

FOR GODS, GHOSTS AND ANCESTORS

The Chinese Tradition of Paper Offerings

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Introduction

Some months into the formal research on paper offerings, during a visit to a retail shop in my old Kowloon neighborhood of Phoenix New Village (鳳凰新邨), a woman shopkeeper jokingly asked me and my assistant, “Why are you spending so much time trying to understand the details of these items? You young people should be doing other things rather than working so hard to get this information.” While we were flattered to be described as young and hard-working, the question did make us stop for a moment and consider the reasons for studying paper offerings; after all, weren’t there other, more pressing, topics to explore in Hong Kong? The sheer physical beauty of the items described in this book was certainly the first reason then and now, but it has taken time to appreciate the thoughts and actions that underlying them. One thing is certain, that after years of research, the items have never lost their fascination, and there are always new items and new ideas to consider.

Within the last fifteen years or so an increasing number of local newspaper and magazine articles, as well as television programs and

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radio broadcasts, have been devoted to discussions of Hong Kong's cultural heritage. While the media has often focused on antiquities such as monuments, historic buildings, and archaeological sites and the need to protect them in an environment where real estate is at a premium, the survival of traditional lifeways, arts, and crafts has also been a matter for concern. There are many ways in which this interest in Hong Kong's heritage has been expressed: in the revival of old-style restaurants and teahouses, in the re-examination of traditional foods (see, for example, Cheng 1997; Wu and Cheung 2002), and in the numbers of visitors to the museums of history, restored historic buildings and other sites.¹ This continuing appreciation of traditional Chinese culture, and concern for its preservation, did not weaken with Hong Kong's 1997 transition to a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. If anything, the post-handover period has seen a growing realization that traditional Chinese culture is significant to modern life and to the creation of contemporary identity, and that an appreciation of local history and customs is a relevant part of this awareness.

Ritual paper offerings form a particularly fascinating part of the traditional material culture of everyday life. Paper offerings are objects made of paper, many of them handmade and one of a kind, which are offered to the beings residing beyond the world of the living: the gods, the ghosts, and the ancestors (for a classic depiction of these three otherworldly entities, see Wolf 1974). Nearly all these paper items are burned in order to reach their destination in the other world. This burning is a vital component of both public and private worship during religious holidays and during everyday life. As such, the paper offerings are distinguished from other strictly secular and popular paper handicrafts such as paper-cuts (剪紙), prints and paper folding. The study of this rich and living area of traditional material culture affords an enhanced appreciation of the power of belief and traditional mores often said to be uniquely Chinese, but whose integration into modern life is not always fully appreciated.

For visitors and residents alike, one of the most satisfying aspects of life in modern Hong Kong is the celebration of the religious holidays of the lunar calendar. As the lunar year advances, the ritual cycle is regularly punctuated by these special events dedicated to the worship of gods, the appeasing of ghosts, and the commemoration of ancestors. Every month of the calendar contains at least one religious occasion, and four very popular holidays are the Lunar New Year (usually in January or February of the solar calendar); Qing Ming (清明), the grave-cleaning

festival to honor the ancestors (usually in April of the solar year); Chong Yang (重陽), for honoring the ancestors and avoiding plague by climbing to a high place; and the Yu Lan (盂蘭) Festival or, as it will be referred to in this book, the Festival of the Hungry Ghosts. In between are the numerous days devoted to the birthdays or to other special days of individual deities. On the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of the lunar year, ceremonies are held at the Wong Tai Sin Temple of Kowloon to honor the birthday of its namesake, the Great Sage Huang Da Xian (黃大仙), who will be referred to by the Hong Kong's spelling of Wong Tai Sin. The birthday of Che Gong (車公), the deified general of the Song Dynasty, celebrated on the third day of the Lunar New Year, attracts tens of thousands of worshippers to his temple in Sha Tin (沙田), and many devotees of the great female deities Guan Yin (觀音), the Goddess of Mercy, and Tian Hou (天后), the Empress of Heaven, celebrate their birthdays and other special days in grand style.

Each of these festivals is accompanied by splendid examples of paper offerings. The most colorful event of the calendar, the Lunar New Year, brings forth a great variety of items. Not only do shops sell the everyday offerings for worshipping the gods, but shops and temples also sell huge quantities of the special items that secure blessings and protection for the coming year: the intricate Pinwheels and the magnificent Golden Flowers with their accompanying red silk banners. The New Year is considered the best time to purchase the Golden Flowers which will adorn the images of the deities on both domestic and temple altars, and many households believe that purchasing a new Pinwheel during the New Year worship at the temple will keep the family safe and secure. The birthdays of the gods also bring out beautiful examples of clothing and accessories (for it is right to honor deities with gifts of adornment), and very special creations such as the towering and brilliantly colored Flower Cannons. Ancestors are honored during Qing Ming with large packages of Gold and Silver Paper and clothing, as well as any special item the family wishes to send, and during the Festival of the Hungry Ghosts, the unhappy ghosts are succored with ever more complicated bundles of money and clothing.

Paper offerings are not restricted to the special events of the lunar calendar, for worship is a daily occurrence, and can be devoted to more private concerns. Difficult circumstances — such as illness, moving to a new home, or beginning a new business — can be eased with rituals accompanied by special-purpose paper offerings. Deities may be worshipped or the ghosts of strangers fed any day of the year, while

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ancestors are remembered by an ever-changing array of items to ease their lives in the next world. Sending offerings to deceased kin helps to maintain the relationships among kinsmen, and ensures that the deceased will continue to enjoy the same comforts of life enjoyed while on earth. One may see at the curbside or at street corners, tall metal containers full of ashes, charred sticks, and fluttering bits of colored paper. These remnants of burned materials are funeral offerings for a relative and speak to the strength of traditional responsibilities and practices in this modern metropolis.

Given the great variety of paper offerings, it seems that there are few events or situations to which they could not be applied, to ease concerns or to get help in securing a desired outcome. The use of paper offerings in worship is a meaningful component of popular religious expression in Hong Kong (Liu 2003), one that has endured and adapted to a thoroughly modern, sophisticated and rapidly changing urbanized environment. This book will introduce a selection of the paper offerings currently available in Hong Kong, examining their designs and meanings, and how they are crafted, sold, and used in the contexts of everyday life. Personal and professional concerns and knowledge about offerings will be explored through the results of numerous discussions with the paper masters who craft the offerings, the shopkeepers who sell them, and the ordinary people who burn them. Their thoughts about the purposes of offerings and why they are meaningful, and their explanations of the ways in which offerings are used, will help the outsider better understand the beauty and complexity of this world of paper.

Discovering the Offerings

I became fascinated by ritual paper offerings during my first field visit to Hong Kong in the late 1970s, while conducting doctoral dissertation research² on women's networks and participation in the Mutual Aid Committees (popularly known as MACs, 互助委員會) of Kowloon. As this research took me into many of the public housing estates and older neighborhoods, I soon became aware that in these places there was yet another very interesting entity, something called a paper shop (衣紙舖). These shops were easy to spot, for even at a distance one could see the array of brightly colored paper items, three-dimensional objects, red ribbons and all kinds of wonderful things, hanging from the awnings

and out over the sidewalks. One only had to look down the length of any street and scan the upper doorways of the shops to locate them, and I soon became a skilled spotter. A number of paper shops were also operating in the public housing estates where I conducted research on the MACs, so it became a habit to stop in after an interview to see what was available. It was simply impossible to ignore the wonderful things inside, although at that time I had only a general conception about what they represented. To me, they were appealing primarily because of their beauty and so it was not long before I began to buy some, mostly Golden Flowers and Pinwheels, but other items as well. My acquisitiveness was further encouraged by the fact that my home, an apartment shared with another graduate student on the roof of a nine-story building in Phoenix New Village, was just up the hill from the Wong Tai Sin Temple, which in those days was packed with sellers of enticing paper creations during the Lunar New Year and other holidays. My habit could be satisfied even further because my office at the Universities Service Center on Argyle Street³ was within easy walking distance of both the old streets of the Kowloon City Area and of Ma Tau Wai Road (馬頭圍道) in To Kwa Wan (土瓜環), where many great old shops were still doing business.

In no time my office began to fill with items. I could not resist showing off my latest finds to the other scholars in residence at the Center and to one of my office mates, who on one occasion needed little coaxing to model one very fine crown for Monkey (孫悟空, 齊天大聖). Alas, my camera was not at hand to record the moment for anthropology. Yet, these wonderful papers were not the subject of dissertation research, and when my research period came to an end, I packed up as much of the collection as I could, mostly small-sized Pinwheels, along with notes and tapes from the primary project and sent them back to the United States. There they remained in the background until some time later, when I was finally ready to consider another research direction and called upon earlier training in fine art and archaeology.

By 1980 I had returned to Hong Kong, was working as a university lecturer, and was also back at the shops. It did not take long for the materials to exert their usual hold over me, and I again began collecting the items — especially the Pinwheels — which once again filled my office and my flat. I spent many happy hours during the Lunar New Year holiday inching through the original old maze of hawker stalls at the Wong Tai Sin Temple on New Year's Eve or packed in with the families and worshippers at Che Gong Temple on the third day of the New Year, seeking the best Pinwheels along with the thousands of other

worshippers. After a series of preliminary studies funded by the Chinese University and by Baptist University, in 1989 I was awarded funding for an extended investigation of the world of paper offerings in urban Hong Kong. The study included examinations of the history of the items (such as was known), the items themselves and their meaning and construction, and the everyday work of the shops and the shopkeepers. Additional studies were to be conducted, as possible, with worshippers and purchasers.

