安薦寒林
十四	天曹正朝 貢祀諸天 救苦正朝 正申十五 正申酆都	正啟三元 救苦正朝 朱陵黃華 血湖正朝 正申東嶽
十五 620	朝真禮斗 圓滿餞駕 鐵罐斛食 靈祖正朝	中元慶賀 天曹正朝 貢祀諸天 圓滿餞駕 鐵罐斛食

表中的第一欄是外聘高功當時實際安排的順序，第二欄則是與我聊天時，應我之請當場排出的「理想型」勘誤的節次。草擬的過程加上討論，約莫是二十分鐘，間中也會出現斟酌、刪改替換的情況。過程中他對安排或修改都能說出考量的因素，讓我知道他支持、反對的理由，而不是無的放矢。這是我唯一一次親見高功排節次，旁觀過程讓我受益良多。

總結對節次上的批評，主要是在順序時間的不正確。上表中加上網點標注的就是有爭議的部份。首先是第一日(七月十三日)的「大開方隅」(廣成儀制大開方隅全集，十三—39，No.39)，這科的目的就在向五方開道，如此才能把幽魂順利招引到法會現場來，進行安頓與拔度。所以很明顯的，在行動順序上的理解，就應該事先把道路開好了(即大開方隅)，接著才有辦法把主薦附薦一切幽魂提攝過來(即「攝召亡魂」，〈關攝亡魂全集〉，十三—40，No.40)，引亡魂出了鬼門關來到壇場上，又因為不會立時給予超度，所以要先安頓起來，等待最後一天的斛食，於是壇場上便臨時建起男女魂歸所(〈諸品齋醮安建寒林集〉)。照這個時間脈絡理解下來，實作版本沒有先將孤魂招來反而先安了寒林，就是步驟的顛倒錯置，不合於情理。

就節次來說，真正不可寬宥的問題還是在「中元慶賀」(〈中元大會慶聖全集〉，十三—20，No. 20)與「靈祖正朝」(十四—32，No. 151)兩科。中元慶賀是中元會上賀壽的主科，在向中元赦罪天尊朝賀，所以在安排上當然要把這種主科放在「正日子<sup>621</sup>」上來舉行，也就是七月十五日，這是本次編排的錯誤之一。第二個謬誤是，正科在安排上就是要作為中心，讓其他科目好好襯托出來，所

<sup>620</sup>四川地區的中元期間，僅為農曆七月一日至十五(十五晚間亥時即關鬼門)，而不是以七月為整個鬼月。中元法會的安排也沒有關於關鬼門的科目。

<sup>621</sup>盛大的法會常會舉辦多天，但以最有意義的一天，如神明生日或歲時節日為「正日子」。法事的安排也要以該日為中心來設計。

以中元水官大帝不應該是第一位作正朝神祇，在迎賓位序上不合理，在與其他神祇的階序較量上也是大誤。雙重的失誤，造成本次法事最大的錯誤。

「靈祖正朝」也同樣犯在迎請的順序錯誤。「先天斗口靈祖」即民間常呼之「火車王靈官」，作為雷部護法神也是廣成科儀中常見的護法神，深具淨壇伏魔的能力，所以行齋醮時頗可見禮請靈官爺臨壇證盟。在這個概念底下可以想見，若要迎請護法神祇下降，那必然應當排在法事較初始的科目，才起到監與護的功能。此外，前面已解釋過「圓滿餞駕」之所以要排在「鐵罐斛食」之前，就是因為接下來要利濟幽冥，屬於法事本體的部分已經完了，所以餞駕科儀就把所有神靈恭送離開，不可能還獨留靈祖下來，不合禮也不合理。

高功對我解釋這些錯誤時，用的多半是現實世界中人事安排上的比喻，比如觀禮嘉賓都還沒入席怎麼可能請主角上台說話(關於中元慶聖)；你沒有事把人家貴賓留下來不是很沒禮貌嗎！況且把神明留下來看施食法事，鬼魂會怕會不安呀(關於鐵罐<sup>622</sup>)。很生活的比喻使我容易理解故事背景，也進一步讓我對他的決策心悅誠服(本處只對於有網點的科目評論)。明確的、本實上的錯誤與個人意見不同，這裡很明顯可以歸咎於外聘高功的思慮欠周與知識不足。高功即便能自由地安排程序，不容質疑的前提始終屹立在前不容侵犯，必須時時牢記。月令時節、神階、收發窗口...等合乎情理的階序順序不証自明，愈辯愈明，千百年來傳遞下來為道士們信奉不移共同遵守。至於其他不少較細微的項目，實踐上多了模稜兩可的空間，相對容得進些許爭議異議了。

這一小節反覆用多個比喻，希望能更準確地表達道士設計法事的心思歷程。此短短二、三十分鐘之所以重要，因為它幾乎是動用了道士本身習道多年下來的全部知識；而設計出來的法事，也幾乎就能夠涵蓋整個道教精神。那麼道士在這思考過程中都做了些什麼，是否想了一樣的事情，擔心一樣的煩惱，其實我們是很難知道的。只能試著找出共同的作法，歸納出簡扼的步驟(試著理出可能的理絡，但畢竟不可能出現制式公式)。我們只能確定，他們賴以成功的判斷，來自對道教大大小小的常識與知識，引導他們做正確的選擇與決定，並適時提醒他們注意到錯誤與輕忽。道士們要時時警惕充實自我，也要好把握累積經驗的機會。

#### 5-4 靈活奔放的節次安排

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<sup>622</sup> 同樣的意見在與其它道士談天時也出現過，fieldnote 20111101，黃。

如同專供廣成科儀使用的文檢集非常豐富，道士們還是習慣(也是被教育成)自作文檢；道教法事的節次雖然留存不少，道士們還是很強調要自己開列自己設計。法事的設計不喜重複，道士總會多花心思，讓節次的本意不失，氣韻連貫，但排列卻不是一模一樣。可能是出自同一人之手底下的差異，或是同一主題底下不同傳統道士的心思各異，處理相同主題而不相同的節次，卻終究達到一樣的效果，說明了箇中的偏重計較，其實可以殊途同歸。

設計的「殊途」之所以被認可，在於此前再三強調的合於道理。也就是說，無論是堅守自己傳統的廟子，或是高功在處理同質法事，多少存在差異，但都會堅持自作，不曾想過直接沿用過去的舊版本。這有點像是接受請求來一場即席「創作」，經驗老到的道士來說簡直是家常便飯，所以實在不會有抄襲的想法(單純指沿用，不具負面指控)。即便是高功前後安排出了同一樣的節次，安排的當時他還是會重新將思考(或記憶中)的節次寫下來，沒有聽過會直接說那就把去年/上次那個拿出來用就好，這樣的說法。

我們從接下來兩張節次表也可以清楚了解到。兩張表分別代表了不同的使用前提，青羊宮節次表是由同一位高功在前後二年提出稍有不同的節次；以及鶴鳴山表顯示了在傳承較為保守不流通的子孫廟裡，不同年份與不同高功也會有差異。

表 青羊宮中元法會節次比較<sup>623</sup> (同廟同人不同年)

	辛卯年(2011)	壬辰年(2012)
十三	開壇迎聖 申發三界 玉樞寶經 靈祖正朝 正申城隍 祀供灶君 關昭亡魂 安建寒林 停科回向	開壇啓師 申發三界 靈祖正朝 申啟城隍 安奉竈君 關召亡靈 安薦寒林 停科回向
十四	救苦正朝 正申東嶽 午時獻供 度人妙經 正啟三元 血湖正朝 停科回向	正啟三元 早供亡靈 正申東嶽 午供亡靈 朱陵黃華 救苦正朝 血湖正朝 停科回向
十五	中元慶聖 天曹正朝 祀貢諸天 拜斗解厄 圓滿餞駕 鐵鑊斛食	中元慶聖 早供亡靈 拜斗解厄 午供亡靈 祀貢諸天 圓滿餞駕 辭靈送化 鐵鑊斛食

表 鶴鳴山中元法會節次 (同廟不同人不同年)

	庚辰年 <sup>624</sup> (2000)	壬辰年(2012)

<sup>623</sup> 加入網點科目表示兩場共同，部分詞彙稍異(如「正申城隍」或「申啟城隍」)，不影響其內容。

<sup>624</sup> 青羊宮兩年度的節次皆蒙黃高功所贈。鶴鳴山 2000 年資料來源為龔曉康 2001。2012 為筆者實際參與的記錄。

十三	開壇啟師 正申東嶽 款駕停科	連場蕩穢 安奉灶君	申報三界 安薦寒林	開壇啟師 安奉灶君	申發三界 安薦寒林	申啟城隍 關攝亡魂
十四	正啟三元 救苦正朝	靜斗燃燈 正申十王	朝真禮斗 停科回向	正啟三元 血湖正朝 漂放河燈	正申東嶽 救苦法懺	冥京十王 貢祀諸天
十五	正慶中元 圓滿餞駕	貢祀諸天 施食濟幽	朱陵黃華	中元慶聖 圓滿餞駕	救苦正朝 鐵罐斛食	生神正朝

在青羊宮連兩年的紀錄，由於是出自同一位高功手筆，相似度非常地高。但也不因為同一位高功設計、同一個宮廟地點、同一門法事連續的兩年，這一連串的同，而讓排寫出來的節次也一模一樣。相反的，高功反而要利用這樣的情境，高明地點出同中求異的地方，這就是我們說的眼界、手段(這裡描述得有點爭強好勝的脾氣，我不確定高功們是否的確有這樣的意氣，不過他們若是自認安排漂亮，也會表現出開心得意；至於對其它道士/傳統的節次，會含蓄地討論，但不會覺得有比較競爭心態，並且也不會想要模仿，因為傳承不同)。

鶴鳴山的安排，則看的出較大的差異。節次安排的前後問題，可以簡單分為兩種。首先是清吉科事，作為輔佐與增輝一堂法事的平科，在數目與位置上相當彈性不影響行進的原則。再來還有部份是加了網點的科事，這邊顯得比較有趣，明明科事的重複性不低順序上卻顯得混亂，我認為是因為在佈置上有很多支線，要多方綜合所以各有所重。但我們可以看到，無論如何該遵守的規律，如先申「東嶽」才申「十王」，「救苦正朝」要在「餞駕」以前做完，又或者是十四日晚(或)之前要把蓮燈漂送走<sup>625</sup>。此外我們可以看到雖然都屬於陰齋陰法事的範疇，由於該主題底下可互通科目(宛如一個相關資料庫 database)太豐富，選擇使用上就非常豐富，變化也隨之變多。

有個機會與多位熟於科儀的道長們餐後閒聊，道長之一率先分享了他在外地做法事的見聞，另一位道長(較資淺，擔任高功經驗也較少)由於還沒機會行過這科，顯得極有興趣，進一步詢問細節，末了便討論到法事中某些科目究竟如何安排，有的道長認為遵循固有傳統但適時增減，走較保守的萬變不離其宗路線；有的道長則對創意編排顯得興味盎然。這時方才出聲詢問的道長面有得色地拿出一本筆記本，不無炫耀地展示裡面記錄下的他所編、所見的法事節次，內容依照主題分類，其下還有按照一日、三日、多日種的組合，而且常常不止一種排列。這本薄薄的冊子(一般市售小筆記本，每頁約寫有 5~10 筆節

