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**Reinvention of Taoist ritual among Yao minorities**

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of the requirements of the degree of M.A. in Arts.**

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## **Abstracts:**

The subject of our research is reinvention of Taoist ritual among Yao minorities. Imperial protocolary deeds are examined as one form of proceedings open to transformation. Liturgy or ritual installations are discussed with reference to choreography and scenography. Fieldnotes from Thailand, 1995, are provided as a side illustration.

Le sujet de notre recherche est la réinvention des rituels taoïstes parmi les minorités Yao. Les actes protocolaires impériaux sont examinés comme une forme de procès ouverte la transformation. La liturgie ou les installations rituelles sont discutées en référence à la chorégraphie et la scénographie.

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## Introduction:

The Yao population is transnational. Over 2'100'000 Yao live in Southern China (according to the 1990 census), around 350'000 live in Vietnam (according to the 1982 census), around 36'000 live in Thailand, 30'000 in Laos, 25'000 in the United States, 1000 in France and over 1000 in Canada (1987 census) (Huang and Huang 1993: 1, 116, 202, 280, 342, 395, 404).

These figures come from governmental agencies confronted to the bewildering problem of minorities. Scientific research has shown us that Yao minorities around the world do not form a homogeneous people. Four languages exist and countless subdialects. Within China, about 700'000 Yao speak Mien. Mien speakers are found in all the six countries mentioned above. Kim Mun is spoken by about 100'000 people, mainly in China and Vietnam, but also in small numbers in Laos and Thailand. Yau Min is spoken by about 50'000 people concentrated in the Lian Nan county of northern Guangdong. Byau Min is spoken by about 40'000 people concentrated in the Quanzhou and Guan Yang counties of northern Guangxi. But, as well, a population of 400'000 Yao speaks dialects from Zhuang-Dong, Miao or Mandarin (Pan Chengqian 1991: 47, 48).

Studies on local cultures concerned with dress or head-dress, embroidery, adornment, ornaments, folksongs, dance, oral and prose literature have also revealed a rich and disparate landscape. Historically, this is notably reflected in the number of subgroup names attributed to Yao populations. In Vietnam and China, such subgroup

names attributed by Chinese or Vietnamese outsiders amount to well over one hundred (these “subgroup names have a recognisable meaning, usually related to some detail of dress, although local place names are also occasionally used for this purpose as are, much more rarely, certain outstanding features of their customs”(Cushman 1970: 95). The Yao involved do not recognise themselves in these distinct subgroups but the naming expresses a very real diversity.

Pan Chengqian has provided a highly critical analysis of a heterogenesis of floating nebulous Yao populations. His mapping criss-crossing southern China makes a judicious use of relativism: “Those with somewhat identical migration routes speak dialects only slightly different, while those whose migration routes differ greatly speak quite different dialects”. And, changes in dialects “have also caused other transformations in folkloric oral literature, clan names, terms of address to relatives, religion, marriage as well as embroidery patterns” (1991: 64). After a concise illustration of all these processes, he concludes “the Yao, ...have separately created numerous new words, a new culture and new crafts...” This complex analysis would still be refined, if rather than saying that changes in dialects “have also caused other transformations”, one said more simply “was related to”. Purnell makes the important clarification by referring to systems: “ systems rather than simply clusters of vocabulary items or socio-religious practices (were) gradually incorporated...” ((1991: 376); also quoted by Lemoine (1991: 601).

Yao cultural systems are articulated in powerful ways with the Yao name, as Jacques Lemoine has well stressed (Yao groups in their “self-designation almost always incorporated some element of Yao (or iu)” (1991: 596)). “Between Tang and Song times, groups at the frontier in southern China started to call themselves Yao in

order to join a category of tax payers under the name *Moyao* “not subject to compulsory service”, that is, the *corvee* labour which had been, together with land taxes, the duty of Imperial subjects since the founding of the Chinese empire” (1991: 595). This process of self-naming is concatenated in a document embodying their privilege and recounting the agreement with the Imperial state in a myth, the story of Pan Hu and the twelve clans<sup>i</sup>.

Copies of the Charter (called under various names: the King Ping Charter, *Ping Huang Die*, the Placard for Crossing the Mountains, *Guo Shan Bang*, have been a guiding refrain for Yao groups along a history of oppression, rebellion or flight as frontier people. One example, Li Mo details cases in twelve century Guangdong of the practice that also happened recurrently elsewhere of blockading the Yao. “Forbidding communication between Imperial subjects and the Yao not only restricted normal exchanges between the Han and the Yao, but also limited the entry into the Yao districts of iron farming tools and salt as well as the export of local Yao district products in return for the necessities of production and daily consumption” (1991: 150). Lemoine remarks with a very good perception that the Yao were always in a state of survival (1991: 600).

What is amazing about minorities is that through minute revendications, imperceptible deviancies, and the invincible resourcefulness of low culture, they reverse the negativity or the oppressive signs directed toward them. As Li Xiaowen recounts, the (Mo) Yao as subjects of the empire, were imposed to dress in a uniform fashion in plain white, after regulations such in the Sui dynasty: “indigo blue for officials, white for commoners, black for merchants and butchers, yellow for officers and soldiers” (1991: 448). And throughout Yao history, what a renewed fascination

outsiders have had incessantly discovering a new diversity and beauty in the garb of minor groups (such as Wary at the end of the last century: “the head covering is so striking that it monopolises all attention and has prevented one from passing an opinion on the personal appearance of the wearers”, quoted in Kandre (1976: 176)). But perhaps Li Xiaowen’s notion of a rustic aesthetics does not account best for all the complexity involved in dress, for example, concerning colour and politics. Cushman remarked that it would be interesting to make a rigorous analysis of colour and minorities. Discussing the process of external naming by the Chinese associated often to dress (particularly in the more widespread two character names), but sometimes more abstract or contingent (one character names), he provides the following observation from Zhu Kuangding: “The Sheng Yao (literally, “raw” Yao) are located in the impoverished ravines and have no relations with the Han Chinese. The Shu Yao (“cooked” Yao) live intermixed with the Han Chinese and sometimes intermarry with them. The Bai Yao (White Yao) are mostly Shu Yao; the Hei Yao (Black Yao) are mostly Sheng Yao” (1970: 97). Perhaps, in the dynamics of minority groups, white is associated with subjection and being gregarious with majority groups, colour is associated with fierce independence and aesthetic expression? Regarding style, Yao in Thailand have claimed that their dress with a more sober use of colour than other neighbouring groups makes them the aristocrats of the mountains (of course, aristocratic perception is also part of a ritual assemblage, Peter Kandre has shown a long ago the importance of sumptuary ritual among Yao groups in Thailand which included a magic valuation of silver (1965)).

Before a discussion of Yao ritual and its “humic” vitalising qualities (Lemoine), we have to remind the necessity for some epistemological *garde-fous*, for relativism

with respect to ritual Yaohood. Problems in associating Yao and ritual stem only from exceptions. Because they were always survivors, Yao everywhere have often adopted children from neighbouring groups. And Kandre remarks that through ritual, among the Mien of Thailand, “not only babies, but children and even youth- are assimilated, and always before they have acquired competence in Mien language” (1976: 174). Zhang Youjun (1992) aptly starts his long overview of Yao rituals in Thailand by explaining a Yao concept of children as flowers. Children do not have souls before some ritual around twelve years old. Until then, there are specialised rituals for flowers. And, if a child dies before twelve, he is believed to be a false flower. The question is, can false flowers really be considered Yao since the emic vision is contradictory?

Yao ritual involves Taoist and Shamanistic traditions. Yao Taoism finds a strong albeit highly indirect inspiration in the practices of communal initiation from the early Celestial Master traditions among the Yellow Turbans of the second century (Lemoine 1972: 58)-the widespread *Guadeng* group initiations and the domestic altar found in every house. But many sources exist among different Yao groups. In the area of One Thousand Mounts of southern Guangxi, neighbouring Yao groups have “different combinations of Taoist currents from the early Celestial Master traditions, but also from the Southern Celestial Master sect and the Zheng Yi School of Celestial masters” (Zhang Youjun 1991: 320).

Michel Strickmann examined the collection of ritual manuscripts that was gathered in Mien villages of Thailand (and published) by Yoshiro Shiratori Yao Documents (1975). He made a comparative study with the vast body of scriptures from Chinese Taoism in the Taoist Canon Zhengtongdaocang (1976), commissioned

by the Ming and first printed in 1444 or 1447). Strickmann pointed out that, in the Yao manuscripts, “there is the presence of a second level of more active celestial agents (distinct from members of the older pantheons). (...) Like other Taoist ritual handbooks, the texts include a number of blank forms for various documents, to be filled in and submitted to the spirits as the occasion warrants: prayers, petitions, writs, memorials, and the like. All issued under the authority of the “Bureau of Exorcism of the Northern Borneo *Beijiquxieyuan*. They contain the names of such illustrious figures as the Three Generals Tang, Ge and Zhou, and an imposing series of “Grand Marshals” *Yuan Shuai*. These data enable us to relate this collection to a body of ritual texts that was revealed to mankind during the Northern Song. It was called the “True rites of the Heart of Heaven” *Tianxinzhengfa*” (1982: 23:24).

One finds, then, among different Yao groups, erudite literary traditions that have been transmitted from Chinese messianic movements. These traditions should not be viewed only in textual terms, a pragmatics is necessary to take into account their heterogeneous articulations. Among the Mien in Thailand, five languages are used for ritual: the local Mien dialect, Southwestern Mandarin, two Cantonese dialects and a hybrid. Different languages may be used according to musical considerations such as in the One Hundred Thousand Mounts region: “...during performance of rites (ritual specialists) read their ritual books in Cantonese; they use Mandarin to distinguish the drum and cymbals parts” (Zhang Youjun 1991: 326). And the Chinese characters of the manuals are often read with some Yao translation. These translations are essentially hybrids. In Jin Ping county in Yunnan, “there exists a set of Yao language recorded in a form of Han writing. Its mode of formation is threefold: (1) where the sounds and meaning of the Yao language are similar to that

of the Chinese, the Yao language directly uses the shape, sound and meaning of Chinese; (2) phonetic transcriptions of Yao words in Chinese characters; (3) where the meaning of Han words is retained but pronounced slightly differently” (Fang Bingham’s study summarised by Liu Yaoquan and Hu Qiwan (1991: 541)).

Yao Taoism also draws from oral traditions both from the Chinese (Lemoine gives an example of the influence of Chinese oral traditions in the case of Shamanism (1991: 585)) and of the Yao oral traditions (as well as those of other neighbouring groups). One example of this incorporation of oral traditions is the reference to Plum Mountain, Meishan (Lemoine has also a second hypothesis about the reference to Meishan: Meishan might actually have been a Taoist stronghold where the conversion by Chinese wandering ritual specialists of Yao settlers took place (1982: 31)). Many Yao groups call their Taoism “Teachings from Meishan”. In funary rituals, souls of the dead journey to Meishan (1982: 104-114). Lemoine notes that “the insistence of the Yao in localizing Meishan on this earth has a strong historical flavour” (1982: 31). There actually is a Meishan mountain in western Hunan as part of the Snowy Peaks Range, Xuefengshan. References made to Meishan found in Sung annals (1982: 31) are no doubt important in the perspective of a history of Yao religion.

In this study, we are not concerned with Yao Taoist ritual as religion. Our purpose is pragmatical and tries to face the realities of post-colonialism. All observers have reported that transmission of ritual learning is more severely compromised than ever in the late twentieth century, be it in Laos, Thailand or China. The younger generation is generally alienated from tradition.

The future will spring forth only from ashes or fragments of the past. If formal training of apprentices no longer takes place, all that will survive are minor ritual

practices detached from their original context. These minor practices might take a new consistency, fragments forming a block with something else. James Standifer, studying Yao music in Guangdong and Guangxi, has speculated that Taoist "chants and incantations are felt to have strongly influenced folksongs and dance practices (1991: 358-359). In this example, from "song language" (i.e. Taoist language (Cushman 1970), only songs remain, but in new settings or in a different series of practices. Very minor transversal flows of this kind are all that might provide a basis for cultural renewal.

The possibility for fragments of Taoist practices to take a consistency outside of liturgy might depend on whether these fragments become connected to modern assemblages. Standifer has also pointed out that "written score of music and dance... following the example of Laban's admittedly unwieldy notation..."can serve"...the needs of the culture" (1991: 366). He stressed the importance of audio and video recordings (revealing "settings and gestures") (1991: 366), of using computers, and as well, of urgently creating depositaries or data banks (1991: 367-368). Many Yao ritual specialists are well aware of these problems and have encouraged me at different occasions during my research to use the most modern recording technologies. The ritual specialists understood that such recordings were certainly not equivalent to a sustained apprenticeship but they nevertheless recognized them as tools with an autonomous potential.

The best descriptions of Yao Taoist ritual practice in English are from Lemoine (1982; 1982a; 1991). Kandre (1975; 1976; and 1991) and

Zhang Youjun (1991). Liu Yaoquan and Hu Qiwan (1991) provide a summary of Chinese research. More recently, an extended description of ritual in Thailand in Chinese has come from Zhang Youjun (1992). There are also several articles on Taoist ritual in the third volume of Yaozu Yanjiu (Yao Research) (1993). Zhongguogeminzuzongjiaoyushenhua da cidian (The large dictionary of religions and mythologies of China's nationalities) provides entries on Yao Taoism from county level librarians and other researchers not mentioned in the 1991 summary.

## Proceedings of protocol:

Protocols are series of embedments. In rituals, documents are presented one after the other with inventiveness at creating a different and more visible display of formality. Memorials set in piles distinguish one another through contrasted sizes and formats. But most strikingly, boxes and containers are fitted on top. One document always envelops another. And the yellow or red bulging boxes (photographs 13,23), refined products of paper folding craftsmanship, are even bigger than their function prescribes. Their excessiveness and uselessness is such that they seem about to burst. They are the conspicuous containers of official correspondence, the volume of which is always difficult to define for the onlooker and is only the temporary sum of an indefinite process.

Taoist protocol is a Russian doll. There are the series of boxes of documents and also there are the series within sets of documents. Sufficient formality is the limit of the assessment of expenditure or efficacy. For a given exorcism, there might be a variety of scriptures and rituals required. For example, to “build a bridge to seek for souls” (*Zhao hun qiao*), one might add a “memorialising to stars” scripture (*zou xing*) and a “driving away baleful influences” ritual (*jie sha*) (Zhang Youjun (1992: 227-8) provides this case among several other hybrids). While using a ritual manual, more often than not, divination recurs several times to determine whether additional

incantations are necessary. In Taoist proceedings, the authoritative deed is always displaced. Scriptures, due to conditions of messianic production, are palimpsests. There is no definite hierarchy within sets of certificates, incantations and seals in a manual. And when a certificate is used, another seal might be added.

Efficacy of documents in proceedings is at the intersection of several series. There is the virtuality of what might constitute an appropriate scripture for a ritual and the actual series of documents that constitute a scripture. And also, there are the series of sets of documents singled out for ritual use and the series of documents selected after divination. There is resonance between the legendary script in narratives around the dramatic proceedings of messianic writing and the scripts read or burnt in ritual events. Isabelle Robinet (1979: 33-50) draws out the seriation in the production of scriptures and talismans, but she points in her analysis solely to the origins of the series as the primary emanation from which reverberates efficacy. In proceedings, efficacy is also refurbished. Divination, in particular, is not so much a question of determining what the spirit wants and what is correct, there is also a potency that springs from the act of divination itself. Divination is a prescribed step in a proceeding and besides its performative efficacy, there is the retroactive efficacy of a new set of documents being singled out as appropriate in a ritual event. Granet (1934) did well in insisting on the renewed potency of the written form as an emblem in everyday etiquette.

## **The Bureaucratic Metaphor and Comedy**

Kenneth Dean (1993:181-6) has shown ways in which the Chinese bureaucratic metaphor is reworked to perform contradictory functions in localities and ritual liturgies. Rather than simply mimicking imperial order, Taoist ritual involves non-hierarchical flows in local politics and the ritual masters use techniques of meditation and possession that bifurcate from identification with the emperor god. We would like to show how a paradoxical use of the imperial metaphor in ritual involves ambiguous and aesthetic modes of expression.

Taoist ritual includes comic semiotics that go beyond mere parody of Confucian and imperial formalities. Dean describes polyphonic qualities of the Xigang festival in Taiwan:

Even the Taoist priests share in the fun, when they emerge from the solemnity of their rituals modelled on court audiences within the temple. Dramatic representations of their rituals are performed in the volatile space of communal offering outside the temple doors. Taoists act the roles of horses, riders, clowns, and acrobats. Tigers and demons struggle with Zhang Daoling, the first Celestial Master (fl. 144 AD). Taoists dress-up as clown-like bureaucrats, mocking both the scholar-official class and their own involvement with bureaucratic protocols and documentary forms. These bumbling bureaucrats pass documents to horseback messengers who send them to the Heavens or the Underworlds (Dean (1992:685)).