From the beginning, work progressed from the object outward; the focus of the study was neither the criticism nor support of any specific theoretical orientation or school of thought concerning popular or traditional Chinese religion, but the objects themselves. To do this, I collected a very large number of paper offerings and had probably the largest private collection in existence, or so it appears from the condition of my offices, which resembled paper offerings warehouses. While the glorious Golden Flowers and the Pinwheels took pride of place among the thousands of pieces collected, I attempted to assemble a collection as representative as possible. However, it was clear from the beginning that there could not be such a thing as a totally comprehensive collection, namely, one composed of samples of every example of current paper offering.

There were many reasons for this. First, as will be explained further in this book, contemporary paper offerings show considerable variability due to region and ethnicity. Some items could not be collected in sufficient quantities because they were so rare that few paper shops stocked them. Other examples, even of relatively common items, were not collected because their sizes were prohibitive. My collecting ardor was limited by space; I refrained from acquiring Flower Cannons, which on average are ten to fifteen feet in height, or the actual-sized paper replicas of cars made for funerals (but I did have Pinwheels that were nearly five feet tall). Even more modest items might have many sizes or many colors. The temptation to collect still more (or every size and every variation of each item) had to be resisted. Some items, such as charms and old-style paper images of deities, were not studied or collected for this project (the latter have nearly disappeared from Hong Kong), and lanterns were collected at the beginning of the research but were soon eliminated from the study as they were not placed by most masters within the categories of offerings to other-worldly entities. Yet, shopkeepers also had the habit of bringing out rare items that even they knew little about, but which could not be resisted, so collecting became a never-ending quest despite all these practical constraints.

In addition to the material core of the project, a major source of data was the interviews conducted with shopkeepers and some of their customers, with paper masters, and wholesalers. My assistants (there were a number of them) and I conducted all interviews as a team, which is why the word “we” is often used in the chapters that follow. Teamwork was necessary due to the nature of the research, which required simultaneous recording by tape recorder and by hand, recording of characters, labeling each item (or labeling each sheet of an item of many parts), packing the items,⁴ and sketching the atmosphere and arrangement of the shop itself. Each interview was fully translated into English and, for approximately one-third of the interviews, a second handwritten version was done in Chinese characters. All interviews were transcribed as literally as possible, restrained only by the requirements of English clarity, usually word for word, to avoid altering the order and the substance of respondents’ explanations. All interviews translated into English contained characters for objects, for phrases, for technical terms and for concepts as used by the respondents themselves. These steps were taken to ensure that informants’ explanations were recorded as carefully and comprehensively as possible, that the manner in which they explained the offerings was preserved, and that vital information was recorded consistently.

The interview sample was selected primarily from urban Kowloon and Hong Kong Island, with some interviews conducted in Sha Tin, Tai Wai (大圍) and Tsuen Wan (荃灣) in the New Territories, taking care to spread the locations as evenly as possible. We visited retail paper shops, street hawkers, wholesalers, and workshops making funeral offerings, lanterns, and Flower Cannons. The sample also included nearly all of the paper masters who still handcrafted Pinwheels and Golden Flowers in Hong Kong (fewer of the latter as most of these items are now imported from the Mainland). The shopkeepers were quite interested in our visits and supportive of the research, and many remain friends and sources of information to this day. I could not have met a group of individuals more generous, more courteous, and more helpful; it was really a great pleasure going to each and every interview. A very modest group overall, few would have identified themselves as experts about paper items, even when speaking about their own specialities, but in actuality many were true masters of form and meaning, creating wondrous items. All were working hard at their businesses and were always trying to improve their skills and expand their knowledge.

Interviews were conducted at the place of business, most often the retail shop itself, at the wholesale shop or warehouse, in the street next to the stall, in the factory flat, or at the homes of craftsmen, where hand-crafted items such as the Pinwheels were made. These visits were made mostly in the afternoons, and when the shops or craftsmen were not too busy (during major public holidays shops were simply overwhelmed with customers). While interviewing was pleasant and interesting, conditions were sometimes trying — in the open fronted shops near busy roads, roaring traffic and exhaust fumes assaulted our ears and lungs, and sometimes obscured the voices on the tapes. Working in the summer meant hours (it was common for a visit to last nearly two hours) in shops equipped with little more than weak overhead or floor fans. We left satisfied and loaded with paper samples, but with the strength of steamed noodles. All this was more than made up for by the discussions we had, the stories exchanged with the shopkeepers, and the greetings of customers and children.

Paper Offerings in Literature

As Seaman earlier observed, “It would take a great more labor than the results would perhaps justify to glean from out of the mass of Chinese literature the casual notices of the use of spirit money and other offerings to the spirits . . .” (1982: 85). His remarks were directed to the very few and scattered references to paper offerings in classical Chinese sources. A review of English-language studies of Chinese religion and social life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also suggests that paper offerings have not figured so prominently in these classic discussions of ritual and belief, often appearing only as tantalizing tidbits or as names with little description or context. Authors of the time simply did not give these items the amount of attention they gave to other aspects of popular religion such as the conduct of rituals. A fair amount of attention was paid to material culture in other social contexts such as wedding ceremonies, for which the descriptions are often lavish and detailed (see for example, Doolittle’s 1865a description of the events of betrothal and marriage). One exception was paper funeral offerings, for funeral practices were of particular interest to many scholars and missionaries keen to understand the content of such practices. Only if a non-funeral paper object was quite spectacular, or if the writer had

a particular point to make regarding the ritual or practice where it was used, would it receive greater attention. When traditional paper-making was the topic, however, a few paper offerings were mentioned as examples of how the different varieties of paper were used; these examples are helpful in thinking about the earlier form of items. A further problem is the multiplicity of terms and the lack of Chinese characters in many publications. This makes identification of the items, and firm comparison with current examples, somewhat difficult. Nevertheless, the following sample of books and publications includes material sufficient for better understanding the historical setting and background of paper offerings.

The oft-quoted classic on Chinese religion, written by Henry Dore, S.J., and published in thirteen volumes between 1914 and 1938, is entitled *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*. Dore's massive investigation covered such topics as Chinese gods, incense, auspicious plants and animals, the heavenly bureaucracy, superstitious practices and many more. Illustrated with fine colored plates, it contained numerous scholarly references and a full inclusion of Chinese characters for easy reference. While he devoted most attention to religious rituals, and not to the paper material culture that accompanied them, Dore did include small references to the paper offerings accompanying some rites, and carefully drawn and colored examples of spirit money and funeral offerings were included in the illustrations. Like many scholars of his time, he was most attracted to funeral ceremonies and most of his references to paper dealt with the offerings burned at the funeral and during the subsequent commemoration ceremonies (see Volume One, 1914). Small notes in Volume Four (1917) mention mock money for the gods, and what he termed "superstitious prints," or paper images of the gods (1917: 425–7), a variety of ritual paper not included in this book as they have become nearly obsolete in their original form.⁵

In 1940, Clarence Day's marvelous comprehensive study of these "superstitious prints" mentions some of the ritual paper offerings discussed in this book, including selected funeral offerings (such as paper clothing in a box, chairs, water pails, and a bed) and items offered during the anniversary of death services (paper boats, paper dresses and shoes, a model of a house) (1940a: 29–30). Day's other writings concerned with popular religious practices, published in *The Chinese Recorder* and the *China Journal* in 1927, 1928, 1929, and 1940, are fascinating and lively accounts of selected rituals and a valued source of information on popular practices. These articles also contain brief references to paper offerings

such as joss money (Gold and Silver Paper), cloud treasure money (corresponding to the contemporary First Treasure, *Yuan Bo*), and the modern White Money (these items are introduced in Chapter 1).

Another valuable study, conducted about the same time as Day's and marked by its scholarly attention to a wider repertoire (it includes actual specimens glued into the book), is that of Dard Hunter (1937). Hunter's book, *Chinese Ceremonial Paper*, takes up "... the use of paper in Chinese rites and religious ceremonies ..." and is devoted to paper-making in general, especially the Chinese handmade varieties. He, too, devoted a chapter to paper prints of deities, but included helpful passages on the popular use of ritual paper items (which he collectively termed spirit paper), a few descriptions of funeral offerings, brief but interesting depictions of paper shops and craftsmen, and, selected examples of real paper to illustrate the text.⁶ A complement to Hunter's work is Floyd McClure's study of Chinese handmade paper, conducted at about the same time. McClure lived in China until 1941, teaching at Lingnan University of Canton, but during the 1920s and 1930s he traveled about Guangdong Province visiting paper mills and collecting hundreds of samples of traditional handmade paper. The resulting book, which was his master's thesis of 1928, was published posthumously in 1986, and contains forty actual samples of handmade paper, eleven of which he described as suitable for making paper offerings, mostly spirit money.

Lewis Hodous (1915, 1929) makes a number of useful but fleeting references to paper offerings. He mentions idol paper for the Foochow (Fuzhou) ceremonies for welcoming the spring. He also noted various forms of paper money in conjunction with ritual, and a special New Year custom: "When the shops are shut up for the night a few sheets of idol money are fastened between the boards which, in many parts of China, are used to close the front of the shop. The following year when the shop is opened for business the paper is burned before the door as an offering to the guardian spirit of the door" (1929: 158). A note on printed pictures of warm clothing and other items needed by the dead complete his few references to paper offerings.