<sup>625</sup> 「救苦正朝」十五--30，No.269；「漂放蓮燈集」十四--57，NO.175。

次，已有 5~7 頁。沒有得到拍照許可)不但是他的見聞、經歷的紀錄，言談中還發現當中的有些節次只是預想創作，是他還沒機會做到的<sup>626627</sup>。這裡看得出一位高功的企圖心與好學的一面，由此不難理解，何以高功在排定節次時快速而篤定，因為他們平素也會好好鍛鍊自己的判斷能理與敏銳度。

負責或受委託行法事的情況多樣，那麼要如何決定由誰來安排節次，又是誰來擔當高功的？一般而言，若是在自己的廟子裡，必然是一切以總責高功為首，由他全權決定；這樣的角色在正一或民間則稱作掌壇師。但若是某位高功單獨受聘前去外地作法事，可考慮的情境就比較複雜，比如他只是簡單作為經師或第二順位輔助的高功，作為支援的性質，那麼基本上他就沒有什麼好準備的，人去了就好，到時一切聽從主持高功的安排，原則上他也不會對指派有任何異議。如果是受聘擔任主要甚至是唯一的高功，那責任就相對較重，節次大概就會由他來決定，文檢也可能要連帶準備(也有可能因為途遠物重而改由其他人準備)。因為是單獨受聘所以需要尊重主家或壇班的情況比較多，當場的配合程度也是需要先考慮的。如果負責糾集班子的是資深掌壇師，但可能已經無體力擔當高功，多數會一手包辦準備事項。這些細節在接洽之初就會把職責劃分清楚，因為不只關係到預先的準備功夫，也將直接影響到高功所得到的酬勞。<sup>628</sup>

對道士們追問設計原理的時候，可以明白到，節次一旦確定，便是公告的定規，壇班中一干經師人等咸須奉行沒有抱怨。即使當中成員也有擔任高功的能力經驗，仍必須對負責該場法事的高功予全然的信任和尊重。反過來它還是可以受到公評，尤其是明顯違反常律，這是所有道士共享的知識體系，藉由日常與科儀的實踐內化；至於各自的變化則屬不同傳統或創作，會加以尊重。

文中的說明除了道士簡單的答覆，還有我自己的知識揣度，漫漫的學習中我試著理解道士說明的理絡，盡量來引申對著節次看圖說話。我要呈現的說明是，我也能盡量印證的原則，我心中思考後也覺得言之成理的地方。但同樣的，我不能保證它們都沒有錯誤，這也是可受評價的。畢竟節次就像是一個創作，難免會受到各人各自的影響，不可能要求整齊劃一；但另一方面它幾乎要依靠著知識與自有原理來運作，充滿著理性判斷，也不容恣意妄為。廣成科儀在諸多執行方面都對人(道士與信眾)較為開放，它容許人的參與成分較高，在

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<sup>626</sup> Fieldnote 2012 尚。

<sup>627</sup> 道士們多會將自己排的節次保留，方式不一。近年由於電腦與網路普遍，有些道士就會利用來保存，這也是因為有排版輸出、上網公告的需要。順帶一提，若是使用電腦儲存檔案，不論是節次、章表文檢，對道士來而言就沒有「斷章」的必要了。

<sup>628</sup> Fieldnote 20120829, 尚。酬勞的份子是根据所領工作難易的分股所得(如每人基本一份，高功多一份，書記一份...等，所以擔責越多酬勞越多)，關於收入分配，以青城山為例可參考甘紹成 2000：48、61。

信仰堅定的前提下，並不事事依賴神明首肯，對信仰與對密法神通的追求也沒有打折扣。這點回到法事設計上，就是道士事事先反求諸己，力求設想周到，盡量把分內工作都做到好，然後坦然面對神明。

## 5-5 現代的改變與疑問

目前四川廣成科儀的發展，雖然逐漸復興，有更多的宮廟恢復，法事規模也逐漸成長，相較於從前盛景，還是顯得疲弱。法事上的無力基於兩方面的問題，《廣成儀制》科本的不齊備，以及傳統凋零，新舊傳承出現斷層。

《廣成儀制》中有很多法事目前已不再做了，有些是因為自然科學與醫學普及而喪失重要性，另一些卻是失傳。就零碎所知，如因為民智大開而逐漸淘汰的科目，大概有因為醫療衛生的進步，祛病祛瘟，特別是祛水痘的機會漸無。這個心態改變仍然是相對的，齋主方面當然明白現代醫學的優勢，小病小痛就醫才是實際；所以通常要到了藥石罔效才會轉回訴諸到信仰，多是盡人事的心理。在道士來說也清楚神力與科技的界限，提出不妄干天意，不做無用之功的立場，與醫療有關的措施目前主要集中在「接壽」、「接限」一類法事。現代建築材料工法的改變，舉行「安龍奠土」的情況也變少(不過若是工事中挖到古墓，還是有習慣作法事奠祭安撫，城市裡也會)；新建或改建房屋前的「禳蟻判散」連鄉村都很少做了，「祈晴禱雨」、「保苗、驅蝗、禳瘟」就更是趨近於零了。  
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至於沒了傳承則難以復原。如公認已失傳科本的「泰山醮」、「十二大願」<sup>630</sup>，在科儀本意上或許不是不能替代，其科本本身要能再現世或許有待奇蹟。另外像規制的簡省，比如民國開始已不興築壇、搭壇方式作法事<sup>631</sup>，所以簡化行事，傳下了新的作法。失去實際的科本或作法，後人嘗試復原往往遇到挫折，比如「左、右案」科儀的應當怎麼來作？在其他非行使廣成但有閱讀廣成的道士眼中，可能出現如一先一後作(先左再右)、二擇一挑選的解讀。在成都目前實際的作法是大型法事中，(多個壇時)由兩個壇同時來作，又或是分在一天的早與晚來作；此外還是有不少廣成道士對此感到陌生<sup>632</sup>。

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<sup>629</sup>此類需求相應的廣成科儀試，試各舉一例：「接壽正朝」(十三—86, No.86)、「祈禳十八誥」(十三—89, No.89)、「禳痘疹全集」(十三—60, No.60)、「土皇醮」諸科(十三—98~100, No.98~100)、「奠謝古墓」(十四—103, No.235)、「禳蟻判散」(十四—21, No.140)、「龍王正朝」(十四—5, No.124)、「保苗」諸科(十四—13~17, No.132~6)、「瘟醮」諸科(十五—40~45, No.279~84)等。以上僅簡單舉例，實際還有很多科事可選用，亦能組合變化。

<sup>630</sup> Fieldnote 20120716, 董。

<sup>631</sup> Fieldnote 20120716, 董。

<sup>632</sup> Fieldnote 阿烽、三山、黃。



當然也不是沒有復原順利的，例如「放生科儀」和「財神正朝」。這兩部經在《廣成儀制》現公開各版本中都不存在，但於現今信仰者而言又算是較知名或較需要的，所以能被找尋、修復也是意料之中。就筆者所知每年農曆四月初八的放生會，在四川已經復行了五到十年(在長江或其支流)，財神正朝近三五年也可見到舉辦告示，都不只一個團體在做。這個復興最有疑慮的地方是科本，由於號稱是殘本修補，與原書的差異並無法比較。目前所見內容也只有現代電子排版書體沒有原版(案，這兩科的版本現在都可以在網路上找到)，所幸就內容來說<sup>633</sup>，因為還是保持廣成科儀段落規制的編排，實行上應該沒有難度。

科儀書有新造作，科儀本身當然也有不同詮釋；法事之內各科能自由安排，科事之內也不乏有獨到創意。鶴鳴山的禮斗法事有提供「靜斗燃燈」、「朝真禮斗」、「拜斗解厄」三科，此三科當然是分別獨立的科儀，不過因為都屬於朝斗性質，禮神朝真的段落是相同的，高功便巧妙地利用這一點，將三科串聯在一起用。三科合作的禮斗在節次上就變成一整科，作法是開壇灑淨到圓滿回向之間，以靜斗→朝斗→拜斗的順序來作，到了相同請神環節，就可以翻到下一科接著做；概念是簡省下重複的請神，將三門稍有不同目的的禮斗一起做到，兼顧三個優點，畢其功於一役<sup>634</sup>。青羊宮在做「貢天」法事時，也出現過將部份段落回頭加作一次<sup>635</sup>。將有共通性質的科儀剪裁、跳接來作，當中的巧妙並不是為求特殊，而是道士透過了閱讀、實踐體悟到可以互通、簡省之處何在，將之以合理的設計安排。

(圖 10)

很多傳統若是常見或行之有年，大家往往習以為常，只當是不同於本身的傳統。但若是明顯受到時下流風所致，又或者是缺乏可稽傳承，往往私下成為受質疑的話題。比如某川西之內宮廟發展得早人員又充足，是廣成傳統的大重鎮，不少後起小廟都曾往去學習科儀，近幾年卻常常被抱怨科儀改動得太多太勤，雖然只是當中一些小步驟(原因並不清楚，或是因為屢屢受邀外出演法受到啟發，或是自矜於龍頭地位)，所以有道士私下興歎「一年一個樣」，或是「我

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<sup>633</sup> 關於不在現有出版者(起碼刻版形制風格能符合)，甚至不在目錄上的新科本，認定上是有困難的。不論是手抄本或是電腦打字排版，難免有容易模仿攀附的嫌疑。有的道士們認為可以從經文風格判斷，但主要還是看有沒有使用需要。也有的認為既然真假難明，那麼不在目錄裡的科本，一概不收不看。各有道理。

<sup>634</sup> 田野中有多位道長都認為這是鶴鳴山很獨到的傳統，且據說它在 1985 年便已存在(由於追溯上模糊，還不能確定更早或真正開始的時間點)。此外青城山可能也有類似的作法，將此三科合稱作「廣成儀制清靜朝真禮斗全集」，簡稱「朝斗」。(甘紹成 2000：290~1)。筆者並未親見，不能確定與鶴鳴山的做法是否相同。

<sup>635</sup> 當時高功解釋這是一種強調，並認為只是傳統的不同，沒有什麼意義。(fieldnote 20110616，黃)

們○○現在都沒辦法跟他們配合了！<sup>636</sup>」不過宮廟間彼此卻又不排擠、敵視，仍有相當合作。新學的道法也是，某位高功近幾年開始在他主持科儀當中的灑淨之後增加一個罡步：「鎖壇」，在他的道法理解裡，「灑淨鎖壇」(其節次表中用法)是為了保持壇內肅穆清靜(就像是我把地方打掃乾淨了就圍起來不讓人走)，偶然聽到有道士對這個新做法頗不以為然，他持的觀點是，既然把壇都鎖了神祇又如何能下降(你把家門都關上了怎麼能邀請客人來呢?)。兩造在這個議論上各執一理，而且各有說得通的地方，究竟有沒有正解我也不能確定。

