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# Exorcism in Daoism

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## Exorcism and the Pu'an Buddhist Ritual Specialists in Rural China

Tam Wai-Lun

Extensive field observation on *Jiao* 醮 (communal sacrifice) ritual performed in the mountain areas of southeast rural China tells us that many of the ritual specialists performing a *Jiao* in Chinese villages actually belong to the Buddhist tradition. This conclusion is based not only on these ritual specialists' self-proclaimed identity but also on a close observation and analysis of the symbolism of their ritual vestments, the way they set up their altars, the form of the ritual they performed and the content of various ritual announcements and memorials they wrote. These Buddhist ritual specialists are known by different names in different regions. They are called *xianghua* 香花 (incense and flower) monks in eastern Guangdong, *namo lao* 喃囉佬 in northern Guangdong, *molan xian* in western Fujian, and as Buddhist Taoists (*Fojiao daoshi* 佛教道士, where *daoshi* means here ritual specialist) in northwest Jiangxi. These Buddhist ritual specialists in the village are, at times, simply referred to as 'monks' but they are married monks. While the celibate monk is a norm in Buddhism, Valerie Hansen finds that Buddhist monks in Niya, which is the best-documented Buddhist site along the silk route of the third and fourth centuries, are married. She finds that Buddhist clergy members in Niya live at home with their families and don Buddhist vestments only on certain ritual occasions<sup>1</sup>. Hansen's study gives us some idea of what Buddhism looked like when it came to China via the silk route. She suggested we revise our picture of early Chinese Buddhism to include both the Luoyang model of devotees working with translators as well as the Niya pattern of Buddhists who remain very much engaged in this world<sup>2</sup>. In mainland China, we have many reports about married monks in the novels, notes and encyclopedia since the Song era. In a Ming encyclopedia (*leishu* 類書) called *Shan tang si kao* 《山堂肆考》 by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Peng Dayi 彭大翼, it is said that when monks were married, their wives were called *fansao* 梵嫂 or *fanglao* 房老 and the monks were known as 'burning house' monks (*Huozhai seng* 火宅僧) where burning house is a famous metaphor referring to this transient world in the *Lotus Sūtra*<sup>3</sup>. *Fansao* was mentioned in an early Song collection called *A Collection on Extraordinary* (*Qing Yilu*) 《清異錄》 by Tao Gu 陶穀 (902-970). In fascicle one of

1 Valerie Hansen, "Religious Life in a Silk Road Community" in John Lagerwey ed., *Religion and Chinese Society* Vol.1: Ancient and Medieval China (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press and École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), 2004) pp. 279-315.

2 Valerie Hansen, "Religious Life in a Silk Road Community", p.307.

3 See "Simile and Parable" Chapter 3 in *The Lotus Sūtra* trans. by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p.56ff.

*Qing Yilu*, Tao tells a story of a monk by the name of Chenghui 澄暉 in the famous Xiangguo Si monastery in Kaifeng of Henan. Chenghui had a beautiful wife and one day a youth wanted to offer him a banquet in order to meet the fansao (his wife) but Chenghui declined his demand. Fanglao was mentioned in a collection of supernatural novels (Zhiguai 志怪) called *Shi yi ji* 《拾遺記》 collected by Wang Jia 王嘉 in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. In fascicle nine of *Shi yi ji*, Wang tells a story of a rich man Shichong 石崇, who bought a beautiful foreign maidservant called Xiangfeng 翔風. Worrying about a slander that one should not mix with a foreign lady, Shichong later made Xiangfeng a fanglao, i.e. married her to a monk. In his sketches on novels (biji xiaoshuo 筆記小說) named *Lei shuo* 《類說》, Zeng Zao 曾慥 (1091-1155) quoted the Miscellanies of Pangyu (*Pangyu za ji*) 《番禺雜記》 by Zhang Xiong 鄭熊 (written in Song era) that married monks are called 'burning house' monks. Apparently, married monks were common in south China especially in Pangyu, the present Pearl Delta area in Guangdong. In a Song collection of historical sketches (*shiliao biji* 史料筆記) called Chicken Ribs Collection (*Ji le bian*) 《雞肋編》 by Zhuang Chuo 莊綽 (季裕) in the 12th century, it is said that in southern Guangdong, businesses were mostly run by monks. They were usually rich and had a family. Ladies, therefore, loved to marry to monks. In another collection of historical sketches *Tie wei shan cong tan* 《鐵圍山叢談》 (fascicle five) by Cai Tao 蔡條 in the 12th century, it is also mentioned that monks in south China would marry as ordinary people do. In the encyclopaedia *Tai ping guang ji* 《太平廣記》, Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) and others, quoting a Tang work 《投荒雜錄》 by Fang Qianli 房千里 (c.840), states that monks in the south did not abstain from meat or women. The indigenous people would marry their daughters to the monks and called them Shilang 師郎. When they were sick, the southerners would burn papers, set up Buddha's statue and invite the monks to perform a ritual sacrifice. Next day, they would kill a pig or lamb to eat and the practice was called 'Removing away the vegetarian diet' (xu zai 除齋).