While all these early twentieth-century writings give a tantalizing look at paper offerings during the Republican era and just before the Second World War, glimpses of an even earlier world of paper are provided by J. J. M. De Groot and the Rev. Justus Doolittle. In the general preface to the six volumes comprising *The Religious System of China*, published from 1892 to 1910, De Groot asserted that, despite the many good books on China, research on Chinese religion was

still incomplete and that he need not apologize for adding yet another study. His massively detailed work was devoted to the study of funeral rituals, of disposal of the dead (the grave), the soul, ancestral worship, demons, and religious priesthood, and contains long discourses on the classical referents to, and the history of, all practices. It is fully referenced with Chinese characters, so that modern counterparts of the materials and practices De Groot described can be identified, and each volume is well illustrated with drawings or photographs. Yet, the paper offerings themselves receive less attention. Given his topic as death and its attendant practices, some space is given to funeral offerings, and in Volume Six he includes a long discussion on the exorcising powers of almanacs and charms.

Justus Doolittle's celebrated studies of Chinese life, *Social Life of the Chinese*, were published in two volumes in 1865. Doolittle exhaustively explored practices and events in Fuzhou, Fujian, where he was a missionary for fourteen years. Few aspects of everyday life escaped his attention, and his writing on these topics is as fresh and engaging nearly 150 years later as it was in his own time. Doolittle is especially strong when describing domestic religious practices and public holidays and ceremonies; it is easy to follow the progress of a ritual by reading his description. Although no characters were included (only romanization of terms), his attention to detail makes possible a reasonable identification of the same rituals today, including a comparison of the materials used. Doolittle's study allows a greater appreciation of the history of both practice and accompanying paper offering, and of my respondents' frequent assertions of the antiquity of both their trade and the items they craft. Each of Doolittle's chapters is prefaced by a detailed summary of the contents, so references to ritual or to paper offerings are easily found.

The above studies make it possible to appreciate contemporary paper offerings in a historical context, at least for that of the late Qing, and a number of paper items described in such sources are still recognizable 150 years after such writings appeared. These classical writings on Chinese religious practices will be referred to throughout the book, but their appearances are most useful as reference points, as a reminder that paper offerings have long been an important component of everyday worship. Further, these sources provide a historical context, a background setting, for the items in use today. Including such references in this account should not, however, be interpreted as an assertion that Hong Kong's current practices of worship are as those of the past. Nor does their appearance in the text assert that the paper offerings now

used in Hong Kong are themselves exact replicas of past counterparts; this is not the case, despite the remarkable resistance to change shown by some items. Finally, such references do not imply that the meanings paper offerings now hold in their Hong Kong context are exactly the same as the meanings held in the past places so loved by these authors.

More contemporary studies of Chinese religious practice are both rich and varied (see for example, Ahern 1973; Liu 2004; Lopez 1996; Shahar and Weller 1996; Smith 1991; Teiser 1997; Weller 1987; Wolf 1974; Yang 1994). Much attention has been given to the nature of the relationship between deities and humans, and studies related to ancestral worship and numerous studies have enriched our understanding of the meaning of ancestors and ancestor worship (see for example, Ahern 1973; Freedman 1967; Newell 1976; Wolf 1974). More recent studies of Chinese religion and ritual have placed greater emphasis on the debate over the existence of a general Chinese religion (see, for example, Anderson 1988; Freedman 1974; Watson 1976; Wolf 1974; Yang 1967) to a variation on that theme of the nature of Chinese popular religion, or to the relationship between religion and culture (Bell 1989; Feuchtwang and Wang 1991). All these valuable studies would be complemented with explorations of paper offerings emphasizing the material aspect, the physical representation of worship and belief. There are notable exceptions in the form of discussions of specific items and their social and cultural contexts, and items such as spirit money (Gates 1987; McCreery 1990; Seaman 1982) and offerings for gods and ancestors (Scott 1997a, 1997b; Segawa 1986; Szeto 1993; Topley 1953) have been illuminated. It is surely appropriate that the complement of paper offerings, so varied, beautiful and significant, should have a more prominent place in the academic explorations of contemporary Chinese religion and practice, not as rivals for scholarly study of other, classic concerns, but as important complements to the growing understanding of popular practices.

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The research base for the study of paper offerings includes in-depth interviews conducted at over eighty urban paper shops in Kowloon, the Sha Tin District of the New Territories, and Hong Kong Island. Interviews were also conducted at ten companies wholesaling paper offerings, and at eight workshops specializing in funeral offerings. Interviews conducted with eight master craftsmen for Pinwheels, three masters of Golden Flowers, and three of Flower Cannons were also included. In addition, 282 in-depth surveys of consumers of paper offerings were completed, with a matching sample investigating young people's knowledge, and nearly 1,000 indicative (non-random) surveys

concerning Pinwheels were conducted at temples. A separate set of fifty-five interviews with consumers was completed on the empowerment of selected specimens, and a second set of interviews with worshippers and shopkeepers investigated the uses of paper and genuine comestibles in worship. The bulk of the information contained within the text, unless otherwise specified, comes from these interviews and surveys. The author was also able to include a subset of questions relating to offerings and worshipping practice in a telephone survey conducted by the Hong Kong Transition Project in June of 2003; I am very grateful to the Project for this opportunity. Whenever data from this survey is referred to within the text, it will be clearly identified and accompanied by response percentages.

A collection of nearly 1,500 examples of paper offerings has been assembled. This collection includes not only examples of everyday and special occasion items used by the Cantonese community, but the distinctive items unique to the different Chinese ethnic groups in Hong Kong, notably the Chaozhou and Hong Kong's fishermen. It also includes certain items for the Shanghai community, and, although very rare, a few examples for worshippers from Fujian and Dongguan. The collection also includes twenty-one sets of Spirit Reds, nearly 150 Pinwheels, and 173 pairs of Golden Flowers. While the storage requirements of the larger examples of pitched paper offering, notably the Flower Cannons and certain of the funeral offerings, make their purchase impractical, the collection does contain numerous smaller examples, especially from subset of funeral offerings and offerings for the ancestors and the gods. Examples collected within the category of the items of everyday use for ancestors include: replicas of electrical appliances, food, personal items, and clothing. The majority of these items have been photographed and the images transformed into CD form, creating a visual source which, when added to the interview and observation records and other data from the research, constitute a large historical archive for the future. In May of 2005, the bulk of this collection was transferred to the Hong Kong Museum of History.

Finally, the greatest debt is due to all the paper shop owners, workshop managers, and paper masters who gave so generously of their time and expertise. It would be difficult to find anywhere a group of respondents as helpful and generous. I am particularly grateful to Mr Ho Kan, Pinwheel master and indeed to all members of the Ho family, for their continued support and concern, as well as for their magnificent Pinwheels. I am further indebted to the late Mr Chan, The Master of

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To best appreciate paper offerings, it is helpful to present them within differing settings, including: the world of the paper masters and the contexts of manufacture, the formal features of design and appearance, and the everyday patterns of worship which give them meaning. To better illustrate these settings, certain of the items will make multiple appearances within the book. Their appearance and reappearance in a variety of contexts should serve to illustrate the many ways in which items are seen and used by makers and worshippers. However, at the end one always returns to the objects. To choose only one example, the great Flower Cannons offered to Tian Hou (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) embody a wide range of contradictory messages — the support of local identity as well as pan-community unity, and cultural and social integration as well as separation. Yet, on seeing Flower Cannons for the first time, neither observers nor worshippers likely see any of these social possibilities. Transfixed by the sheer magnificence of the cannons themselves, viewers see only a “so beautiful” offering given to an equally beautiful deity (Scott 1997b).



Notes

Introduction

1. For example, in 2001, the second year of the Hong Kong Heritage Museum in Tai Wai, attendance figures had already reached 306,615 (Leisure and Cultural Services Department, June, 2001).
2. Research for the doctoral degree in anthropology at Cornell University was conducted during 1976–8 in Kowloon. The thesis, “Action and Meaning: Women’s Participation in the Mutual Aid Committees of Kowloon,” was supported by a National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant (#7612234), an N.D.F.L awarded through Cornell University, and a grant from the Cornell Center for International Studies. The author is grateful for such generous support.
3. Many China scholars working in Hong Kong during the 1970s were given offices in the Universities Service Center, then at 155 Argyle Street in Kowloon. I owe a great debt indeed to the Director, Mr John Dolfin, and to all his staff, notably Ms

Stella Wong and Ms Moni Tai. Without their generously shared knowledge and support, research of any kind would have been much more difficult.