新造科儀書多少也有這樣的問題。所謂新造是原本就不存在《廣成儀制》裡面，因為新的使用目的而有的全新編寫。當然這個在內容上並非百分百的自做創新，在格式上還是很遵照廣成原有的架構，當中使用頌、贊、咒等也是從原有科本裡套用，整體仍力求與廣成科本體制相近。新作的情形目前還很少，多是為了新的實用目的。如「救苦正朝」(十五--30, No.269)一科本是陰法事，作為超薦法會上禮懺太乙救苦天尊的科儀，所以雖是正朝但不能用於賀壽，有道長便為宮廟行祝壽儀編寫新科「東極正慶全集」，其內容大體脫胎於「救苦正朝」但又能巧妙地改寫配合變化的情境。又如高雄關帝廟裡五路財神的受祀特別鼎盛，廟方為了在其壽誕法會表現更為慎重，就編寫了「財神正朝<sup>637</sup>」科事。這兩科都標註在《廣成儀制》底下，未來被接受或推廣的情形還有待觀察。

本節提出必須要對安排節次深入了解，是在強調節次的建立本身就是對道教科儀所有運行法則的肯定，進一步說，它是由道教所有知識所支持；因為唯有這批幕後的龐大的知識不斷衝擊辯證，道士才能找出正確的規律脈絡，才能回答研究者提問的理解科儀法事的基礎。

不論守成或創新，行廣成科儀的道士們接受道法薰陶，歷來主動、寬容彈性的風格，養成廣成道士自主又自由的堅持，對造作法事節次(多科或單科)、造作文檢上成果極佳，也讓他們更有自信繼續創造下去。這個體會讓我能回過頭來自答，為什麼對廣成道士而言，沒有固定的《廣成儀制》目錄真的不是太大的困擾。因為學習、了解科儀的過程讓他建立自己對科儀的詮釋，不管是類型、組合關係，在他實用的範疇裡，心中自有一套儀式性質的連鎖聯想網絡讓他索驥，設計利用，並且不會離開正途。道士在每一次的節次編排都花下心思，讓法事編排更圓滿更反應心志。表現在多采多姿的節次表上，只要是端守原則、言之成理，大膽地表現融會貫通後的見解，都是可行且可敬的。

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<sup>636</sup> 這兩個發言分別來自不同宮廟的道長。他們的言論雖有些戲謔，一些些感嘆，卻不是對該廟法事的全盤否定。另外，對於沒辦法配合這樣的評論其實很有意思，筆者曾觀看一次法事，期中只覺得不時會卡卡頓頓的，眾唱部份也很虛弱，事後才知道是該廟與另一間廟成員的合作。所以在搭配上的確出現頗容易被察覺的不流暢，默契也比較差。但不能搭配卻似乎不等於不能一起登壇！事後也未因此起勃發。不同群道士間的認同，未來應該持續研究。

<sup>637</sup> 與本小節一開始提到的版本不同。由關帝廟陳高功編寫，目前應僅有該廟使用。

## Ch6 以「受生填還」法事為例，看廣成科儀安排的今昔之異

本章將以更完整細緻的手段繼續說明廣成科儀的理解及編排思路，透過一場較大規模法事的舉行，一連串的規劃，實際說明道士是如何思考並安排一場法事。這裡我以一個在漢人社會普遍存在但可能有地方差異的法事——「受生填還」為例。先簡單說明此科事的神學概念，接著以筆者曾完整參與的一場還受生法事為例，再搭配其他編排可能，說明道士首先如何理解「還受生」的核心意義，以此推敲安排最適當的節次，務求達致心中的理想型。

### 6-1 「受生填還」的基本概念

「受生填還」的概念，簡單的說就是人在出生之時，為了能順利托生，對五斗星君、祿庫曹官、本命元辰等專司神祇許諾了一筆謝金(又一說是欠款)，承諾順利託生後歸還。這筆錢應該在人生在世時償還清楚，如此有助於現世之福祐，更重要是人身亡故後，可不經地獄再得人身。

「受生填還」的神學基礎來自《道藏》的〈靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經〉(洞玄部本文類人字號)與〈太上老君說五斗金章受生經〉(洞神部本文類女字號)。根據解題，約是成於隋唐與宋元<sup>638</sup>。兩部經在成書時間與授受上沒有直接關係，內容敘述和實踐上也不重合，但是兩經的旨趣在同一方向，也可以說他們要解決的人生問題是一樣的。所以一般多將此二經併列使用，以求保障更大更全面。目前所知各地行受生填還法事，除了納金謝神，也要誦念這二部經(偶有獨偏一經的情形)。

四川地區廣成科儀在還受生上也遵循這兩部經的教訓，向來只為生人作，這點從現存科本、史料記載與田野訪談中都可以看到。在《廣成儀制》的編排上，作還受生不是一個簡單的小事，而是有整體搭配的多日法事，一般來說起碼要三天以上。所以傳統上家族能作還受生是件了不得的事，自然也成了不少老人家念茲在茲的大事。對四川道士而言，作還受生錢也是件大事，因為這是廣成科儀裡對文檢需求最繁多的一門法事，需要大量的事前準備。

〈靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經〉(以下簡稱〈祿庫經〉)講述靈寶天尊說法時光妙音真人叩問世間男女富貴貧賤何以不同，天尊於是詳說：一切眾生皆「命屬天曹，身繫地府」，得生之日向地府冥司借貸了受生錢財，登錄進祿簿之中便成為人身的富貴貧賤，若一再負欠不還就會被冥官剋陽祿還陰債。所以在世時除了行善敬道，還應當設齋行醮，「依吾教誦念此經，燒還祿庫受生錢」(2a)，

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<sup>638</sup> 《中華道教大辭典》p.151 與 p.282；The Taoist canon, p.986-987；蕭登福則以為兩經疑是同時代的作品，約在中唐或唐末。(蕭 2002 p.92)

如此便得富貴、官壽、榮華或男身等等，反之則蹇困窮苦。此等高低也反映在天尊賜予北帝的寶樹神弓，寶樹的東西南北枝各代表不同貴賤境遇，得生者以此弓箭射向寶樹，依所得結果託生，但是射箭的結果是受到自然果報的道力影響。接著仔細說明十二年宮(地支)掌管祿庫的曹官，其姓氏與所欠錢數，這筆錢是人要將出生時(人之生身)所欠。第二筆欠銀則是出生當時(即得為人身時)所許下的元辰錢財，皆清楚列出十二所屬元辰(地支)曹官的名位、錢數。

本經精短但陳述清楚明確。人受生之時有所逋欠，所以當認清此負欠，在生時完成償還，償還的內容有二：與地府有關的「受生錢」，以及與星斗元辰有關的「元辰之財」。若能如數奉還，並且「一一明具合同疏牒，燒還本屬庫分者，即得見世獲福，富貴果報，來生永無苦難。」(4b)得到當生與來世雙重的福祐。其所欠祿庫受生錢與元辰錢數目如下：

	屬第__庫	欠金 (萬貫)	宮曹姓
子	1	1.3	李
丑	2	28	田
寅	3	8	雷
卯	4	8	柳
辰	5	5	袁
巳	6	7	紀
午	7	26	許
未	8	10	朱
申	9	4	車
酉	10	5	鄭
戌	11	2.5	成
亥	12	0.9	亢

	本命元辰姓名	得人身許錢 (貫)
子	劉文真	7000
丑	孟侯	9000
寅	鐘元	6000
卯	郝元	10000
辰	李文亮	6400
巳	曹交	1000
午	張巳	9000
未	孫恭	4000
申	杜準	8000
酉	田交佑	5000
戌	崔漸進	5000
亥	王爽	6000

〈太上老君說五斗金章受生經〉(以下簡稱〈五斗經〉)說太上老君對五方五老天尊以下諸聖眾講述混沌陰陽妙要如何影響人類因緣報應，人之生時感五方五斗之氣，因應本命元辰十二相屬，所以各由不同斗炁注生(五斗中每斗轄有兩個生時人，天干計)，並應當在三元五臟本命北斗下日等隨力章醮，供養五方五老，配以老君宣說的五方真文神咒，可幫助九天生炁注入人身，保守五炁，安鎮五臟。

而注生之日向天曹地府所許本命元錢，依每斗每炁各許了若干萬貫。這些須醮送的「本命錢」，依規定將暫寄天曹地府的十二本命、十二庫神底下(地支計)，

所以人當區辨、緊認當屬之本命庫官。經中教適宜在本命之日行章醮，把逋欠燒醮了足。又教，若是貧困無力請作道場，可改延請道士來家中持誦五斗金章寶經，每遍可折抵一萬貫文錢；倘仍無力負擔，也可自願持誦。本命錢與所屬庫份細目為：

	命屬	許本命錢 (貫文)
甲、乙	東斗九氣	9 萬
丙、丁	南斗三氣	3 萬
戊、己	中斗十二氣	12 萬
庚、辛	西斗七氣	7 萬
壬、癸	北斗五氣	5 萬

第__庫	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
__時出生	子	辰	申	亥	卯	未	寅	午	戌	巳	酉	丑

細讀兩經，我們會發現在內容與運作要求上並不相同，實作上甚至並非互為補充。但主訴是一致的，即講述受生錢/債的由來、人為什麼要還受生錢、還與不還受生錢的得失，及如何還受生錢。這筆為了託生所欠下的銀錢，因為與天曹(星斗)和地府(受生院)都有關係，所以對個人在世的流年運途、功德陰鷲莫不有相關，直接影響了在世的順遂、亡故的審判和來世的人生。於是：

「燒醮了足，即得見世安樂，出入通達，吉無不利，所願如心，自有本命星官常垂蔭祐，使保天年。過世之時，不失人身，得生富貴文武星臨財星祿星伍福照要，身命胎宮，安樂長壽，不值惡緣。」(《五斗經》7a-b)

經文中，無論是靈寶天尊或太上老君在講述償還受生錢債時都強調應當在現世還了，這就是屬於「預修<sup>639</sup>」醮儀。宋時林靈真《靈寶領教濟度金書》(洞玄部威儀類)中多處提到「預修黃籙齋<sup>640</sup>」中要設「壽生<sup>641</sup>醮」，焚化填還及寄

<sup>639</sup> 所謂的「預修」，顧名思義凡為來生預備作的法事都能算在裡面，所以可以涵蓋的品目很多，不是一個科事專稱。道士可以根據齋主需要白事紅作，比如本章討論的還受生錢；也可能是法事功能所及，有時會顯現在隨門分事中，如「南斗正朝」、「北斗正朝」、「正奏天曹」等。(《廣成》對科儀中的隨事分門設計得很細緻，如常見的「南斗正朝」分成有：醮會、裕民、斗筵、預修、亡齋等五門。)對預修的討論，可以參考 James Robson 2013, 李鴻志 2008。

<sup>640</sup> 如《靈寶領教濟度金書》開列有「預修黃籙齋五日節目」(卷二)、「科儀成立品預修黃籙用，三日九朝」(卷 161~3)、「(預修用)天曹寄庫醮儀」(173)，並在其後各卷分註如神位(6)、真文(271)、存思(285)、文檢(197、311~3)等範本。

