

RURAL TEMPLES AROUND HSÜAN-HUA
(South Chahar),
THEIR ICONOGRAPHY AND
THEIR HISTORY

by

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with

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From July 7th to August 30th 1948, the writers undertook under the sponsorship of the Catholic University, Peking, an investigation of the village temples, their iconography and their history, in the territory of Hsüan-hua 宣化 (South Chahar). This paper gives the full material collected in the 361 temples of the rural area only. The temples of the city itself, more than 200, were thought interesting enough to warrant a separate monograph, to be published next year.

A preliminary report on our trip was published in vol. VII of the present journal²⁾. Another short paper³⁾ has presented material on one of the cults of this area; this material will be found in a summary form in Part I, chapter 9 of the present paper.

Here is now the division followed in this study:

Introduction

1. The explored area

- 1) I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to Mr. Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃 of the Kyôto Oriental Institute and to Father Jos. M. Spae for their friendly assistance in granting access to much needed books. Fathers J. M. Goedertier, M. Van Overwalle and K. Arts kindly helped me in correcting the text, drawing the maps, and enlarging the photographs.
- 2) Willem A. Grootaers, *Catholic University Expedition to Hsüan-hua (South Chahar)*. *Preliminary Report*.—*Folklore Studies*, VII, 1949, p. 135-138 1 map.
- 3) Willem A. Grootaers, *Further Materials on the Hutu god of Chahar*.—*Studia Serica*, Chengtu, X, 1951, 1 map, 5 photographs.

2. The aim and the method of the investigation
3. How the material was worked out
4. Some common features of all temples
 - a) the statues
 - b) illustrated biographies
 - c) the frescoes
 - d) the monuments in the temple's courtyard
5. The main sources for a local history

PART ONE

The cults in the rural area of Hsüan-hua

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|---------|----|---|
| Chapter | 1 | The Wu-tao 五道 temples: 88 units |
| Chapter | 2 | The Lung-wang 龍王 temples: 75 units
(with Yü-shih 雨師 and Feng-shen 風神) |
| | 2a | The Hei-lung-wang 黑龍王 temples: 3 units |
| | 2b | The Pai-lung-wang 白龍王 temple: 1 unit
and the Pa-lung-wang 八龍王 temples: 6 units |
| | 2c | The God of Wells 井泉龍王
and Chin-lung 金龍 cults: 8 units |
| | 2d | The T'ien-ti 天地 and Ku-hun 孤魂 cults |
| Chapter | 3 | The Kuan-yin 觀音 temples: 60 units |
| Chapter | 4 | The Ma-wang 馬王 temples: 56 units |
| Chapter | 5 | The Chen-wu 真武 temples: 45 units |
| | 5a | The Nan-chen-wu 南真武 and the Lei-shen 雷神: 2 units |
| Chapter | 6 | The Kuan-ti 關帝 temples: 40 units |
| Chapter | 7 | The Ho-shen 河神 temples: 37 units |
| Chapter | 8 | The San-kuan 三官 temples: 36 units |
| Chapter | 9 | The Hu-shen 胡神 temples: 36 units |
| Chapter | 10 | The Buddha 佛 temples: 16 units |
| Chapter | 11 | The Ts'ai-shen 財神 temples: 14 units |
| Chapter | 12 | The Ling-kuan 靈官 temples: 13 units |
| Chapter | 13 | The Huo-shen 火神 temples: 9 units |
| Chapter | 14 | The T'u-ti 土地 temples: 9 units |
| Chapter | 15 | The San-lang 老郎 temples: 9 units |
| Chapter | 16 | The Wen-ch'ang 文昌 temples: 9 units
and the K'ui-hsing 魁星 temples: 3 units |
| Chapter | 17 | The Yü-huang 玉皇 temples: 8 units |
| Chapter | 18 | The Ta-hsien 大仙 temples: 7 units |
| Chapter | 19 | The Shan-shen 山神 temples: 6 units |
| Chapter | 20 | The Ch'ung-wang 虫王 temples: 5 units |
| Chapter | 21 | The Nai-nai 奶奶 temples: 5 units |
| Chapter | 22 | The Tsao-wang 灶王 cult: 5 units |

- Chapter 23 The Wu-ku 五穀 cult: 3 units
 The Ch'ing-miao 青苗 cult: 2 units
 The Shu-shen 黍神 cult: 1 unit
 The Ts'ang-kuan 倉官 cult: 1 unit
- Chapter 24 The San-ch'ing 三清 temples: 1 unit
 and Lao-tzu 老子 cult: 1 unit
- Chapter 25 The Mi-le-fo 彌勒佛 temples: 3 units
- Chapter 26 The Ti-tsang 地藏 temples: 3 units
- Chapter 27 The Wei-t'o 韋馱 cult: 3 units
- Chapter 28 The Yen-kuang 眼光 temples: 2 units
- Chapter 29 The Ta-mo 達摩 temples: 2 units
- Chapter 30 The San-huang 三皇 temple: 1 unit
- Chapter 31 The Niu-wang 牛王 cult: 1 unit
- Chapter 32 The Hsi-shen 喜神 cult: 1 unit
- Chapter 33 The Chiu-shen 酒神 temple: 1 unit
- Chapter 34 The Ch'eng-huang 城隍 temple: 1 unit
- Chapter 35 The San-chiao 三教 temple: 1 unit
- Chapter 36 The T'an-kung 譚公 temple: 1 unit

APPENDIX: Archaeological findings (Buddha from the Vth century)

PART TWO

Folklore Geography

- Chapter 37 The use of maps
- Chapter 38 Cultural units with their own cults
- Chapter 39 Influence of highways, mountain passes, etc . . .
- Chapter 40 The transition area between two local cultural centers

Conclusion

Some basic elements of the Chinese popular religion

The authors of this paper divided the work of the investigation equally among themselves, under the general direction of the first writer, whose task it also was to make the synthesis and the geographical interpretation. I may note here that the third writer devoted a great part of the time spent on the trip, on a dialectical investigation, the results of which will be the subject of a separate publication⁴).

A good friend of mine, Reverend Paul B. Denlinger, P. E.C., of Haddon Heights, N. J., shared in our investigation work during the first month of the survey, to familiarize himself with the method of folklore research (see fig. 53).

4) A general presentation of his work was given in: Willem A. Grootaers, *Une courte exploration linguistique dans le Chahar (Chine du Nord) avec un projet de questionnaire dialectal.*—*Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, XLVI, 1950, pp. 123-143, 3 maps.

Introduction

This survey aims at giving an exact picture of the state of all religious cults existing in one compact area. It may be of some use to the readers to indicate here the results which seem to us specially valuable or the areas where we have broken new ground.

Some of the cults described here do not, as far as we know, exist anywhere else. This is true, not only for new gods as the Pa-lung-wang (ch. 2b, p. 42), the Hu-shen (ch. 9, p. 70), the San-lang (ch. 15, p. 83) and T'an-kung (ch. 36, p. 104), but, for some other gods, the local cult seems quite different from what exists elsewhere; see the Ling-kuan (ch. 12, p. 79), the Ch'ung-wang (ch. 20, p. 94) and the Yen-kuang (ch. 28, p. 100).

A couple of interesting archaeological findings are described in the Appendix to Part One (p. 105).

We wish to draw the attention to Part Two, which presents a synthesis of our geographical interpretation. We reached a twofold conclusion: first, the religious cults are submitted to the influence of historical factors, political boundaries and imperial highways; second, the broad decentralisation which, till very recently, made from the county or *hsien* 縣, the small fatherland and the real center for the civic feelings of the peasants, is reflected as much by the creation of local cults as by the dialectal differences.

1. The explored area

The explored area (see maps 1 and 4) is situated astride the 115° East longitude, starting in the north at the limits of the city of Kalgan, Chinese name: Chang-chia-k'ou 張家口 (see fig. 1) and reaching southwards to the 40°30' North latitude. Only the left bank of the Yang-ho 洋河 river' was explored. This area prolongs eastwards and southeastwards the territory covered by our 1947 exploration (see maps 3 and 6)⁵⁾. This year again we did our best to cover a continuous territory, so that the geographical distribution of cults and dialects might come out clearly on the maps. This is a prerequisite if one wishes to draw binding conclusions from the maps.

The explored area covers about a fourth of the total area of Hsüan-hua county. Southeastwards another fourth of the county's territory lies on the left bank of the Yang-ho river. The remaining area, roughly half of the county, lies on the right bank, southeastwards from the county seat (Dv 128 on the map). The area covered by our exploration was determined by the vicissitudes of the civil war; eastwards, having reached the frontline, we couldn't go further; westwards the whole right bank of the river was denied

5) Willem A. Grootaers, with Li Shih-yü 李世瑜 and Chang Chi-wen 張冀文: *Temples and History of Wanch'üan (Chahar). The Geographical Method Applied to Folklore.—Monumenta Serica*, Peking, XIII, 1948, pp. 209-316, 8 maps, 20 figures.

to us. Even so, we had to visit the villages only during daytime, coming back each evening to a central locality in a safe area. For the northern part, we started from Kalgan (Cz 276) as our center; next we moved to Ch'ü-chia-chuang 屈家庄, old name Shang-chuang 上庄, Cz 318 on the map⁶⁾, where we stayed two weeks. Finally we put up our quarters at the Monastery of the Disciples of the Lord, Chu-t'u-hui 主徒會, for more than one month. I wish to express here our heartiest gratitude on behalf of the whole team for the friendly hospitality and the unfailing kindness we met from all the members of the monastery. The latter is built about a mile north of the city of Hsüan-hua, Dv 128, having both the advantage for us of being central and of sparing us the daily examination at the city gate.

The first ten days of our exploration, we traveled by local cart. We found however that going on foot would be faster, with a donkey to carry cameras, notebooks, etc. We only used a cart for the wholesale moving from one central locality to another.

The whole of Hsüan-hua county has 420 villages, not counting smaller localities which depend administratively from larger villages. The explored area must have about 90 or less than a fourth of such villages. However we counted each small locality as a unit. This corresponds better with the sentiment of the local people. We visited 115 localities, that is 18 more than in the 1947 trip. This time however we found many more small localities than in the Wanch'üan area. The main reason for this fact lies in the different type of agricultural work found in Hsüan-hua.

If one follows the Ch'ing-shui-ho 清水河 river, from Kalgan, Cz 276, southwards (fig. 2 and 3) till it flows into the Yang-ho (fig. 4 shows how at this point no water is left in the river, all having been drawn on the fields higher up), and again if one follows the Yang-ho on its left bank southeastward, most of the fields are crisscrossed by irrigation canals (fig. 6) which assure a great fertility to the soil. As a consequence, most bigger villages have started colonies of agricultural workers, and put them right in the middle of the fields. Such settlements often have the word *fang* 房 in their name, abbreviation of *huo-fang* 伙房 "workers' settlements." The crops being always very good, a village could not hope to cope with all the work if at too great a distance. This occurred of course many centuries ago, and

6) Every locality is indicated on the map by means of a formula in which Cz or Dv indicate a square degree on the map, and the Arabic figure the location of the village within this square. For further details on this system, which is meant firstly as a common basis to be used in linguistic surveys, see *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Ho Teng-sung 賀登崧 (Willem A. Grootaers), *Chung-kuo yü-yen-hsüeh chi min-su-hsüeh chih ti-li-ti yen-chiu* 中國語言學及民俗學之地理的研究, vol. 35, December 1948, pp. 1-27, 6 maps, or, by the same, *Problems of a Linguistic Atlas of China*, *Lewense Bijdragen*, Louvain, XXXVIII, 1948, pp. 57-72, 2 maps. The latter paper has been reprinted as a pamphlet and may be obtained by applying to the author, Catholic Church, Himeji, Japan.

accounts for the existence of many smaller localities; these are precluded from further growth, because of the valuable fields lying all around them. After all those years, quite a number of the villagers have become owners of the fields. But the practice of settling agricultural workers in the fields, is still going on, and accounts not only for the rise of some recent communities, but even for the disappearance of at least one locality, marked on all maps in the mountain approaches northwest of Hsüan-hua city. We were nonplussed by its disappearance till the villagers explained the case to us.

A different type of villages is found in the circular basin lying behind the mountains north of Hsüan-hua. This area is called locally Liu-ho-ch'uan 柳河川 Plain of the Liu-ho, after the river which flows into it from the northeast, and cuts its way across the mountains, to skirt the western wall of Hsüan-hua. The Plain of the Liu-ho has a gateway to the northwest in the direction of Kalgan (see fig. 2: on this photograph, three communication lines are visible on the left bank of the Ch'ing-shui-ho; starting from the right, the cutting of the railway, and then the two divergent branches of the highway, the one nearest is a recent branch built by the Japanese Army during the war, the furthest is the old Imperial Highway, entering the Liu-ho plain behind the spur of low hills near Cz 316); another gateway to this plain opens toward the northeast. In this plain the villages are as a rule larger, and because of the poor soil they depend on larger cultivation areas.

A third natural area, with the same type of village as in the Liu-ho plain was scarcely encroached upon during this trip. This third area starts approximately at the locality Dv 171 in the southeastern corner of the map. It extends further east and then north (see fig. 4) to lead to the city of Chao-ch'uan 趙川, which lies approximately on the 40°40', ten miles east of Dv 97. This town is an important center of the Lung-kuan 龍關 county.

The names of the explored localities will be found in the following list. The figures after the name of each village refer to the number of the chapters of Part One. They indicate which cults are represented in that village by an independent temple building. The actual number of cults is far greater, as will be explained in Part One.

- Cz 278a Kao-miao 高廟 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 17.
 Cz 279 Ch'i-li-ch'a-fang 七里茶房 3, 10, 18.
 Cz 279a Hou-t'un 後屯 1 (two), 2, 3, 5, 6, 10.
 Cz 279b Ch'ien-t'un 前屯 1, 2, 2c, 3, 5, 6.
 Cz 307 Sha-t'an 沙灘 2.
 Cz 307a Ch'en-chia-fang 陳家房 1, 2, 3, 5.
 Cz 309 Erh-t'ai-tzu 二台子 1, 2.
 Cz 309a Ch'ing-shui-ho 清水河 2.