- 4 Items were numbered and set into computer files with their names in English or romanization and Chinese characters, with details of the shop where purchased and on what date, the price, and a brief description. The Golden Flowers and Pinwheels were also photographed. The materials were then packed into boxes according to the holiday, or the occasion, or the ethnic group, to which they referred. All of these took a considerable amount of time and attention to detail, for which I am grateful for a background in archaeology.
5. The “superstitious prints” to which Dore referred are the subject of a later examination of a special form of ritual paper. In 1940, Clarence Day published the results of his studies of prints of paper gods, or *ma-chang* (馬張) that he collected in the 1930s in northern Zhejiang Province. Day’s dual purpose for collecting these prints was: “to learn something of the religious background of the Chinese people, as well as to stimulate in Chinese students an appreciation of their own religious heritage . . .” By the time his book appeared, he had collected nearly two thousand “original, coloured wood-cuts, lithographs, machine prints and hand paintings” (1940a: ix). Many of the gods represented in these prints and painting were extensively discussed in the text, including their domestic or village context and the religious values (such as protection of life and property and salvation from Hell) that accompanied their worship. Hong Kong’s retail paper shops stock only glossy factory-produced images of the door gods put up at the New Year. Some local bookstores once sold a few images of deities as part of their New Year’s wood-block prints, but such prints were not available in the quantities that Day encountered in the 1930s. These bookstores have long ceased selling such prints, and the only places to find them are in antique or craft shops, and the prints for sale at these shops usually depict only the Kitchen God, the gods of the family, or the door gods. Alexeiev (1928) and Goodrich (1991) also made studies of prints of deities. Other references may be found in publications about wood-block prints or New Year prints.
6. The six examples of paper offerings that Hunter selected were, as he termed them: “ceremonial paper” or “joss paper” (today’s Gold and Silver Paper), “money for the hereafter” (today’s Money to Live), “mock money” (today’s White Money), “bamboo ceremonial paper” (today’s Longevity Gold), and “hua pao-fu” (Hunter 1937: 34–43). The last includes two versions of today’s Fu Jian bags; one is the version used by worshippers of Shanghai origin).

Chapter 1

1. For some descriptions of general paper offerings, see, for Malaysia, Marjorie Topley, “Paper Charms and Prayer Sheets as Adjuncts to Chinese Worship,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26 (1953): 63–81. For the rural New Territories of Hong Kong, see Masahisa Segawa, “Paper Money, Paper Clothing, and Others,” *Material Culture* Number 46 (1986) (in Japanese). For urban Hong Kong, see Janet Lee Scott, “Traditional Values and Modern Meanings in the Paper Offering Industry of Hong Kong,” in *Hong Kong: The Anthropology of a Chinese Metropolis*, ed. Grant Evans and Maria Tam (Richmond: Curzon, 1997a). See also Marjorie Topley, “Chinese Occasional Rites in Hong Kong: Some Traditional Chinese Ideas and Conceptions in Hong Kong Social Life Today,” Symposium Paper, *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1966). See also Naomi Yin-yin Szeto, “Some Chinese Religious Concepts as Reflected in ‘Paper Horses,’” *Hong Kong Museum of History Newsletter*, October–December (1993). Some reference to paper offerings may also be found in publications devoted to general paper arts or folk arts. See, for example, *Chinese Folk Prints* (Exhibition Catalogue) (Hong Kong: Regional Council, 1994); Wang Shucun, *A Pictorial Album of Chinese Folk Art* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Literature and Art Publishing House, 1992); Nancy Zeng Berliner, *Chinese Folk Art: The Small Skills of Carving Insects* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986).
2. Arthur Wolf’s classic discussion, “Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors,” which detailed the tripartite division of divinities and spirits, first appeared in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed. Arthur Wolf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974). It was reprinted in *Studies in Chinese Society*, ed. Arthur Wolf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978).
3. This is not because the items pose any spiritual danger to their possessors, for their presence is not harmful; it is simply that they are not meant to remain in this world. Funeral offerings elicit a slightly altered reaction. I had a great number of such items stored in my office, but well packed and not obviously on display. While colleagues and many visitors understand why such items are there, on occasion a suggestion is made that they be put even further out of sight. For example, when two sets of small servants for the dead were temporarily placed just inside the door while packing for them was being arranged, some colleagues suggested that they “looked strange” there.
4. A sizeable number of craftsmen believe that lanterns, while deemed pitched products and sold by numerous paper shops, are unique and should be placed in a category by themselves. This ambiguity was most likely because most lanterns are used as decorations (their appearance at the Mid-Autumn Festival being the

obvious example) and are not burned as religious offerings. Still, other shopkeepers felt that Lucky Basins, which are purchased for strictly human concerns, were distinct items, while others deemed Pinwheels a special category (Pinwheels, except in a few situations, are not available in retail paper offerings shops, but only at temples). A minority of shopkeepers preferred yet another design. While agreeing that pitched items should be separated from printed, they preferred to create individual subcategories for lanterns, Pinwheels, and Golden Flowers, and some set the funeral objects within a separate group.

5. The everyday, non-pitched offerings are packed mostly in small stacks, some (like the Gold and Silver Paper and the Longevity Gold) tied with strings or vinyl twine; originally, twisted vegetable fibers were used. Some items purchased years ago were bound with strips of red painted paper for added auspiciousness.
6. In Taiwan, the use of Gold and Silver Paper is considerably more complicated (Seaman 1982: 87; Li 1985: 83).
7. The many kinds of spirit money has been documented for Taiwan, in which the category of gold paper alone has been noted as consisting of no fewer than eight (Li 1985) or nine denominations (So 1939, quoted in Seaman 1982: 87). Studies on offerings of money include: Gary Seaman, “Spirit Money: An Interpretation,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 10 (1982): 80–91; Hill Gates, “Money for the Gods,” *Modern China* 13 (1987): 259–77; John McCreery, “Why Don’t We See Some Real Money Here? Offerings in Chinese Religion,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 18 (1990): 1–24.
8. Recent observations of worship at the Wong Tai Sin Temple in Kowloon showed that worshippers buying the largest variety of Longevity Gold do not attempt to fold it into classical ingot shapes, but loop each sheet over on itself, then stack the sheets one by one. The result looks much like an Elizabethan ruff.
9. Clarence Day is one author who paid special attention to the First Treasure, an interesting and heavily used item ignored by other observers. When he recorded his observations in 1927, First Treasure was considered a form of protective paper, enfolding completed Buddhist prayer sheets. These sheets, when completed by the worshipper, then became a form of paper money with which to purchase merit in the Western Paradise (Day 1927: 280). In a later publication, Day lists First Treasure as among the paper monies (along with “Hell Money,” which he defined as *ming yang*, 冥洋) offered to the Kitchen God at the New Year (Day 1929: 7). In his other writings, it appeared as a sheet on which to record completed prayers for merit (1940a: 21), as an item created when a completed prayer sheet was folded with a silvered sheet (1940b: 8), or as an item hung on strings, in the manner of genuine coins (1928: 291). What Day described as “yuan bo” is not quite the same as that usually identified under this term today, for at one point he describes it as “silvered sheets of metallic

paper onto a coarse grade of brown paper” (1940a: 30). In Hong Kong, the Chaozhou (潮州) shops sell a version of First Treasure in finer cream-colored paper, two sheets together with a separate item resembling a long life charm and gold triangles on the upper corners

10. Some shopkeepers believe that this “new” version, which few sell, actually more closely resembles an earlier form of Honorable People, one in which the honorable people were cut as individual figures and burned one by one.
11. Cave has described the roundels as mandalas. In Singapore, the central holes are burned “by elderly women in homes funded by the temples” (Cave 1998: 52, figure 4.1). In 1937, Hunter discussed the same item, which he termed “money for the hereafter.” It was burned frequently on the night of the New Year before the portraits of the ancestors; the New Year’s ritual and burnt roundels assured “affluence and contentment for the deceased persons depicted by the family portraits” (1937: 40–41).
12. Some shops offer this Seven Voice Incantation in a smaller size with six roundels and a hand, but still burned in all places. In other versions, each sheet of the six roundel version is folded into a flattened ingot shape and stacked, one shape inserted into another. Also available are six roundel varieties with no holes burned in them. This form is much less auspicious.
13. Five Colored Paper and Seven Colored Paper are very popular materials used to fashion many other common items, including the clothing in the packages for the ancestors, Closed [gate] Money (關錢), and small clothing for ghosts.
14. Respondents referred to these tigers as being white tigers, yellow tigers, and green tigers but in fact, all appeared to be nearly the same tint of yellow. White tigers are also associated with the rituals of Beating the Small People (Chiao 1983), and are prominent features of the sacrificial rituals before opera performances (S. Y. Chan 1991: 54–56). White tigers made of stone, paper, or wood also appear in temples, in the under altars; a good description may be found in Stevens (1977).
15. Observations at any major temple make clear the great variety in the ways that worshippers handle the paper offerings.
16. These individual honorable people cut-outs bear a striking resemblance to items recorded in 1944 for the Sierra Norte of Puebla, Mexico. These items of paper were used in various ceremonies of witchcraft. See Bodil Christensen, “Notas sobre la fabricacion del papel indigena y su empleo para ‘brujerias’ en la Sierra Norte de Puebla,” *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropologicos*, Number 1–2 (1944): 109–23.
17. Another version of Red Money and White Mountain, that some shopkeepers call the “lai see chin” (利是錢), or Lucky Money (named for the red packets given out at the New Year), is used during the Qing Ming festival and also

affixed to the tomb, but with one sheet on the front and one sheet on the back (Hong Kong style), representing the hope that the ancestors will send good luck to the worshipper. It is crafted of one sheet of Red Money (the kind with thirteen rows of lunar-shaped perforations) on a beige backing sheet. Most shops would call this Mountain Money. Similar offerings, likely to be these very items, were recorded by Lewis Hodous: “sheets of perforated paper representing money, are placed upon different parts of the grave and weighted down with stones to prevent them from flying away” (1915: 60).