The court scene is not a pretext for a homophonic satirical narrative, all the participants and the subject matters of ritual are caught up in comic inversions as in the carnival described by Mikhail Bakhtine:

Let us say a few initial words about the complex nature of carnival laughter. It is, first of all, a festive laughter. Therefore it is not an individual reaction to some isolated "comic" event. Carnival laughter is the laughter of all the people. Second, it is universal in scope; it is directed at all and everyone, including the carnival's participants. The entire world is seen in its droll aspect, in its gay relativity. Third, this laughter is ambivalent: it is gay, triumphant, and at the same time mocking, deriding. It asserts and denies, it buries and revives. Such is the laughter of carnival.

Let us enlarge upon the second important trait of the people's festive laughter: that it is also directed at those who laugh. The people do not exclude themselves from the wholeness of the world. They, too, are incomplete, they also die and are revived and renewed (Bakhtin 1984: 11-2).

Anthropologist Victor Turner has insisted on the dramatic quality of ritual, affliction is pointed to as a keynote of life crisis circumstances (1968). Would a dramatic overtone necessarily overshadow the paradoxical scintillation of bureaucratic comedy in the most severe occasions? With Taoism, in sadder circumstances such as funerals, mourners are not plunged into a void of resonating existential emptiness because that is when proceedings are longer and bureaucratic complications the most extreme. Jacques Lemoine is quite right in putting the world of Yao and Chinese peregrinations of the dead depicted in iconography and scriptures

and the world of the vivid mortuary depictions of Hieronimus Bosch side by side (1982:106), both are charged with the laughter of carnival.

The difference in tone between drama and comedy has also a musical dimension. Turner makes a striking association in the title of his work *Drums of affliction* (1968). In contrast, in Taoism, one might perhaps talk about “Little bells and horns of derision” (from rituals witnessed among the Yao in Thailand: photograph 15 - a horn blown, photograph 16 - a horn used as percussion, photograph 60 - a little bell rung while lying on the floor). Between Turner’s case and our example from Yao Taoism, the difference is not only between more and less sonorous instruments. The Taoist instruments are more discrete because of the way they function as parts of complex non-musical assemblages. The little bell spins as an extension of *mudra* gestures. The dance of the hands is woven with choreographies of the body, so much so that the movements of the bell constitute a microcosm of the movements set across the ritual arena. The horn used as a percussion is an expressive feature in a posture that is different from the posture where the horn is blown (their iconographical associations are very different). What is more, the sound of the horn beside being musical is also a speech act, *jiao tian*- a proceeding in engaging with the celestial court. And all the instruments function as semaphores in bureaucratic communications. In all these ways, Taoist musical instruments are components of passage. The tunes themselves most often mark a transition between the recitation of two scriptures, between two different rituals.

The use of Taoist instruments then is derisory because of their particular insertion in narratives of bureaucratic proceedings, but this derisory character is also a product of the interplay between different levels of performance outlined above. In

Henry Bergson's work, *Le rire* (1900), laughter implies a "mechanical laying out of dispositions and a simplification of gestures". Such a characteristic is most evident with regards to the mime, however, we want to show how it is also true more generally. Jean-François Lyotard argued that theorisation about theatre had led to an impasse. This theoretical standstill would have been reached with figures such as Brecht and Artaud (1994:91-8). Perhaps potentials for reactivating a comic effect could be found in the in between of what Brecht and Artaud were working to achieve examined in quite abstract terms. In Artaud's cosmic theatre, a distillate of powers gathered from the world: "a simplification of gestures". In Brecht's modernist visions, the artificiality of organised happenings made apparent, the hysterical posturing of *Verfremdung*: "a mechanical laying out of dispositions". In this definition, comedy is in between Artaud's surrealism and Brecht's hyperrealism at a site of critical tension and oscillation, a wavering tight rope upon which a performer unsteadily carries on his art. Taoist musical instruments and ritual implements too have something of this multiple and fluctuating character. Derision is never quite quelled with the constant display of intricate little appendices to the body, sophisticated arrays of accessories meaninglessly gesturing and sounding.

Interestingly, big drums appear not in the Yao Taoist rituals but they are foremost in their ethnic bonding rituals, the drum dances in "making vows and repaying vows to Pangu". A musical and stylistic difference accompanies a difference in scope. Zhang Youjun observes that the Yao in Thailand and Yunnan no longer have the traditional big drums found in other areas, instead, they use temporary drums carved out of large trunks of bamboo for the Pangu dances. He comments that such a change constitutes a peripheral form of cultural

underdevelopment (1992:270). It may be preferable instead, to point to the technological innovation and the ecological adaptation, which testify to a greater nomadisation in Yao culture. The difference is not so much a question of levels of development as of contrasted cultural drives and ethics. Nomadic art has often been opposed to monumental art. Here, the cultural imperative has been set in promoting mobility. Bronze gongs and bells have been carried along several centuries across from China, but these are part of the portable altar of the ritual specialist. The large drums carved from bamboo are thrown away after usage. Rather than keeping an artefact in the long-term, an emblematic piece of furniture in the domestic setting, the device is prepared very specifically for the Pangu dance. A line of uncertainty is drawn on what constitutes the permanent makings of the ethnic community, the bonding ritual becomes a more focalised event and no less important.

The paradoxical presence of imperial attire and trappings in Taoist rituals and exorcisms point relentlessly to something unsaid. This great display of ambiguous solemnity begs vainly for some explanation. And precisely, the secret of the ritual is this laughter that waxes and wanes. It is only on the most solemn of occasions such as during the "hanging of the lanterns" initiation ritual when ritual iconography otherwise kept hidden is displayed that appear the unframed gaping faces of the dragons locked in the bosom of the gods (the paintings of the Three Pure Ones in Lemoine (1982)). Beyond anatomical remarkableness, there is a hysterical moment when one is face to face with what cannot be seen. In regard to this unthinkable, abject and absurd mirroring, one is forced to recall the clinical observation of Jean Oury (1992): a smile, even the most forced, provokes neuronal chemical reactions that correspond to joy.

## Yao Ritual and Post-colonialism

In light of the realities of the Third World into which the Yao are plunged, will Taoist rituals with their singular uses of the imperial metaphor remain useful and efficacious tools for the new generations? What transformations might occur? An answer has to examine the new worlds of technology and the problems of post-colonialism in the larger sense. In regard to prospectivism and politics, anthropologists have tended to make a reductionist use of models that foregrounds economic production (Lemoine 1991: 605). Or else, the studies of mountaineers in northern Thailand have very often exclusively emphasised “the problem of ethnic identity as a manifestation of a cultural specific pattern of adaptation” (Vienne 1989:35). Bernard Vienne makes a discerning and urgent case when he stresses the political importance of using the words and perspectives that minorities formulate themselves when engaging with matters that concern them. This connects somewhat to Jose Gil’s plea for ethnographers to maintain with groups under their study a relationship of alliance (1989:7). Vienne aptly points to the lack of scientific scrutiny and philosophical rigour which has surrounded the misappropriation of Edmund Leach’s work *The political system of Highland Burma* (1954) resulting in the proliferation of stereotyped definitions of ethnic identity and the deprivation from minorities of any form of agency (1989:35-6). However, rather than structuralist analyses, we would favour system analyses working at an immanent level of politics.

Jacques Lemoine describes a fascinating diagrammatic construct of the household and the world beyond provided by a Yao refugee in Thailand. As Lemoine points out, part of the diagram is very predictable drawing out an arborescent development of lineage. But beneath lie worlds of potential: a "cultural humus" constituted of a multiplicity of germinative powers (Lemoine 1991: 605-10). Such a cultural construct connecting different activities of life with Taoist concepts of the universe should not be dismissed as mere superstition. It is a tool charged with aesthetic resonance and its abstract quality involving a complex geometry allows for multiple pragmatic uses. What we are saying is that magical charts and models of avoidance or resorption of conflict used in exorcism have religious and non religious uses, and they have a place in the discourses of minority politics. The concept of cultural humus is more charged with potential than the notion of cultural structure.

Among studies on the Third World, the works of Ivan Illich (especially (1978)), have shown how needs were not natural and given, nor neutrally inscribed in a evolution of civilisation. Jean Chesneaux (1989) has critically documented ways in which the use of new technologies and economic growth has brought about highly differentiated and often ambivalent results. Serge Latouche (1991) has analysed the workings of the informal economy and the local rediscovery of pluralities of life among the "shipwrecked" of globalisation. I would like to add an example analytically tied to the problems of the economic periphery and to those of low and high culture in the field of comparative psychiatry.

As Foucault postulated in *The Order of Things* (1966), cultures and systems of knowledge are often best viewed from the point of their external limit, what he referred to as the "empirico-transcendental fold". Here, Yao demonology or their system

for accounting for differentiated souls reaches a zone of contradiction and empiricism when ritual specialists debate over the complexities attached to life passages, the contrasts between genders and between animal species. While *dujie* initiated ritual specialist Li Fuchang claims that young boys have six warrior spirits, young girls have only three, teenage boys have twelve, teenage girls have six, and pigs, dogs and horses have three, Zhao Fuhua asserts this is incorrect, that teenage girls have only three warrior spirits and pigs and dogs do not have three warrior spirits, but rather have three intelligent souls (*hun*) (Zhang, 1992:208). This contiguity of animals and humans on the same analytical frame brings Yao demonology closer to ethology than to psychology. Daniel Stern (1985) doing research on infants has recently adopted such an analytical position in the West. Further, Yao demonology breaks apart from an individual developmental model because life passages and the acquisition of spiritual warriors is not predicated on age and a linear maturation sequence, but rather to rituals which are not related to natural growth, such as the *guadeng* initiation rituals.

Comparative psychiatry or ethno-psychiatry is useful here not only if it draws attention to the poverty of widespread models of the production of subjectivities in the West. I have chosen this example because it shows that Yao psychiatry is open to empiricism. This critical and experimental attitude toward towards the ecology of the mind might prove a determining factor in face of sweeping western models of science and life. Taoism is not immune to fruitful hybridisations.

The system of liturgy and of mythical narration of Taoism is open to reinvention and rewritings in response to audiences and emerging issues, but this process is not a mechanical adaptation to what is designated as current and important in a global

standardised cultural environment. Selection and recontextualization follows a logic of aesthetic sensibility and messianic fervour that is tied to ritual practice and a perception of local events at different scales of historization. In his study on ritual among the Yao in Thailand, Zhang Youjun provides two examples of scrambling between traditional codes and modern codes. One might first remark that out of the two examples, one is not Taoist, but rather from the Yao oral *fadong* tradition, the art of mediums, which is given a much shorter treatment in the investigation. Perhaps, because it is less formalised, it may be more receptive and permeable to new elements. If *fadong* and Taoism are taken as a system considering mutual influences in the long term, *fadong* might act more like a probe head. Deng Zhanshou developed her skills as a medium during a prolonged period of elaborate visions as she lay struck by chronic malaria. When people asking for help come to see her, she journeys to celestial realms in a state of trance. During these ordeals which she describes as they take place and immediately forgets, she carries an opened umbrella and at times makes distances in a motor vehicle. Once, she came across a large shop that was run by ghosts (Zhang 1992: 259-60).

Taoist ritual is infused with technological innovations in an account of the funerary process. In variance with whether a given person was merely initiated to the *guadeng* ceremony, or whether the endeavour of apprenticeship was carried on to the levels of *dujie* or *jiazhi*, the newly dead will make use of a different means of transportation to reach the after-world: whereas some will get there by aeroplane, or by riding a motorcycle, the less fortunate will have to make their way along an extended mountainous journey with a bike (Zhang 1992: 224). Yao ritual then is not foreclosed to the ongoing transformations of the world, it is under the modalities and

constraints specific to invention of ritual, which Jose Gil (1989) after Lévi-Strauss has described as a machine to stop time. The question becomes whether the westernisation of the world would allow for the conditions of possibility for such formidable and adventurous literary compositions as those retold by Michel Strickmann in his study (1979) of revelation and eschatological pilgrimages in the 4th and 6th centuries.

To go around the prejudice of Taoism as a “feudal superstition” and conceptions of religion prevalent in the P.R.C., Dean (1993:173-5) has suggested that a closer reading of Marx could be useful. Marxist critiques of religion prevailing in this context are generally devoid of the analytical specificity of the original argument that pertained to the late nineteenth century and to the Christian Church in Europe. Traditions of the mountaineers of northern Thailand are likewise described in ways which are contradictory: on the one hand, they would be promiscuous with nature and bound to a non-Thai primitivism, on the other, they would be divorced from nature as practitioners of an unsustainable shifting agriculture. (McKinnon (1989:303-60) shows that the recent increase in the sedimentation of rivers in northern Thailand is not due to itinerant cropping but to the extension of roads). Conceptions of nature and culture need to be drawn out along closer and non-dichotomous lines. Such would be the project of a pluralistic ecology.

In an analysis that Michel Strickmann reflexively labels as “post-sinologica I” (1991), Taoism with its formal paperwork and bureaucratic communications is contrasted to the Tantric practice of entertaining with gods a host-guest relationship and following rules of Indian hospitality. Among the Yao, the bureaucratic metaphor as an efficient narrative in practices of empowerment might itself undergo a

metamorphosis. Already, popular pseudo-monarchist rituals parallel the Taoist rituals within households with a special reverence made toward the King of Thailand. One could imagine ritual being infused with new universes of formality and mannerism. Have some people not alluded to the appearance of new expressions of baroque in this late millennium America and Europe?

## **Choreography and Scenography:**

André Leroi-Gourhan and André G. Haudricourt have formulated formidable accounts of a technological vitalism where technological evolution parallels biological evolution, however, they have neglected in their encyclopaedic accounts liturgical technology and its choreographic and scenographic elements. It seems that Haudricourt favoured research on “socialised motor behaviours” such as the gestures of work and the gestures of games because he perceived these to be most readily studied with the methods of linguistics. In an extension of Haudricourt’s approach, Bernard Koechlin (1972: 165-7) likewise states that aesthetic and decorative movements and positions such as those of dance could not as easily be used in a structuralist treatment along this line (Koechlin nevertheless suggests that the Côté notation is more useful than the Laban notation that James Standifer refers to; cf. Our discussion in the introduction). Although we agree with Koechlin that studies of technology could benefit from a rigorous work of conceptualisation and research around linguistics offer rich examples, the problem might not be that language is more homogenous and technology less homogenous. Rather, they might be treatments of language that construct a homogenous and standard system and other analytical approaches such as those of William Labov (1972) which study no less rigorously lines of inherent variation which are part of all linguistic systems in the

real world. Liturgical technology is most eminently a site of reinvention, but this should not be a reason to situate it in a secondary zone of scientific inquiry, we would argue the contrary.

In her study of the technology of Yao cookery, Annie Hubert (details the setting and the modalities of use of the banquet table for the spirits. The ethnographic descriptive tools needed in the case of liturgical objects might be more sophisticated. In Hubert's study, the equipment for everyday cookery is drawn schematically in the same style Leroi-Gourhan depicted technological tools in his vast inventories. When she illustrates the banquet table for the spirits, Hubert (with the friend from an artist friend) resorts to more detailed and more stylised drawing that includes surroundings of the object- the object remains tied to a setting, it keeps the plural qualities of an installation (in the sense used for contemporary art). Koechlin may well be right that an analysis of liturgical technology, because of aesthetic dimensions, might involve more subjective elements. Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant have argued that rather than an illusory attempt to avoid reflexivity in one's analysis, what is important is being aware of where reflexivity emerges and adopting critical positions (1992).

What is at stake is the creation of empirical tools to follow the processes of differentiation which are much more dramatic in the case of aesthetically motivated technologies. Leroi-Gourhan has called for a mapping of lines of technological vitalism by singling out technological objects that were diachronically and generically related. Liturgical objects, as works of art, enter in lines of technological vitalism that are at the same time lines of precariousness where the problem of reproducibility is always taken at its limit. Felix Guattari has shown that the process

of reinvention in such sites of rupture and indifferentiation takes place in relation to a multiplicity of universes of reference. Universes of reference can be conceived as operating as phase spaces in chaos theory applied here to the genesis of esthetical objects (1992: 65).

In the Yao ritual manuals, there is an awareness of this singular complexity in the reference to a number of liturgical objects. The clearest cases come from the manuals for exorcism such as *Jie sha* (Exorcism), and *Zhao hun* (To Fetch for Souls). Here, the white cloth of an astral bridge, the golden chicken (photograph 30) and the bamboo stick used to attract *hun* souls, the grains of rice that turn into soldiers, are all introduced with the same uncanny phrase: *ci qiao bushi fei? zhi qiao* (This bridge is no ordinary bridge), *ci ji bushi fei? zhi ji* (this chicken is no ordinary chicken), etc. An incantation of varying length forming a section of the manual is consecrated to each of these objects (cf. *To Fetch for Souls* (*Zhao hun*) in the appendices, similar incantations appear in the *Jie sha* manual as inserts in a scripture which differs otherwise). These little descriptive interstitial texts have a strong mythical function as well as being a set of stage directives (in practice, the golden chicken is displayed in various postures). The objects are at the intersection of a narrative universe and a universe of performance.

The ritual specialist is not explicitly mentioned in the verses, merely assumed. The instructions for performance are highly abstract throughout the manuals (such as customary pointers toward the five directions), but formalism is not enough to account for the peculiar impersonality in work of the ritual specialist. This impersonality results from the nature of ritual events. In the course of the ritual, each

liturgical object involves an encounter, universes open with the narratives around these objects.