The frequent appearance of married monks in sketches of novels and encyclopaedia since the Song era leads us to believe that married monks were indeed common especially in south China. A Buddhist source would usually explain this phenomenon of a married monk in terms of either a laxity of the *Vinaya* (monastic discipline) or an incomplete translation of the *Vinaya* that leads to an inadequate knowledge of the *Vinaya*. Given an ample record of the married monks in secular sources and based on what we still see in the field today, we believe that married monks have been a constant phenomenon in China. Edward Davis presents a tripartite social division of pre-modern Chinese society, which, in the case of Taoism, consists of (1) priests operating at court and other bureaucratic levels, (2) an expanding group of ritual masters, and (3) spirit-mediums working at the village level.<sup>4</sup> We believe that these married monks in sketches from novels and

4 Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i

encyclopaedia since the Song era are best called Buddhist ritual masters who lived mostly in villages. The abundant number of Buddhist ritual masters in China owes much to the religious policy of the Ming emperor Taizu (1328-1398). In 1382 A.D., Ming Taizu classified the Buddhist temples into three types: Meditational (*Chan* 禪), Doctrinal (*Jiang* 講) and Ritual (*Jiao* 教). As pointed out by Mano Senryū (1923-1981), although monks specializing in rituals existed since the Song era, it is in the Ming era when they acquired the same status as the Chan masters and those who were well versed in doctrines and scriptures. Since then the number of Buddhist temples specializing in rituals grew exponentially and exceeded those of the other two types<sup>5</sup>. Our field data shows that these Buddhist monks specializing in ritual soon accepted laymen as disciples<sup>6</sup>. In the late imperial period (c.1000 to 1800), these Buddhist laymen, disciples of monks, started to operate independently in villages. They put on monk's robes in rituals and that is why they were often called monks. They are called 'burning house' monks, similar to those hearth-dwelling Taoists (*Huoju daoshi* 火居道士), as distinguished from the monks in monastery. They were known by different names but our field study shows that there were at least two threads that united them all. Apart from the fact that they all regard themselves as Buddhists, they were (1) all related to Pu'an 普庵(1115-1169)<sup>7</sup>, a Song Chan Monk and (2) they all served the Hakka (the Guest people) community, using a Hakka dialect in their ritual performance.

#### Buddhist Taoist in Wanzai 萬載, northwest Jiangxi

In Wanzai, a county with a population of 400,000 adjacent to the Cihua town where the monastery of Pu'an (1115-1169) is located, the Buddhist ritual specialists were called and are still called Buddhist Taoists (*Fojiao daoshi* 佛教道士). They served the *Hakka* who migrated to the mountain area after the so-called *Bendi* 本地 (the local) had settled in the valley. The *Bendi*, who were also immigrants, and the *Hakka* each consists of half of the population in Wanzai. The former would hire Taoists to

Press, 2001), pp.7-8

5 Mano, Senryū, 間野潛龍 (1923-1981), *Mindai bunka shi kenkyū* 《明代文化史研究》 (Kyōto: Dōhōsha 同朋舍, 1979.), p.256

6 See discussion below on Buddhist ritual masters who frequently traced their lineage back to monks in a local monastery

7 Pu'an received a total of seven posthumous titles from emperors in the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties. The one from Ming Chengzu (1360-1424) consists of 30 characters: 「普庵至善弘仁圓通智慧寂感妙應慈濟真覺昭昭慧慶護國宣教大德菩薩」 For a pioneer study on Pu'an, see John Lagerwey, "Taoism among the Hakka in Fujian" in *The Proceedings of the International Conference on Hakkaology* eds. Hsieh Jiann and Chang Chak Yan (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong and Overseas Archives, 1994), p.340. John Lagerwey, "Popular Ritual Specialists in West Central Fujian" collected in Wang Qiugui, Zhuang Yingzhang, Chen Zhongmin eds. (王秋桂、莊英章、陳中民主編) *She hui, min zu yu wen hua zhan yan guo ji yan tao hui lun wen ji* 《社會、民族與文化展演國際研討會論文集》 (Taipei: Han xue yan zhong xin, 2001) (台北: 漢學研究中心, 2001) pp. 435-507.