18. An early account of the popular use of charms during what the author termed the “summer festival,” Dragon Boat, is given in an issue of *the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

On the lintel of the door the people paste very powerful charms . . . These charms are made of paper four inches wide and eight inches long. They are printed from blocks and are sold on the streets for two cash a piece . . . Many householders paste five colored slips of paper with charms on them above the lintel. These strips are about three inches wide and five inches long. The dark color is for the north, the white for the south, the red for the east, the blue for the west, and the yellow for the middle direction. According to popular tradition the five spirits of poison descend to earth on the first day of the fifth moon and scatter destructive vapors abroad and these charms on the doors keep them out. (Hodous 1912: 70)

19. Despite the difficulties of consuming plastic components by fire, certain funeral offerings in Macau, such as the latest model sports cars, are crafted with the under frame and the revolving wheels (set on an axel of bamboo) of fine cardboard, but the body of plastic. The author is grateful to Dr William Guthrie of the University of Macau for this information, and for the gift of many of these distinctive offerings.
20. Hunter recorded eight different varieties of bamboo-based paper as suitable for making ceremonial offerings (Hunter 1937: 16).
21. Available in three standard sizes and prices, these ovens have become necessary items for domestic rituals, and are affordable by most families. In November of 2000, for example, the largest sizes were approximately HK\$65, the middle sizes HK\$60 and the smallest, HK\$55.
22. According to officials of the Hong Kong Housing Department, there are no comprehensive regulations for burning paper offerings within public housing estates. Rather, each estate manager and/or management company determines its own policy. For example, in Po Lam Estate (寶林邨) in Tseung Kwan O

(將軍澳), paper burning is tolerated during the Festival of the Hungry Ghosts, when special arrangements are announced to residents.

One proprietor of a very popular shop in a busy public housing estate explained:

People can go to the street as there is a big bin provided for them. However, there is none in the old housing estate, so the worshippers always make the street dirty after burning the paper. You are not allowed to burn the paper outside your flat or in the street in those new and grand housing estates. If you want to burn paper, you need to go somewhere else, maybe to nearby [public] housing estates instead.

23. The volume of worshippers and accompanying offerings to the Wong Tai Sin Temple is so large that squads of workers, wearing distinctive yellow sweatshirts, continually sweep away the leftover food offerings (not many, as most worshippers take the food home to eat) and the newspapers used as mats. They also clear away the incense sticks from the holders, even if the sticks have not fully burned away.
24. For a look at the Chaozhou community in Hong Kong, see Sparks (1976a and 1976b).
25. An earlier reference to an assemblage of paper ritual materials, this time sets of New Year's prints of the gods, were described by Clarence Day in 1926 (reprinted in 1975).

An extremely interesting form in which paper gods are put up for sale by enterprising firms came to my notice in February of 1925. My class in comparative religion had been requested to observe the customs of their localities during the China New Year vacation. On his return to college, Yu Erh-chang brought from Chang-an a long yellow cloth bag, about nine-by-twenty-four inches, having a flap tied with cloth strings and a heavy red carrying-cord at the top. In this bag were six sheets of smooth red cardboard printed in black figures . . . What a convenient way in which to procure the household's lares and penates! Just pay cash and carry them home in the handy yellow bag! (1975: 24-25)

26. Many of these assemblages also bear the character for prosperity (福), and a variety of other auspicious phrases. In very traditional shops, such phrases might have once been hand-brushed, although nowadays this is rarely, if ever, seen. Quite acceptable versions are neatly printed in good quality golden paint, and very small shops may do away with such title slips altogether, simply writing the

- name of the deity in ink on the outside of the package and omitting the auspicious phrases.
27. These assemblages generally do not include wax candles or incense, which could damage the enclosed paper items. The wax candles, if part of assemblages stored at higher temperatures, could melt or spontaneously combust.
 28. The same informant explained the items in assemblages for the Sky Gods in this way. First, two pieces of white First Treasure were placed in a cross shape, then ten pieces of coarser First Treasure, two pieces of circular Honorable People Papers, one sheet of Lucky Basin Paper, one sheet of the Solving of 100 Problems, a few sheets of Longevity Gold, two pieces of the Five Treasures Document, two more rectangular Honorable People Papers, a quantity of Longevity Gold, and the whole topped with a set of paper clothing.
 29. Pre-packed assemblages of paper offerings, produced locally or in Chinese factories, are also available on the China Mainland. In November of 1995, the author collected some examples of these assemblages outside the Nan Hua Monastery at Ru Yuan in northern Guangdong. Similar packages were also collected in Tainan, southern Taiwan, in March of 1995.
 30. For a review of Hong Kong's temples, see *This Is Hong Kong: Temples* by Joyce Savidge (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Information Services, 1977). A more detailed account may also be found in Keith Stevens, "Chinese Monasteries, Temples, Shrines and Altars in Hong Kong and Macau," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 20 (1980): 1-33. Descriptions of area temples may be found in various Hong Kong official publications such as those printed by the District Boards; for example, *History of the Culture of the Southern District*, published by the Southern District Board in 1996.
 31. The practice of the Yu Lan Festival is described in Stephen Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). See also, Stephen Teiser, "Ghosts and Ancestors in Medieval Chinese Religion: The Yu-lan-p'en Festival as Mortuary Ritual," *History of Religions*, 26 (1986): 47-67. Stephen Teiser, "The Ritual behind the Opera: A Fragmentary Ethnography of the Ghost Festival, a. d. 400-1900," in *Ritual Opera, Operatic Ritual*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1989). See also Choi Chi-cheung, "The Chinese 'Yue Lan' Ghost Festival in Japan: A Kobe Case Study," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24 (1984): 230-63.
 32. Recent events have thrust the good fortune tree of Lam Tsuen village, which has grown into a major attraction for tourists as well as local worshippers, into the news for yet another fashion. Worshippers offering incense and prayers, and then gifts flung onto its branches, were shocked by the breaking off of

a huge limb during the Lunar New Year festivities. The limb, which broke the leg of a sixty-two-year-old male worshipper and slightly injured a child, was said to have been weakened by the large numbers of apple and orange bearing paper wishes it was carrying. To prevent further problems, the Tai Po District Office installed a sign asking worshippers not to throw paper offerings onto the tree, and further underscoring its concern, kept worshippers at a safe distance through the installation of a metal barrier and the employment of police officers (Lam 2005a, 2005b; see also Bradsher 2005, Cheng 2005).

Chapter 2

1. Sources for the events and festivals of the lunar year include: C. Bone (1889a; 1889b); Juliet Bredon, *Chinese New Year Festivals: A Picturesque Monograph of the Rites, Ceremonies, and Observances in Relation Thereto* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1930); Juliet Bredon and Igor Mitrophanow, *The Moon Year: A Record of Chinese Customs and Festivals* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1927; reprinted by Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1982); Derk Bodde, *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking, as Recorded in the Yen-Ching Sui-Shih-Chi by Tun Li-Ch'en* (Peiping, 1936; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965, second edition); Valentine R. Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs, Vols. 1 and 2* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1953; 1955); Wolfram Eberhard, *Chinese Festivals* (London: Abelard-Shuman, 1958). For Taiwan, see Michael Saso, *Chinese Feasts and Customs: A Handbook of the Principal Feasts and Customs of the Lunar Calendar on Taiwan* (Hsinchu: Fu Jen University Language School Press, 1965). Other accounts include, Huang Shaorong, "Chinese Traditional Festivals," *Journal of Popular Culture* 25 (1991): 163–80. For Hong Kong, see Barbara E. Ward and Joan Law, *Chinese Festivals in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Guidebook Company, 1993). The Rev. C. Bone's are among the earliest accounts that describe the religious festivals of the Cantonese. As such, his writings may be usefully partnered with Ward and Law's beautifully illustrated account, covering both Hong Kong's ritual events and the modern ways of celebrating them.
2. Although no specific name is recorded by paper masters, this title likely refers to Zhang Daoling, founder of the Daoist Way of Celestial Masters (Teiser 1996: 9).
3. Some shops sell these four papers as three items, because the Yin Separation and the Yang Separation sheets are combined into one item, the Yin and Yang Separation (陰陽隔). Most, but not all, customers also purchase the two document papers at the same time. These four (or three) papers may be used independently or added to any regular Bai Fan assemblage if the customer has been seriously ill.

4. Many of these dates are determined by the Tung Shing or almanac. Chiao lists significant dates as the sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-sixth days of each lunar month (Chiao 1983: 140).
5. These ladies are usually quite elderly, retired and have taken up the ritual as a way to earn some income. Most learned the procedure by watching others perform it (a common method in the absence of formal learning), although it is unclear who the original practitioner was. As a rule, these ladies do not teach others how to do it. The fee was approximately HK\$40 in the fall of 2000. Chiao records the amount as “three or four Hong Kong dollars” in 1983 (Chiao 1983: 140).
6. An account of this ritual, complete with photographs illustrating the crowds of worshippers seeking assistance, appeared in Hong Kong’s *Apple Daily* of March 6, 2001. The larger of the accompanying photos clearly illustrated the procedure of beating the paper replicas of the small people, as well as many of the accompanying paper offerings. It also illustrated a very large ceramic figure of a tiger, used no doubt by the practitioner (a rather young woman) to attract customers.
7. I am grateful for the work of two student assistants, Ms Emily Bales and Ms Yeung Yuk Man, who visited the sites and made observations.
8. Popular lucky phrases for Pinwheels include: To follow the desires of the heart (從心所欲); the desires of the heart come true (心想事成); Everything happens as you wish (萬事如意); get a return of 10,000 times on original investment [make a good profit] (一本萬利); Business is brisk (生意興隆); gain financial resources in many ways (財源廣進); Long life, riches and honor (長命富貴); may your family be prosperous (家宅興隆); one sails with the wind smoothly [everything goes well] (一帆風順); be prosperous all through the year (週年旺財); may Wong Tai Sin bless you (大仙保佑); and Both men and wealth are flourishing (人財兩旺).
9. References to qian reading may be found, for example, in Doolittle (1865b); Dennys (1876); Dore (1917); Berkowitz, Brandauer and Reed (1969); Jordan (1972); and Smith (1991). C. K. Yang (1994) also describes such a procedure, which he identifies as “sortilege” (1994: 262). Hayes in 1924 described this method of divination: “On the altar before the image and beside the incense burner usually stands a bamboo receptacle full of sticks of the same material. Each of these strips of weed is numbered. A tube will commonly contain thirty-six, seventy-two, or one hundred. The numbers on these strips correspond to numbers on narrow sheets of printed paper in the keeping of a priest or temple attendant. After a worshipper has lighted his candles and incense, the usual procedure is for him to take the tube from the altar. He first waves this receptacle three or four times over the burning incense and then retires to the mat in front