Taoist liturgy includes encounters with philosophical universes, musical universes, pictorial universes, and mathematical universes. These universes provide the material for constructing existential foundations in the process of exorcistic renewal. The symbolic value of the astral bridge as a manifestation of ultra-mundane reality is secondary to its function of producing new signs from the point of view of technological vitalism. This function of producing new signs is based on an intuitive science. The ritual specialist constructs concrete assemblages that obtain more or less exorcistic value from asignifying signs. In a first approximation, the astral bridge is at the intersection of a universe of natural science reflected in the choice of building materials and a mathematical universe reflected in the number of protrusions or wooden crosspieces in the design of the bridge. Ritual finds its roots in these universes prior to any meaning. With regards to Thailand, Tan Chee Beng (1975, 41-43) observed five types of bridges with a number of subtypes. In his research, Miles observed three types with subtypes which differed from those of Tan Chee Beng (Tan 1975: 43), and myself have come across a bridge which corresponded to none of these above (photograph 37). With respect to construction material, efficacy of a cure for children depended on the use of stone rather than wood. In the case of adults or the elderly, efficacy is increased by selecting a bridge with a greater number of protrusions (from one to three) or at a higher level, by building bridges with wooden crosspieces in a number chosen along a series: thirty-six, seventy-two or hundred-twenty (Tan 1975: 41). This arithmetic testifies of an exorcistic power that comes from the numbering number as an asignifying sign.

Le Clézio in his book Hai (1971) is one author who described encounters with technological objects used in ritual as encounters with constellations of universes. The leitmotiv throughout the book is the encounter with the (American) Indians, what he learned from such an encounter and the transformative power of such an encounter. In his neo-primitivist language, this encounter with the Indians has to be understood as an encounter with a world of ritual.

*La rencontre avec le monde indien n'est plus un luxe aujourd'hui. C'est devenu une nécessité pour qui veut comprendre ce qui se passe dans le monde moderne. Comprendre n'est rien: mais tenter d'aller au bout de tous les couloirs obscurs, essayer d'ouvrir quelques portes: c'est-à-dire essayer de survivre*(Le Clézio 1971: 11).

Le Clézio expresses vividly the impersonal quality of the work of the artist that follows a line of liturgical invention or technological vitalism.

*Déflagration de l'expression, déflagration des paroles, des musiques et des peintures humaines. Déflagration nécessaire vers quoi tend toute la vie de l'homme indien. Efficace art collectif qui se prépare et s'accomplit selon la même progression que l'expression individuelle. Tension insoutenable des êtres, dont les gestes, les mots, les pensées s'accumulent peu à peu, jusqu'à l'ivresse de la création. L'indien refuse la création individuelle. Qu'en aurait-il à faire, lui qui connaît la menace qui pèse sans cesse sur la vie de son peuple, et qui voit, chaque jour, dans chaque chose, les traces de la déflagration prochaine. Art sans relâche, qui travaille,*

découpe, incise, écrit autour de lui les formes nécessaires en vue de l'accomplissement de la fête magique(1971: 44-45).

The encounter with the universes of technological objects always has a power of metamorphosis: Le Clézio gives the example of the Indian flute and its non-romantic musical universes.

*Les indiens ne connaissent pas les instruments de musique, ils n'en veulent pas. L'accordéon, la flute traversière, la harpe, ce sont des importations. Mais les vrais instruments indiens eux, ne sont pas musicaux: tubes monophoniques, pipeau à deux trous, tambour, grattoir. Conques, grelots. On ne fait pas de la musique avec ça. La mélodie n'intéresse pas les indiens, elle les ennue. La mélodie est un piège, elle est narcissique. La musique indienne ne cherche pas à être belle. Elle est seulement un bruit dans le concert des autres voix: cris des oiseaux, cris des singes hurleurs, cris du chien, de l'agouti, du jaguar. Par le moyen des instruments monophones, l'homme retrouve un autre langage, plus violent, plus rapide, qui le fait entendre du règne animal, végétal, ou démoniaque. Ce langage n'est plus discursif, mais répétitif. Il travaille à la grande métamorphose que l'homme, au fond, ne cesse d'espérer, celle qui le libérera de sa prison anthromorphique(1971:50-51).*

We have referred so far in this discussion on liturgical technology to the movements of bodies, human or animal (the golden chicken), and the assemblage of ritual settings. Liturgical technology is always studied through a scientific objectivation of choreographies and scenographies (music, for instance, is examined

from the point of view of sound and environmental ecology). This perspective allows us to subvert the common notion of the ritual specialist as a master of ceremony. An empirical analysis of choreography and scenography necessitates a use of chaos theory because of their dimensions of improvisation and inventiveness. Ritual is not about a static exposition of emblems of authority, nor about a hieratic disclosure of some allegedly eternal order. The ritual specialist is merely someone equipped with tools to enable him to do random performances, but these random performances are not of a sort that results in a simple return to entropic undifferentiation.

Randomness allows for transversal flows within the community. The most obvious example is transactions with paper money. Often, spectators come forward, take a more active role in the ritual and burn paper money. This irruption of new figures confers a polyphonic dimension to ritual experience as a narrative fragment. I have even seen in an exorcism onlookers spontaneously taking hold of bundles of paper and a stamp and printing additional money to give a more favourable turn to the dealings with the divine bureaucracy. The sonorous hammering was a musical counterpoint to voices and other instruments. The world of monetary transactions is also injected with a universe of theatre when different amounts of paper money are ignited one after the other with a sustained attention to the aesthetics of stage lighting.

## Fieldwork notes from research in Thailand and Laos during the summer 95:

These research notes are not merely a chronological record of a series of findings on an object (i.e. Yao Taoist ritual) that is artificially separated from its observer. We have tried to describe research while keeping to the closest to the point where subjectivity emerges in order to cover as broadly as possible the problems of our empirical approach. Our account contradicts the notion of the observer as a neutral presence. As José Gil (1985) argued, ritual involves forces, hence any analysis of it will have to take into account affect. There are pitfalls and dangers when one engages oneself in a direct way, here, our work is not unlike a journal such as that of ethnographer Jeanne Favret-Saada (1981) which she kept during her two year research on witchcraft among the farmers in the Bocage of Normandy. Many of her remarks apply to our research as well. Here is one of her observations as an example:

*The few progresses I have recorded were accomplished in circumstances in which I controlled neither what I said, nor my attitudes. Perhaps my ethnography will consist in discovering what place each of my interlocutors assigns to me. Or to bear occupying that place*(Favret-Saada 1981: 171. My translation).

**July 5 and 6 1995, Pha Dua village, Mae Chan district, Chiang Rai province, Thailand.**

I had mixed feelings about starting my fieldwork in this village. Both Peter Kandre and Yoshiro Shiratori had based their research in the village and had worked in the long-term in co-operation with the village headman, the upper rank ritual specialist Li Jingui (or, in Yao Lej Tsanguej). But the village is one of the most accessible Yao villages of north-east Thailand and I was not wrong in suspecting it could be quite intensely involved in ethnic tourism. Although there is no simple causality in the matter, I thought my chances of observing ritual practice would be lessened. However, Chanbarrung Mongkhol, the Yao specialist of the Tribal Research Institute in Chiang Mai had strongly urged me to go to this village. I was not put down by his emphatic description of the difficulties of working in any other village which I believe were partly motivated from the fact that he did not know anything about me and because the Tribal Research Institute, being designated to my funding agency as a local institutional contact was in some very minor regard accountable for my safety during my sojourn. Yet, Mongkhol had also stressed the linguistic advantages of doing research with Li Jingui as the only Yao ritual specialist in Thailand who spoke Mandarin. Still, my interest was really to first observe ritual practice. In the last judgement, I decided to make an initial visit in Pha Dua village but keep it very short and possibly return at the end of my sojourn.

In spite of anticipating something of the situation, I was not a little shocked by the dramatic (albeit largely cosmetic) transformation the village had undergone in

order to get business from tourists. Coming down from the road, a large neatly paved alley extended through the main part of the village. On either side, in front of the houses, tables were neatly aligned covered with handicrafts and souvenirs.

My arrival as a single foreigner must have been noticed, because after a short while, an old bright eyed little man came up to me. There was Master Li Jingui, the headman. He directed me to his house, the first one along the paved alley right at the entrance of the village. His nice discreet large wooden dwelling was built according to the traditional Yao oblong pattern.

He offered me some tea as we exchanged acquaintance. He was quite proud of his ability at languages. Beside Yao, Thai, Mandarin and Yunnanese, he spoke the languages of other minorities in the local mountains such as the Akha and Lahu. His high reputation as an exorcist extended to these groups which occasionally called upon his services. I did not try to direct the conversation and in the end it gravitated mostly around him showing to me his large collection of foreign academic scholarship on the Yao and circumstances in which he was given as a gift such or such of the volumes. He brought them to me one after the other that evening and the next day. When I took some notes on loose sheets of paper from one of the Chinese books which I had not seen previously, he offered me a little notebook so I could keep better track of my findings.

I spent that night in the special corner compartment that is reserved for guests in Yao houses. The next morning, upon hearing me remark on how wonderful and peaceful it felt to hear during the night the sounds of foils and other animals roaming in the darkness of the house, Li Jingui's eyes flashed. He reminisced of a time when

the house was even far more alive with a greater number of diverse animals including in particular a horse.

Before the time for lunch, I took a little walk. I refrained from doing a tour of the village because I wanted to avoid my visit to take the voyeuristic appearance that might sometimes have traditional comprehensive ethnography (so that Li Jingui would no longer see in me solely as a social scientist). Also I preferred to enjoy a little solitude. I wandered up and down the surrounding steep lush green misty hills.

That afternoon, he invited me to accompany him to the south of the province to participate for several days to a work session that was held by the Yao branch of the Inter-village Mountain People and Culture in Thailand co-operative.

**July 6-7-8, Mae Rom Yen village, Chiang Khong district, Chiang Rai:**

There were only very few further opportunities for me to talk with Master Li Jingui. In the evening, he showed me one more work of foreign (Japanese) scholarship on the Yao that he had especially taken along. Two days later, after the work session, when we parted, he told me with a strong expression that when I would arrive in other Yao villages, I should introduce myself by saying that he, Li Jingui, had bestowed me with the adoptive name Li Jinxian (Li, advanced toward immortality). I must confess that I felt too embarrassed to actually ever use the name on any occasion in Thailand. Norwegian researcher Peter Kandre, who stayed a long time in Pha Dua, was also given an adoptive name by Li Jingui.

Beside the three young Thai full-time workers of the co-operative, the approximately fifteen participants to the work session were all middle-aged and

elderly Yao. It was rather moving to see these elderly people make such a concerted effort at preparing pedagogical tools in an institutional setting. Their attitude certainly reflected a will to stand up in face of a dire perspective with respect to the transmission and future of Yao traditions. Most of the work at this occasion consisted in transliterating a mythical account of the migration of the Yao to Thailand (Which included in particular calendrical notions) and provide Thai phonetics for the Chinese characters. The text was to be used as a primer in one of the three village schools offering Yao culture classes under the tutelage of the co-operative. The institutional cover of the NGO (which has some official clout because of its developmental agenda) made possible to hold a small number of courses of Chinese in contradiction to the national ban on the instruction of non-Thai languages among the minorities.

**July 10, Thung Sai village, Chiang Khong district, Chiang Rai.**

The continuing of the journey brought me to the north-east of the province in order to find villages that were less affected by ethnic tourism. I had been told at the Mae Rom Yen workshop that there were many ritual specialists in the village of Pangkha, Pong district, a large settlement in the plains where Yao of the nearby mountain villages had been relocated during the repression of the Miao communist guerrilla. But I decided to first visit smaller villages in the north-east near Laos and stop in Pong on my return to Chiang Mai. I did not make it to Pong eventually, which is unfortunate because I was to repeatedly hear of the fame of the ritual specialists of Pangkha all the way in the neighbouring province of Nan.

The village of Thung Sai I visited near Chiang Khong was very small with only a few Yao houses and no ritual specialist. Perhaps some Yao had settled there only temporarily in the 70s and had now moved away. In all event, I could not find any one who could direct me toward a larger settlement under the name of Thung Sai such as listed with 130 inhabitants in the geographical survey provided by Chob Kacha-Ananda (1976).

**July 11, Pha Tang village, Chiang Khong district:**

The next day, I travelled with small buses to Pha Tang. Along the last stretch, the road followed over quite a distance a mountain ridge with steep slopes on either side, the Mekong river and Laos on the left, the plains of north-east Chiang Rai to the right. Pha Tang straddles the ridge at the end of the road, a site that really quite seems to the incoming traveller like the end of the world. Unfortunately, I was not allowed more than a short stroll in the village and was forced to return on the same bus because the area is part of a special border zone that is closed to foreigners. I was told later on about Pha Tang that the Yao villagers benefit from the unique situation that their children can attend Chinese lessons at the school that has been opened by the large Chinese community.

**July 11-12, Ban Lu village, Chiang Khong district:**

On the way back, at the bottom of the mountain ridge, I stopped in the Yao village of Ban Lu, a more recent settlement adapted to the life of the plains. I was

granted hospitality in the house of the chief of the village. After I explained my interest in Taoism (starting with this occasion, all my communications with the Yao was through Chinese script and only very simple Chinese words common to Yunnanese and Mandarin) he introduced me to his neighbour Deng Youyi, who received me at his place. Deng Youyi served me something to drink and after a few words, brought a little manual calligraphed in a beautiful hand, Memorial regarding heaven and earth, *Tiandibiao*. Upon my request, he allowed me to photograph the seventy-two pages. The original owner who copied the scripture (on the cover page, along side the title) is Zhao Youchao. What is not the norm for Yao ritual manuals, this one has a table of contents which is translated below:

- Memorial about extending the limit*
- Notice about extending the limit*
- Writ about atonement for the living*
- Indulgence of the great favour*
- Memorial about relief from disease*
- Notice about relief from disease*
- Statement about relief from disease*
- Memorial regarding heaven and earth*
- Notice regarding heaven and earth*
- Statement regarding heaven and earth*
- Writ about reposedness*
- Writ about harmony*
- Indulgence of peace*

- Memorial regarding distinguishing the strange*
- Notice regarding distinguishing the strange*
- Instructions regarding provisions of grain*
- Instructions regarding going after hun souls immediately on a given day*
- Instructions regarding going after hun souls on ordinary occasions*
- Writ about managing one's life*

These are all names of documents that are transmitted to the celestial bureaucracy by being burnt to ashes. Several documents often appear for a same purpose because a given ritual may require a set of documents (for instance, a memorial, a notice and a statement, *biao, yin, shu*). Beside the text of the documents themselves, the manual provides instructions on carrying out all these individual minor rituals.

After I had spent some time examining the Memorial regarding heaven and earth manual, Deng Youyi brought a second ritual manual. This time, it was not an original Yao scripture. Yao Taoism also includes almanacs, Tongshu, but this almanac was an edition printed for the Chinese, perhaps from Hong-Kong or Singapore, with illustrations in black ink. With a gleeful expression of someone sharing some secret knowledge, he showed me some formulas and explanations of inner alchemy with rather amazing little illustrations. These certainly struck my curiosity. I could not get to the details but they represented a technique for recalling the mind-souls or *hun* escaping from one's eyes.

The next morning, the ritual specialist Deng Youyi brought me along a small lane to a house in the back part of the village. He led me in and introduced me to an old

widow. On his request, she brought out a large collection of fifty or sixty ritual manuals. The majority was from the hand of her late husband. The calligraphy was not of the greatest level of mastery but had obviously been done with lots of devotion. There was a large *Guoshangbang*, the legend on the origins of the Yao, illustrated in ink and rolled up in a scroll. The manuals were extensively illustrated with colour pencils. The drawing was not without a certain skill. As I started to record the names of the ritual manuals on a notebook, I understood from the attitude of the old lady that Deng Youyi had brought me to her house with the idea that I might be interested in purchasing some of the ritual manuals and that she would be willing to sell them. As the widow was contemplating the perspective of parting with her relics, her expression became more and more tormented. Even in the case where she had decided to accept to sell the ritual manuals, some gestures of mourning might have been appropriate, but clearly, more was happening here. I had not even remotely been thinking of buying the manuals, and given the circumstances, it was not even a question. I quickly went forward and told the woman that I had no intend in buying. However, as soon as I returned to my activity of recording the titles of the ritual manual, on her side she relapsed in a wailing mode. I tried several times to reassure her that I was not going to leave with the manuals to no avail. To some degree, she was lost in her own thoughts. Her wailing quickly became more and more expansive and dramatic. The only thing to do for us was to take our leave. "

Deng Youyi received me for a last time at his house and told me where to find several ritual specialists across the river in Laos<sup>iii</sup>.

**July 14-16, Sai Sam Boung village, Sayaburri province, Laos.**

In Ban Huei Sai, Laos, the rides down the Mekong River on the long flat motor boats were more expensive than I could afford. Instead, I set on foot along dusty dirt roads to a Yao village a few hours away. I reached Sai Sam Boung village shortly after sunset with the help of a friendly motor cycle rider for the last stretch (I had seen only two other motorcycles the whole afternoon, fuel driven machines stood out as an anomaly in that countryside).