<sup>641</sup> 道藏中兩部經皆使用「受生」，而「壽生」據蕭登福先生的看法是出自佛經用法(蕭 2002)。在《大成金書》裡受生與壽生卻呈現混用；《無上黃籙大齋立成儀》(洞玄部威儀類)也是這樣的

庫財馬(卷 2)；卷 173〈科儀成立品·天曹寄庫醮儀〉、卷 313〈文檄發表品·預修牒劄關奏申狀表〉都是直接對寄庫填還的規制。全書中共有十一卷處提及預修受/壽生，各卷中亦陸續提到天曹掌六十甲子壽生真君名諱、所需疏牒合同各色文檢以及凡例須知等，與《廣成儀制》大致相同。

明《上清靈寶濟度大成金書》與《濟度金書》對還受生的發明持相同看法。卷四十中提到的「至於寄庫受生之錢」，指出受生錢雖然是人死後才使用，亡人持著陽合同與所屬庫官(持陰合同)一同開庫，點數足額欠款歸還之，但在生時就要填還完了，要先燒化銀錢往庫官處「寄存」暫管。即使甯全真、周思德認為這樣的儀式並非一開始(或指兩本道經成書的下限宋元之前?)就設立，乃「後世添入也」(卷 40)，可以確定的是起碼在這高道甯全真生活的時代---亦即宋時起，還受生就已經成為「預修」法事之一項，且已頗有規模。

另根據蕭登福先生的研究，寄庫在唐末時已存在，其時紙錢之所以相當普遍，能廣為接受，與道佛這幾部受生經的出世大有關係<sup>642</sup>。紙錢<sup>643</sup>作為還庫最重要又最大宗的準備物質，其影響庫銀思想的出現很是必然。不過蕭先生文中過度強調了燒化紙錢供死後生活與來世享用，筆者以為在經文中其實並沒有這麼著重，反而是後世增衍的結果，當然正是反應了民間信眾的心願<sup>644</sup>，也是道士向齋主說明(推銷)的話術。以經文推衍當然可以說有這樣的意味，不過筆者以為「還庫錢」原意指的是歸還逋欠，三生因而得到福祐為獎賞，與在現世有餘力而為來世預先積存錢財富貴，在意義上還是有區別的<sup>645</sup>。

還受生錢的概念與做法看起來簡單，但作起來卻相當細緻龐雜，法事本身最少就得作上三天，通常是五天或七天，還不提事前大量的文檢、器用準備工作，鉅款的紙錢採買摺疊包裝也不輕鬆。四川直到國民政府時代，還是以家族/家庭為單位延請道士舉行(主要於家中，宮觀則少)，因為所費甚鉅，其實並不是每家每戶都負擔得起，時常是兩三代積攢了錢才一起作了。著急趕在臨終前要還完的念頭，使得很多老人家對此是念茲在茲，以筆者對成都附近幾間還有舉辦受生填還法事道觀的詢問，發現九〇年代宗教限制鬆綁後，這些宮觀都是

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情形。筆者以為二詞區別或許不那麼涇渭分明，但本文則一貫使用「受生」。

<sup>642</sup> 蕭 2002: 79

<sup>643</sup> 關於還受生或還庫專用紙錢，相關討論可參考 Hou Ching-Lang 1975。

<sup>644</sup> 如「寄庫。最可笑者，富家婦女希冀來世投身富家，往往生前延僧道假廟地設壇，焚燒楮錢甚夥，妄信某甲子生人，冥間某庫官管庫，生前焚楮，取具合同，預儲以備來生之用，謂之「寄庫」。」(《四川省志·民俗志》p. 441。本條原文應來自《合川縣志》風俗，本志乃轉引《覺軒雜著》)；文中以民眾信仰的角度說明利害，也應證了昔日還受生大化楮材收執合同的行為，以及窮人可能負擔不起的社會現實。另，據《中華道教大辭典》「寄庫」條(劉仲宇作)說明，是流行於全中國大部分地區，先寄給陰間冥吏，以備死後使用，則又是另一種規劃方式。足見寄庫流傳及衍義的多元。

<sup>645</sup> 如現代日益熱絡的求財方式：補財庫，或稱「進錢補運」，強調的是拿冥錢弭補增強現世原本虧損的財運祿運，求得偏財或事業人緣。

應年長信眾的要求才重新舉辦這個法事；而應該也是自該時起，四川的還受生才因經濟與人力的考量，改為公開報名讓信眾集體還受生。

## 6-2 《廣成儀制》中受生填還科儀的當代實踐

現存《廣成儀制》中與受生填還直接相關的科儀本還有四部：〈正奏金籙受生全集〉(十三 95, No. 95)、〈受生鴻齋迎庫官全集〉(十三 96, No. 96)、〈受生填還全集〉(十三 94, No. 94)、〈祭享神吏夫丁集〉(十四 55, No. 173)。可以說這四科的啟事是還受生最精要核心的功能。以下僅依科事的次第，對此四科的內容簡單說明<sup>646</sup>：

〈正奏金籙受生全集〉：一如科名中之「正奏」，本科要在請神與啟事，先禮五方五靈五老天尊，繼向九天金籙無量壽生真君，南斗、北斗暨九天諸聖真啟事(呼應了〈五斗經〉的請神次第；經中亦提及謹遵「五斗金章之昭示」(8b))，向神靈奏文、稟明主事，是最正式的說明場合。是進入正題的首科。

向來法事中請神啟事，都是從神位尊高的依序向下迎請，所以這言事的第一科是與法事相關的位高神祇，架構嚴謹，規格也較高；如請五方五老天尊時道眾誦唱五方靈章密咒，在結尾時發十二大願與回向三寶。一如送化時道眾所舉天尊「托化受生天尊。一句一拜，每句必舉此號。」(9b)，呼應本科究極旨要。行填還之三科在科本架構上很相似，都在迎請神祇並啟事邀福，由階序、意圖逐層向下而愈加詳細。

〈受生鴻齋迎庫官全集〉：迎請專職鎮庫司財的嶽府受生院六十庫庫官，因為庫官乃「統寄庫之曹權」(13b)，受生錢要歸寄所屬庫中，必然是依靠庫官的配合、協助。《廣成儀制》的這一科很明顯吸收了〈祿庫經〉加〈五斗經〉，將人生的時辰具體細析為天干乘地支共六十屬分，成為嶽府受生院的六十庫官，每個屬份的生人還增制了相應的看經數目；不過在本科裡還的是嶽府受生院的受生錢，可能從〈祿庫經〉而來的成分要稍高些。本科還有一個重點是，雖然主請齋主的主掌庫官，但另外五十九位「合案庫卿」也要請足。

請庫官時以每十位為一撥，依次唱名每位皆須躬身或叩首迎請，每一撥高功便運香<sup>647</sup>一回。齋主所屬之外的五十九位庫官，對他們的迎請除了使儀式完整，更有盟証監督之意。因為是多日法事，更因為曹官主者是還受生的專司神

<sup>646</sup> 此四科說明是以當代儀式行進的次第排序。從序號可見次第與《藏外道書》中不符，而舊目錄「老青羊版」與「白雲版」前三科的排序亦與《藏外》同(在卷三十二，該部分排序兩版皆同；「祭賞神夫」則在第十卷)。

<sup>647</sup> 《廣成儀制》中高功對香的使用概有「上香」、「運香」、「獻香」等，其分別除了神階或流程情境，也與祕法有關。除了香的形狀不同(柱香或(寸)段香)，一般人在觀看上並不能區別。

祇，庫官迎下之後，便需要予安位，這裡仍然是區分成齋主所屬庫官與其他五十九院的掌庫神曹主司兩個案下；現行的法事由於已是公眾集體，已經沒有這樣區分了。

〈受生填還全集〉：承續〈受生迎庫〉對道經的活用，本科甚至出現了「謹遵金籙五斗祿庫受生經」(6b)這樣的綜合稱謂；很明顯本科中對兩部經的要求全部採納，構成了一部合成版。本科的主旨在償還，向五斗星君暨以下干支本命元辰、祿庫仙官等信禮，說明將要填還的內容：1.○斗○炁星君垣下，2.本命元辰宮，3.地府受生院衣祿庫第○庫，總○萬貫文錢，由三曹共鑒，享受酒奠香儀。

這三個職司的功能，從朝禮當中可以看出不同。如，向○斗○炁星君求添算加年，增延壽紀；向本命元辰星官求培根固本，增益神靈；向地府祿庫宮要求「借項清楚，即時登記。冥債全還，永無逋欠。」(11b)還要向地府財庫案總監曹官主者求妥善監收貯藏，俾使「信人百年限滿，執憑到案開庫，領果受享承功。填還冥貸之需，餘作更生之用。」(12b)

〈祭享神吏夫丁集〉：夫丁力士地位雖微，卻是押運受生錢財出力的重要幫手，本科就是在向神祇庫官等陳事申文清楚後，將要交付全部冥財箱籠，招待已事先(前一日)敦請城隍撥來的夫丁力士們宴飲。當中所見酒食是五天中惟一的葷餚，準備餐飲要適量但不充飽，然後再加點雄雞血助威(雞冠血數滴，不幸殺)，充分顯現出低階差役血食兇猛又須加以馴化的性質。本科中因為有遣調命令和託付大量銀錢，高功使用密法也會較多。對夫丁要加以鼓勵(認真工作、路迢忍耐)、叮嚀(要交割清楚、搬運小心、不可貪心)，之後就將金銀包袱(還包括給城隍、土地、庫官、夫丁力士的謝金/ 辛苦錢各一份)、疏文、引文與火冊全部燒化。自此受生錢才算暫時移交入庫了。

本科旨在給辛苦勞役的夫丁力士小小酬謝，交代搬運錢財箱籠寶庫的工作要點；可見其實並非專為還受生所設計，而是凡燒化大量紙錢的科事都會需要。只是現在道教法事承接的限制，所以大概只在本科裡見到了。

### 例子：打受生醮

筆者首次參加還受生法事，是在西元 2011 年 11 月 16~20 日(辛卯年十月二十一至二十五日)湖北省武漢市。該次法事由黃陂區思源觀邀請四川省大邑縣鶴鳴山道觀道長前往主持，法事全稱為「太上慶聖祝國裕民填還受生酬還宿貸醮事一中通陳五晝宵」，全程使用廣成科儀。



筆者與思源觀主持結識於鶴鳴山，當時吳當家雲游至此閉關，聽到筆者與道長們討論到還受生錢，顯得很感興趣，直說民國之前武漢也曾經有這樣的傳統<sup>648</sup>，很希望有機會在自己的廟子裡作一次，促成了這次機緣。

參與道長一共七位，皆聘自成都鶴鳴山道觀。成員六位坤道與一位乾道，當中的乾道輩分最高，大家都尊稱他師爺；師爺是唯一現在不住鶴鳴山的道士，他其實還是鄰近川王宮的住持，川王宮與鶴鳴山是「下院形式」的關係(指非十方叢林的道觀，分支旁出去的傳承)，言談間講得出師承關係；彼此向來往來密切，互相支援的情形很常見。這次就是因應多日法事需要高功支援，才一同前來。其實一行七位道長，就有四位能夠擔任高功(實際上是由其中三位輪番上場)，陣容相當堅強。