- Cz 310 Hu-tu-ti 鵠鷄地 1, 2.
 Cz 311a Hsia-hsiao-chan 下小站.
 Cz 311b Lao-wa-chuang 老鴉莊 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 15, 20.
 Cz 311c Shih-san-li-pu 十三里堡.
 Cz 312 Yü-pao-tung 玉寶洞.
 Cz 314 Hsiao-hsin-chuang 小辛莊 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.
 *Cz 314a Pai-lung-tung 白龍洞 1, 2, 2b, 3, 8, 21, 24, 36.
 Cz 315a Ning-yüan-pu 寧遠堡 1 (two), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (two), 8, 9, 10
 (two), 11, 16, 17, 21, 26, 34.
 Cz 315b Yao-chia-fang 姚家房 1, 2, 2b, 3, 5.
 Cz 315c Lo-chia-fang 駱家房 2.
 Cz 315d Ching-erh-fang 井兒房.
 Cz 316 Yao-chia-chuang 姚家莊 1, 2, 3, 5, 8.
 Cz 317 Liu-chia-k'eng 劉家坑 2.
 Cz 317a Sha-ti-fang 沙地房.
 Cz 317b Liu-p'ing-ssu 流平寺 1, 2.
 Cz 318 Ch'ü-chia-chuang 屈家莊.
 Cz 319 Hsi-yü-lin 西榆林 1 (two), 2, 3, (two), 5, 10.
 Cz 319b Tung-yü-lin 東榆林 1, 2, 3 (two), 5, 10.
 Cz 320 Nan-chuang-tzu 南莊子 1 (three), 2, 3, 5, 8.
 *Cz 320a Shih-ho-tzu 石壑子 3, 6.
 Cz 351 Nan-hsin-ch'ü 南新渠 1, 2, 3.
 Cz 351a T'ai-shih-wan 太師灣 1, 2, 3, 5.
 Cz 352 Ch'en-chia-chuang 陳家莊 1, 2, 3, 5.
 Cz 353 Sha-ling-tzu 沙嶺子 1 (two), 2, 2c, 8, 9.
 Cz 353a Erh-li-pu 二里堡 2.
 Cz 353b Chu-chia-fang 朱家房 1, 2, 3, 5.
 Cz 353c Sung-chuang-tzu 宋莊子 1 (two), 2, 2c, 3, 4, 5.
 Cz 353d Tung-chuang-tzu 東莊子 1, 2, 3.
 Cz 354 Sha-ke-tan 沙圪坦.
 Cz 354a Ho-chia-p'o 郝家坡.
 Cz 355 Pa-li-chuang 八里莊 1, 2, 6.
 Cz 355a Chi-chia-p'o 吉家坡.
 Dv 83 Pei-kan-chuang 北甘莊 1 (three), 2, 3, 5.
 Dv 83a Mei-chia-ying 梅家營 2, 3, 5, 12, 35.
 Dv 84 Ho-chia-yen 何家沿 1, 2, 2b, 3.
 Dv 84a Wang-chia-yao 王家窰 2.
 Dv 85 Yin-chia-chuang 殷家莊 1, 2, 2b, 3, 5, 17, 18, 19.
 Dv 85a Ta-hsin-chuang 大辛莊 2b, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 15.
 Dv 87 Hsiao-ts'ang-kai 小倉蓋 1, 2, 2b, 3, 5, 6.
 Dv 89 Ta-ts'ang-kai 大倉蓋 1 (five), 2, 2b, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14.
 Dv 95 Hsi-wang-shan 西旺莊 1 (two), 2, 5, 6, 9.

- *Dv 95a Nai-nai-miao 奶奶廟 3, 6, 7, 19, 21.
 Dv 96 Tung-wang-shan 東旺莊 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 17.
 *Dv 96a Ming-ching-ssu 明鏡寺 2, 10.
 Dv 97 Nan-wan-pu 南灣堡 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8.
 Dv 98 Li-chia-chuang 李家莊 2, 3, 5.
 Dv 121 Pao-chia-chuang 保家莊 1, 3, 6, 7.
 Dv 121a Shui-mo 水磨 2.
 Dv 121b Nan-ti-fang 南地房.
 Dv 121c Chang-chia-yüan 張家園.
 Dv 122 Ting-hsing-pu 定興堡 1, 2.
 Dv 122a Shuang-miao-tzu 雙廟子 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.
 Dv 122b Ts'ai-chia-chuang 蔡家莊 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9.
 Dv 123 Kuo-chia-fen 郭家墳.
 *Dv 123a Hu-shen-miao 胡神廟 9.
 Dv 123b Lu-chia-fang 路家房 1, 7.
 Dv 124 Huang-chia-wan 黃家灣 1.
 Dv 124a Ssu-fang-t'ai 四方台 1, 2, 3, 5, 18.
 Dv 125 Ch'ing-ssu 清寺 1.
 Dv 125a Chao-chia-yao 趙家窰 1 (two), 2, 3.
 Dv 125b Shan-ko-tan-wa 山圪坦窪 1, 2, 7.
 Dv 125c Yüan-t'ai-tzu 元台子 1 (two), 12.
 Dv 125d Yao-chia-fen 姚家墳 1, 2, 6.
 Dv 126 Pei-lou-erh-fang-tzu 北樓兒房子 19.
 Dv 126a Hsia-pa-li 下八里 2.
 *Dv 126b Hsüan-k'ung-ssu 玄空寺 29.
 Dv 126c P'en-erh-yao 盆兒窰 1, 2.
 *(Dv 126d Lung-wang-t'ang 龍王堂, belongs to Dv 128).
 Dv 127 Hsing-shu-wan 杏樹灣 2, 3.
 Dv 127a T'u-kou 土溝.
 Dv 127b Lung-yen-shan 龍烟山 1.
 Dv 127c Ma-chia-wan 馬家灣 1, 6.
 Dv 127d Ma-chia-yao 馬家窰 1, 3, 5.
 (Dv 128 Hsüan-hua 宣化, county seat, not described here).
 Dv 128a Hsiao-fang-tzu 小房子.
 Dv 128b Wang-huo-fang 王伙房.
 Dv 128c Fu-ch'üan-mei 福全美.
 *(Dv 129 Nai-nai-miao 奶奶廟, belongs to Dv 128).
 Dv 129a Lou-erh-fang-tzu 樓兒房子.
 Dv 130 Liu-chiao-yao-tzu 劉家窰子 1, 2.
 Dv 133 Hsi-pao-sha 西泡沙 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 21.
 Dv 133a Tung-pao-sha 東泡沙 1, 2, 3 (two), 5.
 Dv 138 Hou-man-ling 後幔嶺 1 (two), 2, 2c, 5, 9.

- Dv 138a Hsi-shen-kou 西深溝 2 (two), 3, 5, 6, 8, 9.
 Dv 138b Tung-shen-kou 東深溝 1, 2, 3, 5, 14, 28.
 Dv 139 Hsia-ko-yü 下葛峪 1, 2, 5, 6, 9 (two), 25.
 Dv 139a Yao-chia-ying 姚家營 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 18.
 Dv 163 Erh-t'ai-tzu 二台子 1, 2, 4, 5.
 Dv 163a Hou-chia-miao 侯家廟 1, 2.
 Dv 163b Lao-hu-fen 老虎墳 1.
 Dv 163c Hsi-yang-tien 西羊店.
 Dv 164 Hung-miao-tzu 紅廟子 2.
 Dv 164a Chao-chia-ying 趙家營 1, 2, 3, 9.
 Dv 164b T'u-shan-wa 土山窪 2.
 Dv 167 Ni-ho-ze 泥河子 2, 3, 5, 6.
 Dv 168c Nan-yang-tien 南羊店.
 Dv 170a Hsü-chia-fang 徐家房 1, 2.
 Dv 171 Hsiao-man-ling 小幔嶺 1 (two), 2, 5.
 Dv 171a Ta-man-ling 大幔嶺 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 16.
 Dv 173 Yao-shang 窰上.
 Dv 173a Tso-chia-ying 佐家營 2.
 Dv 173b Chia-ho 夾河.
 Dv 176 Pei-t'ai-tzu 北台子 2.
 Dv 176a Ku-chia-ying 顧家營 1, 2, 3, 5.
 Dv 176b Tung-chuang-tzu 東莊子.
 Dv 176c Nan-t'ai-tzu 南台子.
 Dv 176d Sha-t'an 沙灘.
 Dv 178 Pan-p'o-chieh 半坡街 1, 2, 3, 5.

The asterisks indicate six isolated sanctuaries (Cz 314a, 320a, Dv 95a, 96a, 123a, 126b) that are centers of cults, but do not belong to any particular village. In some cases a number of the surrounding villages do have special duties in the ceremonies held at those temples, as will be indicated for each case. Twenty two villages have no temples (Cz 311a, 311c, 312, 315d, 317a, 318, 354, 354a, 355a; Dv 121b, 121c, 123, 128a, 128b, 128c, 163c, 168c, 173, 173b, 176b, 176c, 176d). All of them are small settlements, as described above, except Cz 315d, 317a and 318 which have been homogenous Christian villages for two centuries and therefore have no temples. The city of Hsüan-hua has two huge temples at some distance of the city, Dv 126d and Dv 129; they both will be described in the study we prepare on the city temples.

All these exceptions being taken into account, we are left with 85 inhabited localities for which we have counted 361 buildings consecrated to one or more cults, or an average of approximately 4.2 temples for one village, compared with an average of 6.5 in the 87 localities explored in the Wanch'üan area. This difference reflects the smaller size of the villages of the present area.

Among the 85 localities of Hsüan-hua, only two have more than ten temple buildings, viz. Cz 315a with 18 and Dv 89 with 13. There were not less than 18 localities with more than ten temple buildings in the Wanch'üan region. That this striking difference is only due to a disparity in population numbers and not to a lower sense of religion, is shown by the diversity of cults existing in the Hsüan-hua area. 49 different gods are honored in this area, against thirty seven in the Wanch'üan region.

The exact population figures could not be found in official reports, because of war circumstances. But by our own questions put to the mayor of every village, we obtained the total of 36.000 inhabitants for the rural area (the county seat has 30.000), against a total of 39.000 given by the provincial gazetteer *Chahar-t'ung-chih* 察哈爾通志, 1935 edition. This population is only about half of that found in our Wanch'üan survey, 70.000, not including the city of Kalgan, 150.000.

2. The aim and the method of the investigation.

The main purpose of the investigation was to furnish first-hand material on the Chinese rural cults over a continuous area. Such complete survey has so far been made only in two other regions, one southeast of Tat'ung (Northern Shansi)⁷⁾ and the other around Wanch'üan (see note 5).

A second purpose of our survey was to gather all original material on local history, that is found on temple inscriptions (memorial slabs, bells, etc). Local gazetteers restrict themselves mostly to city monuments, or to inscriptions considered as interesting by old-type literati. We could not think of reproducing the text of every inscription, even if the few weeks at our disposal had given us the time to take a copy of all. However we read every single inscription, and took down the essentials. This task specially occupied the first writer of this paper. The experience gained during precedent investigations helped decide which details were relevant for a historical synthesis.

The second writer of this study was at pains to note down the iconography of the temples with all possible details. He had received his training in fieldwork during the earlier survey in 1947. He had furthermore consecrated several years to the study of secret religions on which he published his M.A. dissertation⁸⁾.

The student in history who participated in the earlier survey (see fig.

7) Willem A. Grootaers, *Les temples villageois de la région au sud-est de Tatung, leurs inscriptions et leur histoire*, *Folklore Studies*, IV, 1945, pp. 161-212, 1 map, 7 figures.

8) Li Shih-yü 李世瑜, *Hsien-tsai Hua-pei mi-mi tsung-chiao* 現在華北秘密宗教 "Contemporary Secret Religions in North China," (with a French summary), Chengtu, 1948, VIII+175 pages, 15 figures (*Studia Serica*, Monographs, Series B, n. 4).

68) was replaced this year by Wang Fu-shih who was making his first field investigation of dialects; but he also took his share in noting down the religious and historical material.

In practice the material was collected in the following manner: while entering a village, Wang Fu-shih used the gathering group of curious on-lookers to put his dialectal questions, while Li Shih-yü and this writer started with the first temple. The notes were taken simultaneously in different parts of the temple, one noting the images, while the other read the monuments. About the time we were busy with the third temple, Wang Fu-shih would join us and take his share of the note taking to expedite the work. All notes, which were copied on cards the same evening, were taken down in Chinese by all three, so that all and each could consult them. A certain number of conventional signs and abbreviations were used by common convention, most of the features of the temples recurring often and being well known by all three.

The greatest care was taken to omit no village, no temple, no single religious datum of the whole explored area. We are now in a position to state definitely what cults exist in that part of Hsüan-hua and to gauge their relative importance.

Once in possession of all religious and historical data for a well-defined territory, a synthesis could be worked out, specially considering the mutual relations between history and folklore. By the geographical interpretation of dispersion areas of some religious features, the factors at work were brought to light, the trends of development of some cults were bared, allowing thus the reconstitution of earlier stages for which no direct epigraphic evidence is available.

The methods so successfully applied by linguistic geography have proved to be of value in folklore geography, if one pays due attention to the different nature of the factors at work in the two fields.

The methods used during the survey and while making the synthesis are quite at variance with those held by official Chinese history. Even gazetteers often reflect an outlook strongly oriented towards the capital of the Empire, or at least towards the administrative center of the county. These are by all means real factors in Chinese history, but by far not the only ones. This earlier point of view ought to be balanced by the knowledge of the possible existence of old substrata, by a feeling for the geographical continuity, and by a recognizance of local cultural factors, not all of which are at work in the county city. We will show clearly how the local religious mentality is often creative: it does not receive blindly the tradition from above, but reshapes older cults and starts new forms of religious life.