do all kinds of rituals while the latter always hired the Buddhists (or the Buddhist Taoist). The Buddhist Taoists preferred to call themselves lay disciples (*sujia dizi* 俗家弟子) of the Buddha and in their memorials and announcements, they referred to themselves as the blessed or empowered disciples (*jiachi dizi* 加持弟子) indicating that they had been initiated formally into the career of a ritual master through a consecration ritual called *kaiguang* 開光 (light opening). Their ritual techniques were mostly transmitted within family members and never to the *Bendi* (*chuan ke bu chuan tu* 傳客不傳土). The Buddhist Taoists classified the *jiao* rituals they performed into two main categories: the *Yin jiao* and the *Yang jiao*, the former were funeral rituals and the latter were mainly communal sacrifice for temples.<sup>8</sup> They also classified the rituals they performed into four categories:

- 1) Large teachings (*dajiao* 大教) that refer to recitation of the Buddhist scriptures.
- 2) Small teachings (*xiaojiao* 小教) that refer to the Lüshan Taoist rituals.
- 3) Sorcery (*wujiao* 巫教) which are rituals involving exorcism such as the 'Passing through crises' and 'Fitting protective locks' ritual (*zhanguan shangsuo* 斬關上鎖) for children performed by the Pangu school (a small sect of ritual specialists worshipping Pangu, the first living being and the creator of all in Chinese mythology, as the main deity).
- 4) Confucian rituals (*rujiao* 儒教) which are funeral rituals performed by *Lisheng* 禮生 ceremonial specialists worshipping Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) as the main deity.

The Buddhist Taoists in Wanzai identified the rituals they performed as coming from different sources including the Buddhist School, the Lüshan 閩山 Taoist School, the Pangu 盤古 School of exorcism and the popular Confucian School. They, however, never indicated that they had learnt from teachers of different schools. For the purpose of this paper, we interviewed a Buddhist Taoist by the name of Shen Chunfa (沈春發, 61 years old) in Gaocheng of Wanzai to learn about the transmission of their school. Shen traced his ritual tradition of the Xianying 顯應壇 altar back eight generations. The first two masters of his lineage were monks in a monastery indicating that the founding master of his tradition, who set up the Xianying altar, had learnt his ritual method from a Buddhist monk. Shen's lineage of transmission was given as follows:

8 There are 5 kinds of *Yin jiao* (陰醮): 度亡醮、除靈醮、陰誕醮、雷醮、補納醮 and there are 6 kinds of *Yang jiao* (陽醮): 太平清醮、還燭、補土、開光、譜醮、生醮。Cf. 楊永俊〈南泉普祖門下的客家香花和尚〉collected in Tam Wai-Lun (譚偉倫) ed. *Minjian fojiao yanjiu* 《民間佛教研究》(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007) (北京: 中華書局, 2007年) 頁 188。

Cheren (Shu) master 徹然 (舒) → Yuanji (Li) Chan master 元機李禪師 → Zhou Qingtai 周清泰 (Xianying 顯應 altar) → Shen Liangu 沈年桂 → Shen Fuxing 沈福興 → Shen Shuiseng 沈水生 → Shen Sime I 沈四妹 → Shen Chunfa 沈春發

When asked about rituals involving exorcism in his tradition, Shen pointed to a ritual called 'Causing illness to recede and saving the good' (*tuibing jiuliang* 退病救良). He also gave the ritual procedure as below:

- Invitation of the masters (40 minutes) 啟師
- Concealing of the souls (1 hour) 藏禁
- Breaking through the crises (1/2 hour) 打關
- Fitting the lock (1 hour) 上鎖
- Chasing the soul back (20 minutes) 追魂
- A Feast to send off evils at the door (40 minutes) 攔門酌送
- Defeating gods at the temples
- (2 hour for a child & 3 for an adult) 破九州十廟
- Causing illness to recede by sealing off the room
- (20 minutes) 封房退病

This ritual would be performed, we were told, when someone, especially a child, was suffering from a strange illness. As we can see from the above ritual procedure, the core of the *tuibing* ritual overlaps with a popular ritual called 'Passing through the Gate' (*Guoguan* 過關) in Fujian studied by Brigitte Berthier<sup>9</sup>. The soul of the child would be first summoned and sealed in a water bowl by covering it with a red paper. A protective lock (serving like a talisman we were told) would be put on the child's hand and a sacrifice would be performed at the door of the child's room. The most interesting part of the ritual was performed at a nearby earth god temple, a *she miao* 社廟, which is to declare a magic war with the god (*doufa* 鬥法). We, however, were told that this would be performed only during an extreme case and it had not been done for many years. When asked about the layout of the altar, Shen told us that the altar for Yang rituals, including rituals involving exorcism, would be a Taoist one that worships:

9 Brigitte Bapandier-Berthier. "The Kaiguan Ritual and the Construction of the Child's Identity," in Center for Chinese Studies, ed. *Proceedings of International Conference on Popular Beliefs and Chinese Culture*. 《民間信仰與中國文化國際研討會論文集/ 漢學研究中心》(臺北: 漢學研究中心, 民 83 [1994]) Cf. Brigitte Berthier, *La Dame du Bord de L'eau* (Nanterre :Société d'Ethnologie, 1988)

Three Ladies Chen, Lin, and Li 陳林李  
 The Heavenly Empress, Wangwu 王母  
 The Old master, Laozun 老君  
 The Five Generals, Wu Lang 五郎  
 The Star Deity, Xingzhu 星主  
 The Emperor, Wensui 萬歲

The altar for Yin rituals would be a Buddhist one that worships:

The three Jewels (Buddha, *Dharma*, *Sangha*)  
 Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin)  
 Pu'an

Shen added that other rituals involving exorcism he could do were:

Worshipping the Lord of Year & Age (*Tai Sui*) (1 & 1/2hour) 起太歲

Ocean of the Longevity (2 hour) 長生海水

These are rituals for the purification of a house or village, Shen explained. He also added two more small rituals involving exorcism:

Various secret talismans 各種秘傳符書

Magic water to clear the throat 下喉法水

Judging from the altar they set up, the rituals involving exorcism of the Buddhist Taoist in northwest Jiangxi come mainly from the Lüshan School. On February 18 of 2006, we witnessed an initiation ritual of a young Buddhist Taoist by the name of Yang Yongming 楊永明 (30 years old) in Zhutan, northwest Jiangxi. He learnt his rituals from his father Yang Changxiang 楊昌祥 (60 year old), a famous Buddhist Taoist in the Zaomu village of Zhutan town. His father had learnt the rituals from his grandfather Yang Rongyuan 楊榮源 who, in turn, had learnt from two masters, one Maoshan Taoist and one Buddhist. His grandfather thus had received two *Dharma* names: (Taoist) Fahong 法宏 and (Buddhist) Nengcheng 能成. His father also got two *Dharma* names: (Taoist) Faxiang 法祥 and (Buddhist) Renchang 仁昌. It is on their Buddhist names that they put a lot of emphasis. We were told that in choosing their Buddhist names, they have been following a system of 48 characters of names<sup>10</sup>. They claimed that this system could be traced back to the 14<sup>th</sup> patriarch

10 The system of 48 characters collected from Yang Changxiang was : 智慧清淨、道德圓明、真如性海、寂照普度、心源廣續、本覺昌隆、能仁聖果、常演寬宏、惟傳法印、證悟會

of the Linji school of Chan Buddhism called Jieyuan 界源. Jieyuan's *dharma* heir was Xingjin Bifeng 性金碧峰, a contemporary of the Ming emperor Taizu (1328-1398) who built the Puguang 普光 monastery for Bifeng on the famous Mt. Wutai in Shanxi. It was from Bifeng that we had the system of 48 characters of names<sup>11</sup>.

The initiation ritual for Yang Yongming lasted only for one day but it continued all through the night. Based on our observation, we recorded the program of the whole ritual as follow:

18/02/2006

2:20 pm – 2:52 pm	Invitation of the masters 請師
3:10 pm – 3:56 pm	Presentation of memorials 發奏
4:05 pm – 4:37 pm	Worshipping the Buddha 禮佛
4:45 pm – 5:04 pm	Welcoming the gods 接駕
5:37 pm – 6:00 pm	Presentation of memorials 奏表三清

~ Dinner Break ~

7:30 pm – 10:00 pm Dispatching troops 差兵

(9:22 – 9:40 pm ritual interrupted for waiting the delivery of a missing chicken needed for the ritual)

10:15 pm – 10:26 pm	Payroll payment for troops 解糧
10:42 pm – 10:56 pm	Recruiting troops 招兵
11:03 pm – 11:10 pm	Reviewing troops 操兵
11:17 pm – 11:25 pm	Roll call of troops 點兵
11:33 pm – 12:06 am	Presentation of memorials 進表
12:30 am – 01:15 am	Eye-opening ceremony 開光
01:50 am – 02:18 am	Awarding the troops 頒師
02:55 am – 03:25 am	Throwing divination bocks 倒筭
03:05 am – 03:28 am	Burning incense at 36 places 三十六香火

融、堅持戒定、永繼祖宗。Since the *dharma* name for Yang is Renchang 仁昌, this places him in the 26<sup>th</sup> generation from Bifeng in the Ming. The system of characters was believed to be actually used by the monks in the monastery. It is not clear when the married monk started to use the same system.