I was left in the hands of a young Yao who spoke some Mandarin he had learned in refugee camps in Thailand. One could tell from the appearance of the houses that the whole village had been very recently hastily put up with scant resources to deal with Yao refugees coming back across the border. The young man quickly understood what I was prowling after and brought me to the house of a ritual specialist. However, the ritual master, who was of a certain age, did not want to receive me at that late hour. The young man brought me back to his house and lodged me for the night.

Early the next afternoon, I was lead to another house nearby in the village. Gazing inside through one entrance, I saw a number of little implements on the floor. One could easily make out that those were paraphernalia especially laid out for a Taoist ritual.

I was left there with a ritual specialist chanting incantations in a crystalline voice. He wore a very simple ceremonial attire and his restraint from ostentatiousness gave him a juvenile demeanour so that one could only assess in an afterthought that he must have been in his early forties and not ten or twenty years younger. The soft light from the outside beamed through the door. In a square of light, the liturgical installation was aligned perpendicularly to the slightly elevated threshold. In a round

winnowing basket, a set of calligraphed memorials were properly disposed waiting to be cremated. On one side of the basket were musical instruments namely cymbals and a buffalo horn, on the other, several piles of sacrificial money. In front of the threshold stood a tiny table with offerings of wine and rice, also there was a little chick tied with a string around the neck, and more surprising still were, one behind another, three pairs of small modelled clay figurines: sacrificial snakes, oxen and rats (?).

I did not bother to fetch my camera and take photographs because I was awed and anxious to have as full as possible an appreciation of all the range of sensation involved in the exorcism. I simply squatted beside the ritual specialist. The last offering of paper money was done close to sunset, but the span of the exorcism seemed much longer than one single day, one had a sense that time had been tremendously slowed down. In particular, the shrill chirping of the little chick, which was severely immobilised with a board of paper tied to his back and almost seeming aware of the proximity of the sacrificial knife, enforced a temporality of the animal realm. The ritual event with its formidable horizons was articulated in critical irreversible processes: the cremation of the documents, of the paper money, the crushing of the finely modelled clay figurines...

While gathering the liturgical instruments to take them away, the ritual specialist and I exchanged a few words (one or two other villagers had stopped by a few instants near the beginning of the ritual but none had stayed). He asked then rhetorically talking perhaps of something detached from his own art as a performer: "It was rather beautiful, was it not?" I acquiesced partaking to the delight that had been somehow occasioned. Before he discreetly took his leave, he allowed me to

photograph out of his ritual manual (Manual for exorcism *Jieshashu*) the memorials that had just been sacrificed.

**July 16-18, Nam Dong village, Sayburri province, Laos.**

The next morning, I left Sai Sam Boun on a small path under a dense forest cover going inwards across the hills. At midday, I reached a track where I eventually completed most of the journey in the company of a few mountaineers riding at the back of a truck cutting its way up and down through forest which had nearly overtaken the road.

Namdong is a beautiful village. Its traditional Yao houses are delicately dispersed in a gentle narrow vale with a river on one side where children could be seen, it seemed for most of the day, swimming and playing near a waterfall.

A middle-aged villager came up to me along with a number of others and after I had introduced myself to him, he arranged for my lodging in the small simple house of a young couple. We exchanged further about ritual (as I had intuited, he was a proficient ritual specialist). He explained to me that he had studied Taoism in Yunnan province in China. I asked him whether somebody in the village spoke mandarin. To my surprise, unfortunately, the question had slightly hurt his feelings, and for an instant. I was a bit at lost when he asked me in return almost pleadingly pointing to my notebook where lay part of our conversation which had been jotted down: «Is my Chinese not good?» My answer did not come easily. His written language was puzzling because on the one side it completely lacked a grammatical apparatus, on the other, the range of vocabulary was extremely large (and it included many words I

did not know). But I only understood later on his peculiar concern for whether or not an outsider such as I would make sense of his writing.

I questioned him once more about whether there might be some ritual activity in the village happening in the near future. While I checked a character he used to answer me back in my small Xin Hua dictionary, I observed that he could not help but stare a bit anxiously at the little dictionary. Thereupon, I offered it to him as a gift. He thanked me profusely.

At the end of that afternoon, I still went to meet a mandarin speaker who, the ritual specialist had told me, headed the dispensary situated in the large settlement of recently returned refugees located to the north of the little depression of old Namdong. However, upon meeting the fellow who was in his late twenties or early thirties, I instinctively felt that he would not be of much help and I could see why my host from the other side of the village had directed me toward him with a sense of defiance. The refugee camps in Thailand had been known for having become the site of the concentration of skilled specialists. But my interlocutor here had perhaps received his linguistic instruction and even his paramedical training from Taiwanese missionaries, in any case, he had certainly not participated in the small renaissance of Yao ritual that had taken place. The politics of Chinese language and its differential symbolic capital were more apparent after this encounter. For my part, I very quickly returned to the other side of the village.

The next day, the ritual specialist who had received me in the village the previous day performed two rituals. A first one lasted a bit less than two hours and took place in the morning, the second one of a similar duration was in the afternoon. These two rituals were shorter than all the other rituals I attended during that

summer. A few short cuts were taken and some elements clearly omitted. In particular, in both cases, a paper cutwork of the pantheon was displayed but not burned. And although the two rituals openly involved, first, a young mother, and second, another household in the village, unavowedly, they were primarily performed for my benefit. Not so much capitalising on my ignorance probably then out of playfulness with regard to my posture as an interested outsider, some liberties were taken with regard to the formal process.

In both rituals, offerings included paper money, wine, rice, one or two pates of chicken, and a paper cutwork of a pantheon (that was only displayed) (photograph 1). In the morning ritual, a number of incantations were chanted, divination blocks were thrown a few times and paper money was cremated (photograph 2). A string was tied to the hand of a young mother (I believe, a technique to bring back dispersed souls). What struck me strongly at that moment was the freedom the children had to wander about the ritual arena and benefit as they wished from the show (photograph 3; they even have a little swing right in the middle of the house seen in the background). Most of the chanting was done in a keeling position, except at one time, when the young mother was called forth to feed her child at her breast in front of the altar while the ritual specialist stood up and made some *mudra* his ceremonial knife in hand (photograph 4).

In the afternoon, again without being warned in advance, I was invited in a house right near the little river. Liturgical paraphernalia were set up blocking one entrance and incantations were already being chanted when I entered through another door. As in the morning, what took place was some sort of minor exorcism. Very soon occurred an irruption from the outside. A buffalo suddenly peaked through the

opening, his enormous head and horns partly overturning the standing paper cutwork pantheon. Aside from the sacrifice of a little amount of paper money and the casting of divination blocks, the ritual featured prominently the overwhelming sound of cymbals (photograph 5) as well as intricate gesturing with a smothering brand (photograph 6).

As I left the little vale early the next day, just when I came to the outer limit of the village, I suddenly saw the middle-aged ritual specialist running at full speed in child-like fashion to catch up with me. He came to bid farewell. Similar romp and movement would be difficult to imagine in an urban setting.

**July 26-28, Hui Lap Bo Ya village, Muang district, Nan province, Thailand.**

The remainder of my fieldwork that summer took place in the province of Nan back in the Thai north-east.

At the market place in the town of Nan, I found a group of Yao highlanders that brought me along on their truck back to their village in the hills. My first attempt to find a place to lodge as a base for my research was not successful. I had approached a man sitting in front of his house, appearing to be the household head and a ritual specialist, but he seemed hostile. I ventured further in the village and a bright eyed white bearded elder F-ang Jinkun, welcome me in his house. He later honoured me by allowing me to photocopy a little specimen out of his collection of manuals that were very finely calligraphed. They were from his hand.

However, I was paradoxically feeling perhaps too comfortable in the large wooden house of that friendly elder. I ventured back to the more desolate bare

cement house of the ritual specialist who had rebuffed me the previous day. He received me with an indescribable grin, and this time he showed himself more patient. After making a few signs of reluctance, he complied to my eager interest in seeing some token of his collection of manuals. The almanac, *Tongshu*, he let me look at was beyond my wildest expectations of what I could have found in his house. I flipped through the pages, and all the while, he remained beside me, his hand reaching close to the manual ready to snatch it back. He allowed me to photograph the one-hundred calligraphed pages but when I came to the last pages written with a ball point (the original pages were missing), he swiftly took the book back. I pressed him to at least just see the name of the copyist (and illustrator) of the manual presumably located in that section. He only answered with a mocking sneer: "It is mister darkness and light, *Yinyang xiansheng*".

Has he was putting away the almanac, his young perhaps twenty years old son suddenly stepped in front of me a little bit in a frenzy proudly displaying his ritual sword and some other item of a first level initiated apprentice (probably, a Laojun stamp). He brandished them only a couple of seconds then, in the same move, he took the instruments away and flailed a little pile of paper money right at our feet setting it to fire so that it immediately turned into a tall column of flames and smoke. I was then invited for a supper, eating meat for the first time in a Yao village (apart from the banquet at the Mae Rom Yan conference). Perhaps a few photographs of some of the illustrations from the almanac will better convey some feeling of that evening (photographs 7,8,9,10,11).

**July 30-31, Wang Pha village, Tha Wang Pha district, Nan province.**

In the early afternoon, I walked into one of the Yao houses (which was also a shop) that formed a settlement in the south part of the large Thai village of Wang Pha. The shopkeeper told me after a few words that a ritual was just about to take place in their house. He brought me in a large room where a little altar had been especially set up (photograph 12). I was explained that a member of the household who managed a shop in Nan had not been feeling very well for a couple of weeks. She was presently on her way back to the village and an exorcism (*Jie sha*) carried out for her well being would now begin anticipating a little her arrival from town.

On the floor, inside a winnowing basket, a memorial for exorcisms and a yellow box, both duly stamped, were laid out conspicuously as offerings (photograph 13). Ritual specialist Zhao Guifu, a neighbour who had been invited to take in charge the exorcism, was wearing his ceremonial robe and presently lowered himself to his heels and raised the winnowing basket on top of his head while a member of the household lit the memorial which slowly started to emit smoke and flames (photograph 14).

Interspersed with divination and offerings of paper money, recitation out of the book for exorcism *jieshashu* ensued. On that occasion, I decided to take a more active role, and kneeling on the side of Zhao Guifu, I recited from the manuals some of the incantations along with him. Zhao Guifu then blew the buffalo horn repeatedly, performing a call to the heavens *jiaotian* (photograph 15). In such a sequence of actions, the spirit of the Sea Banner Haifan probably possesses him (Lemoine (1982: 83) points to the use of the horn as one of the distinctive iconographical features of Haifan).

The recipient of the exorcism arrived, and similarly to the procedure in Namdong, a string was attached to her wrist in order to return wandering intelligent (*hun*) souls to her body (photograph 16). Perhaps the most intense moment of the ritual came when, adopting an unlikely posture standing on a little plank of wood, the ritual specialist knocked rhythmically with a stick on the outside of the buffalo horn while abandoning himself to melodic incantations (photograph 17).

The art paper cutwork pantheon was promptly set ablaze (photograph 18) together with an amount of paper money determined by jostling the divination block (photograph 19). The choreography of the exorcism, with a centre right near one side entrance, had directed the performance alternatively to the space indoors and outdoors. The final cremation of paper money took place on an outdoor permanent stand installed for that purpose (photograph 20).

After the ritual, Zhao Guifu allowed me to photograph the 46 double-sized pages of the manual which just had been put to use together with another manual to save from diseases (*Qiubingshu*).

**July 31-August 1<sup>st</sup>, Pa Klang village, Pua district, Nan province.**

Upon reaching the village, I was lucky to observe in the workshop of a silversmith (silver work is an important activity in the village) the end of a little ritual related to the craft. Afterwards, I met upper grade ritual specialist Deng Jintang. While we conversed he demonstrated to me his skills at metalwork by nonchalantly crafting in a few moments a bracelet. He let me photograph four of his manual from the hand of his father, Deng Caien and from his own. We had talked for quite a long

time when he told me to walk down the road to a neighbouring house further on the corner. Himself would ride his motorcycle. I was really surprised when I saw him only instants later wearing his ceremonial attire and standing in a little square pavilion in front of a well garnished altar all ready to perform a calling for intelligent souls to return ritual *zhaohun*.

Beside the altar on which lay prominently, organs out, a good-sized pig, Deng Jintang's ritual sword was picketed with the buffalo horn as a cap (photograph 21). A sword picketed in the ground may manifest the presence of the Li Celestial Master (a distinctive iconographical feature in Lemoine's study (1982: 69)). A paper cutwork written over with characters hung further on the side (photograph 22). Two memorials had been carefully prepared together with two large yellow paper box containers (photograph 23).

Again, much of this ritual took place in a boundary zone between indoor and outdoor spaces. At the onset, Deng Jintang, standing on a plank of wood disposed right on the threshold of the pavilion, blew the buffalo horn to summon spirit troops (photography 24). He further chanted incantations while facing towards the distance (photograph 25). The memorials were cremated together with a pile of paper money laid on another plate (photograph 26). Then, a bridge was built for the purpose of returning wandering intelligent souls by unfolding a long piece of white cloth from the altar across toward the outdoor cremation stand (photograph 27).

The sacrificial rooster was brought in and presented to the altar (photograph 28). The rooster was further presented with insistence to some invisible presence located somewhere down the bridge while the ritual specialist performed *mudra* with his

ceremonial knife (photograph 29). Chanting out of a little manual, the casting of divination sticks (to determine whether the sacrifice was sufficient?) also ensued (photograph 30). Little flags were displayed, a signal for spirit troops on their way (Banners are the Chinese traditional martial insignia) (photograph 31). A red string was stretched in cardinal directions as a strange attractor for dispersed intelligent souls (this is exemplary of immobile travel in inner alchemy where slow movements could correspond to great distances) (photographs 32, 33, 34). The ritual was completed with more *mudra* (photograph 35) and more cremations of paper money (photograph 36).

**August 1-6, Wang Pha village, Tha Wang Pha district, Nan province.**

Upon my return to Wang Pha village, I stayed once more in the house of Li Jinfu, who gave me lots of his time in explanations regarding Yao Taoism. One afternoon, I was invited to attend to a building the bridge ritual *jiaqiao* which was held on the outer edge of the Yao neighbourhood right on the side of the river. An upper rank ritual specialist from the village performed the ceremony, the purpose of which is to extend someone's longevity and ensure his good health. A little manual was used containing a genealogical list of members of a Deng family. The bridge was oriented toward the river (photographs 37,38).

The ritual unfolded at a mellow pace. Recitations were made, percussion was played using the horn. Paper money was cremated on the ground as well as on a little stand (photograph 39).

That evening, I was invited for a little feast held in the house of the beneficiary of the ritual and introduced to many ritual specialists in the village.

Some days later, I witnessed one more ritual performed by a visiting specialist from a village above in the neighbouring mountains. This was a calling intelligent souls to return ritual, but it involved the use of two stellar bridges rather than a single one as was the case in Pa Klang. This ritual was the most intense and complex I was given to participate among the Yao. However, unfortunately (and perhaps not coincidentally), it was also the one in course of which my lines of research hit the greatest mental barriers.

A number of guests were sitting at low tables in the room where the ritual was to be held. I was invited to join at the feast (during which I got quite intoxicated).

Then, the visiting ritual specialist sung a few incantations. The ritual immediately proceeded with dances ((photograph 40) the permanent domestic altar found in every Yao house is seen in the background covered with coloured aluminium foil). Very soon, the pace reached a wild level when the spirits of different warrior divinities possessed the ritual specialist. It was quite frustrating for me that my camera started not to function properly, and all along the ritual, I had to work the trigger mechanism of the camera an erratic number of times (missing pictures in the process) between each actual shot. The ritual specialist charged a

number of times from the back of the room (photograph 41) all the way to a side door of the house brandishing implements such as flags (then picketed on the threshold, photograph 42), and even an axe (probably reflecting the presence of Marshal Deng (*Deng Yuanshuai*); the axe is a distinctive iconographic attribute of Marshal Deng (Lemoine1982: 118))! The war dance continued with a winnowing (?) disk (photographs 43,44,45), a brand (photographs 46,47), and a big log (photograph 48).

After casting divination sticks to question how best to continue, the dance now involved a roll of the two pieces of cloth used to make stellar bridges (photograph 49). The next sets were highly choreographed (photographs 50,51,52,53). Among other participants, the elder who had initiated most of the other ritual specialists in Wang Pha was also helping out fetching paper money (photograph 54) to draw on the mats the steps of Yü (an element of the Chinese cosmogenesis) and sacrificing some pieces (photograph 55). The steps of Yü (photographs 56,57) were followed with a pointing to the cardinal directions with strings similarly as to in Pa Klang but this time the cloths were simultaneously unrolled (photograph 58).

The stellar bridges were used to travel across the cosmos in several directions (photograph 59). The ritual specialist lied in trance making *mudra* and ringing a little bell (photographs 60,61,62). The audience approached when trance reached a peak (photograph 63). I had gone a bit rabid with my camera during the last sequences until the elder ritual specialist beside me invited me to keep seated for a moment.

The ritual ended with the sacrifice of a rooster (photograph 64) and the dripping of blood in a bowl (photographs 65,66).