3. How the material was worked out

Under the same heading, we stressed in our earlier study on the Wanch'üan cults (see *ibid.* pp. 218-219) the need of circumspection in the present state of our knowledge of Chinese popular cults. The very example we gave then of the danger of rashly drawn conclusions was strikingly confirmed by our Hsüan-hua investigation. The new facts uncovered about the cult of the Hail God, Hsüan-t'an, are of such far reaching methodological import that we have consecrated them a special chapter in Part Two (see chapter 38, p. 110).

It should be sufficient at this stage to stress the basic principle that ought to underly the investigation of Chinese popular cults. The amount of factual material gathered in the field and accurately dated and localized is so slight, that a larger synthesis is out of question for many years to come. On the other hand there is a huge mass of datas available in literary sources, many of them reflecting both biased Taoist legends and vagaries of individual writers. There is hardly, if at all, a common standard between these two sources of our knowledge of Chinese cults. No synthesis could possibly be worked out as long as the quality of the written data has not been carefully estimated and before a larger body of local facts has not been gathered. The practical consequences of this state of affairs will be made clear every time we have to describe features of the Hsüan-hua cults which are evidently of purely local origin. The conclusion cannot be escaped that, if some lesser cults clearly reflect factors at work in a restricted area, somewhat larger investigations, covering a whole province for instance, may shed new light, even upon the history of cults known over larger areas. For the latter it seems that too great a tendency exists to rely on literary sources.

4. Some common features of the temples

To a somewhat lesser extent because of the smaller size of the villages, we find in Hsüan-hua the position of some temples in the village determined by the wall of beaten mud around the locality. The only gate of this wall opens normally towards the south. A Kuan-yin temple (ch. 3) will be found either in front of the gate or on top of it, facing north, with the sanctuary of another god in its southern wall. The gate may also have a temple of Kuan-ti (ch. 6) or of Wench'ang (ch. 16). A couple of temples are found at the foot and on top of the northern wall: Chen-wu (ch. 5) and Yü-huang (ch. 17). Because of a greater number of villages built against hills the Hsüan-hua region has not a few Shan-shen temples (ch. 19) built on higher ground dominating the village.

We wish now to describe in short some details of the temples set-up which are common to many of them.

a) *The statues.*—The statues and images of the god, with a few exceptions which will be indicated, are made of mud. A vertical wooden stump serves as the core around which a mixture of chopped sorghum-straw and mud of yellow earth, loess, is heaped up. A local artist, mostly part time farmer as well, gives the statue its shape according to traditional patterns, received from his master (often his father or his grandfather). The result is often striking (see fig. 13, 24, 25, 39, 40, 62, 63), though such statues crumble quickly when a leak in the roof brings the rain down on them.

Although “the frescoes of Chinese temples form an aesthetic and religious background for the carved or moulded figures of deities which are the objects of worship and which are set out before the fresco background”⁹⁾ (see our fig. 101), often the village temples have only frescoes on their northern or main wall (fig. 37) and no statues. Indeed some gods are mostly found represented in such a way. To make these frescoes, the wall is first covered with the same mixture as that used to mould statues. As White notes, the method used is not “the real fresco method, but rather the secco method in which the painting is done on the dry plaster” (ibid. pages 25–26). In spite of what the authors quoted by White say about some Shansi frescoes, in our area we found often traces of gold or moulded stucco applied on the wall to outline jewels.

b) *Illustrated biographies.*—The lateral walls of some temples are covered with frescoes depicting scenes from the life of the god. This is the case for Kuan-ti (ch. 6) San-kuan (ch. 8), Buddha (ch. 10), San-lang (ch. 15), Wen-ch’ang (ch. 16). Besides those, the Kuan-yin temple has often scenes of the miracles attributed to the goddess.

c) *The fresco “Pursuit of the Evil Ones.”*—This name originated from some of our local informants during our investigation of the Wanch’üan area. It refers to the picture of a heavenly procession found on the lateral walls of some temples. In the Wu-tao temples (ch. 1) the god is shown pursuing monstrous creatures representing evil forces at work among men. We found such frescoes specially in the Wu-tao temples and the Lung-wang temples (ch. 2). In some other sanctuaries, this scene is rather conceived as a heavenly procession upon earth; see the temples of San-kuan (ch. 8), Hu-shen (ch. 9), San-lang (ch. 15). We give a detailed description of the theme of such frescoes in the chapter on Lung-wang (ch. 2, section 4, c) page 33).

d) *Monuments in the temple courtyard.*—No monumental incense burners were found in the courtyard of the rural temples of the Hsüan-hua region, no doubt because smaller villages cannot afford such luxury. The bells (see next paragraph), all of them of cast iron, do not differ from those found

9) William Ch. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, Toronto, 1940, p. 25.

during earlier investigations. The stone gallows (often with a monolithic roof) between which some bells are suspended, occur in two small areas of the Wanch'üan region. They were found more often still in this trip, and only within a well defined area (see map 1), which continues the Wanch'üan area eastwards, and covers the whole Liu-ho plain. Not a single instance was found south of a line passing through the following localities: Cz 355, Cz 352, Dv 89 and Dv 96. For a photograph of these gallows, see fig. 8 and 9 in the paper quoted note 5.

The open air theaters with a tile roof supported by pillars above the stage, is found in the courtyard of some temples, near the entrance gate (never above it), where it faces the main building. This theater is used mainly, though not always, for plays in honor of the god. These plays being mainly organised to obtain rain, it is but natural that such theaters be found in connection with cults of rain, water or river gods.

We found not less than 35 theaters during our investigation, viz. 26 in the Lung-wang temples, 3 in the Hu-shen temples and 1 in the San-lang temples. All these cults are rain cults. Here follow the five other temples where a theater was found:

- in the San-kuan temple, Cz 320, Cz 353
- in the Nai-nai temple, Cz 315a
- in the San-chiao-ssu, Dv 83a
- in the Buddha temple, Cz 278a

This occurrence is understandable for Cz 353, Dv 83a and Cz 278a, as these villages have no theater in their Lung-wang temple. The theater at Cz 315a is used both for the Nai-nai temple festivals and for the Ch'eng-huang festivals.

e) *The Shê 社 or Temple Association.*—Some of the more popular cults or some of the main centers or pilgrimages have become the rallying point of societies called *shê* 社. As far as we could gather from fragmentary evidence, these societies evolved in two different directions. Some are mainly concerned with the upkeep of the temple and with the organization of the yearly festival. We have found the following societies: a San-kuan lao-shê 三官老社 "Venerable Association of the San-kuan temple" at Dv 98, a Hu-shen lao-shê 胡神老社 "Venerable Association of the Hu-shen temple" at Dv 123a and an important but nameless society at Cz 314a (see ch. 2b).

But the main trend followed by the temple Shê is exemplified by the Lung-wang shê, connected with the temple of the Dragon King. Its frequent occurrence, and the variety of secular enterprises it is engaged in make it the principal power in the rural communities. We will describe this in detail in chapter 2, see p. 37.

In this paragraph it may be interesting to give in extenso a description

of the activities of such a *shê* in connection with the restoration of a sanctuary. It is typical of most communal activities related to the temples and it shows the custom of North China villages where public subscriptions are often held, with the subsequent rendering of an account to the community. It does not often happen that a complete record is preserved; we found the official report on the restoration of the Hu-shen sanctuary (Dv 123a), dated 1908, written on large wooden boards, hanging under the eaves of the temple. Here is a full translation with the original text.

“The temple of Hu-shen, outside the northern gate of the city of Hsüan-hua has had a long history. As it was collapsing and in ruins, the plan was made by the people and the shopkeepers of these villages, besides the landlords and their tenants, to unite forces for the restoration. In the one *chien*-temple building of the Hutu-miao, three statues were painted, and three *chien* were built for this association. The work was started in presence of the Venerable Mountain God, the High Ruler Hutu and the T'u-ti, when a satisfying gathering brought offerings of sheep (see p. 39) and organized theatrical plays. To perpetuate their merits (回 presumably for 回向) the crowd of pious men gave generously for the expenses.”

Hereafter are listed all the items of the repairs, subscriptions, working men and remaining sum:

item: for beams and lumber, 240 strings and 200 cash;
 item: for bricks, tiles and stones, 169 strings and 800 cash;
 item: for fundation and cement, 57 strings and 850 cash;
 item: for carting, 51 strings, no cash;
 item: for carpenters' work, 30 strings, no cash;
 item: for masons, 138 strings, 200 cash;
 item: for painters, 85 strings and 500 cash;
 item: for oil, spirits, millet and flour, 220 strings, 400 cash;
 item: for beef, pork and mutton, 126 string, 530 cash;
 item: for the contractor, 130 strings and 900 cash;
 item: for sundry expenses for the theater, 169 strings, 500 cash;
 item: for platform, awning and meals (for the actors) 51 string, 800 cash;
 item: for coal-balls, 47 strings, 800 cash;
 item: for all sundry expenses; 119 strings, 370 cash.

Received from owners (in land endowment):	5370 strings
in cash from the villagers:	1970 strings
Expenses for the above 14 items:	1639 strings

(note that a string of 1.000 cash, in practice only had 980).

From the above, after subtracting, real surplus: three hundred sixteen

strings, and three hundred seventy cash. (This takes only the cash into account; for the endowed land, see the regulation of the irrigation, below).

That this may not be forgotten through the ages and that the fame of it may be perpetuated forever. The above report is submitted to the inspection of gods and men.

Heads of the association who gathered the subscriptions: Lu Tseng, Lu Yüan, Ho Wan-fa, Ho Wan-k'u, Cheng Wen-k'ui, Chia Ch'eng-jen, Chia Ch'eng-i.

Heads of the association who took care of the management: Liu Fu-ch'üan, Wu Wan-fu, Chia Chung, Lu Chien-kung, Lu Chung, Wu Ying, Sun Kui, Liu Yüeh.

Public agreement by the association of the Hu-shen: north of the river (a western affluent of the Liu-ho), one must distribute two teams of spade workers to stop two ditches; south of the river, one must distribute one team of spade workers to stop one ditch. Therefore perpetually a rotation is instituted for each part of the night irrigation. The division of the water starts on the first day of the fourth moon:

for the fields of Kuo-chia-fen: (Dv 123), four nights and a half;

for the fields of the banner (colony of Manchu soldiers and their family, no longer in existence), two nights and a half;

for the upper settlement (of field colonists), three nights and a half;

for the new settlement, five nights.

Put up by public agreement of the Hu-shen Association, in the second moon of the fall in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty (August 1908)".

蓋代設立宣郡北門外胡神山至今年遠坦塌破壞衆地主地戶四外合堡鄉民鋪戶起義助力修理工程事胡郡廟一間彩畫塑像三位新蓋社房三間工起在山神爺胡都大帝土地位前圓滿勝會設供領牲獻戲回永日衆善士佈施花費一切等項經理募化工人存項開列於後

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- 一宗出橡櫟木料錢 240 吊元 200 文
- 一宗出磚瓦石頭錢 169 吊 800 文
- 一宗出基石灰錢 57 吊 850 文
- 一宗出土車工錢 51 吊 一文
- 一宗出木工錢 30 吊 一文
- 一宗出泥工錢 138 吊 200 文
- 一宗出畫工錢 85 吊 500 文
- 一宗出油酒米面錢 220 吊元 400 文
- 一宗出牛豬羊肉錢 126 吊元 530 文
- 一宗出一切工程化錢 130 吊元 900 文
- 一宗出戲價零用錢 169 吊 500 文

一宗出	台子棚厨工	51 吊 800 文	
一宗出	炸子錢	47 吊 800 文	
一宗出	一切零用雜項錢	119 吊 370 文	
	共入地	主 5370	
		戶 鄉民施錢 1970	
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		路 源 賈成仁	
		賀萬發 賈成仁	
		賀萬庫 賈成義	
名垂千古	合社首經理人	劉福全 武 英	
		武萬福 孫 貴	
右榜通知		賈 忠 劉 悅	
		路建功	
神人共鑒		路 忠	

胡神社公議河北應分鏹二張頂水二股河南應分鏹一張頂水一股所以世遠輪流每分夜水四月初一分水郭家地四夜半旗地二夜半上房子三夜半新房子五
大清光緒三十四年孟秋月胡神社公議立

5. The main sources of local history

The printed sources available for the history of Hsüan-hua are the provincial gazetteer *Ch'a-ha-erh-t'ung-chih* 察哈爾通志, 1935, edited by Sung Che-yüan 宋哲元, the *fu*-gazetteer *Hüan-hua-fu-chih* 宣化府志 by Wang Yüan 王畹, 1743, 43 chapters and 16 pen, and the county gazetteers, *Hsüan-hua-hsien-chih* 宣化縣志 by Ch'en T'an 陳坦 and Lin Sheng 林盛, 1711, 30 chapters and 6 pen, and *Hsüan-hua-hsin-hsien-chih* 宣化新縣志 by Ch'en Chi-tseng 陳繼曾 and Kuo Wei-ch'eng 郭維城, 1922, 19 chapters and 11 pen.

Because of the importance of this area for frontier defense, specially from Ming times on (1368-1644), a great number of historical works have described this area. For the limited purpose of this paper, we will not have to quote them here.

For the history of the local cults, the inscriptions on bells and stones are of course the best material. The oldest monuments found during this trip are a fifth-century Buddha statue and one undated ex-voto. Both will be described in the appendix to Part One (p. 105).

Not less than 320 inscribed monuments were noted in the temples, the oldest being a stone slab of 1447 (Cz 319a). We give them here in a table, with, between parentheses, the corresponding figures for the Wanch'üan region surveyed in 1947 (see note 5).