11 Mingxi 明喜 of the Qing dynasty ed. *Zhongnanshan Tianlonghuiji zimenshipu* 《終南山天龍會集緇門世譜》 collected in *Xu zang jing* 《卍續藏經》 (Taipei: Xin wen feng chu ban gong si, 1993-1994) 新文豐, 第 147 冊, 頁 677ff where it gives: 「第十四世界源禪師。嗣法門人性金。號碧峰。又旁出一枝(計四十八字)」。

What we learnt from this Buddhist Taoist's initiation ritual was that the major part of the program consists of Lüshan rituals (from the fourth item onwards). When we asked why the core ritual of the initiation ritual for a new Buddhist Taoist was not a Pu'an ritual, we were told that the Lüshan rituals were comparatively more complicated and they took a long time to learn. Lüshan rituals were, therefore, demonstrated in a new Buddhist Taoist initiation rite rather than the Pu'an rituals which consist mostly of scripture recitation. This illustrates the role of Lüshan rituals in Buddhist Taoists of northwest Jiangxi. Rituals involving exorcism such as the healing rituals are Taoist according to the Buddhist Taoist Yang Changxiang in Wanzai of northwest Jiangxi.

### The Namu in Yingde, northern Guangdong

If the ritual involving exorcism of the Buddhist Taoist in northwest Jiangxi seems to be Lüshan Taoist in nature, that of the Namu in northern Guangdong was not the case. We studied closely three *Jiao* rituals in Yingde, northern Guangdong.<sup>12</sup> We found that there were two altars, one Taoist and the other Buddhist, performing simultaneously during a *Jiao* ritual in Yingde. The ritual masters in Yingde divided themselves into two groups: one group worked at the Buddhist altar known as the upper altar (*Shangtan*), and the other group that mostly consisted of younger members, worked at the Taoist altar known as the lower altar (*Xiatan*). Beside the Buddhist altar, a smaller altar of Pu'an would be set up. On the second and third day of a *Jiao*, a ritual of chasing the evil spirits (*qi pu'an fajiang zhuo shang shen/ xiong shen* 起普庵發將捉傷/凶神) would be performed at this side altar. A villager would be dressed as a general (with a red turban tied around his head and waist). He ran out to a flag, set up previously outside the temple for summoning ghosts in the area, to catch the ghosts. When he ran back to the altar with a red paper plaque collected from the flag representing the ghosts, the general would be chased by the ritual master dressed as a monk a few times around the main altar. Then they would go back to the Pu'an altar under which the ghosts caught by the general would be locked. The red paper plaque representing the ghosts would be later brought over the burning coal at night by the ritual master dressed as the monk Tang Xuanzhuang (602–664). To understand this ritual involving exorcism within a *Jiao* in Yingde, we interviewed Li Wenjin 李文金 (*Dharma* name: Daoqi sanlang 道啟三郎), the oldest ritual master of the group we met. He explained to us that while the Taoist altar dealt basically with the unruly or depraved deities known as the perverted (*xie* 邪), Pu'an dealt with the untoward dead whose souls were brought together to be cleansed over the burning coals at night and be liberated in the deliverance ritual

12 (1) December 21, 2004 in the Yongxing temple of the Huanghua town 黃花鎮溪村永興廟甲申科天醮 (2) December 13 to 15, 2006 also in the Yongxing temple of the Huanghua town 黃花鎮溪村永興廟太平年例清醮 (3) December 27 to 31, 2007 in the Yongfeng temple of the Huanghua town 黃花鎮大久岩永豐廟年例清醮

(*chaodu* 超度) performed at mid-night. Besides, Li traced his ritual tradition back eight generations in which the first two generations were monks:

Daojian 道鑑 (monk) → Leizhen 雷針 (monk) → Daozhen 道珍 → Daocun 道存  
 → Daobao 道寶 → Daobing 道兵 (以上皆度籙) → Lei Facan 雷法燦 (雷財)  
 (未度籙) → Daoqi sanlang 道啟三郎

Li told us that he was a Buddhist who also learnt Taoism. By Taoism, Li meant the Maoshan and the Lüshan schools of Taoism. Unlike the Buddhist Taoist in Jiangxi, Namo in Yingde did not identify their Buddhism as exclusively the Pu'an school. Pu'an, however, did play an important role in their ritual. The separate Pu'an altar the Namo set up in a *Jiao* ritual is a good witness to the role of Pu'an. Li also explained to us that Buddhism basically works in the area of saving the dead by delivering their souls to the Pure Land. Taoism, on the other hand, works in the area of saving the living by causing illness to recede. The two religions were, therefore, not in conflict. Ritual involving exorcism in Yingde of northern Guangdong was both Lüshan and Pu'an, the former dealt with sickness and the later the spirits of the untoward dead.