## Conclusion

Ritual is about “fitting out” or “equipping the universe” (Granet 1934: 283, 341). However, in East Asia, only the Taoist have stressed the hugeness of the world (“putting to profit the findings of explorators and astronoms, nevertheless using the legendary or theoretical as readily as as the confirmed” (Granet 1934: 340; my translation)). A collapsing of scales brought to the extreme is what makes the great modernity of Taoism. Modern art in the West shares the same concern (cf. The end of the millenium exhibition in the Montreal’s Fine Arts Museum: Cosmos: from romanticism to the Avant-Garde). And the concept of installation used in art might also be useful to discuss about Taoist liturgy because it stresses the finitude and the precariousness that is inherent to Taoism in practice.

Yao ritual specialists performing in Los Angeles sacrificed memorials to the White House. One could imagine a renewal of Taoism by giving up the imperial metaphor and engaging in different series of proceedings.

## **Appendix I:**

**A (tentative) translation of the Ritual Manual To Search for Souls (From the photographs of a manual found by Yoshiro Shiratori in Kirek village, north-east Thailand, during his 1973 investigation. Reproduced in Yao Documents (1975: 43-62))**

### **Aller chercher les âmes *hun*:**

Je soumets une pétition à ceux d'en haut et je conduis un sacrifice pour ceux d'en bas. Seigneur astral de l'orient de la constellation de la grande ourse et seigneur astral des six chevaux de la montagne Tai, veuillez vous élever au siège supérieur. Je soumets une pétition aux officiers célestes dans leur palais. Que les hommes et les femmes de l'étoile polaire et de la forêt astrale descendent ici bas pour tenir audience!

Seigneur astral des six chevaux de la montagne très haute et de l'orient de la constellation de la Grande Ourse, veuillez vous élever au siège supérieur oriental correspondant aux troncs célestes *jia* et *yi* ainsi qu'à l'élément bois.

Seigneur astral des six chevaux de la montagne très haute et de l'orient de la constellation de la Grande Ourse, veuillez vous élever au siège supérieur méridional correspondant aux troncs célestes *bing* et *ding* ainsi qu'à l'élément feu.

Seigneur astral des six chevaux de la montagne très haute et de l'orient de la

constellation de la Grande Ourse, veuillez vous élever au siège supérieur occidental correspondant aux troncs célestes *geng* et *xin* ainsi qu'à l'élément métal.

Seigneur astral des six chevaux de la montagne très haute et de l'orient de la constellation de la Grande Ourse, veuillez vous élever au siège supérieur septentrional correspondant aux troncs célestes *ren* et *gui* ainsi qu'à l'élément eau.

Seigneur astral des six chevaux de la montagne très haute et de l'orient de la constellation de la Grande Ourse, veuillez vous élever au siège supérieur du milieu correspondant aux troncs célestes *wu* et *ji* ainsi qu'à l'élément terre

*Encore une fois, plaider à l'étoile du destin originel*

Que la personne à la recherche de la longévité et souffrant d'un mal s'adresse au seigneur astral du destin originel. Je sou mets une pétition concernant la longévité au temple du destin originel. Je sou mets une pétition en faveur de la personne lésée en m'orientant à gauche, à droite et vers l'intérieur de son corps originel. Je sou mets une pétition en faveur de l'homme ou de la femme au côté de son lit ou à l'intérieur de son lit en train de dormir. Je m'adresse au temple. (p44) Je sou mets une pétition en faveur de cet homme né dans cette province ou de cette femme, née dans ce comté, en faveur de cette âmes-fleur mâle ou de cette âme-fleur femelle, et pour ce faire, je vais au temple pour obtenir audience. Je plaide devant ceux d'en haut en faveur de cette personne qui souffre d'un mal. Que considération soit prise de son destin originel, du moment de sa naissance en tel ar-rée, tel mois, tel jour, tel heure. Que son destin dans le cours des générations soit établit par le seigneur astral immortel du destin originel! Je plaide devant ceux d'en haut. Que considération soit prise de l'année, du mois, du jour et de l'heure! Je plaide devant le seigneur astral immortel du destin originel des quatre saisons de l'année. Je plaide devant ceux d'en

haut. Que les dispositions soient prises pour les hommes, les femmes, les âmes fleurs mâles, les âmes-fleurs femelles, la prospérité, le bonheur, les céréales, le riz, les provisions, les réserves de matériaux! Je plaide devant le seigneur astral immortel du destin originel. Je plaide devant le seigneur astral du jour ensoleillé yang et de la pénombre nocturne yin.

Encore une fois, utiliser pour faire appel à l'étoile protectrice

Je sou mets une pétition à la chambre de derrière et l'espace ouvert à l'arrière. Je sou mets une pétition au temple protecteur. Tourné vers le haut, je sou mets une pétition au temple des six blessures. Tourné vers le haut, je sou mets une pétition au temple (?). Tourné vers le haut, je sou mets une pétition au temple de la grande récolte. Je sou mets une pétition au temple du tigre blanc. Tourné vers le haut, je sou mets une pétition au temple et présente une bassine pleine du sang des animaux sacrifiés. Tourné vers le haut, je sou mets une pétition au temple des trois exorcismes. Je sou mets une pétition à chaque individu (?) du palais-temple. Je plaide cette année, ce mois, ce jour, cette heure, devant le seigneur astral protecteur en bas et en haut. Je plaide devant le seigneur astral protecteur en bas et en haut. Je plaide en haut devant le seigneur astral des six blessures. Je plaide en haut devant le seigneur astral des six blessures. Je plaide cette année, ce mois, ce jour, cette heure, devant le seigneur astral des six blessures. Tourné vers le haut, je plaide cette année, ce mois, ce jour, cette heure devant le seigneur astral (?). Tourné vers le haut, je plaide devant le seigneur astral pour la guérison de mon mal de tête, de mon mal aux oreilles, de mon mal aux yeux, de mon mal au nez, de mon mal à la bouche, de mon mal aux mollets, de mon mal à l'épaule, de mon mal à la poitrine, de mon mal au ventre, de mon mal à la main, de mon mal aux jambes, de mon mal aux reins.

Tourné vers le haut, plaider cette année, ce mois, ce jour, cette heure, devant le seigneur astral de la grande récolte.

Tourné vers le haut, je plaide cette année, ce mois, ce jour, cette heure, devant le seigneur astral au tigre blanc.

Tourné vers le haut, je plaide cette année, ce mois, ce jour, cette heure, devant le seigneur astral combattant les trois influences funestes.

Encore une fois, la chanson de l'homme substitut:

(p45)      (??) Dans le passé eut lieu la naissance de l'homme substitut. (??) La naissance de l'homme substitut a une raison. L'homme substitut à l'origine ne mangeait pas des cinq céréales. L'homme substitut à l'origine ne portait pas de chemise. Dans l'orient, l'homme substitut s'appelle véritablement *Zhou*. (??) Les pêcheurs du village rirent de l'homme substitut. (??) Dans le midi, l'homme substitut s'appelait véritablement *Xiong*. Les pêcheurs du village rirent de l'homme substitut. (??) Dans l'occident, l'homme substitut s'appelait véritablement *Jin*. (??) Les pêcheurs du village s'établirent à Guangzhou avec l'homme substitut. Dans le septentrion, l'homme substitut s'appelait véritablement *Yin*. Les pêcheurs du village s'en allèrent dans la haute mer avec l'homme substitut. Au centre, l'homme substitut s'appelait véritablement *Kang*. Traversant la mer en bateau, c'est lui qui se chargea de conduire. Je me tourne vers l'orient et voir arriver l'homme substitut par la route orientale (...??). Monsieur l'homme substitut! Monsieur l'homme substitut!

Je plaide devant l'homme substitut pour qu'il vienne prendre sur lui les désastres.

Je plaide devant l'homme substitut pour qu'il vienne prendre sur lui les maladies. Que les maux et la catatonie quittent le corps du malade!

Je plaide devant l'homme substitut pour qu'il vienne prendre sur lui la catatonie.  
Que les maux et la catatonie quittent le corps du malade!

Encore une fois, la chanson du bambou (?) :

Ce bambou sert à interroger les ancêtres sur le destin. Ce bambou de divination à une fonction. On trouve ce bambou sur le sommet de la montagne du pourpre subtil

Encore une fois, utiliser pour escorter le seigneur astral :

J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral qui a le premier rang (pour punir) l'avarice et la cruauté. (??) J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines (??) la grue blanche qui tient un bâtonnet d'encens dans son bec. Je dépose une pétition. J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral de l'orient de la constellation de la grande ourse. (p46). Les pêcheurs du village font appel à l'homme substitut aux mille temples de l'oiseau et de la tortue. Les âmes-fleurs mâles et les âmes fleurs femelles se succèdent (??). De la monnaie en argent, du vin, et de la monnaie-offrande sont rapidement expédiés au ciel. Je soumets une pétition à l'étoile. Je soumets une pétition à l'étoile au-dessus du comté de la forêt. J'escorte l'étoile. Je l'escorte jusqu'au devant de l'empereur de jade.

J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral du deuxième siège de la porte de la bague. (??) J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines (??) la grue blanche qui tient un bâtonnet d'encens dans son bec. Je dépose une pétition. J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral de l'orient de la constellation de la grande ourse. . Les pêcheurs du village font appel à l'homme substitut aux mille temples de l'oiseau et de la tortue. Les âmes-fleurs mâles et les âmes fleurs femelles se succèdent (??). De la monnaie en argent, du vin, et de la monnaie-offrande sont rapidement expédiés au ciel. Je soumets une pétition à l'étoile. Je soumets une

pétition à l'étoile au-dessus du comté de la forêt. J'escorte l'étoile. Je l'escorte jusqu'au devant de l'empereur de jade.

J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral du quatrième siège, responsable des menus détails de la culture. J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines (??) la grue blanche qui tient un bâtonnet d'encens dans son bec. Je soumets une pétition. J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral de l'orient de la constellation de la grande ourse. Les pêcheurs du village font appel à l'homme substitut aux mille temples de l'oiseau et de la tortue. Les âmes-fleurs mâles et les âmes fleurs femelles se succèdent (??). De la monnaie en argent, du vin, et de la monnaie-offrande sont rapidement expédiés au ciel. Je soumets une pétition à l'étoile. Je soumets une pétition à l'étoile au-dessus du comté de la forêt. J'escorte l'étoile. Je l'escorte jusqu'au devant de l'empereur de jade.

J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral du cinquième siège responsable des grandes tâches. J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines (??) la grue blanche qui tient un bâtonnet d'encens dans son bec. Je dépose une pétition. J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral de l'orient de la constellation de la grande ourse. Les pêcheurs du village font appel à l'homme substitut aux mille temples de l'oiseau et de la tortue. Les âmes-fleurs mâles et les âmes fleurs femelles se succèdent (??). De la monnaie en argent, du vin, et de la monnaie-offrande sont rapidement expédiés au ciel. Je soumets une pétition à l'étoile. Je soumets une pétition à l'étoile au-dessus du comté de la forêt. J'escorte l'étoile. Je l'escorte jusqu'au devant de l'empereur de jade.

(p47) J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral du sixième siège, responsable des menu détails de l'art de la guerre. J'escorte jusqu'à des

contrées lointaines (??) la grue blanche qui tient un bâtonnet d'encens dans son bec. Je soumetts une pétition. J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral de l'orient de la constellation de la grande ourse.. Les pêcheurs du village font appel à l'homme substitut aux mille temples de l'oiseau et de la tortue. Les âmes-fleurs mâles et les âmes fleurs femelles se succèdent (??). De la monnaie en argent, du vin, et de la monnaie-offrande sont rapidement expédiés au ciel. Je soumetts une pétition à l'étoile. Je soumetts une pétition à l'étoile au-dessus du comté de la forêt. J'escorte l'étoile. Je l'escorte jusqu'au devant de l'empereur de jade.

J'escorte jusqu'à des contrée lointaines le seigneur astral du septième siège, pourfendeur des gourdins. Je l'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines (??) la grue blanche qui tient un bâtonnet d'encens dans son bec. Je dépose une pétition. J'escorte jusqu'à des contrées lointaines le seigneur astral de l'orient de la constellation de la grande ourse.. Les pêcheurs du village font appel à l'homme substitut aux mille temples de l'oiseau et de la tortue. Les âmes-fleurs mâles et les âmes fleurs femelles se succèdent (??). De la monnaie en argent, du vin, et de la monnaie-offrande sont rapidement expédiés au ciel. Je soumetts une pétition à l'étoile. Je soumetts une pétition à l'étoile au-dessus du comté de la forêt. J'escorte l'étoile. Je l'escorte jusqu'au devant de l'empereur de jade.

Encore une fois, la méthode pour bâtir des ponts drapés de blanc:

(p47c) En veillant à l'obserance des décrets impériaux, je dresse un pont drapé de blanc. (p47d) Ce pont n'est pas un pont ordinaire, c'est le pont drapé de blanc pour saisir les âmes *hun*. Ce pont de dix pieds de longueur se transforme en pont *yang* de vingt pieds de longueur. Ce pont se transforme en le pont *yin* de dix pieds de longueur. Ce pont se transforme en un pont de cent pieds de longueur. Ce pont se

transforme en un pont de dix milles pieds de longueur. Ce pont se transforme en un pont de cent mille pieds de longueur. Ce pont se transforme en un pont de cent millions de pieds de longueur. En haut, je tends jusqu'au ciel, en bas, je tends jusqu'à la terre. Je communique avec la porte des noms des dix-milles esprits. En se retournant vers la table, je saisi les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po*. Je remonte rapidement sur le pont. Je donne mon attention aux décrets impériaux. (p48a) Je sers le vieux seigneur en haut. En hâte, je veille à l'observance des décrets impériaux.

Encore une fois, le protocole pour l'observance des décrets impériaux concernant le  
riz

Je veille à l'observance des décrets impériaux. Ce riz n'est pas du riz ordinaire. Ce riz a poussé dans le ciel pour nourrir la terre. Le riz vermillon se transforme en soldats vêtus de rouge. Le riz blanc se transforme en soldats vêtus de blanc. Les gros grains de riz se transforment en généraux. Le riz à petits grains se transforme en petits soldats. Les soldats et les généraux se transforment en le petit enfant qui saisit les âmes *hun* et les âmes *po*. Que les vraies âmes *hun* retournent rapidement, que les vrais âmes *po* retournent rapidement par la voie du pont ! Je sers le vieux seigneur en haut. En hâte, je veille à l'observance des décrets impériaux.

Encore une fois, le protocole pour l'observance des décrets impériaux concernant les  
poulet

Ce poulet n'est pas un poulet ordinaire. Ce poulet se transforme en le poulet qui attire les âmes *hun*. Aussi, grâce à lui, la fonte du cuivre et du fer donne de l'or. J'attache le poulet pour qu'il devienne incapable de voler ou de marcher. Je sers le vieux seigneur en haut. En hâte, je veille à l'observance des décrets impériaux.

Encore un fois, le protocole pour l'observance des décrets impériaux concernant le

### sorgho

Je veille à l'observance des décrets impériaux. Ce bambou n'est pas un bâton de bambou ordinaire. Ce bambou sert conformément aux décrets impériaux à chercher les âmes *hun*. Trouvé dans un bosquet en bordure du village, ce bambou se transforme en mille soldats et dix milles chevaux. Il attire les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* du corps humain. Y attacher un fil. Le fil attire les âmes *hun* et attire les âmes *po*. Le fil retrace les contours de la montagne et la ligne du chemin. Je prends un couteau d'un pouce et je m'en sers pour couper le fil. Je coupe les chaînes qui retiennent l'esprit. Je retourne en hâte ici-bas. Je sers le seigneur, le très haut. En hâte, je veille à l'observance des décrets impériaux.

### Encore une fois, la méthode pour se servir du couteau

(???)

### Encore une fois, utiliser pour bâtir un pont drapé de blanc

(p49) Le fils du maître du *yin* et du *yang* descend de l'autel. Les soldats montent sur l'autel. Les généraux suivent également. Les ancêtres suivent également. Le roi et les douze immortels suivent également. Je plaide pour que le petit enfant vienne réparer le pont. Que les immortels et le maître du *yin* viennent réparer le pont! Qu'ils viennent réparer le pont du *yin* et le rallonger d'un mètre! J'envoie les cavaliers sur le pont, j'envoie les cavaliers sur la route. Je plaide respectueusement le petit sage enfant pour qu'il bâtisse le pont. Je plaide également le petit gentilhomme enfant pour qu'il bâtisse le pont. J'interroge les ancêtres à propos de la destruction du pont. La destruction du pont se situe dans le temps des origines. Je vénère le petit père enfant pour avoir bâti un pont. Je vénère encore le petit gentilhomme enfant pour avoir bâti un pont. Dans le passé, la fille du roi planta du chanvre (??) En une

année, elle obtint deux récoltes. Le premier jour du premier mois, le vent du sud se leva. Un travailleur se chargea de récolter le chanvre et de l'empiler en un gros tas. Le fil du chanvre fut fixé sur le corps du malade. Les grosses branches de chanvre furent rassemblées en un gros tas directement sur le sol. Les maréchaux immortels firent signe de leurs mains en guise d'invitation. La sœur aînée s'avança pour offrir un cadeau afin de manifester ses congratulations. Un pot de porcelaine ayant la forme d'un panier fut rajouté sur le tas de chanvre. Les maréchaux immortels vinrent prendre à leur charge la conduite du rituel. Ils vinrent ouvrir la porte (?) en l'inondant d'eau. Ils se baignèrent et se lavèrent dans la rivière. Ils s'occupèrent d'ouvrir la porte(?).