Period	Bells	Small Bells	Ch'ing (gong)	Steles	Incense Burners	Varia	Total
Ming	61	8	6	15	5	1	96
明	(212)	(17)	(39)	(59)	(13)	(3)	(323)
Ch'ing	100	15	17	54	3	9	198
清	(95)	(57)	(47)	(74)	(5)		(278)
Republic	8	3	1	2	1	1	16
民國	(12)	(3)	(8)	(5)			(28)
no date	3	2		1			6
	(6)	(2)	(2)	(3)			(13)
Octogonal pillars (undated, probably 12th-14th century)							4
TOTAL	172	28	24	72	9	11	320
	200						
	(404)		(96)	(121)	(18)	(3)	(642)

From both our own observations in the Tatung area where a large number of dated octogonal pillars (*dhvajās*, *ching-ch'uang* 經幢) have been noted, and from the long list of *dhvajās* compiled by Yeh Kung-i 葉恭彝,¹⁰⁾ one may conclude that this kind of monument was no longer popular in North China after the end of the Yüan Dynasty (1368). Here is the list of the undated pillars found in this area: Cz 311b, Dv 87, Cv 122a, Dv 133. These local *dhvajās* have not the elegance of similar monuments found in larger temples, especially in South China. The stone used, of local origin, is too friable to present a clear text after some centuries. We show here the best specimen, standing in the Buddha temple at Cz 311b (fig. 64).

We give also two samples of the beautiful roof ornamentations found in the village temples (fig. 7 and 8). The first one is dated 1704 in the central panel.

With a population only the half of the Wanch'üan area, the present region has exactly half of the number of monuments of the former, 320 as against 642. The proportion of *ch'ing* 磬¹¹⁾ 24 against 96, and of steles 72 against 121, shows a marked difference, with steles better represented than *ch'ing*. When we examine the periods, most striking is the great number of bells from the Ch'ing dynasty. Concerning the Ming bells, we have another interesting observation: bells carry mostly the name of the caster and the place where they were made. In our study of the 1947 trip, we found that the western third of the explored territory was depending from Tatung

10) Yeh Kung-i 葉恭彝 *Ch'uang-mu* 幢目, *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan yüeh-k'an*, 國立北平圖書館月刊, III, 1929, 3, pp. 381-400; 4, pp. 515-534.

11) This word does not indicate the square sonorous stones used in the Confucian sacrifices. In the temples of Shansi and Chahar a *ch'ing* 磬 is a hemispheric gong in cast iron.

(in the neighboring province of Shansi) for its bells. This fact corresponds with the general orientation of that area, whereas the eastern part was drawn by Hsüan-hua city as its center. The bells found during the 1948 trip to Hsüan-hua were all cast in the city of Hsüan-hua itself¹²⁾ as was to be expected.

Besides the name of the caster, those bells give often the exact location of the village for which they were cast, with the mention of province, county, district. This proves to be invaluable to determine the exact boundaries of small territorial divisions, called *wei* 衛, whose existence is of course well known to history, but for which we do not possess precise data from local archives. This problem however has to be treated more thoroughly and is out of place in a study on local cults. It will be studied in a separate paper. The boundaries marked on map 5 were determined with the aid of this material.

Part One

THE CULTS IN THE RURAL AREA OF HSÜAN-HUA

We are using in this part the term "cult unit" which has first to be explained. If one counts the temple buildings in this area, the total of 361 temples (see the list given above) does not give an exact picture of the place taken by each religious cult. Many villages, through lack of funds, cannot build an independent building for every god. Not wishing to leave some particular god without a sanctuary, they may build a lateral building in the courtyard of the temple of another god, or even append to the main building of that temple a smaller aisle, where the new god is honored. In such cases, the relation between the main cult and any of the additional gods is purely fortuitous. Any kind of cult may be found in any given temple. Here a few instances: Ma-wang (ch. 4) and San-kuan (ch. 8) have a sanctuary in the Kuan-ti temple at Dv 139; San-kuan and Nai-nai (ch. 21) have a sanctuary in the Buddha temple at Cz 279a; Kuan-yin (ch. 3) has a sanctuary in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 126c.

Slightly different is the case of a temple (it happens mostly with small shrines in poorer localities) the back wall of which contains the shrine of another god, or even where that back wall has been replaced by a complete

12) One exception however: a recent bell of 1876 at Cz 353d with the mention: cast in the city of Pao-an, viz. Old Pao-an 舊保安, some 20 miles due south of Hsüan-hua. New Pao-an is northeast of the former, on the railway Peking-Kalgan.

sanctuary, standing back to back with the first. The difference here lies in the fact that there seem to be only a few cults for which such arrangement is commonly found: Wu-tao (ch. 1), Kuan-ti (ch. 6) Ho-shen (ch. 7), Shan-shen (ch. 19). For two more gods, this arrangement is motivated by the nature of the cult itself: Kuan-yin (ch. 3) being regularly oriented northwards, it follows automatically that another sanctuary can be built against its temple, almost all other cults preferring a southern orientation. The second case is that of Ling-kuan (ch. 12) which is asked to protect the village against nefast effluvia, coming from outside. He must therefore dominate the landscape; his shrine is appended to many different sanctuaries.

In the light of this expose, we have to revise our statistics of village temples: to the 361 independent buildings, we must add 105 lateral buildings, added aisles or shrines. This total of 466 however does not yet completely reflect the number of cults found in this area. We must consider two more cases.

One case is that of tablets or small niches to be found inside a temple. A San-kuan tablet standing on a side table in a Lung-wang temple was found in half a dozen villages (ch. 8); this testifies to a San-kuan cult as well as a lateral building erected for these gods. Of course, the lack of fervor, jointly with poverty, might have been the cause of such simplified form of worship.

A different case is constituted by the side images in some larger temples. One may find for instance in most Lung-wang temples the main hall occupied by the principal god, but the extremities of the wall each show an independent cult, an image of the same size as the main god (see fig. 12, right corner), in front of which a table with offerings is prepared. This is the case for a great number of Ma-wang images. The Ma-wang god has sometimes his own dependent temples, but there seems to be a somewhat separate cult addressed to him in many Lung-wang temples as well.

We feel justified to count also these cases as "cult units" and to add 171 independent cults to our total, bringing our grand total to the sum of 637 cult units for the Hsüan-hua rural area. The average for every of the 85 localities with a temple, comes to 7.7 cult units (as against 9.8 for 87 villages in Wanch'üan).

However to give an objective picture of the religious situation we shall always indicate whether the cult of a given god is found as a side image or in an independent building. This is necessary when it will be found that only a few cults are put up as side images, some others never occurring in this capacity.

In our descriptions of the iconography of the temples, we will mention the attendants of the god or the heavenly beings surrounding the main image. Only in a few cases will it be possible to identify them, the local informants, even most of the local monks, being unable to answer our inquiries. When-

ever we can, we will draw attention to their presence, some of them, for instance Yin Chiao of the Yü-huang temples (ch. 17), are never seen except as attendants of that deity. But others, as Chao Kung-ming in the Chen-wu temples (ch. 5), have their own independent cults (see Ling-kuan, ch. 12). All this has to be taken into account if one wishes to have an exact conception of the religious cults. The complexity of the situation might be gauged from the above description.

We will now describe the main features of all the existing cults in that area, in the order of their frequency, beginning with the cult with the greatest number of cult units. The longer chapters will be divided into the following sections:

1. Number and distribution
2. Building and name
3. History
4. Images and cult

We give the Chinese characters of a temple's name once in the beginning of each chapter; after which only the romanized form is given.

CHAPTER 1

The Wu-tao 五道 Temples: 88 units

1. Number and distribution

This popular god has his temple in three quarters of the villages, being represented by as many as five temples in one locality (Dv 89).

2. Building and name

Typical for this temple is its small size: most of them are less than a man's height. The Wu-tao temple is built on an elevated platform, ought often to be called a shrine. Indeed in a couple of villages, this temple is a real niche, either hewn out of granite and then inserted in the wall of the village gate, as is the case at Dv 121, or assembled from cut stone blocks, the roof not excepted (see fig. 11).

In some cases however, we met with real normal sized temples as at Dv 133, Dv 138, Dv 89, Cz 319a and Cz 311b. I think the small sized variety is found most often because of two reasons: the temple is built on street corners or on crossroads, and should therefore not take too much space; secondly it is often put up by subscription among the people of one ward, or even of one street only.

Being often built on haphazard places and on small plots of ground, the Wu-tao temple is the only one for which orientation seems not to matter very much. Sixteen among them have not the southern exposition, which is so strict a rule for all temples and all dwellings in that part of China (exceptions: ch. 3 and 12).

In a few cases, the Wu-tao temple does not stand alone; at Cz 315a,

315c, Dv 164b, 173a it is appended to the wall of the Lung-wang temple; at Cz 352 to that of the Kuan-yin temple. In two more localities, the back half of the Wu-tao temple opening in the opposite direction, is a sanctuary of the Ching-shen (ch. 2c) at Cz 353d, or of the Ho-shen (ch. 7) at Dv 95, or of the Ling-kuan (ch. 12) at Dv 125c. Most of these cases imply a relation with a god directing water (rain, well, river).

The Wu-tao god never occurs as an auxiliary image in any other temple. But his auxiliaries, Shan-shen and T'u-ti have sometimes their own separate temples (ch. 19 and 14). Note however the fact explained below that Wu-tao is not always in the center in his own temples.

A feature of the Wu-tao temples to which our attention had not been directed in previous surveys, is the presence of the *T'ai-shih kan-tang* 泰石敢當¹³⁾ stone in front of it, or embedded in its pedestal. This was found in four localities: Cz 319 (twice), Dv 89, Dv 95, all of them situated in the Liu-ho plain.

The name of the temple in spoken language is Wu-tao miao¹⁴⁾ 五道廟 except at Dv 138 where we heard once Lang-shen-miao 狼神廟 "Temple of the Wolf God," perhaps an allusion to the wolf found in front of the god (see below). We must stress the importance of the use of the name Wu-tao-miao; it was the only reason why we ranged them all in this chapter, even when the image of the main god happens not to be that of Wu-tao.

The inscription carved on the lintel above the door, or more often, written on a red paper pasted above the door is San-sheng-ts'u 三聖祠 "Sanctuary of the Three Saints" (Dv 127d, Dv 127b, Dv 125a, Cz 321); Shan-sheng-ts'u 山聖祠 "Sanctuary of the Mountain Saint" (Cz 314a), this is the same name as the preceding, the local pronunciation making no difference here. However note the next: Shan-shen-miao 山神廟 "Temple of the Mountain God" on a bell (Dv 124), the images of the gods are missing, so that we can not decide. This name again sounds locally exactly like the two first. Wu-tao (-shen)-ts'u 五道神祠 "Sanctuary of the (god) Wu-tao" (Cz 317 and Dv 83).

A bit more fancy are the following inscriptions where the role played by the god is described: *Shan-o-pao* 善惡報 "Retribution for the good and the wicked" (Dv 89); *Cheng-chih shih-yü* 正直是與 "Isn't he upright and impartial?" (Cz 351); *Cheng-ching* 鎮靜 "Preserves the peace" (Cz 353b).

13) According to the text of the *Ch'o-keng-lu* 輟耕錄 of 1366, quoted by Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, Paris, Leroux, 1910, p. 42, note 1, these stones were put up in front of a street, on cross-roads. Their presence here is but natural, as the Wu-tao temple occupies a similar position.

14) The name is understood as "Temple of the Wu-tao god" not "of the god of the five roads". The god himself is always spoken of in the singular.

Here are now two vertical inscriptions which describe the Wu-tao cult:

Wei-wei chen i-fang 威威鎮一方

Shih-tzu lu-k'ou tso 十字路口坐

“Overawing, he protects this whole domain, sitting at the opening of the crossroads” (Cz 353)

Pao chang i-fang jen 保障一方人

Wei-chen pa-mien-shih 威鎮八面事

“He protects the people of the whole domain, Overawing he protects everything in all directions” (Cz 279a).

3. History

Few monuments are found in those small Wu-tao temples. The earliest date is 1785 carved on the wall of the niche shown on fig. 11 (Cz 351a). The niche at Dv 121 also is dated: 1817.

4. Images and cult

a) Images of the main wall

Three statues are most commonly found seated on a raised platform in front of the back wall of the Wu-tao temple. In sixteen temples we found painted images instead, and in two more localities the three statues were found together with the painted images.

The three gods in the Wu-tao temple are as a rule disposed as follows (see fig. 9):

Central image: Wu-tao, God of the Five Roads, a white-faced smiling general, a raised sword in his right hand, a small helmet on his head, an armour visible under a cape.

Eastern image (or at the left hand of Wu-tao):

Shan-shen 山神 God of the Mountains, a black-faced, fierce looking general, with a heavy beard, a sword and a helmet like the Wu-tao.

Western image: T'u-ti shen 土地神 God of the Earth, a smiling, white-faced, white-bearded old man, dressed as a scholar. It is for these three gods that the Wu-tao temple is sometimes called the Sanctuary of the Three Saints, as we saw above.

There is however something peculiar about the iconography of this cult in the Hsüan-hua region. During our survey of the Wanch'üan area in 1947, we found that among 109 temples of Wu-tao, nine had not the image of the Wu-tao god, but only that of Shan-shen, the Mountain God. As these nine temples still were called Wu-tao temple by the people, we couldn't regard them as temple of the Shan-shen. We thought that by some freaky chance the statue of the Mountain God was the sole remainder of the three original statues. This may still be true, for all we know. But something similar, though not completely identical, took place on a much larger scale in the Hsüan-hua area. Here are the facts.

In twenty nine cases, or a third of the total, the Wu-tao temple was found to have the normal three statues described above (not one only as in Wanch'üan), but the Mountain God occupies the central place in 27 cases (Wu-tao is east, T'u-ti west), the Earth God occupies the central place in one case (Dv 89) (Wu-tao is east, Shan-shen west), and the River god, Ho-shen, occupies the central place in one case too (Dv 127c), (Wu-tao is east, Shan shen is west, no T'u-ti).