#### The Pu'an School in northwest Fujian

The ritual specialists in northwest Fujian were locally called *molan xian* who identified themselves as belonging to the Pu'an school (*Pu'an jiao* 普庵教). From the outset they claim to have learnt both the Buddhist and Taoist methods, therefore calling their Pu'an school a half Buddhist and half Taoist school. Pu'an ritual in Fujian is exorcist-based. All the stories about Pu'an that our research collaborator Ye Mingsheng has collected in northwest Fujian were about exorcism<sup>13</sup>. Interestingly enough, Pu'an's power of exorcism was 'stolen' from the evil spirit. In one story it tells that Pu'an's wife was abducted by an evil spirit. When Pu'an found that the evil spirit had a powerful magical whisk, Pu'an made a fake one and secretly replaced it with the help of his wife. Hereafter, with the stolen whisk, Pu'an had the magic power to drive away the evil spirit. The story goes on to tell that Pu'an got so carried away with his magic whisk that he accidentally swept it across his own head leaving himself bald in the middle, with only some hair growing above his ears. Another story tells of Pu'an going to cure a plague. So many people were sick that Pu'an used his sword to stab a mountain to make magic water flow out to help cure them. Pu'an then turned his sword into a small one so that he could use it to sprinkle the magic water to the sick. Today all Pu'an ritual masters would equip themselves

13 Ye Mingsheng "Minxibei pu'an Qingwei deng pai diaocha" (閩西北普庵清微等派調查) in Yang Yanjie ed. *Minxibei di minus zongjiao yu Shehui* (閩西北的民俗宗教與社會) (Hong Kong: International Hakka Studies Association, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Overseas Chinese Archives, 2000); pp.384-451.

with a small wooden sword called 'waterweeds' (*shuicao* 水草) for sprinkling water in purification ritual. A third story tells that Pu'an was first a Taoist before he became a Buddhist. Therefore, Pu'an learnt much magic from both schools. Then, there were three brothers who offended heaven and were killed by thunder. They later turned into three malignant deities (*san sha* 三煞) and caused sickness for people. When the sick turned to him for help, Pu'an first gave them talismans to expel the malignant deities who soon came back to cause more sickness. Pu'an, therefore, made a wooden rectangular pillar and wrote a talisman on four sides of the pillar and placed it at the home of the sick. Everyone then recovered from their sickness and the wooden pillar called *Zan* 攢 is still used today in Fujian. A *zan* will be put at the home altar of every newly built house for protection against the evil spirits by a ritual master from the Pu'an school.

We have interviewed Chen Sengzhong 陳聲忠, the 85 year old *molán xian* of the Zhukuo 朱口 town in Taining 泰寧, northwest Fujian. He learnt both the Buddhist Pu'an and the Taoist Qingwei. Chen's grandfather and father were Taoists but he learnt Pu'an teachings from two masters in his village, Liu Jiaying 廖家興 (d.1965) and Xiao Ximu 蕭西目 (d.1972). Although he could do both clear (*Qing* 清) and dark (*you* 幽) rituals, Chen said the dark rituals (mostly funeral) were the major ones. When asked about the ritual involving exorcism in Pu'an teachings, Chen pointed to the following passage recited when fighting with ghosts (*dagui* 打鬼):

First let us break the road for mountain ghosts  
 Second break the road for stone spirits  
 Third break the road for human  
 Four break the gate for hundreds ghosts  
 Fifth break the road for evil from heaven  
 Six break the road for geomancers from the earth  
 Seven break all the curses from enemies  
 Eight break the gate for demons and hundred ghosts  
 Nine break the main cross road  
 Ten break the gate of the old temple  
 Eleventh block all roads for the ghosts in the capital  
 Twelfth break the gate through which the emperor from the under world to get lives

一斷山魃路、二斷石精門、三斷人蹤跡、四斷百鬼門、五斷天邪來兮路、六斷地師去兮路、七斷冤家併咒詛、八斷邪魔百鬼門、九斷大路口、十斷古廟門、十一斷邦都塞鬼路、十二斷琰王取命門

Indeed the *molán xian* possesses many ritual implements for exorcism such as the magic ruler (*fache*) on which it was written:

To follow the established practice and teaching of the Nanchuan school  
 The Pu'an Buddha is also in charge of the Institution of the Five Thunder  
 Disciple XX has received the *samādhi* magic ruler of Pu'an  
 This will search out for all evil causing them to disappear and vanish  
 南泉派下嗣教奉行，普庵如來香火兼管五雷院事，弟子△受將普庵三昧法尺，  
 搜動妖絕跡自滅亡。

There are different versions of the incantation of Pu'an in northwest Fujian. All of them are about subduing the demon and perverted spirits, dispelling the evils and ghosts, healing the sick, (降魔鎮邪、驅邪斬鬼、退病救生) in short, exorcism. We have translated one of them as follow:

With the left foot on the ground, I recite the *Huayen* scripture. I bang on the table with my thunder charm, all the ghosts below would be scared. When the patriarch arrives, the earth would shake. The same would happen when the divine generals arrive. When the ten great generals arrive here, the spirits or demons of mountains and rivers would turn into dust. You sleep in your own room and I would come in to cause your illness to recede. I am equipped with the dragon horn from Nanquan which will make your sickness go away as swiftly as the wind....

左腳踏門庭，口誦華嚴經。手拍五雷令，下界鬼神驚。祖師到來翻天覆地，神將到來，覆地翻天。十大神將，來到此，邪精魍魎化為塵。汝在房中乍臥眠，我入房來退病身。我有南泉獨角龍，退此疾病亦如風。疾走、喝退、速退！如若不退，天雷霹靂粉碎。唵，寂感吒，普庵吒、普庵吒。<sup>14</sup>

Judging from the stories on Pu'an, the ritual implements and the various Pu'an incantations used by the ritual masters of the Pu'an school, Pu'an Buddhism in Taining of northwest Fujian involves exorcism.

#### Concluding remarks

Our brief survey of the rituals involving exorcism in Pu'an Buddhism has shown that Pu'an Buddhism near its place of origin in northwest Jiangxi dealt mostly with funerals and has left the task of exorcism to Lüshan Taoism which the Pu'an ritual masters would also learn and transmit them as part of their own teachings. Pu'an Buddhism in northern Guangdong has a small role to play in rituals involving

14 Also collected in Ye Mingsheng "Minxibei pu'an Qingwei deng pai diaocha" (閩西北普庵清微等派調查) in Yang Yanjie ed. *Minxibei di minsu zongjiao yu Shehui*. 《閩西北的民俗宗教與社會》 Cf. another version of the incantation also collected in the same book: 南無普庵祖師菩薩 (三合)。唵，寂感吒，普庵吒、普庵吒。天靈靈，地靈靈，水靈靈，符靈靈，水裡長生救萬民。普庵祖師救病身。金刀吒，金刀吒，斬發急急如康寧，性心婆娑訶。

exorcism that exists as a program within a *jiao* ritual. Exorcism, however, remains the territory of Lüshan Taoism in northern Guangdong especially when it comes to healing, the methods of which were also learnt and transmitted by the Pu'an ritual masters as part of their teachings. It was in northwest Fujian that Pu'an Buddhism became a full-fledged method of exorcism with stories, ritual implements and various Pu'an incantations for subduing the demon and the perverted deities, dispelling the evils and ghosts and healing of the sick. It would need more research before we could be clearer on how this happened. What we have learnt so far is that the elements of exorcism in Pu'an Buddhism were not superimposed on it from the Lüshan Taoism for Pu'an's own life stories were full of elements based on exorcism. In his biography<sup>15</sup>, we were told that Pu'an wrote verses (*jisong* 偈頌) for those who came to him to seek for help and he also provided herbs to those who were sick. When there was an epidemic, Pu'an wrote verses for the people and they were healed. He also wrote a short verse to stop theft in the monastery. Pu'an helped to pray for rain and ended floods. He helped to fell down strange trees (which grew back over night when cut during the day) and destroyed temples with perverted deities. In rescuing a lady abducted by a tree spirit, Pu'an used his verse in conjunction with the famous *Śūraṅgama Mantra*<sup>16</sup> (in Chinese called *Lengyan Zhou* and in the Tibetan tradition it was rendered as the White Umbrella *Mantra*). Before building his monastery, Pu'an made everyone recite the *Śūraṅgama Mantra*. To repay one's debt to heaven and earth during one's birth, (*shou sheng qian* 酬受生錢), Pu'an taught that one only needed to recite the *Diamond Scripture* rather than repaying by burning paper money. Pu'an also replaced the elaborate Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land (*shuilu fahui* 水陸法會) by simply reciting the *Diamond Scripture* once. When someone complained about it, Pu'an recited the scripture one more time. Someone built a kiln that would not burn. When he came to Pu'an for help, Pu'an handed him his monk's robe and asked him