J'amène un drap rouge de gousse de soie comme support. Je l'étends une mesure à droite, une mesure à gauche. Également, avec un bâton de bambou, je mesure l'étendue du chemin. De la main gauche, je saisis un peigne. Je tiens dans ma main la corne de buffle des dix-milles années.

Hier à midi, on a commencé le tissage. Hier à midi, on a commencé le tissage. Dans le passé, les gens se questionnaient sur le nombre de jour nécessaire pour construire le pont. Aujourd'hui à midi, on va pouvoir en mesurer la longueur. Le pont *yin*, le chemin *yin*, l'origine *yin* sont ainsi. On rajoute vingt pied de longueur à la poutre soutenant le pont. (p50) Je bâti le pont et rajoute des poutres pour que puisse y passer des chevaux. Le courant d'eau sous le pont est assez profond pour que puissent y passer des bateaux. Votre disciple a terminé de bâtir le pont. Ils sera complété à présent grâce à une magie pratiquée sur l'eau.

Au bout du pont, des poutres sombres donnent sur un autre chemin. Grâce à la magie pratiquée sur l'eau, je chasse les mauvaises émanations. Je vénère et plaide

pour la venue du petit garçon qui répare les ponts. Il pousse et supporte le pont de chaque côté surplombant un milliers de *li*.

J'aménage le village d'un bout à l'autre.

J'aménage le chemin aller-retour

J'aménage la montagne verte

J'aménage la grande montagne et la porte obscure.

J'aménage l'autel des divinités et le temple du sol.

J'aménage le chemin oriental.

J'aménage le chemin méridional.

J'aménage le chemin occidental.

J'aménage le chemin septentrional.

J'aménage le chemin du milieu.

J'aménage la porte divine de la frontière supérieure.

J'aménage la porte divine de la frontière du milieu.

J'aménage la porte divine de la frontière inférieure.

J'aménage le pont sur le fleuve jaune,

(??)

J'aménage le cercueil intérieur et le cercueil extérieur du mort.

J'aménage les neuf provinces et les dix comtés.

J'aménage la porte du maréchal

(??)

J'aménage la vieille plate-forme et la pagode bouddhiste.

J'aménage les geôles et les puits infernaux.

J'aménage la porte de la grande montagne

En hâte, je saisis les âmes *hun* dispersées du malade (??)

J'utilise des blocks divinatoires au bout du pont.

Encore une fois, souffler la corne de buffle et envoyer des troupes

Au premier son de la corne, je pars au loin. Je plaide pour que le général Tang de l'origine supérieure parte à la poursuite des âmes *hun*. Qu'il parte en hâte à la poursuite des âmes *hun* et *po* et qu'il se dépêche de revenir!

Au deuxième son de corne, je m'en vais sans trêve. Je plaide pour que le général Ge de l'origine médiane descende de l'autel. « Que le général Ge poursuive les âmes *hun* et revienne»! Les âmes *hun* et les âmes *po* se présentent l'une après l'autre. Au troisième son de la corne, je pars pour les terres barbares. (p51) je plaide devant le général Zhou de l'origine inférieure «Que le général Zhou de l'origine inférieure poursuive les âmes *hun* et revienne»! «Que les âmes *hun* et *po* retournent au corps du malade !» Le maréchal lève la main pour envoyer des cavaliers. Les troupes sont parties et suivent les généraux à la poursuite des âmes *hun*.

Le petit garçon à l'esprit vif monte sur le pont. Le petit garçon qui accorde la rédemption aux âmes *hun* monte sur une poutre du pont. Le petit garçon qui attire les âmes *hun* monte sur le pont. Le petit garçon qui saisit les âmes *hun* monte et marche sur le pont. Le petit garçon qui saisit les âmes monte sur le pont. Je me prosterne devant les âmes *hun* pour que le petit garçon vienne à leur aide.

Encore une fois, une chanson pour envoyer les troupes à la recherche des âmes *hun*

J'envoie les troupes à l'est sur la route orientale. Je vais à l'est sur la route orientale chercher les âmes *hun* pour ensuite revenir.

J'envoie les troupes au sud sur la route méridionale. Je vais au sud sur la route méridionale chercher les âmes *hun* pour ensuite revenir

J'envoie les troupes à l'ouest sur la route occidentale. Je vais à l'ouest sur la route occidentale chercher les âmes *hun* pour ensuite revenir

J'envoie les troupes au nord sur la route septentrionale. Je vais sur la route septentrionale chercher les âmes *hun* pour ensuite revenir

J'envoie les troupes au milieu sur la route du centre Je vais sur la route d u centre chercher les âmes *hun* pour ensuite revenir.

J'envoie les troupes sur la ruelle des neuf provinces chercher les âmes *hun* et revenir. J'envoie les troupes à l'intérieur de la maison chercher les âmes *hun* et revenir. J'envoie les troupes aux deux bouts du comté chercher les âmes *hun* et revenir. J'envoie les troupes aux deux bouts du chemin chercher les âmes *hun* et revenir

#### Soumettre une requête à l'étoile pour la pacifier

Au premier son de la corne, je pars au loin. Je soumets une requête à l'étoile, je soumets une requête au roi de jade sur la plate-forme. A présent, les étoiles néfastes disparaissent et les étoiles bienfaisantes viennent briller à leur place. Que le maître de la maisonnée soit protégé et que la maladie et tous les maux quittent son corps!

Au deuxième son de la corne, je pars (?). Je soumets une requête à l'étoile, je soumets une requête au roi de jade sur la plate-forme. A présent, les étoiles néfastes disparaissent et les étoiles bienfaisantes viennent briller à leur place. Que le maître de la maisonnée soit protégé et que la maladie et tous les maux quittent son corps!

Au troisième son de la corne, je pars (??). Je soumets une requête à l'étoile, je soumets une requête au roi de jade dans son palais. A présent, je soumets une requête à l'étoile, je soumets une requête aux esprits bienfaisants qui remplissent le ciel. Que le maître de la maisonnée soit protégé et qu'il connaisse la prospérité

pendant mille années!

Au quatrième son de la corne, je pars incessamment. Je soumets une requête à l'étoile, je soumets une requête devant le roi de jade. (p52). Aujourd'hui, les étoiles néfastes disparaissent et les étoiles bienfaisantes viennent briller à leur place. Que le maître de la maisonnée soit protégé pendant dix mille ans!

Encore une fois, la chanson de la recherche des âmes *hun* et de la naissance du poulet

Voilà le poulet, estimons le moment de sa naissance. La naissance de ce poulet a une raison. Ce poulet est né à Nanjing dans le comté de Bai. Lorsqu'il traversait la route, un homme l'attrapa. Il l'attrapa et le déposa sur l'autel des ancêtres. Un maréchal le saisit pour aller à la recherche des âmes *hun*. (??) Avec la main, il saisit vigoureusement le poulet.

En un jour, le poulet mange trois dixièmes d'une pinte de riz. En trois jours, il mange neuf dixième d'une pinte de céréales.

Le jour, le soleil éclaire le ciel. La nuit, la trésorerie lunaire emplit le ciel de rayons. (??)

J'invite respectueusement le poulet impérial vert de l'orient. Le poulet est revêtu de vert. Il porte sur la tête un chapeau vert. Il porte aux pieds une paire de chaussures vertes.

J'invite respectueusement le poulet impérial rouge du midi. Le poulet est revêtu de rouge. Il porte sur la tête un chapeau rouge. Il porte aux pieds une paire de chaussures rouges.

J'invite respectueusement le poulet impérial blanc de l'occident. Le poulet est revêtu de blanc. Il porte sur la tête un chapeau blanc. Il porte aux pieds une paire de chaussures blanches.

J'invite respectueusement le poulet impérial jaune du centre. Le poulet est revêtu de jaune. Il porte sur la tête un chapeau jaune. Il porte aux pieds une paire de chaussures jaunes.

Encore une fois, la chanson pour bâtir un pont et sur le début de la croissance du  
bambou

A propos de ce bambou, on s'interroge sur le moment du début de sa croissance. Le début de sa croissance à une raison. Sur la montagne du pourpre subtil, on trouve des branches de ce bambou. Cinq cavaliers y sont allés et en sont revenus. Les branches étaient dégarnies de feuilles. Des termites en avaient rongé les racines.

Aujourd'hui, les maréchaux sont arrivés pour pourchasser et attraper les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* et les ont retournés au corps du malade. (??) (p53) Je plaide respectueusement pour la venue des deux maréchaux et des ancêtres originaux afin qu'ils aillent au-dessous de la porte de la grande montagne à la poursuite des âmes. Je plaide respectueusement devant les maréchaux provenant des cinq directions, spécialistes dans l'art d'utiliser le bambou. Je plaide également devant le petit enfant immortel. (??) Je vais chercher les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* dans les cinq directions et sur les cinq chemins. Voici le poulet rouge, voici le poulet rouge. Il est né avec la tête rouge, et le reste du corps également rouge. Aujourd'hui, je vais à la recherche des trois âmes *hun*, des sept âmes *po*, pour ensuite revenir.

Que le coq chante de bonne heure pour réveiller le malade! A neuf heures du soir, il chante sans faire attention à l'heure. Ce sont les esprits malfaisants et les fantômes affamés qui l'ont fait chanter. A onze heures du soir, il chante sans faire attention à l'heure. Ce sont les petits fantômes des officiers qui l'ont fait chanter. A

une heure du matin, il chante sans faire attention à l'heure. Ce sont les esprits du sol qui l'on fait chanter. A trois heures du matin, il chante sans faire attention à l'heure. Ce sont les ancêtres insatisfaits qui l'on fait chanter. A cinq heures du matin, il chante enfin à l'heure correcte son chant à trois notes, il salue l'astre du jour. Dix-huit jeunes filles ont entendu le chant du coq, elles se dépêchent de laver leur visage. Une femme mariée a entendu le chant du coq, elle se dépêche de se lever (??) Un mandarin a entendu le chant du coq. Il se dépêche de se lever et de s'habiller. Un lettré a entendu le chant du coq, il se dépêche de se lever et de commencer son travail de rédaction. Le malade a entendu le chant du coq, ses âmes *hun* et ses âmes *po* s'empressent de retourner dans son corps. Elles se dépêchent de revenir! Elles se dépêchent de revenir ! Elles se dépêchent de revenir ! En haut du village, l'oncle veille à la santé du malade. Au sein du couple, l'époux ou l'épouse, veille à la santé du malade (p54) Les âmes se dépêchent de revenir! Elles s'empressent de retourner dans le corps du malade. Dans la famille du malade, il y a une sœur cadette; elle veille à la santé du malade. Dans la famille du malade, il y a l'épouse du malade, elle veille à la santé du malade. Dans la famille du malade, il y a des enfants, des garçons et des filles, ils veillent à la santé du malade. Pendant toute la nuit, ils brûlent de l'encens. Tous les jours durant les quatre saisons de l'année, le malade sera protégé. Dans la famille, il y a aussi du riz blanc en suffisance, et également des légumes (??). Il y a enfin le petit enfant qui attire les âmes sur le chemin du retour. (??)

Avec un couteau, je coupe le fil du chemin sur lequel âmes s'étaient égarées. Les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* sont attirées sur le chemin du retour. Elles s'empressent de revenir, elles s'empressent de revenir. Les trois âmes *hun* suivent les trois chemins du retour. Les sept âmes *po* suivent les sept chemins du retour. Leurs

chemins passent par la montagne verte, là où la rivière trouve son origine. Lorsqu'elles arrivent près du pont, frapper sur le pont pour qu'elles entendent. Les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* s'empressent de monter sur le pont. Je souffle trois fois dans la grande corne pour que les âmes reviennent. Je souffle trois fois dans la petite corne pour que les âmes reviennent.

Les âmes suivent le chemin oriental. Je vais sur le chemin oriental pour les guider.

Les âmes suivent le chemin méridional. Je vais sur le chemin méridional pour les guider.

Les âmes suivent le chemin occidental. Je vais sur le chemin occidental pour les guider.

Les âmes suivent le chemin septentrional. Je vais sur le chemin septentrional pour les guider.

Les âmes suivent le chemin du centre. Je vais sur le chemin du centre pour les guider.

Les disciples assument la charge financière de huit cent sapèques. Avec cet argent, je paie les frais de passage des âmes sur le chemin du retour.

C'est moi, votre disciple, qui assume la charge financière de cent mille sapèques. Avec cet argent, je paie les frais de passage des âmes sur le chemin du retour. Si les âmes sont tombées dans un puits interdit, je paie les frais pour les faire sortir. Si les âmes ont été emprisonnées dans un cachot céleste, je paie les frais pour les faire sortir. Si les âmes ont été englouties dans des eaux profondes, j'utilise un fil en or pour pouvoir les repêcher.

(p55) Le malade portait auparavant des habits (??) Il les a perdu (??). Le

malade portait auparavant une ceinture. Il l'a perdue.

Aujourd'hui, l'argent a été dépensé pour payer le droit de passage des âmes *hun* (??). La lune atteint le sommet de la montagne. Aujourd'hui, les âmes *hun* et les âmes *po* sont retournées dans le corps du malade. La lune s'est couchée à l'est. Le Vieux Seigneur attend les âmes sous la porte au bout de la ruelle. Aujourd'hui les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* sont retournées dans le corps du malade. Le destin est comme un bateau qui passe sur la rivière.

Le fil était long de cent pieds. Long comme le trajet d'un bateau sur la rivière. Les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* sont retournées au corps du malade. La lune c'est couchée à l'est. Les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* du malade sont sous la porte de la grande montagne. Je vais sous la porte de la grande montagne pour payer le droit de passage des âmes *hun* et permettre leur retour.

Les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* du malade ont été chassée jusqu'à la voie céleste. Le petit enfant y est allé pour payer les droits de passage des âmes *hun* et permettre leur retour. Le malade est allé sur la route du village. Le petit enfant y est allé aussi pour payer les droits de passage des âmes *hun* et permettre leur retour. Le malade est allé à la porte sous l'autel du dieu du sol. J'y vais également pour payer les droits de passage des âmes *hun* et permettre leur retour.

Le malade est allé dans l'obscurité du soir. Le poulet doré a annoncé l'aube et a guidé le malade sur le chemin du retour. Le malade est parti à dix mille pieds et cent mille pieds de distance. J'utilise du cuivre (??) pour le rattraper et le ramener. «Âmes *hun*, revenez vite, revenez vite, empresses vous donc de revenir, empresses vous de revenir.»(??)

«Vous êtes passé par les vingt-quatre chemins. Vous avez croisé un homme sur

votre chemin solitaire et troublé. Les trois âmes *hun*, suivez les trois chemins et revenez. Les sept âmes *po*, suivez les sept chemins et revenez. Empressez-vous de revenir, empressez-vous de revenir. Prêtez oreille à la musique jouée par le maître du rituel et revenez en hâte. Prêtez oreille à la musique jouée par le maître du rituel et revenez en hâte. Je construis un pont pour venir vous chercher. Voilà le pont, vous venez de l'atteindre, ô âmes *hun*! Le pont est dressé pour votre passage, âmes *hun*, revenez vers le monde des vivants. (p56) Il y a également le poulet doré qui vous demande de revenir. Les autorités du monde souterrain ont rec~u l'argent, elles ont ôté la serrure qui barrait le passage sur le pont. Soyez sauvées, les trois âmes *hun*, les sept âmes *po*, revenez au monde des vivants. Il est temps que vous grimpiez la montagne du pourpre subtil. Il est temps que vous grimpiez la montagne du pourpre subtil et que vous reveniez. Sur la montagne du pourpre subtil, suivez la voie de l'esprit. Sur le dos du poulet doré, vous serez soutenues entre le *yin* et le *yang*.

Encore une fois , la méthode pour harmoniser les âmes *hun*

Efficace Céleste, Efficace Terrestre, Vieux Seigneur miséricordieux. Les trois âmes *hun* et les sept âmes *po* se sont dispersées. Au paradis occidental, au-delà de la porte extérieure, je saisis les âmes *hun* porteuses du nom et je les retourne au corps du malade. Les âmes *hun* se sont dispersée (??) les âmes *po* se sont dispersées. Elles viennent devant le maître de rituel. J'expulse dans l'air trois gorgées d'eau. La catatonie et les maux quittent le corps du malade. Je vénère le Vieux Seigneur très haut, en hâte, je veille au respect des décrets impériaux. Je suis parti trois fois à la recherche des âmes *hun* sans succès. Pour cela, je fais appel aux soldats orientaux.

Au premier son de la corne de buffle, je délivre les soldats orientaux. Je délivre les soldats orientaux en ouvrant la porte de leur cellule. Les soldats orientaux

parcourent le cours de la rivière verte, ils parcourent le bord de la mer (??) Avec vénération, je plaide devant le maître des ancêtres pour qu'il construise le pont d'or. Je plaide également devant le maître originel pour qu'il construise un pont de fer. Pour le grand pont, j'utilise la grande planche de bois jaune. Pour le petit pont, j'utilise une dalle de pierre. Au retour, j'interroge les sages. Les cavaliers des quatre chemins sont retournés à l'autel. Je me retourne et fais un pas vers le sud.