The peculiarity now lies in the geographical distribution of these 29 exceptions (see map 6). In the Liu-ho plain, seven such temples lie along the northern mountains from Cz 314a to Dv 97, (but three normal type Wu-tao temples are found there too, at Dv 83, 85, 95); six more are disposed more southwards at Dv 87 and 89. Another triangle shaped area contiguous with the first lies to the southeast, between two lines drawn from Dv 122b to Dv 163a and from there eastwards to Dv 139a.

For this distribution we can suggest two explanations. The first one, taking into account only local factors, would be to consider this divergent type as originating from an eastern area, as is suggested by the shape of the dispersion areas. They would show the influence of Lung-kuan-hsien 龍關縣 from which two roads lead into Hsüan-hua: one passing through Dv 96, the other through Dv 139 (see the geographical introduction, *Introduction*, p. 6).

A second explanation, embodying the first but considering larger areas based on the role of the Wu-tao temple in North China. This temple is, essentially the sanctuary of the local protector, who watches over the daily life of the peasants. It is in front of this temple that the head of the family announces in a loud voice the main events affecting the family, births, deaths, etc.¹⁵⁾ This role is filled in great parts of the Hopei province, (the nearest province towards the east, with Peking and Tientsin as main cities) by the T'u-ti temple, according to fragmentary inquiries we made there. For the city of Peking, a complete survey was made during the war years by Messrs Wang Ching-min 汪靜民 and Hsü Tao-ling 許道齡 of the Ethnological Museum of The Catholic University; (this survey was ready for the press in the beginning of 1949). In most of the Peking temples of this local type, the Earth God (T'u-ti), occupies the central place, with the Shan-shen in the west; a third statue, as yet unidentified, because unknown to the people, was that of a military personage. From what I have seen of these temples, this third god seems to be Wu-tao.

We get therefore the following situation in the three provinces of North China: North Shansi (see our Tatung survey) has uniformly Wu-tao as

15) At Dv 125 we were told that the yearly festival of the temple is held on the first day of the first moon. New Year's day is of course the main day for the family cults, ancestors offerings, etc.

the local protector; this cult is found eastwards into Chahar where we found it almost everywhere in Wanch'üan. In some area situated further east, in Northern Hopei and near to it in eastern Chahar¹⁶⁾ the T'u-ti temples have Wu-tao as an auxiliary image. Our present area now at its eastern limits presents cases where either Shan-shen or T'u-ti is honored as the main god of these temples, but the name by which it is known among the peasants is still Wu-tao temple. It is a transition area. Another kind or transition area is found in Ting-hsien (see note 16) where both T'u-ti and Wu-tao temples are found, both as temples of local protectors.

The main weakness of this explanation is the lack of local surveys covering the intervening territory between Hopei and our present area. Its main argument, however, being the geographical dispersion of the temples, is very strong at least on the purely local plane, where it advocates the origin of this divergent form of cult from the neighboring Lung-kuan area.

In front of the three main images of this temple, one finds either two animals or two persons. The animals, a wolf and a tiger, often chained to a rock or a tree, were found in 20 temples. The personages, often standing slightly to the side of the main images are a devil (half-naked, with tufts of hair standing on his head, red faced, with a hook) and a judge (blackbearded, clothed as a civilian official, with a register). We found them in 27 temples, sometimes in conjunction with the two animals. They appear often on the lateral walls, instead of standing on the floor. The geographical distribution of the above features seems to be haphazard, neither is there any significance in that of the frescoes we are going to describe.

b) The frescoes of the lateral walls

Thirty-six among the Wu-tao temples have no frescoes at all. In the fifty two remaining temples, the lateral frescoes belong to two main types. In the first type, the animals or personages found in front of the main images in other temples, are here depicted on the wall instead. We found twice the wolf (western wall) and the tiger, and sixteen times the devil (western wall, except in four villages where he is on the eastern wall) and the judge. In six more places the western wall shows the devil riding on the wolf, and the eastern wall the judge riding on the tiger. This was never the case in the Wu-tao temples of Wanch'üan. This device may have been imagined under the influence of the second type of lateral frescoes. The latter is found in 26 villages and describes the pursuit of the evil spirits.

16) Lung-kuan 龍關 county touches Yen-ch'ing 延慶 county and Huai-lai 懷來 county both limitrophs of Hopei Province. The Ting-hsien 定縣 area, 200 miles southwest of Peking, and 300 miles due south of Kalgan, in northwestern central Hopei has been partly surveyed for its cults. In 62 villages, 68 Wu-tao temples were noted, in which the cult is almost identical with what we found in Chahar. See Li Ching-han 李景漢, *Ting-hsien shê-hui kai-k'uang tiao-ch'a* 定縣社會概況調查, *Ting-hsien, A Social Survey*, Peping, 1933, p. 427, p. 432.

The three gods are shown riding on horseback¹⁷⁾ lead by the judge and the devil; by means of the wolf and the tiger they pursue personifications of evil spirits, represented by unclean animals: hare, chicken, snake. The procession goes out on the eastern wall, and comes back with its captives on the western wall. This type of fresco will be found in some other temples, but with more dramatization and a greater richness of details. See next chapter.

To complete this description of the lateral frescoes we wish to add two more divergent cases. There are first two villages (Cz 319 and Dv 122b) where the lateral walls have the paintings of *ya-i* 衙役, tribunal assessors or runners of errands in the official departments in imperial times. Finally at Dv 163a, the judge and the devil occupy only half of the lateral walls. The front half (near the main images) shows two generals, the western one carrying a flag, the eastern one holding a seal. We couldn't identify these images.

CHAPTER 2

The Lung-wang 龍王 Temples: 75 units

1. Number and distribution

If the Wu-tao temple is the most popular, the Lung-wang temple is by its size and by the wealth of its images and of its lateral buildings (except for a few Buddhist monasteries) by far the most important temple of the region. Therefore it is often chosen to be the seat of the official administrations recently introduced in village life: mayor's office, primary school. It fulfilled a similar role, with greater influence even, under the Empire by its *shé* 社 (see section 4).

In this chapter we limit ourselves to the description of the temples called Lung-wang temple by the people. Some other types are listed in the supplementary chapters 2a, 2b and 2c, in which temples are listed which belong to a different cult, although the name shows some relationship: White Dragon, Black Dragon, etc.

The Lung-wang cult has always its own temple, this god being never used as an attendant image of another cult. There is however the case of the Yü-shih 雨師 the Rain Master, whose name makes him related to the Lung-wang god, main dispenser of rain. This Yü-shih however is only found as an auxiliary image of Lung-wang himself, and will be described in section 4 of this chapter.

The Lung-wang temple happens to be only an appended building in the San-kuan temple at Cz 279a, but we don't know how long this state of affairs has existed. In the case of village Dv 85a, a similar change happened before our very eyes. The village wanted to add a temple to a new god in 1938 and they choose a part of the courtyard of the Lung-wang temple for

17) Once only they were shown on foot, at Dv 171.

this purpose. This new temple, not quite completed when we passed there in 1948 is so much larger than the original Lung-wang temple, that the whole compound is called after the new god, San-lang temple (see ch. 15).

The 75 Lung-wang temples we visited are found regularly distributed over the whole area. However when one examines the spot chosen for it in each village, there seems to be a difference between the Liu-ho plain and the rest of the territory. In all villages of the Liu-ho plain, the Lung-wang temple is built in the southern part of the village, either southwest or southeast (see map 6) of the village. But in the southeastern part of Hsüan-hua and in the south of Kalgan, the same temple is mostly (with half a dozen exceptions) north of the village. This may be something similar to the case of the Lung-wang temples in Tatung, where the two types: southeast-northwest are separated by a clear boundary (see our study quoted note 7, p. 191-193).

2. Building and name

The Lung-wang temple has not only a large main building with at least three *chien* 間 length; its lateral buildings are often numerous while a wall encloses the courtyard (see fig. 27). Both the gate to that courtyard (see fig. 18) and the main building have often elaborate tile ornaments. The roof ridge specially is the object of artistic designs, floral and animal, which would not deface the temples of a rich city (see fig. 7 and compare fig. 8). The roof shown on the first photograph has in the middle a small structure superimposed. This has an inscription dedicating it to the Yü-huang (ch. 17); the local people even told us that the village was named after that small temple on top of another Shuang-miao-tze 雙廟子 "Double Temple"¹⁸⁾.

The name of the temple in spoken language as well as on most inscriptions is Lung-wang-miao "Temple of the Dragon King." A few variants were found on bells or on stone slabs: Lung-wang-tien 龍王殿 "Palace of the Dragon King" (Cz 317a), Lung-wang-shen-ts'u 龍王神祠 "Sanctuary of the Dragon King God" (Dv 98 Cz 315a).

3. History

The number of old bells found in the Lung-wang temples is much smaller in Hsüan-hua than in other surveyed areas. Here is the list:

Dv 127d	1491	Dv 121	1543
Dv 139	1516	Cz 279a	1544
Cz 355	1522	Cz 353b	1544
Dv 139	1523	Cz 279b	1553

18) This is clearly popular etymology, a temple never being called *miaotze*, but *miao*. The only word of the spoken language that suggests itself here is *miao-tze* 苗子 shoots, but it has a different tone.

We do not list the bells after the second half of the 16th century.

The stone monuments however bring testimony of an early erection for several of the Lung-wang temples. An inscription of which the date could not be deciphered tells about the erection in Yüan times (in this area, the dates of this dynasty are 1215–1368) of the temple at Dv 173a, and of its subsequent restauration in the Hung-chih 弘治 period (1488–1507). Much better for our purpose is the stone slab standing at Cz 315a in what is now a school, and was till lately a Hu-shen temple. The stone is entitled: "To commemorate the restoration of the Lung-wang sanctuary of Ning-yüan-pu 寧遠堡 in 1493." The text goes on: "Ning-yüan is about 40 li northwest of Hsüan-hua; another day travel towards the west, there is a high mountain with a grotto. In this grotto a statue of the Dragon god was suspended by means of iron chains; the socle of the statue had the date: first year of Chih-cheng 至正, 1341. In the years of Yung-lo 永樂 (1368–1398), a peasant gathering fire-wood on the mountain saw a heavenly manifestation. . . there-after the people became used to offer there incense on the 15th day of every moon. . . . In the year 1470 there was a temple to this god in our village. Now we have been restoring it, the western building being a Lung-wang sanctuary, the eastern one a Tzu-sun 子孫 temple (see end of ch. 21)." The mountain indicated here is rather in a northwesternly direction, and was a favorite spot for pious pilgrims till the first year after World War II. The various temples on the slopes were then levelled by the Nationalist Army and the whole transformed into an advanced defense position, for the city of Kalgan (Cz 276; our fig. 1, 2, 3 were taken from the top of that mountain). This dated and detailed witness of the Lung-wang cult is the earliest yet noted in our travels. One must note the recurrence of the grotto motive in another Dragon King cult, ch. 2b. p. 44; see n. 58, p. 86.

Other early mentions of the same cult on stones:

Cz 279a: erection in 1546 (on stone of 1853)

Cz 311b: erection in Ming time, 1368–1644 (on stone of 1898)

Dv 98: restoration (on stone of 1599).

Lastly we must mention a stone pillar standing in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 133a, dated 1499; although of octagonal shape, this pillar is more slender than earlier *dhvajās* (see Introd. n. 5). It carries the eight hexagrams *pa-kua* 八卦, one on each side, with above six of the hexagrams the name of the Buddhist *pāramitās* or perfect virtues. The following four could still be deciphered:

fang-pien 方便 (*upāyapāramitā*)

p'an-jo 船若 (*prajnap.*)

ching-chin 精進 (*viryap.*)

tso-ting 作定 (*dhyānap.*)

This monument seems to have been erected in a Buddhist monastery, although the combination of hexagrams with Buddhist terms makes it possible that it was erected by laymen, or by the village as a whole. There is no Buddhist temple in that locality now.

4. Images and cult

a) the back wall with the main images

Till now we have always spoken of the "Dragon King"; this is a simplification, there being in reality at least four Dragon Kings, sitting on each side of the Mother of the Water, Shui-mu 水母. These are the images usually found in the Lung-wang temple; we give here a photograph of the statues at Cz 351, which are fairly typical for the 32 Lung-wang temples with statues (see fig. 13). In 20 more temples the Dragon Kings and the Mother of the Water are painted on the wall, while 9 more localities have both, each painted image having a statue in front of it. The 14 temples not accounted for after totalling these figures have only the processional statues. These are a third type, which are sometimes found in the former type of temples as well, in conjunction with either the painted images or the normal statues. These statues are used for rain processions in the village. They are of smaller size and are sitting in sedan-chairs arrayed along the wall (see fig. 10). The villages with such statues, have them in varying number; we counted as many as 12 Dragon Kings with the Mother of the Water in one case (Cz 309). However this is considerably less than in our 1947 survey where as many as 36 such images were found in one temple.

There is a great variety possible in depicting each individual Dragon King. They are mostly distinguished by the colour of their face. In the four visible on fig. 13, reading from left to right, they have a white, red, yellow, and black face. Their number may vary from two to twelve; nobody could ever tell us whether they are supposed to have a name. The popular tradition in Hsüan-hua is definite however on one score: they are all the sons of the Mother of the Water.

A few cases must now be described which diverge from what seems to be the accepted canon everywhere else. They may become important when they are compared with the findings in other areas. Mother of the Water: in one case, Cz 278a, two Mothers were found, side by side, in the center, each having six Dragon Kings along her side of the wall. We must further note the fact that at Dv 171 and 176a the statue of the Mother of the Water is gild-faced, whereas she is white-faced everywhere else. These cases may belong to a new fashion existing in more eastern villages.