of the altar. After performing the usual number of obsequies he begins slowly to revolve the bamboo tube. The sticks within push each other from side to side until one is forced out and drops to the floor. Let us suppose the worshipper is concerned over a lawsuit. He picks up the stick, looks at the number and then goes over to the attendant and buys, for a cent, the correspondingly numbered piece of paper. On that paper he will undoubtedly find a reference to lawsuits. There will be a statement such as ‘lawsuit successful,’ ‘lawsuit indeterminate,’ or ‘lawsuit a failure.’ He takes this to be the answer of the god and leaves the temples happy or sad as the case may be” (Hayes 1924: 96–97). A full description of Hong Kong practices may be found in Lang and Ragvald, *The Rise of a Refugee God: Hong Kong’s Wong Tai Sin* (1993: 106), or in Anderson’s account of Hong Kong’s fishermen (1970: 172–3).

10. Fate Changers sold in Macau’s temples have a somewhat different appearance. Some are made of six sheets of colored paper (violet, green, yellow, white, blue and brown) which have been folded in half lengthwise, then cut from one end into diamond shapes that reach nearly to the opposite end. Further cuts allow the two sides of this central diamond cut to be opened up in the form of ribbons that hang down along either side. These are hung in clusters to be used in the rituals.

Chapter 3

1. Philip C. Baity’s studies in Taiwan clarify how gods are ranked. In his account, three factors must be distinguished: the efficacy of the god, the absolute chronological age of the deity or the temple, and the relative age of the deity compared to other deities (1977: 79). Of these, efficacy appears to be most important.
2. Duyvendak noted that after her death (which some myths attribute to suicide) the goddess appeared in a red dress (1939: 344). See also Watson’s explanation of Tian Hou’s appearance (1985: 297).
3. In 1935 Williams recorded another very detailed history of the worship of a patron god, this time Lei Tsu, the patron goddess of silk weaving and silk workers (see also Stevens 1997: 129). It included a detailed account of the Qing ceremonies conducted by the Empress. While an elaborate banquet was prepared in the goddess’s honor, and complicated preparations made for orchestral music and singing (Williams 1935: 8–9), paper offerings were not mentioned as part of this imperial celebration.
4. For a more detailed explanation of the Lu Pan-inspired carpentry manual, see Ruitenbeek (1993).
5. These red banners or ribbons are generally referred to as Spirit Reds (神紅), but

are also commonly termed Red Cloths (紅布), Flower Reds (花紅), or Hanging Reds (掛紅). The central red rosette, itself centered with a silver toned convex circle, may be termed a Red Ball (紅球) or a Red Head (紅頭). While most of the red ribbons are made of a rather coarse but bright cotton fabric, the hand-made varieties are made with fine red silk brocade.

6. The *South China Morning Post* edition of November 16, 2000, contained an article entitled "Roadside joss-sticks gave alleged killers away." Police were alerted to the possible crime when they saw five men burning joss-sticks and paper money by the roadside site late at night a day after the killing. The killers were afraid of the victim's ghost, and had sought to appease his spirit by burning offerings at the site where they had dumped his body. A later article in the May 24, 2003 edition of the *Post* explained the reluctance of Hong Kong residents to purchase, or even rent, flats in which violent deaths had occurred. These flats are termed "dirty," which is a general euphemism for flats that are haunted by victims of murder, suicide or other tragedies. Those still willing to rent or to buy such units could expect sizeable discounts from established market prices, perhaps as much as eighty percent, although one renter of such a "dirty" flat kept a mini-altar inside the door (Western and Chan 2003). In addition, Halloween celebrations and advertisements sometimes fall afoul of local sentiments, as evidenced by complaints made to the Hong Kong Broadcasting Authority concerning two television advertisements commissioned by the Ocean Park amusement park for Halloween of 2003. Some viewers were offended by depictions sessions with mediums, in which the dead appear; Ocean Park managers requested that the advertisements be screened after 9.30 p.m. (Cheung 2003).
7. During my time at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in the early 1980s, my anthropology students would tell me stories of the ghosts of murdered individuals reputed to be lurking about the campus, especially in the wooded lanes and walkways leading up from Chung Chi College. While declaring themselves immune from such beliefs, it was clear that they avoided walking in such places when alone or at night. For more detail on ghosts and their meanings, see Bosco (2001).
8. The recent epidemic of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, or SARS, in Hong Kong has left a number of families in anguish over not being able to bury their loved ones with the customary rites. Such deceased individuals, some have suggested, may also become unhappy ghosts due to their losing their lives far too early and not being with loved ones at the time of death (see Geoffrey A. Fowler, "Dying Alone," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 5, 2003).
9. Shopkeepers explained that customers of Dongguan ancestry especially favor White Money for the ancestors.

10. The discrepancy between the name and the actual number of colored papers does not matter to worshippers, nor do they pay much attention to the variations in color.

Chapter 4

1. For descriptions of the Chinese Hell, see Wolfram Eberhard, *Guilt and Sin in Traditional China* (1967a), Chapter 2, and “The Yu-Li or Precious Records,” trans. George W. Clarke, *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28 (1898): 233–399. A general overview of the differing visions of Hell may be found in Thompson (1989), and an analysis of the growth in visions of the afterlife may be found in Teiser (1993). Further depictions of Chinese conceptions of Hell may be found in Campany (1990) and Pas (1989).
2. For comments on the use of replicas in ancient China, see Berger (1998), Lau (1991) and Rawson (1996a, 1996b). Berger’s article provides an interesting discussion of sculptured body doubles.
3. An excellent description of the classic mutual savings societies may be found in Gamble (1954). In Ting Hsien, these societies were formed to assist in meeting expenses for businesses, family matters, and debt repayment. These societies, whatever their form, were accompanied by formal contracts and regulations. Even earlier, Arthur Smith described the operation of village cooperative loan societies in his book, *Village Life in China* (1899: 152–60). Various kinds of formal and informal money lending or financial assistance clubs were discussed in Gallin’s *Hsin Hsing, Taiwan* (1966). The money lending clubs provide “a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry” (Gallin 1966: 75). Also discussed are the “Father-Mother Societies” which are organized to assist with funeral costs. “The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased” (Gallin 1966: 222). Other accounts of credit societies may be found in Doolittle (1865b), Fei (1939), and Yang (1945).
4. That there may be attempts to deal more openly with the subject of death may be seen in recent conferences in which elderly met to discuss the matter. These discussion sessions, sponsored by the Society for the Promotion of Hospice Care, hope to educate people in how to face losses in life, serious illness, and hospice care. The Society also invites professionals such as lawyers and social workers to discuss practical matters such as will preparation and funeral arrangements. See “Life’s final lesson — the facts of death,” *South*

China Morning Post, September 3, 2001. A survey conducted by the Society in 2004 found that Hong Kong people were more open to discussing death and related issues, and wanted to learn how to cope positively with death (Chan 2004). In addition, the St. James Settlement has begun a photo-taking service for the elderly who wish to have a portrait taken in advance of the funeral rites. The initiative has received an overwhelming response. As one elderly lady who signed up for the service explained, “I have no taboos in my life. Death is a path that no one can avoid, so why shouldn’t we face it bravely?” *South China Morning Post*, June 21, 2002. Other workshop initiatives, this time to help family members and professionals better understand the complexities of quality of life and care for the elderly, have been arranged by local NGOs and advertised via email.

5. In his depiction of the manufacture of paper offerings, Cave included the following account from Singapore:

As part of the Singapore National Archives’ oral history programme a celebrated Singapore maker of paperworks recorded how a paper house was damaged while being taken to the place where it was to be burned. Some days after the ceremony, the man who had commissioned the model dreamed that his ancestor visited him to complain that the roof of the house leaked badly. He went to the paperworks-maker for advice on what to do. The need was clear: the roofing of the paper house had to be repaired, but as it had already been burned, how could this be done? The solution proved simple and effective: at another ceremony, the family burned a paper image of a builder, complete with his tools and a supply of paper tiles. (Cave 1998: 50)

6. While these appear as “dolls” to observers, they are certainly not viewed as such by the audience.
7. The cost of a basic set varies according to the level of quality, the materials used, and the amount of labor and time spent on special designs. In 1989, a basic set could be purchased from HK\$1,000 to \$2,000, with as much as HK\$10,000 or more for very elaborate sets. In 1992, the price of a basic set of thirteen items had risen to “a few thousand dollars” as one master put it, meaning, HK\$4,000 to \$5,000. Prices for 1995 remained roughly the same. (Costs in US dollars can be calculated on a basis of eight to one.) Other aspects of funerals raise the total cost. In the November 26, 1995, edition of the *Sunday Morning Post Magazine* (of the *South China Morning Post*), an article on modern Hong Kong funerals lists one funeral parlor as selling custom-built Chinese-style caskets

for HK\$800,000 (more than US\$100,000). Most families, more often favoring cremation now, are content with simple models retailing for somewhat less than HK\$20,000 (or US\$2,500). Cremation and the storage of ashes are somewhat cheaper, although still costly. In April of 2001, the costs for cremation and storage of ashes in a government columbarium cost HK\$3,000 for a standard niche, or HK\$4,000 for a large niche. Jade urns ranged in price from HK\$2,500 to HK\$5,000 and a small memorial stone cost HK\$3,800 (*Sunday South China Morning Post*, April 1, 2001). When added to the costs of other elements of the funeral ceremonies, a large bill can be expected.