Au second son de la corne de buffle, je délivre les soldats méridionaux. Je délivre les soldats méridionaux en ouvrant la porte de leur cellule. Les soldats méridionaux parcourent le cours de la rivière rouge, ils parcourent le bord de la mer (??) Avec vénération, je plaide devant le maître des ancêtres pour qu'il construise le pont d'or. Je plaide également devant le maître originel pour qu'il construise un pont de fer. Pour le grand pont, j'utilise la grande planche de bois jaune. Pour le petit pont, j'utilise une dalle de pierre. Au retour, j'interroge les sages. Les cavaliers des quatre chemins sont retournés à l'autel. Je me retourne et fais un pas vers l'occident.

(p57) Au troisième son de la corne de buffle, je délivre les soldats occidentaux. Je délivre les soldats occidentaux en ouvrant la porte de leur cellule. Les soldats occidentaux parcourent le cours de la rivière blanche, ils parcourent le bord de la mer (??) Avec vénération, je plaide devant le maître des ancêtres pour qu'il construise le pont d'or. Je plaide également devant le maître originel pour qu'il construise un pont de fer. Pour le grand pont, j'utilise la grande planche de bois jaune. Pour le petit pont, j'utilise une dalle de pierre. Au retour, j'interroge les sages. Les cavaliers des quatre chemins sont retournés à l'autel. Je me retourne et fais un pas vers le nord.

Au quatrième son de la corne de buffle, je délivre les soldats septentrionaux. Je délivre les soldats septentrionaux en ouvrant la porte de leur cellule. Les soldats

septentrionaux parcourent le cours de la rivière noire, ils parcourent le bord de la mer (??) Avec vénération, je plaide devant le maître des ancêtres pour qu'il construise le pont d'or. Je plaide également devant le maître originel pour qu'il construise un pont de fer. Pour le grand pont, j'utilise la grande planche de bois jaune. Pour le petit pont, j'utilise une dalle de pierre. Au retour, j'interroge les sages. Les cavaliers des quatre chemins sont retournés à l'autel. Je me retourne et fais un pas vers le centre.

Au cinquième son de la corne de buffle, je délivre les soldats du centre je délivre les soldats du centre en ouvrant la porte de leur cellule. Les soldats du centre parcourent le cours de la rivière jaune, ils parcourent le bord de la mer (??) Avec vénération, je plaide devant le maître des ancêtres pour qu'il construise le pont d'or. Je plaide également devant le maître originel pour qu'il construise un pont de fer. Pour le grand pont, j'utilise la grande planche de bois jaune. Pour le petit pont, j'utilise une dalle de pierre. Au retour, j'interroge les sages. Les cavaliers des quatre chemins sont retournés à l'autel. Je me retourne et fais un pas vers le soleil.

#### Encore une fois, la méthode pour passer le pont malgré les obstacles

La première parcelle du chemin sur le pont se transforme en un grand serpent méridional. La deuxième et la troisième parties du chemin (sur le pont) se transforment en un grand serpent méridional qui se transforme lui-même en un démon qui tente de m'avaler. Le serpent méridional s'est dressé devant moi au-dessus des neuf rivières et au-dessus de la mer de brumes. Il barre le chemin à son départ, et barre le chemin à son arrivée. Je vénère le Vieux Seigneur très-haut et je me hâte de respecter les décrets impériaux.

#### Encore une fois, partir à la recherche des âmes et calculer le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaires

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après avoir traversé le fleuve jaune, j'utilise les premières rations de nourriture. Aujourd'hui, devant l'autel au bout du pont, le malade est sauvé, tous les maux quittent son corps.

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après avoir traversé le fleuve jaune, j'utiliser les deuxièmes rations de nourriture. Aujourd'hui, je vais au bout du pont sauver le malade. Je distribue suffisamment de rations aux esprits pour qu'il obtienne la longévité.

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), j'utilise les troisièmes rations. Distribuer suffisamment de rations aux esprits pour qu'il obtienne protection et longévité: une vie de dix mille années comme le légendaire Pengzu.

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), j'utiliser les quatrièmes rations. Aller au secours du malade au bout du pont. Je distribue suffisamment de rations aux esprits pour qu'il obtienne protection et longévité.

Je calcule le nombre de ration de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), j'utilise les cinquièmes rations. (p59) Je poursuis les âmes *hun* du malade et paie le prix en rations de nourriture pour que le malade ait un destin favorable. J'accomplis ceci en hâte pour que les maux et la maladie quittent son corps.

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??) , j'utilise les sixièmes rations. Les sixième rations sont utilisées pour sauver le malade. Les rayonnements de l'étoile funeste et les influences néfastes quittent le corps du malade.

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), j'utilise les septièmes rations . (??). Les rayonnements de l'étoile bénéfique brillent sur le corps du malade.

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), j'utilise les huitièmes rations. Les huitièmes rations sont utilisées pour sauver le malade du cancer. Que les maladies et les maux soient expulsées du corps du malade et que celui-ci retrouve la santé !

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), j'utilise les neuvièmes rations. Les neuvièmes rations sont utilisées pour secourir le malade de tous les maux. En une fois, tous les maux quittent le corps du malade.

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), j'utilise les dixièmes rations. Les dixièmes rations sont utilisées pour protéger le malade. Que le malade obtienne la longévité et que sa vie soit protégée pendant dix mille années !

Calculer le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), utiliser les onzièmes rations. Les onzièmes rations sont utilisées pour guérir la catatonie. Aujourd'hui, les étoiles suivent le parcours des six chevaux.

Je calcule le nombre de rations de nourriture nécessaire. Après (??), utiliser les douzièmes rations. Les douzièmes rations sont suffisantes pour combler les esprits. Elles devraient assurer au malade une longévité de dix mille années (??).

Aménager un pont drapé de blanc. Le destin est comme la rivière sous le pont, de grand bateau peuvent y passer. Les trois âmes *hun* passent sur le pont. Les sept âmes *po* passent sur le pont.

Réunie au complet, la famille du malade mange du riz blanc. Elle mange du riz accompagné d'eau parfumée, celle-ci a un goût sucré (??). Pour couvrir les frais concernant les rations de nourriture, utiliser trente-six pièces de cuivre (??). Finalement, on prépare un grand festin. On étend le drap du pont sur trente pieds. Les six esprits et les six chevaux reviennent. (p60). Les six chevaux arrivent. Le char

céleste arrive à notre côté. Les six chevaux arrivent. Se lever. Se lever face aux sept étoiles et aux six chevaux. Les huit catatonies quittent le corps du malade. Les initiés montent sur les chevaux et traversent le village. Les initiés parcourent le chemin sous le ciel. Les rations de nourriture sont distribuée et les vertueux parmi le peuple sont sauvés (??) Le vieux seigneur est familier avec les trois enseignements. Veiller à l'observance des décrets impériaux et sauver les vertueux. Réciter un mot provenant des sages. Chanter une strophe provenant des écritures sacrées. En haut du village, sauver les garçons pour assurer la prospérité future. En-bas du village, sauver les filles pour assurer le maintien de la paix.

Encore une fois, à l'attention des dix-huit notables célestes

Ô, notable céleste de la haute sagesse et de l'étoile brillante !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, de l'étoile brillante et du destin !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse dont le pouvoir permet de contourner les obstacles et de tourner un destin funeste en un destin heureux !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse dont le pouvoir est de bâtir des ponts et de protéger la vie !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse dont le pouvoir est d'éliminer les désastres et de guérir les maladies !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de rattraper les âmes *hun* perdues et de tourner un destin funeste en un destin heureux !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de distribuer de la nourriture et de sauver des vies !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de racheter des vies !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de rattraper les âmes

*hun* perdues et de les retourner au corps originel !

Ô notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de faire des donations de nourriture et de sauver des vies !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de distribuer de la nourriture et d'autres nécessités !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est d'écarter la mauvaise fortune et de guérir la catatonie (??) !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de distribuer de la nourriture et d'autres nécessités !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de guérir la catatonie et de faire pardonner les péchés !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est de distribuer de la nourriture et de tourner un destin funeste en un destin heureux !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est d'assurer la longévité et de protéger la vie !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse dont le pouvoir est d'inviter les divinités des étoiles bienfaitantes et d'aider à surmonter les obstacles !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est d'attirer les divinités des étoiles bienfaitantes et leurs chevaux !

Ô, notable céleste de la grande sagesse, dont le pouvoir est d'attirer les étoiles bienfaitantes et leur rayonnement bénéfique !

Encore une fois, veiller à l'observance des décrets impériaux concernant les six

chevaux

Ces chevaux ne sont pas des chevaux ordinaires, ce sont les six chevaux des

sept étoiles dont les rayonnements agissent sur le malade. Les jambes de ces chevaux font face à la terre. Le dos de ces chevaux fait face au ciel. Aujourd'hui, les cinq maîtres de rituel vont veiller à l'observance des décrets impériaux concernant les chevaux. La tête et le dos de ces chevaux font face au ciel. Les jambes de ces chevaux font face à la terre. Les chevaux parcourent les chemins des esprits. Vénérer le vieux seigneur très-haut. En hâte, veiller à l'observance des décrets impériaux.(p61)

#### Encore une fois, la méthode concernant les six chevaux

Plaider respectueusement aux ancêtres et aux maîtres du rituel. Faire face à celles parmi les étoiles dont le rayonnement est bénéfique. Plaider encore aux maîtres originaux. Ceux-ci observent un jeûne. Les six chevaux se dressent en hauteur. Faire face aux sept étoiles et aux six chevaux en me tenant aussi droit que possible. Dans ma main, je prends une pièce de métal et je parcours un millier de lieues. Je vénère le vieux seigneur très haut et, je veille avec empressement à l'observance des décrets impériaux.

#### Encore une fois parler sous le signe du *yang* et conduire le char à six chevaux

La personne souffrant d'un mal est née telle année, tel mois, tel jour, tel heure, (??). Elle vivra jusqu'à quatre-vingt-dix neuf ans. Cette année, cet jour, l'étoile brille sur son destin (??) Les âmes *hun* vont dégringoler depuis la lune droit dans le paradis occidental, puis elles chuteront jusqu'à la terre. (??) Les âmes *hun* iront jusqu'à la montagne des chevaux puis reviendront. Sous la surveillance du prince astral des sept étoiles et des six chevaux. Elles seront absentes pendant les quatre saisons, le printemps, l'été, l'automne, et l'hiver, puis elles retourneront. Le prince astral des sept étoiles et des six chevaux les guidera.

Elles prendront le char oriental et reviendront.

Elles prendront le char méridional et reviendront

Elles prendront le char occidental et reviendront

Elles prendront le char septentrional et reviendront

Elles prendront le char du centre et reviendront.

Le prince astral des sept étoiles et des six chevaux l es guidera dans leur retour.

Elles parcourront mille lieues, et même, puis même dix mille lieues à grande vitesse.

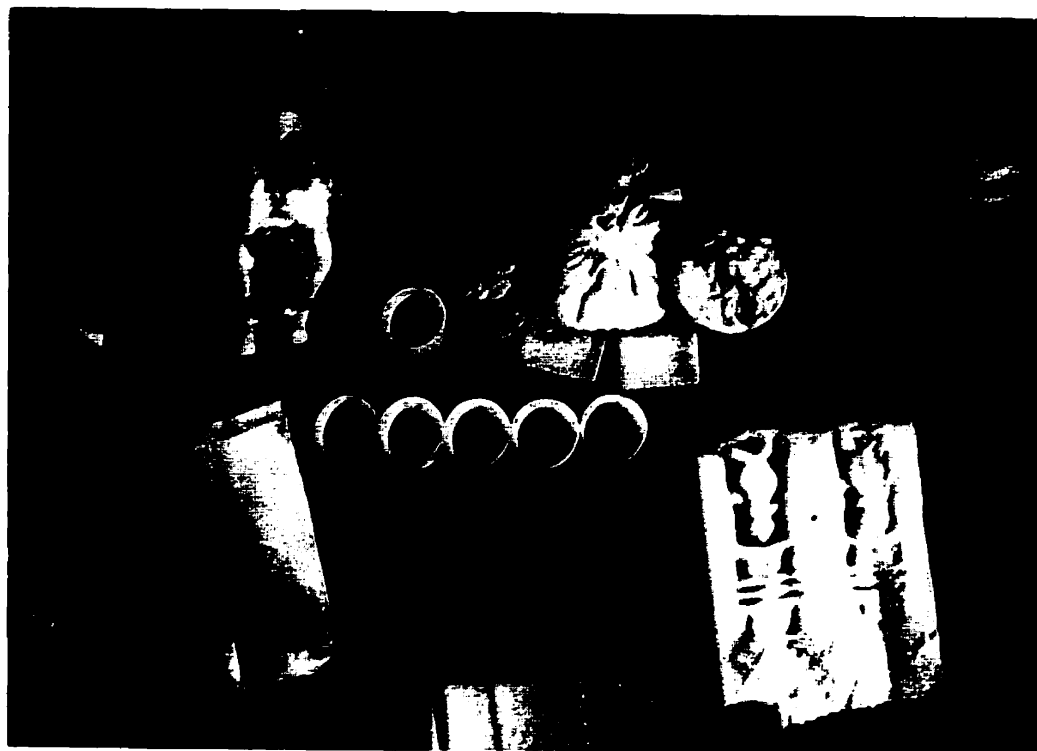
Encore une fois, la chanson des six chevaux

(p62) Les six chevaux ont dégringolés vers le bas. Les six chevaux ont dégringolés. Les six chevaux ont dégringolés et sont venus jusqu'à notre village avec leur char. Aujourd'hui, le maître du rituel a guidé les chevaux avec leur char (??). Le malade connaîtra la prospérité pendant dix mille années.

Les six chevaux ont dégringolés vers le bas. Les six chevaux ont dégringolés. Ils sont passé par l'ouest et par les cinq sommets. Aujourd'hui les chevaux avec leur char céleste sont revenus. Les maux et la catatonie quitteront le corps du malade (??).