A Male Dragon occupies the central place in six villages. There seems to be hardly any relation between this god and the Mother of the Water. It

is true that at Dv 164b, the statue of the sole Dragon King is standing in front of the painted images of the Mother of the Water, with her four sons. At Cz 315b now, there are no frescoes in the back wall, but at the west side of the sole Dragon King stands the statue of a woman whom a peasant called in our presence: Lung-wang Fu-jen 龍王夫人 "The Spouse of the Dragon King." There remain four more villages, Cz 307a, Dv 96a, Dv 125a, Dv 126a, where a sole white-faced Dragon King occupies the place of honor (see fig. 10), the temple being each time called Lung-wang temple. That is the reason why we hardly could list them under chapter 2b, which describes a White Dragon cult, connected with a Eight Dragon cult. The latter is clearly considered as something quite distinct from the Lung-wang cult by the local people. To this must be added the fact that the White Dragon cult and the Eight Dragon cult are connected by an obvious geographical link, as will be made clear later.

The Dragon King found in those six villages are dispersed all over the region and do not seem to have any relation with the White Dragon cult. From a comparison between fig. 10 and fig. 13 there seems to be a superficial similarity between some details of the statue of the Male Dragon with one or other of the Dragon Kings. But that does not explain why the first is found alone, against the general usage. There is for the time being no explanation available; a necessary factor for the interpretation of this cult must have been missed during the survey, or it may have disappeared from the consciousness of the people, who in most cases are not well versed in the theory of their own religious iconography.

That there must exist a tenuous relation between those Male Dragons and the Mother of the Water, is shown by the fact that among these six temples, four have on their lateral walls the procession found in most Lung-wang temples (see under c), in which the Mother of the Water figures prominently. Such frescoes were found at Cz 307a Dv 96a, Cz 315b and Dv 125a. The two remaining villages, Dv 164b and Dv 126a have a devil (west) and a judge (east) depicted on their lateral walls.

At Dv 176, the Lung-wang temple has all the normal features of such temples, except for the fact that they put a statue of the Ho-shen god of the river (see ch. 7) in the center, around which the usual Dragon Kings are ranged.

A last, but more important discrepancy was found at Dv 163a, and this time in connection with the statues of the Dragon Kings. For the first time in all the more than 250 Lung-wang temples we have seen in Shansi and Chahar, two of the Kings have the head of a Dragon on the body of a man. This is specially significant, as the Lung-wang in Peking and in other parts of Hopei is always represented under that shape (even the Mother of the Water is completely unknown in those regions). We have here probably

the second indication hinting at an influence of eastern forms of worship that seep in to the Hsüan-hua region. We refer the reader to the use of a Shan-shen image as central god in the Wu-tao temples of the eastern part of the region. A bit further in this paragraph we will meet a third indication of a similar influence.

b) The back wall and its lateral images

As we have explained in the beginning of this part (p. 20) both extremities of the main wall, specially in the Lung-wang temple are reserved for separate cult units. Their independence of the central image is stressed by the presence either of a painted partition between the images on the wall, or even by some wooden scrollwork which divides the temple into separate cubicles.

These lateral images have often their own heavenly court, grouped around them, with all their own paraphernalia of the cult. However some tenuous relation must exist between them and the cult of Lung-wang as not all gods may possibly occur in that place, but only a few, always the same.

Here is now a list of these cults who were found in a lateral position, indicating in each case how many instances were found and on what side of the main image.

Lateral image	West	East	Total
1. Ma wang (ch. 4)	15	24	39
2. Ho-shen (ch. 7)	7	12	19
3. Hu-shen (ch. 9)	10	7	17
4. Ts'ai-shen (ch. 11)	8	—	8
5. San-kuan (ch. 8)	2	5	7
6. T'u-ti (ch. 14)	2	2	4
7. Huo-shen (ch. 13)	1	2	3
8. Shan-shen (ch. 19)	1	1	2
9. Feng-shen (see below)	1	1	2
10. Ch'ung-wang (ch. 20)	1	1	2
11. Yü-shih (see below)	1	—	1
12. Ts'ang-kuan (ch. 23)	1	—	1
13. Ku-shen (ch. 23)	1	—	1
14. Shu-shen (ch. 23)	—	1	1
15. Wen-ch'ang (ch. 16)	—	1	1
16. Lao-chün (ch. 24)	1	—	1

There are 16 possible gods in a lateral position (against 12 in Wanch'üan) out of a total of 49 cults present in the region. The first five actually account for 90 cases out of 109, viz. 82%. There were five too in such a predominant position in our former survey, and these five were Ma-wang, Hu-shen, Ho-

shen, Ts'ai-shen and Ch'ung-wang. The last is replaced here by San-kuan, and Ho-shen is definitely more often found in Hsüan-hua.

For practical purposes, only the Ma-wang images are found often enough to allow for a geographical study. This map belongs to chapter 4. The other lateral images will be discussed in the chapters indicated above. However one of these lateral images is that of Yü-shih, Master of the Rain, whose cult belongs obviously in the present chapter. Here are a few details on this cult.

Yü-shih was not even mentioned in our survey of Wanch'üan; in the present area he is only present as an accessory cult. In one case, Dv 171a, we found a wooden tablet inscribed in his name and standing on the altar in front of the Lung-wang god. The inscription says: Ch'ih-feng Lung-tung-shan Hu-kuo Yü-shih chih shen-wei 敕封龍洞山護國雨師之神位 "Residence of the spirit of the Master of the Rain who by Imperial Rescript is declared Protector of the Realm, inhabiting the Mountain of the Dragon Grotto." It does not seem necessary to check whether such a title was ever given by some Emperor, as this tablet appears next to two others with similar inscriptions and which are dedicated to a god which is of recent and local origin (ch. 15).

When the Yü-shih has an image, this seems to appear in some connection with the Hu-shen (ch. 9) although it is not clear why. At Dv 171, Yü-shih is the western image (a statue, but with the fresco of Ma-wang behind it on the wall), while Hu-shen is the pendant on the east side. In two further localities the set up has a somewhat peculiar character. Instead of a single statue occupying the lateral niche near Lung-wang, we find Hu-shen again, surrounded in his turn by Yü-shih on its western side, and Feng-shen 風神 the Wind God on his eastern side. This whole group is put on the western side of Lung-wang at Cz 316, but on its eastern side at Dv 122a. We could not take any photographs in these temples; but a photograph of another Hu-shen image (see fig. 36) at Dv 176a, shows him surrounded by two similar statues; in this case however nobody could identify the statues for us, but we may safely say they are Yü-shih and Feng-shen, because of their similarity. To complete the record, here is finally the small Hu-shen temple at Dv 96, whose painted images show Hu-shen with the two same assistants. One must note that in all latter cases, Yü-shih is not object of a cult in his role of attendant.

Yü-shih and Feng-po 風伯 are quoted together in classical literature (see the passages, page 343 of the work quoted note 27). One may wonder finding such a fidelity to classical canons in rural temples. However, as a compensation, the liberties taken by the popular religion with all traditional cults is reflected by the fact that the two classical deities are grouped around Hu-shen, definitely a local rain god.

c) The lateral walls of the Lung-wang temples

The theme of the frescoes on both lateral walls of the Lung-wang temples is mostly the one we called "The Pursuit of the Evil Ones." 61 Lung-wang temples have this kind of frescoes, or four fifth of the total. In section a) above, the only two exceptions were given. The remainder of the total is accounted for by ruined temples, or by temples too small to have any frescoes.

A short description of this type of frescoes as found in the Lung-wang temple follows. They are as a rule much more elaborate than the one found in Wu-tao temples. They seem to have set a pattern followed with slight adaptations in other temples as well. We will draw upon the latter in our description.

The Mother of the Water is seated under the archway of her palace, above which is written the name Shui-ching-kung 水晶宮 "Crystal Palace" (fig. 15). She has some female attendants at her side and greets the leaving expedition (eastern wall) or welcomes it back (western wall). The members of the procession are very numerous. Noticeable by their larger size, are the Dragon Kings who lead the procession. There is a striking difference between the two walls; the Dragon Kings mostly ride on a dragon when starting out; fig. 16 shows two white-faced Kings and fig. 17 one white-faced and one black-faced King seated on such a dragon. On a similar fresco, another god, San-lang, leaves his palace sitting on a dragon (fig. 46). However when the expedition comes back, they ride on horses. Fig. 15 shows four such kings, their dignity indicated by a small umbrella held above their head by a genius. A flag-like sunshade is similarly hoisted above the head of the three gods in fig. 46-47.

Small-sized attendants represent the weather spirits. They are mostly on the top part of the fresco; a thunder devil revolves a wheel with drums (fig. 17, top right, fig. 47 id.). A bearded man brandishes a carpenter's square (fig. 18 and fig. 47 top corner) probably a symbol of lightning. A young boy projects a rainbow from an amphora (fig. 46 and fig. 15).

The middle part of the picture is occupied by the four spirits of time: *shih* 時 hour, *jih* 日 day, *yüeh* 月 moon and *nien* 年 year spirits. On fig. 16-17 their title is clearly inscribed on the white boards in their hand: *shih chih kung ts'ao* 時直功曹 meritorious official in care of the hours, etc. These are present on fig. 15 too, although their boards have no title here.¹⁹⁾

19) Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, p. 109 translates *shih* 時 by seasons, which is possible. However in the same work p. 369, he enumerates them in their order, and we find *shih* 時 coming at the end, after "year, month, day". The same order is given in the popular novel *Feng-shen yen-i* 封神演義, Kuang-i 光益 popular edition, undated, vol. 4, p. 127. In this 99th chapter of the novel, the canonization of the heroes is told; we see Yin Chiaò (see below page 92) appointed god of the year with 10 assistants; the last four are the gods of year, month, day and hour; their names are given as follows: Li Ping 李丙, Huang Ch'eng-i 黃承乙, Chou

Lower still we see, on the fringe of the cloud carpet, some water spirits in various shapes. A youth pouring water out of flasks is seen on fig. 15 (left bottom corner, near a fish) and fig. 46 (bottom right) alike. Two of them astride a fish and holding flasks are depicted on fig. 17 (bottom left). Another recurrent motive is the toad (fig. 15 center bottom and fig. 16 bottom right). This seem to be replaced on fig. 47 (bottom left) by a fairy peering out of an oyster.

In the foreground of the Crystal Palace, two small figures are standing apart of the others, wishing godspeed to the expedition or making the ceremonial salute with both hands to welcome it back. (fig. 14 and 15). They are the Wu-tao and the Earth gods. At their side stands the tiger and the wolf, which we found in the Wu-tao temples as companions of the two gods. Music is played (fig. 14 and 15) or fireworks are set off (fig. 14) in front of the Palace.

In the upper right hand corner of the western wall, a huge hand is thrust out of the clouds, to which a small figure on horseback presents a yellow scroll. This is the *yü-piao* 雨表 Report to Heaven on the Rain (fig. 15, top center, fig. 44, top left.)

On these frescoes many other figures are depicted but not all could be interpreted. This description however does not convey the real impression of beauty produced by the skillful composition, amid a riot of colors, which characterizes these village frescoes. An inferior type of workmanship as in the fresco shown on fig. 14 is seldom met with.

The above description applies generally to all the frescoes of this area (and to the Wanch'üan area as well). There are however several differences to note, from one part of the territory to the other. The aim of the expedition of the heavenly spirits is diversely understood by the painters of the frescoes. In some cases the spirits are shown engaged in the pursuit of evil spirits (fig. 17 lower right hand corner), hence the name given by the people to the frescoes. But in other cases, no evil spirits are shown, and the procession is mainly occupied by producing rain for the peasants (fig. 47); the latter are shown on the lower part of the panel, either caught by the rain (eastern wall, fig. 17, and fig. 46-47) or rejoicing after the heavenly rainfall (western wall, fig. 45, fig. 15). This conception corresponds of course much better with the fact of the rain report being handed out to Heaven at the end of the procession. The fact even of returning on horseback, suggests that the Dragon Kings

Teng 周登 and Liu Hung 劉洪, in the same order. The text uses the character 值 instead of 直; the first is clearer but not used in temple frescoes. The novel adds to their name the mention: slain at Wan-sien-chen 萬仙陣; this battle is told in ch. 83 and 84, see vol. 4 pp. 42-43. The novel *Feng-shen yen-i* has played an important role in crystallizing belief and iconographical features, as was observed already by Grube, *Die Metamorphosen der Götter*, Band I, Introduction, p. VI-VII, Leiden, 1912.

left their dragons behind them, to take care of the rainfall (which is their special duty); this even suggests a distinction made between the god, detainer of the power, and the dragon, instrument of that power; but this may be far from the dogma-free mind of the Chinese peasant.

The photographs reproduced here show two other important differences. Whereas in some villages, the Mother of the Water stays in her palace during the procession (fig. 14 and fig. 15), we see her on fig. 16 in a carriage, drawn by a dragon and sitting under a canopy, taking part in the expedition. We have noted carefully the localities where this difference occurs; the area so covered corresponds in a general way with the area of the Mountain God as the main image in the Wu-tao temple (see ch. 1) and with other areas too: see map 6. That this geographical distribution is not due to chance, is strikingly shown by the case of the Lung-wang temple at Dv 84. This village is on the boundary between the two areas: the one with the Mother of the Water staying in her Palace, and the other showing her participating in the procession. At Dv 84 now we have the unique case of the eastern wall fresco following the first pattern, and the western wall of the very same temple having the other type of frescoes. A real border-case, which suggests that the local painter must have been advised in two different directions by the villagers; he concluded the discussion by a compromise.