前面提到作受生填還是件很辛苦的法事，其中一個重要原因就是文檢數量實在太過龐大。首先每一位參加者，就必須專門準備四個文書筒子(一方函三筒子)與五通文檢，還不計算每個科需要向神祇燒化的表文與符籙，當然準備金銀包袱的封條造冊等也頗費工夫。許多道長都認同這是廣成科儀裡最費文檢的法事了，「事前準備非常辛苦，如果不是被一再要求實在不太愛做，但這也是相當大的功德就是了<sup>649</sup>」。

以本次法事為例，因為是該地多年來第一次作受生填還，也因著吳當家的信徒眾多，事前報名就有約一百五十人，最後還超過了一百八十人之譜(原本有要求一個月前就須報名完了，這是很常見的限期規劃。因為相關準備極耗時，也有核對造冊的問題，為免臨場混亂，一般不喜收臨時報名者)，在鶴鳴山上就為此動員道眾提前準備了一個月。準備內容不單只是文書的填寫繕抄、符章表文書寫，連壇上所需各式文疏筒子、神祇牌位、金銀包袱封條等，都是手工製作的。

每人共需五道文疏，分別將放入四個筒子，依使用順序是：

--上「天曹地府宮」(方函)：疏文，用於上陳本事，請神下鑑，證明填還與功德。用於「金籙受生」。

--上「嶽府受生院第○庫○曹官」(信封)：陰陽合同之一，在迎請所有庫官降下，陳意請事後，遞交的還款合同。合同一式兩份作為還款憑證，兩紙並蓋一

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<sup>648</sup> 如湖北《長春觀志》(民國李理安撰)中「醮聯品」，錄有「生日受生」與「受生」兩項共計十二組對聯。當中一例如「納鏹酬冥以答生錢借貸。投財寄庫堪為後世良圖」，可知其生前借貸、此生酬還、身後德福的觀念清楚，與廣成科儀的立意相似。武漢在清與民國時的道教活動均盛，但該地還受生法事如何安排並不清楚。

<sup>649</sup> Field note 20120214，理清。

章，以為核對真偽；第一份(陰合同)由當人所隸曹官執收，伺百年後憑第二份(陽合同)共同開庫點收填還。用於「受生迎庫」。

--給「嶽府財庫案總監曹官主者」(信封)：牒文，行文該人所屬曹官主者，說明本事，牒請與辦理註記。用於「受生填還」。

--給「本縣城隍主者輔德尊神」(信封)：牒文，牒請地方城隍，說明本事並請臨駕監鑑。頗有請作來當見證人並兼作中保的意思。陰陽合同之二，本為齋主收執，百年後火化，作為開領自己庫樓的憑證，因為若是遺失無法補發，長時間收執容易造成很多困擾，所以這裡改為寄放城隍處，請城隍代為保管。(這個處理方式顯為現代變通考量，當然也還有其他道觀維持發還齋主保存的傳統)。用於「祭賞神夫」。

由文檢所陳對象與內容，不難看出填還法事的核心目的就是陳明齋主身分、受生時間地點等人身資料，列明所逋欠受生錢數及所屬曹官，再向祂(暨全部六十曹官)請求協助。從預告、陳事無一不是緊扣著已歸還、請點收、請保管、請註記簿錄、請勾銷等目的，每個名字每筆金錢看經數到每個步驟都要確保仔細記錄，最後以求福圓滿告結。

如前所介紹，全壇法事安排講究端整平衡，不可能單單依靠直接相關的神祇功曹來完成，必須迎請更高更多的神靈降臨駐駕，也需要安排更豐富更利濟天人的科事來積累福運，於是就需要搭配完備且周到的節次。本次法會安排如下：

時間	節次	使用科本	高功	備註
日之 一 8H50 9H35	開壇啟師 灑淨嚴界 申發三界	開壇啟師(ZW 無, RJ 223)	Z	二十一日 乙亥 蕩穢
10H20 12H10	秘書皇旛 揚旛昭告 禱結皇旛	(已無科本) 揚旛昭告(十三 2, No. 2) 禱結皇旛(十四 50, No. 168)	Z	
14H40 15H25	(關招符使)	關招符使(十三 52, No. 52)	Z	
15H40 16H35	祀供灶君 款駕停科 (兼作朝旛)	安奉竈君(RJ 244)	Z	
日之 二 8H10	正啟三元	正啟三元(十三 1, No. 1)	Y	二十二日 丙子

9H30				
10H10 11H05	南斗正朝 朝旛宣榜	南斗正朝(十三 82 , No. 82)	Y	*蕩穢
14H25 15H05	日月正朝	日月正朝(十三 8 , No. 8)	W	
15H15 16H25	天曹正朝	天曹正朝(十三 4 , No. 4)	W	
16H45 17H15	(誦兩部受生經)			
18H00 18H30	安建寒林 停科回向	安建寒林(十四 54 , No. 172)	Z	
日之 三 8H10 9H05	星主正朝	星主正朝(十三 85 , No. 85)	Z	二十三日 丁丑
10H05 11H40	靜斗燃燈	貢祀諸天(十三 6 , No. 6) 靜斗燃燈 (RJ 205) 朝真禮斗 拜斗解厄 (RJ 189)	Z	*蕩穢
14H30 15H20	童初五相 (朝旛)	童初五相(十四 25 , No. 144)	Z	
16H00 17H15	正奏金籙	金籙受生	Z	
日之 四	※戊不朝真※ (戊寅)			
日之 五 8H45 9H40	受生迎庫	受生迎庫	W	二十五日 己卯
10H30 11H25	受生填還	受生填還	Z	*蕩穢
12H20 12H35	(拜師)			
14H35 15H20	謝旛還神 圓滿餞駕	謝旛還神() 圓滿餞駕(十三 54 , No.54)	㊟	此二科實際次 序對調
16H20 16H50	祭賞神夫	祭賞神夫	Z	
18H25	鐵罐斛食	鐵罐斛食	Z	

20H20				
10H10	[私人家內事] 禮斗*	靜斗燃燈	Z	二十六日 庚辰
11H30		朝真禮斗		*蕩穢
14H30	度亡	度亡轉咒科(?)	Z	
17H00				

從表中可以看到五日科事的安排情形，預先的安排是當年的(農曆)十月21~25日，因為卡進了不可朝真的「戊寅」禁日<sup>650</sup>，只好將原訂的五日法事，強壓縮為四天，雖然變得緊湊，但沒有因此刪改抽掉。每科法事須時長短不同，以本次來說約在三十到六十分鐘之間，平均四~五十分鐘一科。至於第六天的私人法事，並不計算在本次還受生中，只是當地兩三戶信眾糾款請道長們額外作的(也需要事先就安排好)。向來延請道士外出(或來家中)作法事開銷不小，一次有三五位以上道士更不容易，所以「加點錢，附著作」的情形，甚至是當場出現私人小要求(開光、算命、風水...)非常常見。

在上一章已介紹的還受生相關四部科本(表中加網點者)之外，可以看到高功還安排了相當多的科事，使安排完滿「均衡」。所謂的均衡，以筆者對《廣成儀制》的理解，是指安排架構的得當、穩固，既要合乎禮節規制，請神迎聖得體周到，完整呈現法事核心目的，並能因事置宜加入富涵消災、清吉的科儀，且不忘作到冥陽兩利。

基本的結構，是指必不可缺少的儀禮架構，當然這也是每種齋醮事都必須具備的，若是以本次法會節次而言，是：「鳴鼓發爐」、「開壇啟師」、「灑淨嚴界」、「停科回向」、「停科款駕」、「圓滿錢駕」<sup>651</sup>。簡化來說，就是法事開頭、結尾與間中每日暫止等的科，用來構成引導法事起承轉合的固定程序，使流程順暢有節度，在許多研究中或稱之為「通用法事」。「鳴鼓發爐」是為第一次端嚴壇場，昭示著整通法事的伊始，於生人(道士暨信眾)便知曉端正身心，於鬼神亦有迴避、肅聽等效用。「開壇啟師」在第一時間就把祖師請下來護壇監臨，是因為道士極重視法脈，除了表示我行這個制度的有所本所依，還因為祖師在人神溝通時起著橋樑般的功效，要靠著祖師保奏、傳達個

<sup>650</sup> 戊不朝真即道教在六戊日(戊子、戊寅、戊辰、戊午、戊申、戊戌日)不燒香、誦經、不朝拜，不建齋設醮。此禁忌由來已久，道書《抱朴子》即有此訓，到了南宋《道門定制》明確規定不焚香祈願。清以後為全真派嚴格遵守。詳情可參考閔智亭 1990：46。

<sup>651</sup> 其所用科本為：〈建壇啟師〉(十三 44, No.44)、〈圓滿錢駕全集〉(筆者案：藏外版作「諸品齋醮錢駕迴鑾集」十三 54, No. 54 乃天師洞手抄版；目前道士使用為現代青羊宮老版印製，內容上幾無不同，可參考人家版)。兩場款駕延著前一場科事末增加回向唱誦的簡化方式，沒有正規地使用科本。

意，本事方能上達。祖師坐鎮是為第一重的監壇。「灑淨嚴界」即淨化壇場，廣成科儀較常以召請「九鳳破穢宋大將軍<sup>652</sup>」化符咒水灑淨的方式嚴潔場域；當然淨化的不限一種，規模(時間和場域)上分作大灑淨與小灑淨。「停科回向」、「停科欸駕」都是告示當天法事暫止的小科事，請神明暫時返駕或歇息，還有一個功能是回向；這兩科在功能內容上來說極其相似，可以代替通用。「圓滿餞駕」則到了法事的最末，一切依科行事，託神明護祐圓滿完成，於是將功勞歸於神明，為其言功，再三懇謝然後恭敬餞送。

固定骨架之外，高功自也安排了恰當相應的科儀。「申發三界<sup>653</sup>」是普告三界，法事將要舉行，達到廣告週知。第二日的「天曹正朝」則向所有需要招請的功曹仙官請求協助，希望在各關工作上惠予協助傳達，克保齋醮成功。多日法事裡都需安排上「祀供灶君」的(ZW 與 RC 皆無，現代青羊有)，就必須安奉「九天雲廚監齋使者」，請精潔壇所，除廚灶之穢濁。「童初五相」是一科正朝，對童初五府五位真君朝覲，兼請多位祖師降臨盟証，是消罪祈福的吉祥朝科。