## **Appendix II:**

### ***Photographs***



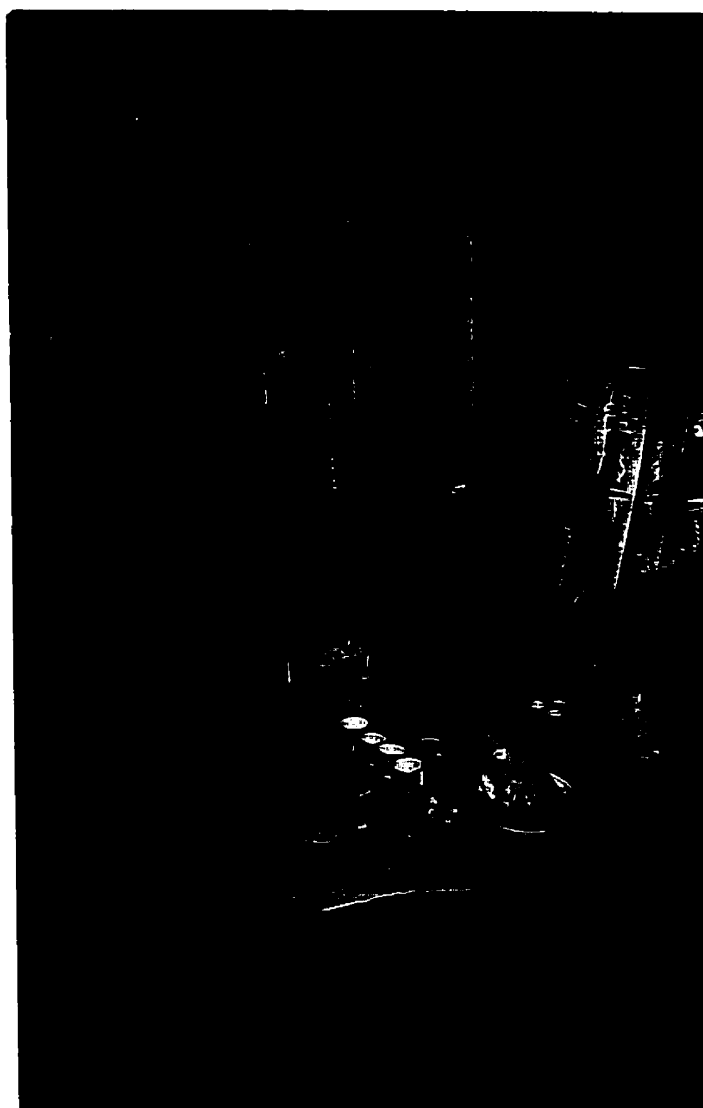
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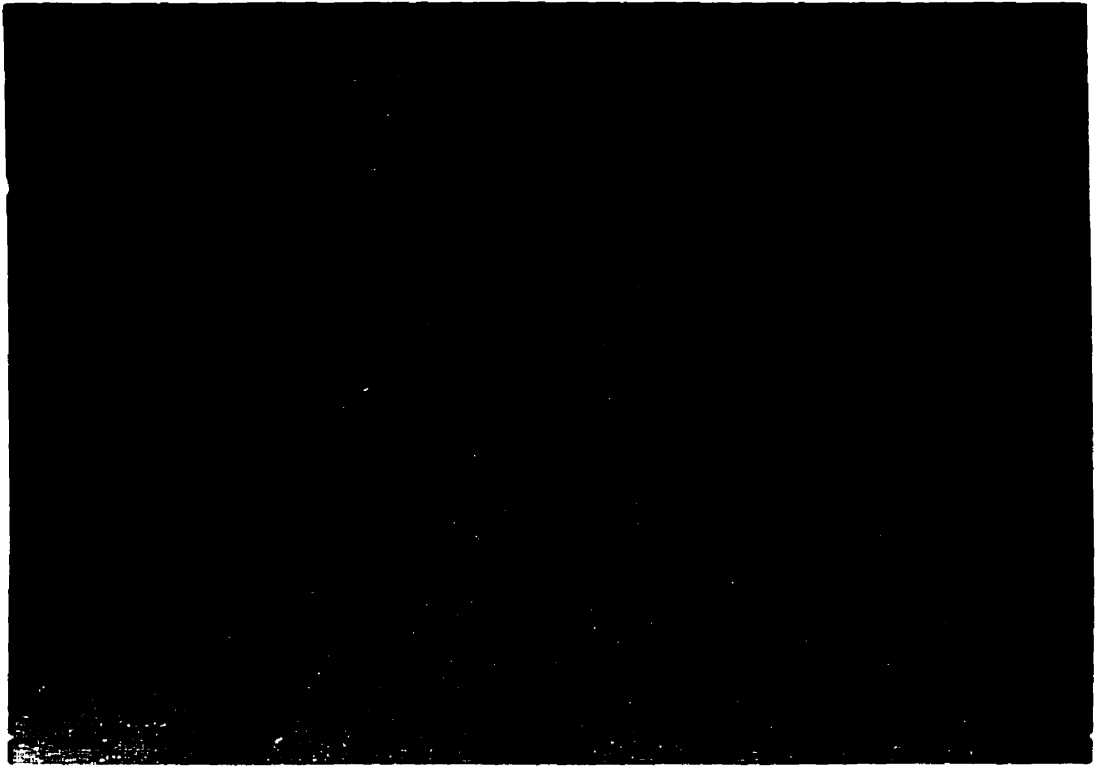
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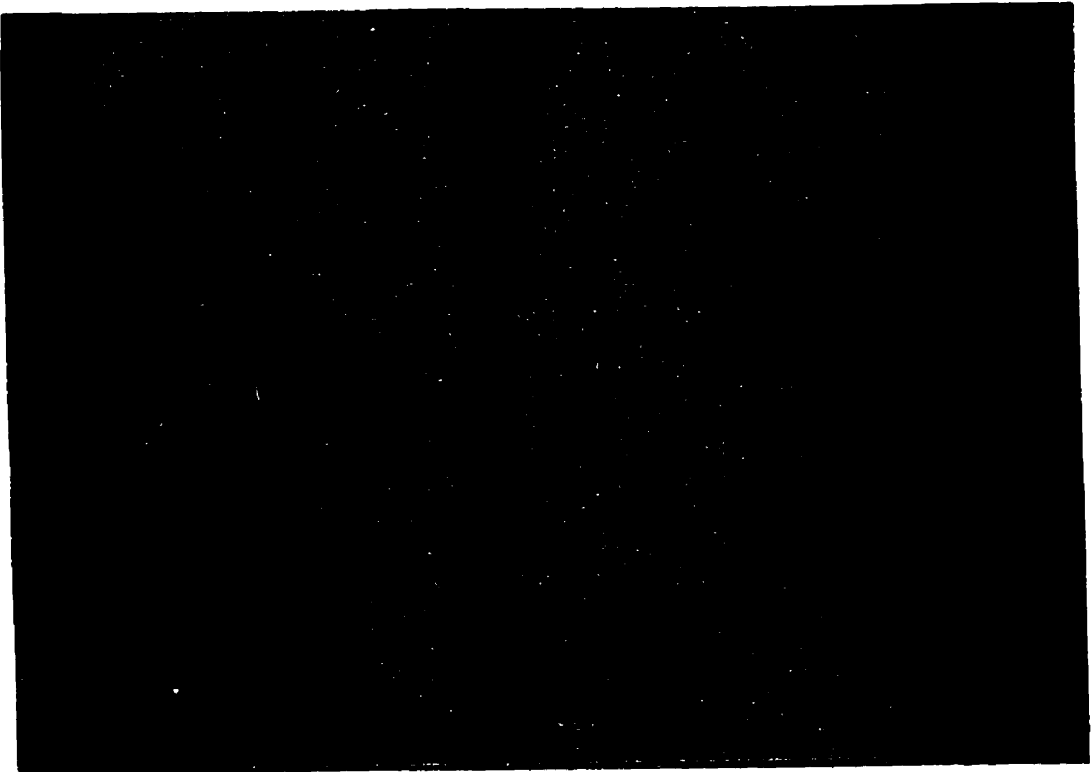
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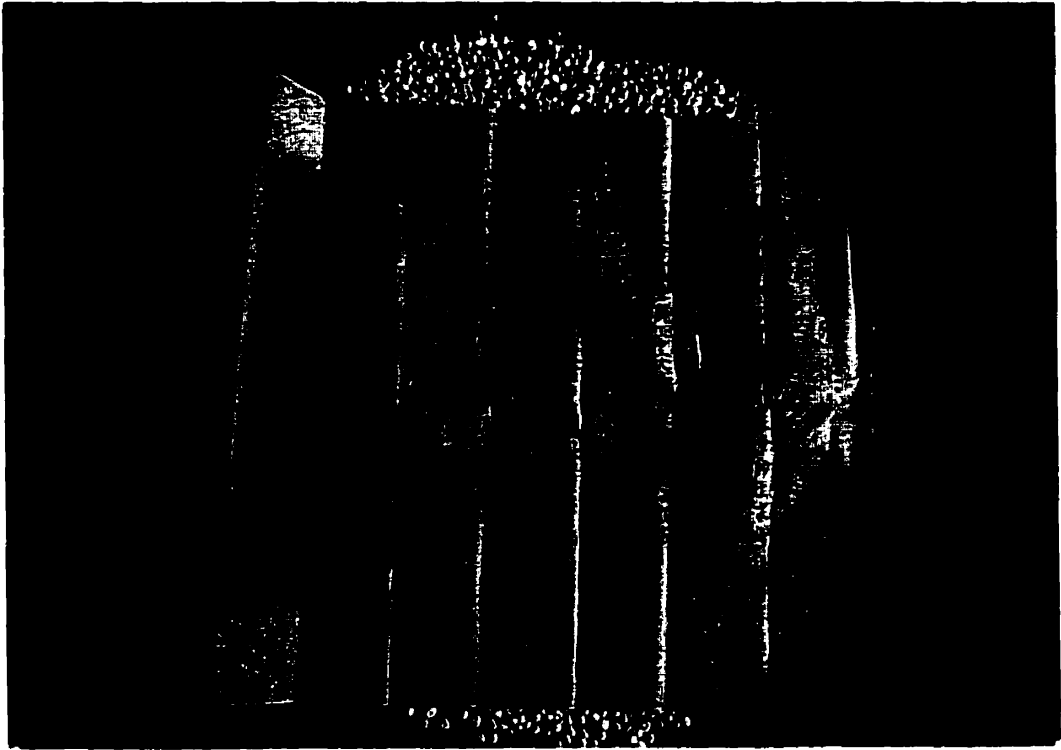


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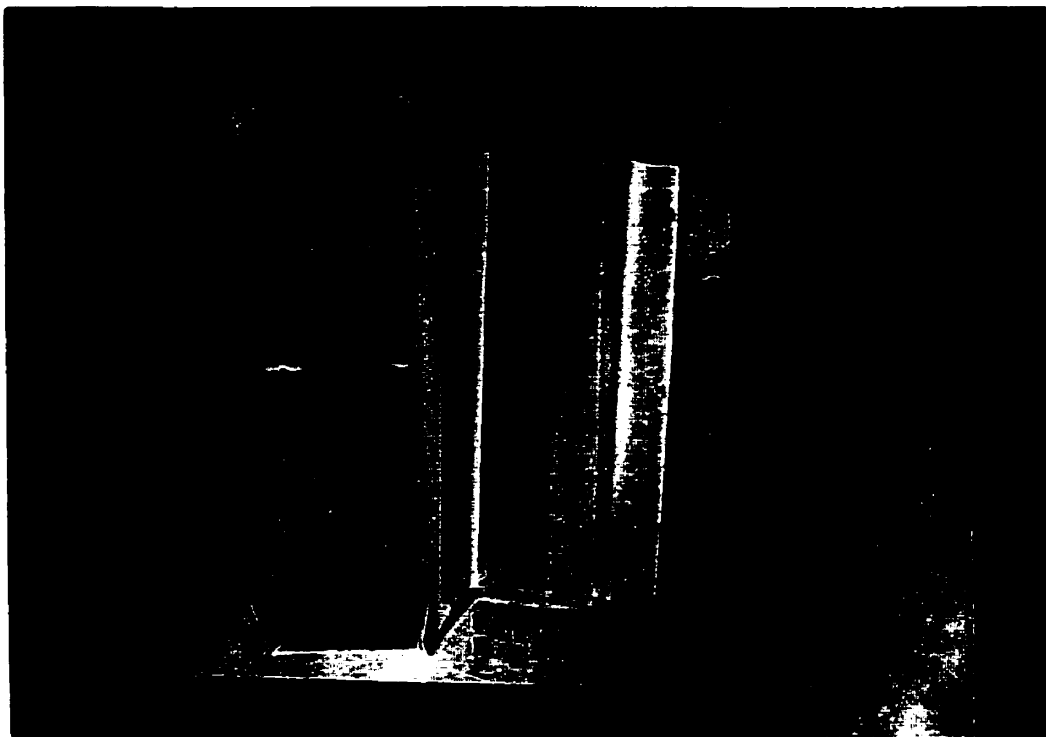
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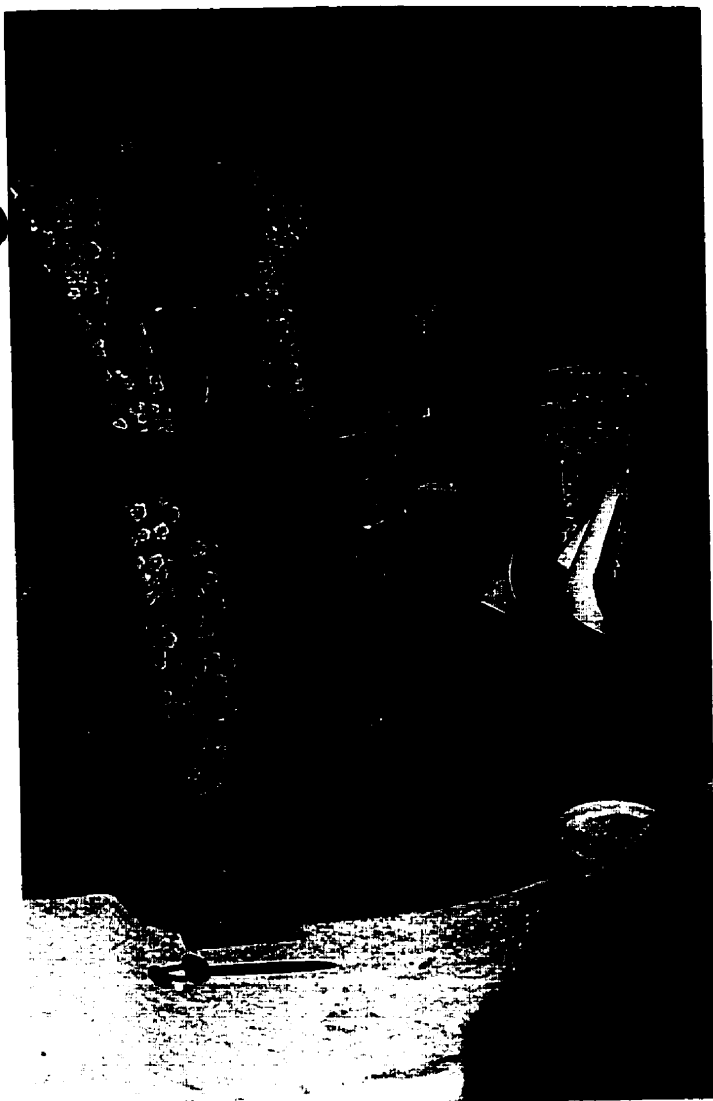
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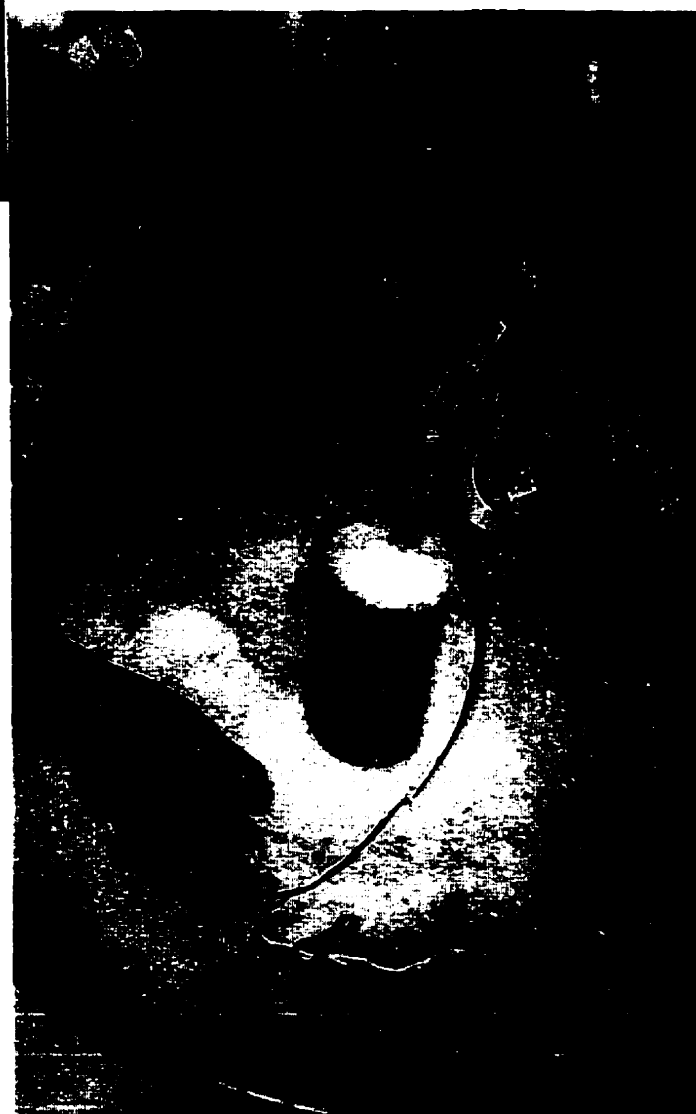
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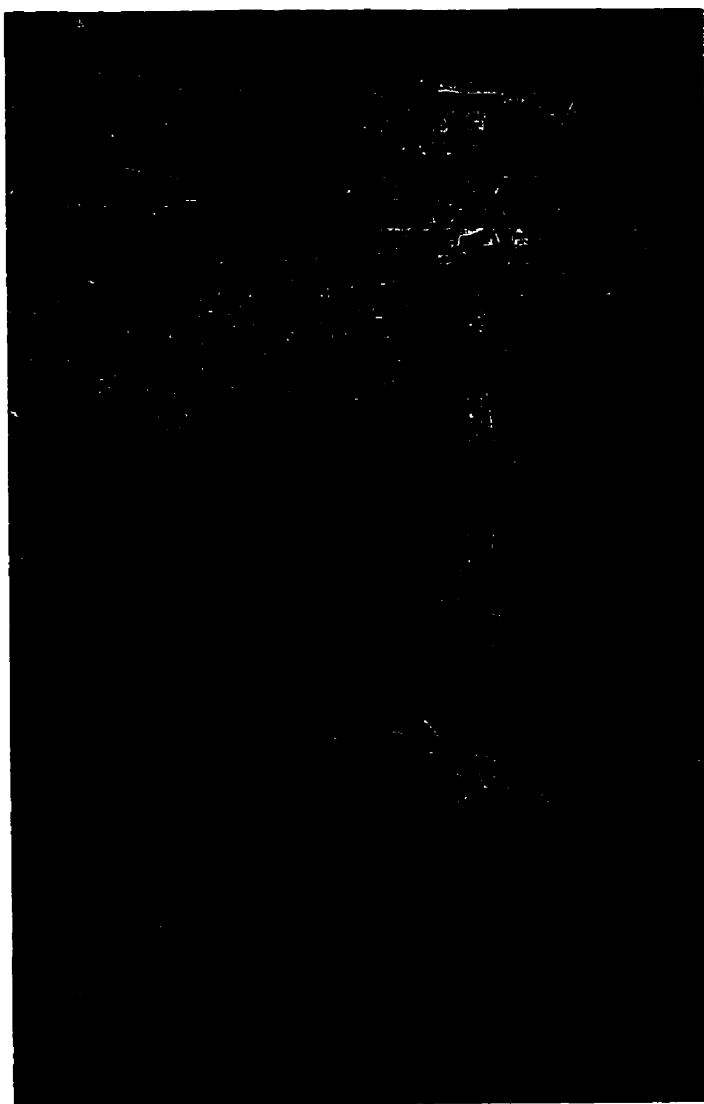




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