There is another feature on which the fancy of the painter exerted itself more freely. The two small individuals who are greeting the expedition are the three gods of the Wu-tao temples; but on each fresco only two of them are painted, either the Wu-tao with T'u-ti, or T'u-ti with Shan-shen, or Shan-shen with Wu-tao; not only are all these combinations represented, but the two walls of the same temple have not always the same pair. Our fig. 14 shows the fresco at Cz 355 with Wu-tao and T'u-ti standing on the right side of the Mother of the Water. The presence of these gods stresses the punitive or judiciary character of the expedition; they are always shown in their own temple as pursuing the evil, and they function in the villages as general supervisors of the people's actions. This fact was brought further into focus by the presence in one case of the Ch'eng-huang (ch. 34) in the company of T'u-ti on the frescoes of the Lung-wang temple at Dv 121. This god is firstly a judge over the souls of the departed.

The same fig. 14 shows another departure from the normal pattern found on those frescoes. One more god is welcoming the expedition; he is figured by a man with a dragon head. This occurs only twice, in neighboring villages: Cz 355 and Cz 355d (compare above the main statue of a Dragon King with a Dragon head at Dv 163a, p. 30).

There is finally a personage whose importance must be stressed. If we ask ourselves to whom the "Rain Report" is destined, we see it must be a god higher placed than the Dragon Kings themselves. In the general

description above, we found how a huge hand comes out of the clouds to receive the report. This representation is by no means the most frequently seen in this area. In fact more often than not, a moon-gate is painted in the upper corner of the western wall; this gate is called *nan-t'ien-men* 南天門 which could mean as well "Gate of the Southern Heaven" as "Southern Gate of Heaven"; the latter is more probable. We found a couple of times this name inscribed on the gate, as f. i. at Dv 95. In some cases, all in the Liu-ho plain (Dv 87, 95, 98, 122b, 125b, 125d), the hand of the unknown god is thrust through the half open gate, instead of through the clouds. But in most cases, a young being stands in front of the gate (fig. 44, top left), clothed in a checkered dress, with white and black squares; this dress is called *pa-kua-i* 八卦衣 "the dress with the eight hexagrams." This youth standing in the southern gate of Heaven sometimes sends out a rainbow from his hands. As a corresponding feature on the opposite wall, in these cases where the Mother of the Water joins the expedition, no Palace of Crystal is shown. Its place is taken by a youthful person (the same as in the *Nan-t'ien-men*?) from whose hand pour forth the clouds on which the expedition rides out. This is clearly shown on fig. 16.

If we are to believe the quotations found in the *P'ei-wen yün-fu*, *nan-t'ien* in classical language means only the southern heaven, whose influence grows in summer when the Northern Dipper moves farther from the earth and the sun moves nearer (according to the *Chin-shu* 晉書, c. 11, 2b, 1739 edition). However Taoism has another usage for that expression as appears from the presence of a site called *Nan-t'ien-men* both on top of the T'ai-shan 泰山 and of the Heng-shan 恒山²⁰). It seems to indicate the spot nearest to Heaven; it corresponds to a *hsi-t'ien-men*²¹) 西天門 and a *tung-t'ien-men* 東天門²²); it must therefore be translated "southern gate of Heaven."

The supreme god who lives behind this door is shown twice on the frescoes of the Lung-wang temples, at Dv 122b and Dv 125d; his head only peeps through the *nan-t'ien-men*. He wears a round cap with semispheric ornaments jutting out above the ears; he has a small round beard in the center of the chin and drooping moustache. No such god was noted elsewhere in our survey.

A full iconographic study on this theme would necessitate a large amount of factual material on temples of various periods. Without trying to trace back the origin of this kind of frescoes, I may perhaps adduce here for comparison a few earlier types of frescoes to indicate in which direction a historical

20) Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, p. 45 "porte par laquelle on accède au plateau du sommet du T'ai-chan". Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 and Sekino Tei 關野貞, *Shina Bunka Shiseki* 支那文化史蹟, Tôkyô, 1939, III, 82.

21) Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, *ibid.*

22) Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, p. 60.

inquiry should be conducted.

Of course "the idea of the representations of Buddhist Heavens or Mandalas in which a Buddha is the central figure of an imposing array of heavenly personages and attendants... originated in India, but their use in China goes back to the early years of Chinese Buddhism, and from the beginning they seem to have lost much of their Indian character and to have taken on a Chinese quality"²³). They were also represented in processions. Chronologically a Tun-huang fresco (before the 10th century) is the first to show a "procession of devas" *hsing-tao T'ien-wang t'u* 行道天王圖 which presents a good likeness with our Lung-wang frescoes.²⁴ We find in the book of White just quoted, the description of two large frescoes of Taoist inspiration, in which the same processional treatment is applied. These frescoes are from the 13th century.

The most striking likeness with our frescoes however was found in some paintings of the Sung dynasty (960-1280) of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. Their title is given as Chinese Taoist Pantheon, deities of Heaven, Earth and Water. They are of course the gods called San-kuan in our survey (ch. 8). The God of Heaven is shown squatting on a throne, surrounded by a heavenly retinue; he floats on a carpet of clouds. The God of Earth, sitting on a horse, led and followed by attendants, rides through a rocky landscape; it is interesting to note that in the lower corner two evil creatures are brought along chained like in the Pursuit of the Evil Ones.

The painting of the God of the Water is the direct ancestor of our Lung-wang frescoes (see fig. 72). The god, riding on a dragon on top of clouds beneath which some roofs are visible, is accompanied by attendants among whom we find many familiar personages: the pursuing devil in the lower part, the two genii sitting on a turtle (corresponding to our genii riding on fishes), the thunder god in the top left corner, with his wheel of drums; even the flag held behind the head of the god is a replica of that found in our fig. 47.

It seems therefore that Taoist processions (first modeled after Buddhist corteges) have early represented water spirits with the symbols and the personages we find now in the frescoes of rural Chahar.

d) Lung-wang cult and *shé*

The Lung-wang temple is visited by the people mostly to obtain rain in time of drought. Theatrical performances or "rain plays" are often held in honor of the Dragon King, at which occasion the other gods of the villages are "invited" by a delegation of villagers going from one temple

23) William C. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, Toronto, 1940, p. 80.

24) Matsumoto Eiichi 松本栄一, *Tonkô-ga no kenkyû* 燉煌畫の研究 Tôkyô, 1937, fig. 123 b from the British Museum.

to the other, some minutes before the play starts in front of the Lung-wang temple, so as to make sure that all the gods are present. See our Introduction, n. 4, about the theaters, mostly found in the Lung-wang temples.

These theatrical plays may of course occur on any day when the local people feel the need of rain more urgently. But besides such extraordinary performances, the Lung-wang temple, as many other temples, have their *miao-hui* 廟會 or Temple Day, on which plays are regularly held, with a concourse of people from all neighboring villages. The expression *miao-hui* means often Temple Fair as well, giving an idea of the secular festivities connected with the religious feast.

The date set for the Temple Day is not everywhere the same. Here a few examples taken from villages, representative of the different sections of the Hsüan-hua area:

- 6th moon, 6th day: Cz 315a
- 6th moon, 13th day: Dv 126a, Dv 171
- 6th moon, 18th day: Dv 122b
- 7th moon, 1st day: Dv 83, 84, 85
- 7th moon, 25th day: Dv 171a

These dates are all according to the moon calendar, the only one in use in rural China. According to that calendar, New Year may fall as early as January 22nd (as f. i. in 1947) or as late as February 20th (as in 1920). In the case of an early New Year, an intercalary moon is added during the course of the year, so that the above dates for the Temple Day are falling all in the period of greatest heat, no matter what year, when a lack of rain may become a severe threat for the crops. As an illustration, we give here these dates according to the solar calendar for the above listed Temple Days, in the same order. The first date refers to the dates for 1947, the second for 1920, the third for 1946, a year with a relatively early New Year, but without an intercalary moon.

- 6/6: July 23d; July 21st; July 4th.
- 6/13: July 30th; July 28th; July 11th.
- 6/18: August 4th; August 2d; July 16th.
- 7/1: August 16th; August 14th; July 28th.
- 7/25: September 9th; September 7th; August 21st.

One must note that the beginning of October is the normal time for the crops to be all in. One village only has its Temple Day according to the agricultural calendar, which is solar; at Dv 133, the feast is held on the three days following *li-ch'iu* 立秋 "Begin of Fall" which day is on August 8 or 9 (the first date on bissextile years).

The feast of the Lung-wang does not only bring theatrical plays, with accompanying popular entertainments. A purely religious ceremony is

held between 10 and 12 p.m. of the preceding evening. The ceremony, called *ling-sheng* 領牲 "acceptation of cattle" consists primarily in the offering of a sheep to the god. The sheep is lead in the courtyard in front of the temple and washed with water, as a purification. There must be a sign that the god accepts (*ling*) the offering. Therefore it is the custom to pour water from a tea-kettle not only on the body of the sheep, but specially into its ear, while saying loudly: "*Lao-yeh, ling-la ma?* 老爺領了嗎 Venerable, is it accepted?" The sheep of course shakes its head, which is the expected sign and which is greeted with the shout: "*Ling-la* 領了 it is accepted." The sheep is often slaughtered to be eaten next day, after presentation of morsels of meat before the god on the morning of Temple Day. In one village at least, Dv 85, our attention was specially called upon the fact that the sheep was kept alive and called "*p'ao sheng* 跑牲 running cattle," which means something like "alive and kicking." There is nevertheless a common festive meal on the following day; anybody who wishes may attend, the cost of the meal being exacted from all participants, not on an equal rate, but proportionally to the size of the fields they own. When we passed there, the feast had been held a few days earlier, with an attendance of forty at the meal (number of inhabitants: 450).

The locality Cz 315a which is an important market place has a second Temple Day, on the 7th day of the 7th moon, besides the day listed above. The local Lung-wang however is not very popular, but a special delegation goes to the Sanctuary of the White Dragon at Cz 314a to invite the god, whereupon the feast in the village is held in his honor. This White Dragon cult will be described in chapter 2b.

The Lung-wang temple in the Hsüan-hua area is the center of another semi-religious activity, which is of greater importance than the temple feasts. It is the center of a benevolent society, called *Lung-wang lao-shê* 龍王老社 "The Venerable Association of the Dragon King." The nature and the workings of this society are not always welcome subjects of conversation, specially with complete strangers as we were. There are good reasons to suppose that such a society exists in all important villages; we have however evidence of its presence only in the following localities: Cz 307, Cz 307a, Cz 315a, Dv 84, Dv 98, Dv 122, Dv 122b, Dv 125b, Dv 130, Dv 163a, Dv 167. An indirect indication of its existence in some other villages was given by a wooden board hanging in the abandoned sanctuary at Dv 95a. A list is given of *shê-shou* 社首 "heads of the association" who signed a subscription list for the restoration of the temple; the following villages are represented: Dv 85, Dv 85a, Dv 87, Dv 89, Dv 95, Dv 96, Dv 97, Dv 122a and three more villages, not on our map, but situated east of Dv 96. This makes a total of 19 villages in our area for which we have evidence for the existence of a *shê*.

By putting together the fragmentary information we could obtain on this society, a somewhat coherent image emerges, although there is no guarantee that every single detail will be verified in all villages. The attributions of the association are rather broad: it takes care of everything pertaining to village government, waterways and irrigation, crops, charity works, legal suits, schools, temple feasts and temple revenue accruing from foundations. The heads of the association were said in one place (Cz 307) to be four: *ts'un-chang* 村長 village mayor, *ts'un-tso* 村佐 village secretary, *shê-shou* 社首 head of the association and *hsiang-yüeh* 鄉約 village headman. They were six in another (Cz 315a); in the latter case however it was explained that two were chosen from these six men. These two manage practically everything and are called: *hsiang-yüeh* 鄉約 village headman and *pu-chang* 堡長 treasurer (*pu*: local pronunciation). These heads of the association were chosen by election accessible to everybody and held yearly on the 2nd day of the 2nd moon.

We suspect that the latter set-up is more general. It is in fact striking that the official mayor, appointed by authority (normally by the head of the county or prefect *hsien-chang* 縣長), is not even mentioned in the association board as described at Cz 315a. We were lucky to find in one place (at Dv 130) the Lung-wang temple completely deserted; we had a look at the numerous registers held by the local Lung-wang association for decades. The list of expenses for several years showed conclusively that no important thing was done in the village except through this association. For the gathering of funds, the contributions of the official mayor were listed among those of other villagers and were, if anything, less important than those of the real masters of the village, the members of the board of the *Lung-wang shê*.

It is particularly for the ever recurring problem of rationing the water from the irrigation canals, that a strong authority is needed. The Lung-wang association appoints *shê-t'ou* 社頭 "bosses of the society", one for every canal used by the village. This function is given to one man chosen yearly among the four main owners of the fields using that particular canal. Considering the role of the *Lung-wang shê* in the management of the irrigation canals, it is but natural to find in the Lung-wang temple the official documents pertaining to an irrigation scheme extending over several villages. When canals are dug with the common labor of several localities, the distribution of the water is determined in full details on a stone slab, put up in the temple of the Dragon King, where the association has its headquarters. We have found such a stone at Cz 309, dated 1925, commemorating the agreement signed in 1757 between 21 villages belonging to the counties of Hsüan-hua, Huai-an 懷安 and Wan-ch'üan. A similar stone was erected in 1777 at Dv 176a by which the final ratification was recorded of the distribution of the water from a canal draining swamps along the mountains east of the village.

For the casual observer, few exterior signs exist of the all pervading influence of the Lung-wang shê. In a few cases, it has apposed its signature on the stone or on the bell commemorating the restoration of a temple (see above). There is however one emblem that is hardly ever absent in any Lung-wang temple: one will find there paper lanterns (see fig. 12) with the painted inscription: Lung-wang shê, hanging from the rafts of the temple roof. These lanterns are carried in rain processions²⁵).