8. Retail paper shops in Hong Kong have recently begun to sell small, portable models of these popular houses for the dead. While some are quite compact and square-shaped, others are two or three-storied and come complete with servants, family dog, furniture, lighting, and a swimming pool on the roof.
9. According to those living in Macau, paper shops sell all manner of guns, from submachines, to AK-47s, rifles, and handguns. Every kind of gun found in the real world may be reproduced as desired, and are often startling in their accuracy of design. While shopkeepers have been vague as to who purchases them and why, many may be made up to burn at the funerals of gang members. I am grateful to Dr William Guthrie of the University of Macau for this information (personal communication, 2002).
10. These new ready-made paper models (first appearing in 2001) include all the most-loved *dian xin* selections, each one packaged in a neat replica of an individual small brown bamboo steamer, complete with “metal” back plate to prevent sticking. Those selections that contain sauce or fluid are set within individual plates or saucers. A partial list of current selections includes ma *lai go* (a kind of sweet steamed sponge cake, 馬拉糕), spring rolls (春卷), chicken feet (鳳爪), *siu mei* (燒賣), *fen go* (粉果), *lo mai gai* (a kind of rice cake, but wrapped in a genuine lotus leaf, 糯米雞), *ngai wong bau* (奶皇包), and *gai bau* (buns stuffed with chicken meat, 雞包).
11. As reported in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, these newly designed air tickets have caused a stir, designed as they are with the logo for Malaysia Airlines but with the name of “Hell Airlines” (Nury Vittachi, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 18, 2002).
12. An article in the *South China Morning Post* of November 22, 2000, “Mobile ownership up 50pc in past two years,” indicated that seventy-one percent of Hong Kong people aged from 15 to 64 now owned their own mobile phones, with Nokia the most popular brand. Taiwan, with seventy percent ownership, was second.
13. In 1938, Cornelius Osgood recorded the burning of paper clothing for the “Receiving Ancestors Festival” on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. This clothing, which was only of red and green paper, was cut in the shape of a modern Chemex coffee-maker (Osgood 1963: 338–9). Despite this capacity for

keeping up to date, so far no copies of the latest in European haute couture have appeared in the shops; no Armani or Chanel inspired suits, no Missoni knits. It may be only a matter of time.

14. Young children were often disposed of after death in a much less formal manner than adults. “When a young baby dies, the body is not deeply buried and is easily dug up by wild dogs or wolves. When an old woman asks the name of a neighbor’s child and is told that the child is ten years old, she will say, ‘Good, the child is out of the reach of dogs!’ — meaning that the danger of death is past” (Yang 1945: 11). Even earlier (1892), De Groot recorded that, “the disposal of the dead is almost exclusively based upon the doctrine of implicit devotion to husband and parents, it is quite natural that boys and girls, and in general people who leave neither wife nor offspring behind, should be buried with a minimum of ceremony and pomp” (1892: 240). A moving depiction of disposal of a child, as practiced by Hong Kong’s fishermen, is given in Anderson (1970: 182–3). For other accounts of the treatment of dead children, see Bryson (1885), Coltman (1891), Cormack (1935), and Wolf (1978).
15. However, those ancestors who are not known are not likely to receive elaborate replicas of anything. In actual practice, most such small pitched items of technology are burned mostly to those recently deceased, who did use them while alive.
16. The exception may be the clothing, for if the ancestors are distant, and no one knows them, or even their gender, packages called Ancestor’s Clothing (祖先衣) are used.
17. I am indebted to Ms Cindy Wong Shuet Ying for this observation.
18. This photo has been reproduced in Jonathan Spence and Annping Chin’s *The Chinese Century* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996, p. 4).

Chapter 5

1. Some shopkeepers, recognizing the potential of tourists, have made efforts to learn basic English terms and descriptions for many items. During one interview in the Yau Ma Tei District in 1992, for example, the shopkeeper asked me to write down the English names of some paper items tourists had asked about. He was interested in the possibility of increasing his sales.
2. A few retail shops also sell other wooden items such as domestic altars and plaques of the eight trigrams (八卦), but customers seeking such items usually patronize specialty crafters in the few remaining workshops that carve wooden figures of deities and ancestors (the latter for Hong Kong’s fishermen), ancestral tablets, family altars, and Buddhist accoutrements. Retail shops specializing in the carving of wooden religious artifacts, such as ancestral tablets and statues of the gods, for both Cantonese and Hoklo, still survive in western Kow-

loon's Canton and Reclamation Streets. An interesting account of the carving craft may be found in Keith Stevens, "The Craft of God Carving in Singapore," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14 (1974): 68–75. See also Margaret Sullivan, *Can Survive, La: Cottage Industries in High-Rise Singapore* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1993).

3. These couplets (揮春, 春聯, 對聯), still very popular among Hong Kong residents, are pasted on scrolls to be hung on gate posts or on each side of the door, expressing the family's desires for the New Year ahead. Those wishing to decorate their homes with this very traditional item (see, for example, Hsieh and Chou 1981) have a great variety to choose from, as contemporary examples are printed up in fine quality paper in very eye-catching colors. Retail paper shops and market hawkers sell large quantities of these couplets, and often, so do retail establishments of other kinds. Much rarer now are the hand-painted varieties as they are prepared by elderly men as a pastime. An interesting account of such itinerant calligraphers was provided by Lowe (1983 [1941]: 145) who explained, "It requires a certain cultural foundation to conduct such a business successfully and it falls to the lot of poor scholars and youthful students to meet this literary demand. Yearly the god-forgotten literati and wayside poets who try to make a little money and the school boys who wish to take advantage of the new year holidays to demonstrate their calligraphical achievement put up temporary stands along down-town streets and hang out these paper strips, properly executed, for sale."

At the end of the 1980s, if lucky, one could still see elderly gentlemen setting up stalls on busy streets, where they would paint such couplets according to customer order, in gold or black paint on red. The author noted one such individual hard at work using the wall of the Mong Kok Wet Market as a display wall. Although it has been difficult in recent years to find such fine examples, at least one political party has attempted to fill the space; during the Lunar New Year of 2001, four members of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong (the DAB) set up a stall within the market street near the Mong Kok Wet Market and did a brisk business painting couplets for their constituents.

4. Eight paper offerings wholesalers were interviewed for this study.
5. One famous lantern maker still works out of his shop in the Mid-Levels of Victoria. So well-designed are these creations, of silk and elegantly painted, that he sells large numbers to overseas markets. He is well respected in Hong Kong, with some paper masters referring to him as "The Star of Paper Pitching" (紮作明星).
6. If handcrafted in red silk, they are made to resemble popular flowers such as the rose or the chrysanthemum, the differences being the style of the elaborate tufting, still done by hand, of the silk.
7. The current arcade within the outer edge of the Wong Tai Sin Temple is a lively

place, with numerous stalls selling materials for worship. These items include miniature drums, metal swords, slips for *kauf chim* and guidebooks for reading them, red plastic firecrackers, silk purses, silk replicas of lucky bananas and peppers, gourds, old coins, images of deities, miniature lion heads, shell ornaments and wind chimes, lanterns, postcards bearing images of Wong Tai Sin, bracelets of semi-precious stones, wooden animal toys, tassel-trimmed key chains, many varieties of paper offerings (Longevity Gold, First Treasure, White Money, Big Bright Treasure, Gold and Silver Paper, paper clothing, Paper for Gods in the Sky, Hell Money), Pinwheels, small vases, various kinds of bells, candles, wine cups, cigarette lighters, incense, Good Fortune Chickens of papier-mache, wooden plaques carved with the eight trigrams, and oil for lamps.

8. In 1984, the Sik Sik Yuen (齋色園), the private organization which has administered the Wong Tai Sin Temple since 1921 (Lang and Ragvald 1993: 3), decided to begin clearance of the stalls that had for so long lined the older entrance to the temple. In this, it cooperated with the Housing Authority, the Wong Tai Sin Administration Department, and the Tung Wah Hospital. The clearance was completed in early 1991 (Yeung 1991). The organization's name may be translated roughly as "leave behind your worldly desires [when you enter this] garden" (Lang and Ragvald 1993: 169, n. 6).
9. Shopkeepers explained that items from Mainland China can come from as far away as Jiangsu (江蘇) Province (varieties of Hell Money) and Tianjin (天津), but most materials come from over the border in neighboring Guangdong (廣東) Province. Certain counties were famous for particular offerings, although individual shopkeepers held different opinions on which produced the finest examples. For example, Shunde (順德) and Panyu (番禺) were famed for high quality Gold and Silver Paper, but some retailers declared that the same papers manufactured in Shantou (汕頭) were even finer. Candles and incense came from Dongguan (東莞), although some retailers asserted that Shuikou (水口) produced items of higher quality. Xinhui (新會) and Xiamen (廈門) also manufacture paper items. Despite individual preferences, there was general agreement that Foshan (佛山) was now the most famous center for the manufacture of paper offerings, and the Golden Flowers made there were the best, second in quality only to the finest handmade examples once crafted in Hong Kong.
10. Other shops take a somewhat disdainful view of this. During a recent visit to a new shop in Phoenix New Village in Kowloon, the owners replied to queries about their resident cat by saying that their shop "was clean, and so didn't need to keep a cat!" Shops keeping cats are by no means dirty, however.
11. References to Mutual Aid Committee offices serving as informal gathering places for the elderly have been explained in Scott (1980; 1997c: 315–7).