與「皇旛」有關的三科科儀<sup>654</sup>(〈秘書皇旛<sup>655</sup>〉、〈揚旛昭告〉、〈禱結皇旛〉)是廣成所獨用。結旛雖是道教齋醮常見，不過每個傳統所樹之旛不同<sup>656</sup>，旛的呈象用來論吉凶與徵兆，也有不同的判斷法。廣成科儀使用書有玉皇上帝聖號的皇旛，皇旛製作精美講究，特色是皇旛下緣作五束穗子，以旛腳所結的結式判斷降壇的主將，因而名之為「皇旛」，這是與他地不同之處。秘書時先將皇旛舒展燎薰，由高功行祕諱加持，作解穢與聖化，昭告時便將皇旛高懸，由高功與齋主(本次法事以思源觀吳道長為首)向玉帝陳事，再依次樹起青龍白虎七星等共九支旛旗。禱結皇旛時高功恭詣三天門下，向玉皇禱請臨壇，此時玉帝會指派一位仙官或神將下界結旛，萬神便順此神道臨壇。事後道士就依結象判斷本次法事由哪位神祇下降監壇(經由翻查〈皇旛雲篆〉(十五 33, No. 272))，接下來的數天壇場都由這位神將護持。<sup>657</sup>

結皇旛是五天以上法事才安排的，又因為在壇外公開作，向來被認為是極考驗高功能力(有時被解釋為神通)的科事，總是吸引群眾圍觀並津津樂道，受

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<sup>652</sup> 職屬「南方丹天世界九鳳玉華司」。道場上解穢的方式與規格多，請九鳳破穢將軍是廣成科儀較常用的一種；此處以宣「三清解除厭穢真符」，朱墨印刷，再蓋三寶印(朱)與朱筆號。

<sup>653</sup> 「申發三界」(ZW 無，青羊現代有)雖有科本，本場在請師之後一起宣發文疏，是「連壇」的操作形式。

<sup>654</sup> 還有一科名為「催結皇旛」(十四 51, No.169)，顧名思義是在再三禱結無效之後使用，其咒令變多，手段也更強硬。本次禱結十分順利故未用上。

<sup>655</sup> 如前所述，〈秘書皇旛〉科本已不留存。現代高功的作法是將「秘書皇旛」與「揚旛昭告」兩科連壇；當中當然還有祕法，但已較從前簡單得多。

<sup>656</sup> 道教行科儀懸旛相當平常，惟各地用旛旗在名目數量上不盡相同，所用道法傳統也有差異。

<sup>657</sup> 關於「皇旛」的研究，可參閱陳理義 2014。

邀在外行法時通常會排進節次中。皇旛結就即表示神明監臨，所以要安神位、每日朝覲上香燭，所以排有「朝旛宣榜」、「朝謁寶旛」，直到「謝旛還神」。

考量到這是一場祈福吉祥的法事，在安排上加入許多正朝科儀，所謂「正朝」大抵是以某神為主神的啟奏科儀，或是單純的朝覲科儀。在與神職功能考量的請願----有祈求的主題或單純的清吉事時----常使用，廣泛概念上也有消災的意義；多數的正朝與神祇的誕日沒有直接關係。從節次表上明顯看到，因為還受生錢中含有五斗、星斗、本命元辰的信仰，所以主壇高功安排了許多斗醮科儀：〈南斗正朝〉、〈日月正朝〉、〈星主正朝〉、〈靜斗燃燈〉、〈朝真禮斗〉、〈拜斗解厄〉。所謂的斗醮科儀泛指所有與星斗有關的崇拜，星斗崇拜的功能極多，求壽求祿、本命運程、星辰纏度，祈求三台明亮、闔家興慶等莫不為之。如此安排除了符合償還受生錢時與諸斗諸炁的密切關係，也在添加參與信眾的興運，不難看出掌書記官的高功加入眾多的斗科的考量及深意。

道教科儀的平衡性素來著重「冥陽兩利」。廣成科儀中多日法事裡，向例加入祭薦孤幽事，如本次的〈安建寒林〉與〈鐵罐斛食〉。安建寒林通常在三五以上法事要作的，屬臨時性的將待薦孤魂預先安頓。鐵罐則要過了〈圓滿〉之後才作，這就是陰陽的區分：一方面作鐵罐不需要請這些神明出席(強留下來就太失禮)，另一方面也減少鬼魂不安。廣成的法事常常以〈鐵罐〉作收。

### 6-3 例之二：節次排定的考量與變化可能

為了與上一節的例子做比對，這裡再舉一個節次的安排。這是 2012 年古孃孃廟所舉辦「太上金籙受生填還迎祥法會」，由孃孃廟潘道長安排的五日道場。時間的選擇是取陰曆四月十七日「地府開庫日」之前完成<sup>658</sup>。

Day	節次
一之日 四月十二日	*開壇啟師 *迎水蕩穢 *申發三界 安奉監壇 申啟城隍 *安奉灶君 *安薦寒林 *停科款駕
二之日 四月十三日	*正啟三元 天曹正申 *童初五相 正啟五老 *停科款駕
三之日	表章總朝 黃籙五院 正申東嶽 正申酆都 正申十王

<sup>658</sup> 據稱孃孃廟在恢復傳統的這些年向來堅持在這個日子還，因為開庫了才能把庫錢搬進去；關於開庫日一說目前還找不到出處。鶴鳴山歷來多選在下元節作，是取「下元解厄」的意頭；2011 年因為廟子裡預計要作的人數太少本不打算做(不足十人；不過這本來就不是每年必作的，可能隔兩三年才作)，正好應思源觀之邀外出作(為了兩方配合時間略晚於下元)，隔年 2012 則改在「老君會」的五日法事之中並行，「緣分結在這會了，就註定老君會還了。」(20120214 理清)

四月十四日	*停科款駕
四之日 四月十五日	受生迎庫 金籙受生 受生填還 祭賞神夫 *停科款駕
五之日 四月十六日	九宸正朝 *貢祀諸天 *拜斗解厄 *圓滿餞駕 *鐵罐斛食

除了還受生四科作灰底強調，本次的安排若與武漢一場相同者標以「\*」方便識別。可見與武漢場相同的比例約是一半，當中又幾乎都是基本架構設定的必備科目<sup>659</sup>。

在架構之必需科目外相同的科目是「天曹正朝/正申」、「童初五相」、「拜斗解厄」、「鐵罐斛食」<sup>660</sup>，其中「天曹正朝」與「鐵罐斛食」是常用「平科」，童初與拜斗是朝科，分別是向五相<sup>661</sup>祖師請求盟証與遞表文，朝覲諸天暨五斗星君，也都是常安排的清吉科，皆有赦罪求福的功能。這樣大比例的相合(但是在安排上還是有前後的不同考量)除了所謂的英雄所見略同，也反映了這壇法事的性質與意義。在清時或民國，應該也沒有什麼歧異。

至於從孃孃廟一場所見之不同，筆者以為可以分為兩種來說明。首先是「表章總朝」(十五 47, No. 286)、「九宸正朝」(十三 9, No. 9)、「供祀諸天」與「正啟五老」(十三--93, No.93)這四門朝科。「表章總朝」即俗稱的「上大表」——向最高神祇三清遞表陳願，此刻之所以特別除了神級高，更重要是步驟多耗時長，是很考驗高能力的一科，向有「玉帝正朝難上表，表章總朝表難上」的說法；再加上「九宸正朝」、「正啟五老」，可以理解高功安排時想把場面/規模做得大的野心。從還受生的本意，在過程中的確需要恭請三清五老九皇等高真，但是否要安排單獨的朝科則沒有定論，由高功自己安排(指的是在可做可不做的選項下做選擇<sup>662</sup>)。又如非常萬用的清吉「平科」貢天，在這裡開列為單場，在武漢的例子只作連壇而無專場，主要原因是時間的局限下，追求兼及以致略帶取巧的作法。

<sup>659</sup> 由於筆者並無親身參與此次法事，這裡所做分析純粹就取得的節次表來看，雖然每科命名多與科本相同極好辨認，但當中若是做連壇、簡省或替換則無法得知。(如回向：可以於上一場末尾一起做，或是將「停科回向」、「停科款駕」互換)

<sup>660</sup> 這裡把「鐵罐斛食」列入，是為呼應筆者提出理論科儀架構。或不具普遍認同，但重視冥陽兩利已是常備之一環，幾乎不會缺漏。再則斛食一科屬於「平科」，在廣成科儀中更是既基本又重要。

<sup>661</sup> 天蓬元帥、天猷副帥、翊聖保德真君、北極玄天上帝、正一靜應真君。

<sup>662</sup> 就好比一場典禮邀請了首長來參加，但只請他列席坐高位或特別安排時間介紹致詞，則看主辦單位的安排，可能只是活動重點或時間考量不同，並不涉及對錯。

值得多加著墨的是第二類：「黃籙五院」(十四 81, No. 213)、「正申東嶽」(十三 30, No. 30)、「正申酆都」(十四 28, No. 147)、「正申十王」(十四 27, No. 146)。從內容屬性來看，這幾科都應該是屬於陰法事，其所朝陳對象也是掌管亡靈、赦罪拔度的冥司。其實這些科事的安排並無不妥，原因就在於還受生法事當中所蘊含「陰事陽作(或叫白事紅作)」的特性。所謂陰事陽作，顧名思義就是將原本該是濟幽拔度的身後事，在齋主生時就預先做掉——也就是「預修」；預修科事的原因不少<sup>663</sup>，在這裡主要是道經裡的教導。

如同眾多齋醮兩可冥陽兩利的《廣成儀制》科本，經文中就對不同情境隨之有調整的細部，來配合「喜事/喜喪」一面的清平與歡愉，如「正申東嶽」當中在捻香奏告時，就區分「齋品」與「醮品」迥異的讚辭<sup>664</sup>，重點分別放在平安：「光天永泰，化日常春，殃咎無徵，溥群生而利益，昇平有象，率萬宇以綏甯。」以及度人：「開度魂儀，拯拔幽趣，丹籍判生，人人門而受質，青篇紀字，從善道以延麻。」(3a)可以看到，本例中安排進的這些濟幽或對冥司的科事，既展現了對相關冥司單位的敬重強調，還是強調了祈求平安康泰、富裕豐收的現世福祐，對比道教科儀的本意——先求赦罪再求獲福——並沒有因此而動搖。

「白事紅作」雖則骨子裡是隱晦的喪事，因為「預修」而讓它完成時的場合是(興奮?)期待且不帶悲傷的。受生法事其安排在「預修黃籙大齋」的範疇，即然屬於黃籙齋，是理所當然的白事；到了《廣成儀制》的編排，從作者對「齋」與「醮」的認定區辨惟以「陰齋」、「陽醮」，也就是說名為「受生醮」的還受生法事，在廣成科儀裡劃進了陽法事的範疇，較諸預修之本意，安排上更顯清吉，本質裡「白」的部份，漸漸不被強調介紹，完全地呼應了道藏〈祿庫經〉與〈五斗經〉教人在生之時完成的叮嚀。

但有時計畫趕不上變化，倘是齋主不幸在還完受生錢之前死亡，無法滿足「預先」完成的規制，又該怎麼解決呢？有別於其他不同地方選在亡故後做<sup>665</sup>，四川的廣成傳統則視之為例外，必須盡快處理。解決的方式就是在初亡時快快補做，與正常還受生的不同在節次上會有調整，當然主要的不同還是在文