15 See 《釋氏稽古略》卷四 in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 《大正新脩大藏經》第49冊 No. 2037, T49: 891b (6-8) and 《佛祖歷代通載》卷20 in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 《大正新脩大藏經》第49冊 T49: 691b (25-26) also *Record of Responses from Patriarch Pu'an* 《普庵祖師靈驗記》collected in 王征士、周勛男主編 *Pu'an quanji* 《普庵全集》(台北: 大乘精舍印經會, 2004年). We have also based our study on a 1874 (同治十三年) version of the text collected by John Lagerwey in the 90s. See also *Records of Sayings by Pu'an Yinsu* 《普庵印肅禪師語錄》in 3 volumes collected in *Xu zang jing* 《卮續藏經》冊120 (香港影印續藏經委員會) 頁165-348.

16 The mantra is found in the text 《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》(*Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shoulengyan jing*), in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* no. 975, which may be translated as "The Summit of the Great Buddha, the Final Meaning of Verification through the Cultivation of the Secret Cause of the Tathagata, and [Foremost] Shurangama of All Bodhisattvas' Ten Thousand Practices Sūtra." It is also known in Chinese by shorter versions of the title such as 《大佛頂首楞嚴經》(*Da foding shoulengyan jing*) or simply and more commonly as 《楞嚴經》(*leng yan jing*). The scripture was translated in 705 by Śramaṇa Pāramiti from Central India and was polished and edited by Empress Wu Zetian's 武則天 (624-705) banished minister Fang Yong 房融.

to put it on the top of the kiln. Not only did the kiln burn again but also the house of the evil sorcerer who caused the trouble was covered with smoke for three days. The sorcerer then came to Pu'an to beg for pardon. Pu'an promised the sorcerer that he would offer him protection and made his sorcery work whenever Pu'an was called upon on the condition that the sorcerer never do evil again. Many made a portrait of Pu'an and begged for a verse from him to be worshipped together with his portrait on the altar at home for protection. When the building of a bridge was finished, Pu'an was invited to perform a ritual. Pu'an told them to prepare incense and papers<sup>17</sup> and wait for him. Pu'an, however, never showed up. Without knowing what to do, the people burnt the incense and papers themselves and went to see Pu'an to ask for an explanation. Pu'an told them that he did not have to go in person. As long as somebody making an interjection of admiration or grumbling noises (*zuo zeze sheng* 作嘖嘖聲), Pu'an said, it is equivalent to his verses.

Pu'an's at times critical or even anti-ritualistic attitude towards ritual seems to be puzzling in view of the later development of a ritual tradition under his name. Recent studies on Chan Buddhism, however, have pointed out that Chan's iconoclastic and radical teachings are intertwined with panoply of votive, apotropaic and propitiatory forms of practice<sup>18</sup>. Scholars point to the role of mummies (*roushen* 肉身) of Chan masters in the development of Chan sectarianism<sup>19</sup> and the use of Chan master portraits in the Song dynasty.<sup>20</sup> What we could add to their list is the ritual tradition developed in the name of Pu'an. Pu'an's portrait is still circulated in the areas he lived in the form of a charm. His portrait is worshipped by the Pu'an ritual masters at their home altar, sometimes in the form of an image. Now one can buy a CD of Pu'an mantra in Gaoxiung of Taiwan to drive away bugs, filth, misfortunes and to control the evil spirits and prevent miscarriage. During the Yuan (1314-1320) period, it was believed that the worship of Pu'an's image could give one protection during a sea voyage. Pu'an's wooden plaque is commonly worshipped in most Rinzaï (Linji) monasteries in Japan.<sup>21</sup> As we have shown, a ritual tradition and a ritual school under Pu'an's name were developed in the Hakka area in southeast China which we have examined by using the theme of exorcism.

17 The text gives 科樁 (楮) which is unclear in its meaning but 楮 is a tree the skin of which could make papers.

18 Bernard Faure "Chan and Zen Studies: the state of the field(s)" in Bernard Faure ed. *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p.14.

19 James Robson, "A Tang Chan mummy (*roushen*) and a modern case of *furta sacra*?: investigating the contested bones of Shitou Xiqian" in Bernard Faure ed. *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp.151-178.

20 T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual use of Chan Portraiture in Medieval China" in Bernard Faure ed. *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 74-150.

21 *Fo guang da ci dian* (Foguang Buddhist Dictionary) 《佛光大辭典》 vol. 5 (Taipei : Fo guang chu ban she, 1988 [1995 printing]), p. 4992, entry on 「普庵」. Cf. Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨(1869-1948), *Mochizukibukkyō Daijiten* 《望月佛教大辭典》 (Tōkyō : Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1960-1961), vol.5 , p.4373.