12. Shopkeepers responding to questions directed to possible sources of pollution agreed that there was no way in which paper offerings could be dirtied by any occurrence in the shop or in the home. Their ritual efficacy was not affected by being dropped on the floor, by being placed near toilets, by being handled by menstruating women, by being in close proximity to animals, or even by being sat upon (granted, an unlikely occurrence).
13. Both Hunter (1937) and Cave (1998: 31–35) explain the process of crafting the gold and silver content of everyday offerings.

Chapter 6

1. These attachments imitate the characteristic hand-concealing white cloth sleeve extensions of Chinese opera gowns. “Simply a piece of white silk no more than a foot long attached to the sleeve, it helps to portray more rhythmical movements, especially in the dancing of female parts. Its Chinese name is *shuixiu*, literally, the water-like sleeve and its origin can be traced to the long sleeve prevalent in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and has come to the opera stage in an exaggerated form” (Pan 1995: 128).
2. Such items are very rare, for paper offerings long ago supplanted those of real cloth, and few now know how to cut the items. The shopkeeper, while highly talented and skilled in her own right when crafting paper offerings, referred this special task to old ladies who could still make them.
3. Currently, all matters relating to apprenticeship in modern Hong Kong fall under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Director of Apprenticeship, under regulations set out in the Apprenticeship Ordinance and Regulations of 1976. Designated trades are those covered by the Ordinance and include many of the construction or construction-related industries, but very few traditional crafts are listed (wood furniture makers and goldsmiths being the exceptions) and the paper offerings trade is not mentioned. The modern Apprenticeship Ordinance stresses the importance of training the apprentice, and the need for employers to take their responsibilities seriously: those employers whose training programs were deemed inadequate could be “required to improve that training within a specified time” (1976: 6). In addition, the Ordinance provides for the apprentice to attend complementary technical education classes, and prohibits the employer, who must pay the fees for such courses, from deducting such costs from the apprentice’s pay (1976: 6).
4. For many years, these Wong Tai Sin shops were the exceptions to the established custom of purchasing Pinwheels at temples; their proximity to the temple grounds allowed such sales, although some shopkeepers asserted that this “tradition” was noth-

ing more than a simple lack of space in most retail shops. As one explained, “Anyone could sell Pinwheels if they wanted to, it is all a matter of inventory.”

5. Once when I was conducting an interview at a funeral offerings workshop in Sai Ying Poon in the late 1980s, the young owner suggested that I come and work in the shop, thereby learning how to make the paper offerings we were discussing. He saw nothing incongruous in having a foreign woman working in the shop, although Cooper has remarked that, “The reluctance of Hong Kong craftsmen to teach their skills to a foreigner was a serious obstacle in my previous unsuccessful efforts to secure an apprenticeship” (1980: 25).
6. Pomelo leaves are also floated in the bath water at the Lunar New Year, as a way to protect against evil.
7. In 1997, the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, with the Joint Publishing Company of Hong Kong, produced a volume of essays on life in old and new Yau Ma Tei, *In the Heart of the Metropolis: Yaumatei and Its People*, edited by Patrick H. Hase.

Chapter 7

1. Classic references on empowerment include Strathern and Strathern (1971), Tambiah (1968), and Ball and Smith (1992).
2. During the Festival of the Hungry Ghosts, very large gowns, over six feet in height, are offered to the King of Hell. Organizers of the festival declared that the small individual “dolls” adorning many of these gowns were themselves replicas of gods.
3. Another less charming version of word play, this time referring to anti-foreign sentiments towards Christianity after the Opium War, may be found in Pfister’s discussion of “propagandistic caricatures of Christian teachings and institutions . . . word-plays replete with pejorative derision.” These included the term “foreign religion” (*yangjiao* 洋教) rendered into the “teachings of goats” (*yangjiao* 羊教), and the common phrase for Catholicism (*Tianzhu jiao* 天主教) becoming “grunting of the heavenly pig” (*tianzhu jiao* 天豬叫) (Pfister 2001: 11). A more detailed discussion of the use of animals as caricatures of foreigners in China, under the term *teratology*, may be found in Dikotter’s *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (1992), while an account of animal terms of abuse may be found in Eberhard (1968).

Chapter 8

1. This is also the well-recorded style of worship in Taiwan. As Gallin (1966) noted for Hsin Hsing, “Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, ‘The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway’ ” (1966: 148). This accords with Freedman (1958): “The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance” (p. 85).
2. This interpretation has been challenged by Cammann (1968).
3. That there is some truth to informants’ perceptions of the antiquity of paper offerings may be found in museum examples of paper offerings originally taken out of China as souvenirs or as parts of paper collections. For example, the collections of the Peabody Museum of Cambridge contain an example of a Fate Changer (in cream colored paper), pieces of Gold and Silver Paper, an example of a silver coin (bearing the image of Yuan Shikai), and Longevity Gold. All resemble modern examples, but date to (probably) the late nineteenth century. One piece of White Money and a piece of Silver Paper were placed in an envelope bearing the following inscription: “Charms thrown overboard, by the thousand, from steamer ‘City of Peking’ in Yokohama Harbor September 26, 1881, after trip from San Francisco. To keep the ‘devil’ so busy, in his curiosity [the word underlined in the original] to pick them up and see what they are that the Chinese would have time to get safely ashore.” The envelope was dated 1884. The Peabody Museum also holds a large collection of paper charms and qian reading slips, collected in the 1920s and 1930s in Sichuan Province. The author is grateful to the Peabody Museum for permission to examine these items, and for the assistance given by Ms Kathleen Skelly. Dore’s drawings of selected items, namely the White Money, are also helpful in establishing some temporal context for the items.
4. For variations on this theme, see also Cohen (1977: 4) and McCreery (1990: 2).
5. Lang and Ragvald also noted the presence of a few Christians (around 4 percent) in their Wong Tai Sin study (1993).
6. This habit was also noticed by Lang and Ragvald when asking informants about the history of Wong Tai Sin. Not clear on the details, informants crafted their own: “this general lack of detailed knowledge leaves gaps which people will sometimes fill with their own constructions, borrowing details from other local stories” (1993: 91).

7. While Chaozhou worshippers can use the same paper offerings as do other Cantonese, they prefer to substitute their own items, which are unique in their size and decoration. For example, they will use Peaceful Money (平安錢) instead of Honorable People Charms and circular Honorable People Papers. Or, they burn Big Gold (大金) to the deities while others use Longevity Gold. They also use a special form of First Treasure paper, and assemble a sub-set of materials to use only at the New Year (including the Cake Money or Bamboo Carrying Pole Money, 竿錢). A partial list of items used by the Chaozhou includes Cake Money (糕錢, also termed Bamboo Carrying Pole Money, 竿錢), Heart of Money (錢心), Peaceful Money (平安錢), Heaven Head Money (天頭錢), Family Money (家門錢), Kung Paper (公錢), Big Gold (大金), Four Seasons Money (四季錢), Invitation Card (請怡), Money to Escape from Difficulties (脫難錢), Clothing for the Good Brothers (好兄弟衣), Ko Money (哥錢), the Prosperous/Green Horse (貴人, 祿/綠馬), and Yellow and White Paper (黃白紙).

Chapter 9

1. Robert J. Smith has noted for Japan: “It is a society whose members will generally tell you that the Japanese way of doing a thing is thus and so, often with considerable specificity. When confronted with evidence of contrary behavior, the response is likely to be ‘Well, that’s not the Japanese way,’ but with absolutely no implication that it should therefore be stopped. A man’s religious convictions and practices are, in short, no one else’s business; his observance of social obligation, on the other hand, is everyone’s business” (Smith 1974: 347).
2. Accounts of Hong Kong’s fisherfolk may be found in Akers-Jones (1975), Anderson (1967, 1969, 1970, and 1979), Hayes (1987) and Ward (1954, 1965, 1966, and 1985b).
3. In 2000, bookstores in Cambridge, Massachusetts, carried greeting cards bearing glued-on pieces of Gold and Silver Paper, and one specialty housewares shop also stocked Money to Live, to use as coasters or cocktail napkins. Much earlier in Hong Kong, a shop selling popular household ceramics made on the Mainland in the 1950s decorated its walls with hand-painted gowns for the gods. More recently, an April 2004 exhibition was held at the Hong Kong Arts Centre featuring a Japanese photographer who fabricated paper models of Japanese street scenes, complete with individual buildings, for his photo essays (*Hong Kong Standard*, April 4, 2004). Whether or not he burned them afterwards was not mentioned.
4. The opposite has been suggested for Singapore (Tong 1993: 149).

5. While it has been reported for Taiwan that some, on discovering unidentified bones or remains, might worship these in the hopes of persuading the attached wandering soul to cause harm to an enemy or gaining evil benefits (Wang 1974), this seems not the practice in Hong Kong.



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