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<sup>663</sup> 如民初北京富戶為老太太慶壽(還有討老人家歡心以求分家時多得利的小心思)，指定「紅事白辦」，舉辦盛大的紅事出殯並展示名貴棺木等(常人春 2001：97~100)；當代例有重慶一位老婦人擔憂子孫不會好好為她舉行理想的喪禮，請道士預作亡事，「連房子都燒好了」。(fieldnote 20120829 秦)

<sup>664</sup> 還有第三種情境是關於「保苗、祈歲」：「調平歲運，開泰休徵，兩暘時若，慶天下之三登，人物事宜，安域中之四大。」(2a)

<sup>665</sup> 如台灣向來都是在人初亡故的「七七」之內還庫，清方志有多提及，亦見於當代學者李豐楙、謝聰輝、丸山宏、淺野春二諸先生的研究。



檢(此時不單是陳事內容修改，遞送的對象也因此有變，需要注意)。就筆者所知，90年代後的四川地區沒有出現為亡者補還受生錢的例子<sup>666</sup>。

比較這兩篇節次，我們看到的是兩場成功的受生醮，展現了巨大的同與巨大的異。類同的科儀架構建構起基本又端整的樑柱，使儀式得以不失誤不失禮地順利完成，這是豐富的科儀傳統與堅實的高功傳承所達致。至於節次安排的彈性靈活——強調參與信眾現世的福祐昌吉，有愉悅地與民同樂的歡暢；或是側重受生與多數有司性質而多加安排濟度科目，善加考慮齋主心願的慈悲——就是高功的思考與體悟了。在掌握正確知識之下，節次安排的參差反應著每個情境略有不同的需求，不只是簡單地配合時日的裁減，是高功深思熟慮後致力調整到圓滿如意的努力，箇中歧異無所謂對錯正誤，看得是誰分析得精妙，誰斟酌的更周到，在不斷精進的路上，提升對道的體悟與安排的手腕。

#### 6-4 廣成科儀還受生法事在昔日可能的樣貌

前面小節我描述了曾經參與或收集來的還受生法會情形，呈現四川現行還受生錢的例子。並非批評，不過目前四川的道教科儀較諸清末民初時期，確實流失減省了很多。那麼昔日的信徒是怎麼看待、籌劃一場受生醮呢？雖然沒有具體的記載或是故事，我從眾文檢集的收集再加上一些聽自道士們從祖輩傳下來的回憶記敘，拼湊出一個想像——來說一個理想型、力求完整的故事。

為了說故事的流暢接下來我們就以這家柳姓富戶為想像的主人翁<sup>667</sup>：時值清朝乾嘉時期，柳家住在新都縣雙溪寺(地名)，出了成都府城北邊不遠(今已屬成都市轄)，家主名叫柳繼郢，是地方很富裕的人家。當家主夫婦稍有年歲，又積累了財富，便興起了將思之多年的「還受生錢」的想法付諸實行。他們聘請了當時著名高功陳復慧為之籌備，在家中建壇舉行法會。這次的多日法事定名為「金籙受生大齋預修寄庫普福冥幽道場○晝宵」(16a)，應該在五日(或以上)規模，聘請道士(可能有部份是行壇派的道士，甚至是居士)七人以上。

法會舉行的日期在農曆三月<sup>668</sup>，正當是春日優美的良吉時，對齋主來說更可能有特殊意義，如生辰<sup>669</sup>。照慣例來說，這場法事的決定應該在半年(起碼

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<sup>666</sup> 如此斷言主要是依據道士們肯定的回答。

<sup>667</sup> 《廣成儀制》專用的三部文檢集都收有與還受生錢有關的文檢，本節模擬的故事主要便以此為發想。借用了當中唯一有私人訊息留下的《雅宜集》之「為柳繼郢夫婦預修疏」(二--13)與「為雙溪寺柳姓寄庫都意」(三--38)

<sup>668</sup> 「運屆五陽。春深三月。」(二十六左；三--38)，農曆三月又稱五陽月。

<sup>669</sup> 選在本命生辰之日，也是極符合〈五斗經〉之精義的。如「為母填還庫財疏」(《心香妙語》四--65)，齋主所擇是母親滿六十歲的「初度之辰」(生日)，是更清楚呈現受生經中意義的。又

兩三個月前便已決定，由齋主柳先生向陳復慧道長(他是高功同時也是一寺之主，可以全權做決定)提出邀請，具體說明意圖、所有參加者名單(需有詳細的生辰資料)、預算(金錢、時間、地點)等等，然後由陳道士依此決定一個最適合的道場規劃(時間、人員與物資的安排)，並在法事前將所有需求準備完成。這個半年的時間，是指邀請的提出，對柳家人而言，這件大事卻已經放在心裡很久了。

事前的準備工作相當耗費心神與時間。如文檢類的需求大致有(綜合了與廣成有關三部文檢集與田野資料)：

- 疏、都意、榜文<sup>670</sup>等。
- 牒文：請庫官牒、祭庫官牒、投庫牒、開庫牒、土地牒、城隍關夫牒、關取皇夫牒<sup>671</sup>。
- 合同：環券牒、金籙度命合同契券，或合同券牒、陰陽牒、九真戒牒。
- 火冊、水引(其他關引)、預修獻帖、酬還籠面、封條。

頭兩項的榜文類與向低階神明牒文是依科事書寫，格式言說都有講究，合同類文書則是每人個別一份，且為一式兩份的陰陽合同；火冊與獻帖作為清單，必須詳細開列所作科事、所獻供品，以及所欲燒化所有寶樓、寶箱、金銀包袱等的清單；可能還會有「齋壇証盟簿」或「經單簿」<sup>672</sup>這樣完整記載內外場、人物調度的清冊。由於陳仲遠是承接法事的負責人，通常由他安排節次，接著開列這些節次所需要的文檢、器物清單；這位負責人不單是高功，也是很厲害的書記(官)，所以節次與文檢很可能由他親自排定，也有可能是他指派的高徒。文檢內容擬好後還需要重新謄寫，除了宣符之外，都需要不同型式的信封(更高階的還可能是多層套且不同材質的封函)，這些都要靠手工製作、書寫，工作量很大<sup>673</sup>。

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「智鏡菴僧暢懷法名心悅誦皇經滿藏答報四恩」(《心香妙語》四--27)可知以誦皇經為主的誓願中，也包含了「溯冥地借貸之項，應自填還」和「敬諷受生妙典」的環節，足見當時四川的還受生錢信仰也普及到了佛教與民間。

<sup>670</sup> 此處文檢名稱下有畫底線記號者，是指筆者所參與法事也有出現的，但可能命名稍微不同。畢竟為齋主與家內人口的作法多少是不同於公眾事的。請注意，筆者在近年所未見並不代表當代作法忽略、流失傳統，這可能是道士在操作上有不同側重；如沒有「水陸關引」，但可以在〈祭賞神夫〉中交代，「火冊」的詳細程度也會不同。還是強調本文一向提出的看法，儀式的差異不當來衡量道法之高低，而是要看道士對此安排的考量、思路。

<sup>671</sup> 囿於文檢留存之不完備，以上所開列必有不足；如「金銀錢山狀」、「進錢引」(雅宜三 32、33)雖是對泰山王所用，但此處也有可通道理。

<sup>672</sup> 胡天成 1996: 380-422。

<sup>673</sup> 如九〇年代四川巴縣舉行的「接龍喪戲」，五日喪儀裡共燒化了各色文檢號稱 467 通。該地壇班雖屬佛道兼合，亦非使用《廣成》，此巨大數量很值得留意。(胡天成 2000：3)

到了法事舉行的前數天，陳道士一行人入住進柳家提供的房間(期間通常是管吃住的)，就著當地環境開始佈置起壇場，特別是針對現況做因應的修改。道士們帶來的傢伙主要是經書、法器以及連月來嚴謹寫作的文檢，若有什麼缺漏或不足，常常需要隨機應變地造作，這也是民間常說道士心靈手巧擅於製作很多巧件機關的原因。參與家屬與道士在這段期間都需要茹素，並且遵守法事期間禁忌——主要是對身心清靜的要求。

法會伊始的頭一天，由一百零八通通鼓作始，昭告天地神鬼。雖然因為沒有表文流傳，對陳仲遠安排的次第不能確定，不過開壇啟師、蕩穢、安奉監壇、安灶、款駕等等基本的設定是不變的，前面提到行還受生核心的四科——「金籙受生」、「受生迎庫」、「受生填還」與「祭賞神夫」不但都存在，並且應該也依照這個順序<sup>674</sup>。此外，我們還可以推測，由於要宣「東嶽寄庫表文」，所以可能排進了「正申東嶽」或「冥京十王」<sup>676</sup>；要點「北斗七星延生星燈」，所以會有不少與南北斗及五斗有關星斗崇拜科事，如「南斗正朝」、「北斗正朝」(十三 83, No. 83)、「拜斗解厄」、「靜斗燃燈」、「朝真禮斗」…等都有可能被選中；獻「大羅諸天寶炬淨供」可能做「貢祀諸天」。此外，因為要判放「鐵罐斛食」，所以應該起碼要安排「安建寒林」。若是法事期間確逢齋主生辰，更可以安排進「星主正朝」(十三 85, No. 85)、「北斗金玄羽章全集」(十三 84, No. 84)等對光煥本命元辰都極有助益。

在慣有的冥陽兩利科事「鐵罐」之外，齋主還增加了追薦過往親人的科儀，希望已生者註善、未生者承功。這邊可以視需要安排的，常有如「關攝亡魂」(十三 40, No.40)、「救苦正朝」(十五 30, No.269)、「血湖正朝」<sup>677</sup>(十四 91, No.223)、「度人」諸科等等。此外，根據道士回憶，由於濟度幽明是「附帶

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<sup>674</sup> 第二節中提及「老青羊版」與「白雲版」目錄中的第三十二卷，相同的科目有(順序亦同)：五老正啟、受生填還、金籙受生、受生迎庫、傳度引籙。雖與當代不符，筆者以為昔日做還受生這五科應該都有，當然節次可能不同。「預修正啟五老全集」(十三--93, No. 93)是為預修科事對五靈五老迎請稟報，經中雖未提及受生，但通篇用典《度人經》，強調開度求福。「興賢舉善傳度引籙全集」(十三--97, No. 97)則是開方便之法門、皈依之善徑，使(在俗)善男信女發三心皈依三寶，便頒「傳度引籙」一張(另可參考《雅宜集》三-2「玄元寶引」)。此二科在涵意與功能上都可與還受生相通，有使用機會。雖然可能與編放在同一卷有關，不過同卷的其他(如「老青羊版」有「冠巾科儀」，「人家版」有「泰山願六朝」)編排意圖不可解者，無法驟下定論。此外，筆者在青羊宮請購還受生四部科書時，印經處道長也向我推薦應該加買「傳度引籙」。Field note 20110621 魯。

<sup>675</sup> 現存經書與目錄都只看到有四本相關的科書，訪談中有道長指出這些科書其實已不完全(Field note 20120716 董)，而實際上是否還有也這麼相關的科儀則不能肯定；筆者以為就規模設計來說，並非沒有可能。

<sup>676</sup> 即「正申十王」(十四 27, No. 146。全稱是〈正申冥京十王集〉，版心的省稱是「正申冥王」)

<sup>677</sup> 一般多以為「血湖」科是專為女性所設科儀，在《廣成儀制》裡卻不只如此。從該科的分門行事可以再析為：生產、血病、陣亡、傷亡四大類，可見除了產亡，任何因失血死亡的亡魂皆可靠此科超拔。這麼寬鬆的使用認定可能與清初欲超度蜀地大量的傷死亡魂有關。

的」，理論裡並不算在規劃法事之中，所以斛食追薦等要等到功德圓滿之後才做，「1949 以前要完成了「正事」才安寒林」。<sup>678</sup>

除了既定的科儀，法事中也安排了很多時間來誦經作懺。除了要誦「金章祿庫受生尊經七十二卷<sup>679</sup>」(雅宜集卷三 28b。案並無此經名，可能是將〈五斗經〉與〈祿庫經〉合併書寫了；如在「受生填還」科中亦有「金籙五斗祿庫受生經」，可見在綁定兩科同作時，會有融合的省稱出現)，都意裡也預留有誦○經、禮拜○懺的安排，表示可以依情境決定適合的經懺，與科事安排一樣很有彈性。從數量看來，誦經拜懺也需要很多時間——特別是家庭裡參加的成員也會有好多位，加總起來所負看經數目想必很可觀，信仰虔誠的大戶人家早在數年前便開始誦經(家裡就有佛堂神龕)，慢慢地積累化整為零；也常見在壇外加開一個誦經壇專門誦經，在法會舉辦的整個時間裡，家人或也可以聘請些居士來幫忙誦經。在法事結束前將所有人積欠的看經數如數奉還。

還看經之外，最重要的當然是還受生錢了。如當前所執行，我們看到古人對錢款的計算同樣分做兩部份：a.「北斗○府○星君主照」，與 b.「獄府受生院第○庫○曹官主司○氏」(雅宜集卷三 27a)。在主要言事的文疏裡，以齋主即戶長柳繼郢為首，關於生辰等資料也是填寫他的(有可能以其退休不管事的父母長輩)，其他文檢則是參加者都會有各自的一套。

法事開始之前，柳姓人家要先為法事場地(內壇、經壇、寒林、灶、道士房等)做好清潔整理。慣例上，紙錢、香油燭等堂上用度，都是由柳家準備(掌壇師會預先將品目數量提出)。受生錢會用到的紙錢種類與數目都很多，常用紙錢的準備通常是請一個「打錢」的小工來府裡「造錢<sup>680</sup>」，這個工作又常常與民間紙紮匠重疊(除了寶樓、寶箱的糊造，也會請來家中做搭臨時壇場的細木活)，最好當然就請一個兼及的工匠，視需要量約工作一到兩天。有些受生錢紙錢是特殊印製的，就需要道士從宮觀(也可能是宮觀直營或有租賃關係的香燭舖，或自家道寓)攜來，或特別向香燭店購買。

道士團是七或九人的配置，器樂表現只有基本的鑼鈸樂。柳家如果想辦得更盛大，還可以聘請附近的樂班甚至是戲班，他們多都能嫻熟常用道曲(與地

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<sup>678</sup> 所以即便不加作濟幽，從前的慣例還是要等圓滿後才安寒林，於是便成了甫安好就立刻做斛食(所以寒林不過夜)。Field note 20120713 潘道士。這裡不能肯定是通則。

<sup>679</sup> 查〈受生鴻齋迎庫官全集〉中並無須看經七十二卷之所屬庫。可能相加了其他的看經數，或為齋主隱私而修改隱蔽。

<sup>680</sup> 將粗糙的長方形草紙以弧形刀刃戳鑿成一組不斷的圓形(兩刀)，以象徵銅錢。對上(天曹)用黃紙打三行九眼，對下(地庫)用白紙作三行七眼。舊時一眼為一銅錢，故每張面額小，而常戲稱小錢，用量極大。筆者田野中還能見到小錢的使用，現在已是預作的現成品了，少數鄉下地方可能還保持著請工匠到府打錢的行為。(圖 6)

方戲曲有關的廣成韻部分或很常見的道曲)隨堂搭配甚至是熱鬧一下。此外，受邀的親友也喜歡請戲班子來些吉祥劇目，作為慶賀的禮物，往往一請就是三天以上。柳家須為前來慶賀的親戚鄰人打點幾桌酒席，若適逢主家生日，自然多熱鬧幾分。

法事的這些天，作為齋主的柳先生還有一個重要而專屬的職責，就是在內壇高功身後的位置參拜端「文書盤子」。這是很榮譽難得的身分，作為一家子的代表。不過法事耗時，家主的心神體力往往難以負荷，他除了指派年輕的子嗣輩代勞，也可以花點小錢請一位小道童來端。當然虔誠信禮的家人可以隨時進來隨堂參拜。

連日法事遵照高功事前安排公告的節次，認真地執行，並不更改。有賴高功道法深厚，齋主一家信奉虔誠，在期間也沒有做出什麼違逆瀆神之事，一切進展順利，不曾出現讓人議論不安的兆頭<sup>681</sup>，法事終於來到最後一波高潮，祭庫之後的燒化，燒化紙錢時要在戶外，將準備好青杠柴堆架起來，再擺上貼好封條的銀錢、紙紮箱籠等。起碼在燒化前三天銀錢箱籠就要準備好，放在家內一角用草蓆子蓋好，點上三個晚上油燈，好讓庫官數錢。陰陽券的函外蓋上火漆，只有天曹院或黃丁力士才能拆開，內裡還要夾上掌壇師的頭髮，這是極慎重的背書<sup>682</sup>。

所有事前精心準備的庫樓寶箱以及堆積如山的元寶紙錢(古時紙錢「面額」不大，每個人份下都可能有好多個包袱，而每項物品都會詳細地編目記在火冊當中)，在家或城鎮外擇空地焚燒。這些冥財雖都易燃，不過數量實在太大，往往要花費好些時間，暮色裡場面極是壯觀。

多日法事終於告終，家中每位參加還受生錢的一份子都會拿到屬於自己的收執：陽合同(陰合同已燒化)或環券牒的一半、九真戒牒等。這些文疏務必要妥善收好，當該人亡故，就需隨本人入殮埋棺，或是由道士在開路科儀時作法燒化。事行至此，還受生錢大致告終，不過還需注意三年一輪的換庫、謝庫。由於庫官並非終生職，每三年必須進行更換，屆時要酬謝犒賞先三年庫官的辛勞，同時也要迎來新一任庫官，對之嘉勉訓誡。這個儀式小而簡單，只需牒往所屬庫官與曹官主者，告知此事並請更換即可，所以請一位高功向東北方代為

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<sup>681</sup> 民間向來喜歡討論法事途中發生的祥異，作為日後興衰的徵兆。於氣象上多表現在晴雨轉變，壇內可見發爐或化表文飛煙與聲響，個人會有作夢幻聽等。比如法師下壇時摔得個狗吃屎或是法式中木魚很離奇地碎裂，就會認為是法師不遵規範或安排有關而被議論。(fieldnote 吳+潘+ FY)

<sup>682</sup> 本段提及的數錢、火漆、頭髮等乃根據正一派道長的追述，是不晚於民初之前的情形。筆者認為這應該是正一廣成壇獨有的作法。目前四川的正一派並不承接還受生的法事(可以確定1980年之後都沒有)。Fieldnote 20110617 FY。

秉事，在宮觀裡簡單執行即可，時間的選擇通常是「開庫<sup>683</sup>」的日子，文疏順利送達，或其他於齋主有益的吉日也可以。除了一紙牒文，只需燒化一些紙錢作為犒賞(辛苦錢)，或許還擺一點簡單的酒食(冷食即可，如對陰兵)，傳統有些人家還會燒四雙草鞋(定數)，表示感謝庫官辛苦的奔波。三年一度的換庫雖然只是簡單的例行公事，信仰虔誠的人家仍然緊記在心，若是平時便與宮觀、高功往來密切，也可能收到提醒。不能確定換庫應該持續多少次，或許有財力者將一直做到亡故為止；待得親身開庫填還了逋欠，這份債款才總算一筆勾銷，可以不值惡緣、不失人身——當然必也已經享過了現世的安樂福報了。

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<sup>683</sup> 即農曆四月十七日的「地府開庫日」。若非開庫日也可由高功誦經誦咒來開庫，或誦《開庫經》(未見)來開庫(陝西、河南、山東等地俗)。惟逢戊日絕對不可。Fieldnote 20110616 黃、20120713 潘。

## **Résumé**

L'objectif de cette thèse est d'analyser une vaste collection de textes rituels taoïstes, le *Guangcheng yizhi*, qui a été compilé dans la province du Sichuan au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette collection est le fondement d'une tradition liturgique locale toujours vivante. La thèse aborde cette collection à la fois par une approche historique, en donnant le contexte social et religieux et en retraçant le processus de la compilation, de l'impression et de la diffusion, et par une approche de travail sur le terrain pour comprendre sa mise en pratique. Les deux premiers chapitres introduisent l'histoire du taoïsme au Sichuan depuis la dynastie des Qing jusqu'aujourd'hui, et plus précisément l'histoire textuelle du *Guangcheng yizhi*. Les chapitres suivants développent l'analyse de la tradition Guangcheng en développant la notion de "taoïste Guangcheng", et en explorant la typologie et la structure de ses rituels. Il s'intéresse à la construction d'un grand rituel par la combinaison de rites indépendants, et ce que ce processus nous apprend de la carte mentale que les taoïstes Guangcheng ont du répertoire de leur tradition. Enfin, le chapitre 6 développe le cas des rituels de repaiement de la dette de vie (*huanshousheng*) dans la tradition Guangcheng.

## **Title :**

Models in Taoist liturgical texts: Typology, Transmission and Usage---- A case study of the *Guangcheng yizhi* and the Guangcheng tradition in modern Sichuan.

## **Abstract :**

The basic theme of this dissertation is to understand a large collection of Taoist ritual texts from Sichuan, *Guangcheng yizhi*, first compiled in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and forming the basis of a living local ritual tradition. The dissertation uses both the historical approach (looking at the history of compiling, printing and using the collection) and fieldwork. The first two chapters introduce the history of Taoism in

Sichuan since the Qing dynasty, and of the Guangcheng texts in particular. Then it explores the Guangcheng tradition developing notions such as “Guangcheng Taoist”, and the structure and typology of rituals. It analyses the building of a grand ritual and its “rundown” made of many smaller rites; this sheds light on the mental map of Taoists as they appropriate the shared ritual repertoire of their tradition. Finally chapter 6 analyses the ritual of repayment of life debt (*huanshousheng*) in the Guangcheng tradition.

Mots-clés : religion chinoise, taoïsme, *Guangcheng yizhi*, rituel, Sichuan

Keywords : Chinese religion, Daoism, *Guangcheng yizhi*, ritual, Sichuan