In the above chapter we have seen the Lung-wang temple functioning as a clearing-house for many other cults; and as a center of village administration. The cult itself of the Lung-wang combines features of a god granting rain and punishing evil, as is made clear from the lateral frescoes. Two further details emphasize these separate characteristics. In two Lung-wang temples, at Dv 89 and Dv 139, the beams of the temple are supporting the frightening representations of huge coiled dragons, which tear to pieces the bodies of evil doers. In another Lung-wang temple, at Dv 125d, a book is shown in the hands of one of the personages of the western fresco: the following words are printed on the book:

Lung-wang wen Shui-mu 龍王問水母
Hsia-yü to tai yüan 下雨多帶冤
Yü hsia san-ch'ien li 雨下三千里
Feng shui wan-wan nien 風水萬萬年 (dated 1896)

“The Dragon King asks the Mother of the Water: “When it rains, many injustices accompany it. May the rain fall on 3,000 li, may wind and water last for ever.”

At Dv 122b, probably by the same painter, a similar text on the fresco says:

Lung-wang wen p'an-kuan 龍王問判官
Hsia-yü to lai yüan 下雨多來冤
Chou tai i-ch'ien li 軸帶一千里
Feng-shou wan-wan nien 豐改萬萬年

and lower the wish found in all Lung-wang temples: *Feng t'iao, yü shun* 風調雨順 “May the winds be tempered and the rain favorable” The longer texts means: “The Dragon King asks the Judge: “When it rains many injustices accompany it,” May your carriage cover 1000 li, may there be abundant crops for ever.”

CHAPTER 2a

The Hei-lung-wang 黑龍王 Temples: 3 cult units

25) The history of the Liao 遼 contains the words: “The emperor ordered that (they) report the number of their village altars” (c. 10, 8b). To this text, Wittfogel, *History of Chinese Society, Liao*, Philadelphia, 1949, p. 371 and n. 26, adds: the expression used *li shê* 里社; implied in the term is the village practice of using a temple or public building for religious purposes and also for the assignment of government services.

The temples called Hei-lung-wang, Black Dragon Temple, constituted in the Wanch'üan area an archaic cult, even disappearing in some places. Hsüan-hua county has only kept the merest trace of this cult.

There is of course the possibility that one of the Dragon Kings shown on both sides of the Mother of the Water in the Lung-wang temple may be the Hei-lung-wang, as it is customary to figure at least one of these Kings with a black face. This explains probably the Hei-lung-wang noted in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 89. This statue occupies a separate sedan-chair along the western wall of the temple, a similar chair facing it, with an image of the Ma-wang. This was the only case of a god in a sedan chair that could be identified by the local people.

We found two independent temples of the Black Dragon, both of them caught in the very act of disappearing from the map. At Cz 311b, a bell dated 1734 carries the name "Temple of the Black Dragon," and a stone slab of 1781 tells about the restoration of the temple. However when we passed there, the temple was being rebuilt and generally redecorated; one part was destined to become the mayor's office, the rest to be a Ch'ung-wang temple (see ch. 20). The cult of the Black Dragon as such is in a still more advanced state of decay at Cz 315a.

This village, an important market, has a great number of temples, which sometimes reflect only the fancy of a local literate, instead of the religious sense of the common people (see ch. 11 and 23). Even so, the waning cult of the Black Dragon has found no defensor. It is now relegated to a tumble-down annex built against the east wall of the Kuan-ti temple in the southeastern part of the village. It was moved to this place from its original location, outside the eastern gate; this must have happened quite a long time ago, as no traces of buildings remain there. The Chen-wu temple in the northern part of the village has a bell dated 1609 which says: "Made for the Black Dragon Temple outside the eastern gate of Ning-yüan-chan."

A local teacher speaking about the Hu-shen temple of that village, told us he had heard about the Black Dragon statue being moved to the White Dragon sanctuary (Cz 314a, see next chapter) and its temple being changed into a Hu-shen temple. This seems to be a distorted echo of the tradition about the temple outside the eastern gate. That is no proof that there were two Black Dragon temples in that locality, but rather that the existence of this cult and the traditions about it, become more and more vague. The disappearance of this cult is almost complete. From our survey of Wanch'üan, we know that it is attested in that area earlier than the 11th century.

CHAPTER 2b

The Pai-lung-wang 白龍王 White Dragon cult: 1 unit

The Pa-lung-wang 八龍王 Eight Dragon cult: 6 units

Two seemingly different cults are grouped in this chapter. We will first describe them separately, and give then the geographical and linguistic reasons which warrant the hypothesis that they were originally the same cult.

A. The White Dragon cult

A flourishing cult to this god of the rain has its headquarters in a mountain sanctuary, called White Dragon Grotto, Pai-lung-tung 白龍洞, Cz 314a. There are two temple feasts yearly at the grotto, one on the 8th of the 4th moon, the other on the 13th of the 6th moon. We arranged our visit to fall on the latter date, which was July 19th in 1948. The feast is organized to implore rain for the crops, and in fact our whole trip was made under heavy rains, with low clouds floating practically on top of the temple (fig. 20). Our fig. 19 gives a view of almost all the buildings, except for a small Wu-tao temple from where we took the photograph, and except for a sanctuary of T'an-kung (see ch. 36) which lies further west (left). Counting from the upper left corner, there is a T'ai-shan or Nai-nai temple, then a smaller building, divided into a Shui-mu-kung 水母宮 Palace of the Mother of the Waters, and a Kuan-yin temple; lower, the two first roofs visible on the left, are those of the main sanctuary Pai-lung-wang temple; further right the terrace with some pilgrims is in front of the living quarters of the two or three Taoist monks residing in the sanctuary; we found there also a side building for the San-ch'ing 三清, the Taoist Triad (ch. 24). At the extreme right the top is showing the roof of a San-kuan temple. All these sanctuaries do not differ from those found elsewhere for the same cults. One will have noticed that not all of them correspond to cults related to orthodox Taoism (Kuan-yin for instance); the popularity of the cults is the main criterion for the choice made here.

The grotto itself, against which is built the main temple, is only a small hole in the mountain rock; it opens in the northern wall of the main building. Two men could hardly enter it at the same time. A small pool is formed by the dripping from the ceiling; cool in summer time, this pool never freezes in winter. Lower down, halfway the slope, a platform with roof is standing in a clearing and is used for theatrical performances. Nearby is the burying place of the Taoist monks (see fig. 20, taken from this platform).

Why the building to T'an-kung and why the sanctuary? An interesting account of the local legends was given by an old gentleman in Cz 315a, one of the few we ever met who understood the purpose of our survey (all the others took us for army spies); from attachment to the old customs, he had made them his hobby. That he was well placed to know the local cult, is a consequence of the fact that the village Cz 315a holds its own Rain Feast at the sanctuary of Cz 314a of which furthermore this village is a trustee, as we will explain.

According to this legend, in Ming time, there appeared once a white horse which roamed the country side and lived from the crops of the neighboring villages. T'an, who was governor of Hsüan-hua (see ch. 36), heard about the plague, and set on the pursuit of the horse. He almost caught it near the grotto; when he got hold of its tail, the horse changed in a dragon, and disappeared. All the people whose crops had been eaten, had a rich harvest, with twin ears on each stalk. A temple was erected near the grotto, with a statue of a small white horse near the entrance (by the way no such statue is found now).

We may interrupt here our informant to note the epigraphy of the Pai-lung-wang grotto; it is not very rich. There is a bell cast in 1668, a stone slab, almost undecipherable, but erected after the bell which it quotes, and finally a second stone dated Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶, unknown year (between 1796 and 1821) which states that the temple was built in 1619 (*sic*) by T'an-kung who saw a white horse on this spot while hunting. By the way, T'an-kung, full name T'an Kuang, lived 1363-1444.

To obtain rain in cases of severe drought, the practice is as follows: a few children, with bare feet and with hats made of woven willow twigs, must keep an uninterrupted vigil, kneeling in front of the grotto during three days and three nights; there must always be at least one child stationed there at any moment during that period. After which a flacon is put into the grotto during one hour. The amount of water gathered into the flacon shows how much rain may be expected. So far the local spokesman.

The organization of the yearly feasts at the White Dragon Grotto is important to understand the role its plays in that part of Hsüan-hua county. The whole financial responsibility for these feasts rests upon eighteen villages, which are divided into three shifts, called *pu* 部 sections.

The eastern section comprises: the villages marked A to F on map 2: Dv 83, 83a, 84, 85 and two villages outside of our explored territory: Hsia-chia-ying (E) 夏家營 and Yang-fang-pu (F) 陽房堡.

The western section comprises: the villages marked 1 to 6: Cz 279a, 278a, 314, 315a, 316 and one village outside of our area: Wang-chia-chai (Cz 280, 4) 王家寨.

The southern section comprises the villages marked I to VI: Dv 97, 89, 121; Cz 319, 319a, 320.

For the main temple feast, on the 13th day of the 6th moon, each section is in charge every third year: 1948 was the year of the eastern section; 1949 that of the western section; 1950 that of the southern section. The secondary feast, 8th of the 4th moon, is organized by the first four villages of the two western and eastern sections only, serving on alternate years. The southern group does not intervene in this secondary feast. In the celebrations of both feasts, the section in charge must carry all the expenses, but the others are

free to add their contributions.

Only the iconography of the main building and of the Palace of the Mother of the Water must be described in this chapter. The main sanctuary has another building with the grotto (see above), a western and an eastern lateral building, both consecrated to Ch'ing-miao 青苗, the gods of the green shoots, viz. of the new crops. In each case, we found there three statues of literati, between which a tablet of Chen-wu and one of T'an-kung were placed. The Ch'ing-miao cult is described in ch. 23.

The small sanctuary of the Mother of the Water higher up on the slope shows her statue in the classic shape found in Lung-wang temples. She stands alone on the altar, while six Dragon Kings are painted on the side walls; each Dragon has its name written near the image; they are, on the west wall: Hung Lung-wang 紅龍王 Red Dragon King, Pai 白 . . . White, Yün 雲 . . . Clouds', and on the eastern wall: Ch'ing 青 . . . Blue, Huang 黃 . . . Yellow, and Hei 黑 . . . Black.

B. The Eight Dragon cult

In our survey of Wanch'üan we found a few Lung-wang temples with a name indicating the number of Dragon Kings, as: Ch'i Lung-wang miao 七龍王廟 "Seven Dragon Kings' Temple" (once), Pa Lung-wang miao 八龍王廟 "Eight Dragon Kings' Temple" (three times) and Chiu Lung-wang miao 九龍王廟 "Nine Dragon Kings' Temple" (once); see p. 226 of the paper quoted note 5.

Therefore we may attribute to the same usage the two names: Pa Lung-wang temple found in the Hsüan-hua region, specially as they were only found on monuments, whereas the temple itself was each time completely identical with the normal type of Lung-wang temples. One such quotation occurs on a bell of 1617 at Dv 96, hanging now in the Kuan-ti temple of that locality, the other is found on a wooden tablet (no date) hanging in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 173a.²⁶⁾

There is however a quite different Eight Dragon cult in this territory, for which no such self-evident explanation can be given. Only six such temples exist, all localized in a well defined area: Cz 315b, Dv 84, 85, 85a, 87 and 89 (see map 2). These sanctuaries are distinguished by the following features:

- they are all small sized niches, on a raised platform;
- they are a small distance outside the village, four times north of it, twice south;
- they have all a small statue, mostly carved in a monolith, representing

26) We find the expression *pa-lung-wang* 八龍王 explained by de Visser (*The Dragon in China and Japan*, Amsterdam, 1913, p. 4) "Great Naga Kings said to have been among Buddha's audience while he delivered the instructions contained in the Saddharmapundarika-Sûtra, *Miao-fa Lien-hua ching* 妙法蓮華經." However the import of the material gathered in Visser's book is difficult to gauge; it contains too little about too many subjects.

a bearded white faced man;

—the name Pa-lung-wang is well known by the local people for that temple, (which is not the case for the two quoted names listed above). Because of their small size, no other images and no monuments are found in these temples; in one case a paper inscription (Dv 84) testifies somewhat on the nature of the cult:

Pa-lung tsai wei ch'ang-ch'ang sheng 八龍在位長長勝
Hu-kuo ho-shen pao p'ing-an 護國河神保平安

“Pa-lung in his seat always wins; the river god, protector of the realm (see for similar titles p. 32 and 84), keeps us in peace.”

The problem before us now is to determine whether the presence of this cult in an area which coincides almost exactly with that of the eighteen trustee-villages of the Pai-lung-tung is due to a coincidence. The geographical connection seems to be conclusive against such a chance occurring. The only serious difficulty against this identification is the difference in the names. There seems however to be a ready explanation for this difference.

The Hsüan-hua area (as most of Southern Chahar and areas further west) has preserved in its living dialects the tone called *ju-sheng* 入聲 by Chinese philologists, and which has disappeared from the Peking dialect (probably from the 12th century on) by a redistribution of the *ju-sheng* words over the other tone categories. In the explored area however, the *ju-sheng* tone is very much alive, although not always in all of the words listed in that category according to ancient dictionaries.

The names used in connection with the cults discussed here precisely fall into such a group: white (dragon) is *pei* in Hsüan-hua (not *pai* as in Peking) and eight is *pa* (with a short vowel, followed by glottal catch in unconnected speech). It must be noted that *pei* “white” was anciently a *ju-sheng* word, in which case it ought to have the pronunciation *pa*, homonymous with *pa* “eight.” This ancient pronunciation has not completely disappeared however; it still exists in a combination as [mj̥ pa] “to understand” (Peking: [mj̥paj]) in which the linguistic conscience of the speakers in modern times does not recognize readily the word used as *pei* “white.”

Our conclusion would be therefore that both the White Dragon cult and the Eight Dragon cult were one and the same cult, viz. that of the White Dragon, at a time when in both names “white” was still pronounced with a *ju-sheng* tone, making it homonymous with “eight.” When the dialect started to lose the *ju-sheng* pronunciation for that particular word (no evidence is available to date that change), the Dragon Grotto had a name often used in written form and which must therefore remain linked with the living word “white.” Its pronunciation followed suit and became “*pei*.” The small sanctuaries in the villages kept the original form, a fact which is commonly happening in all countries where toponyms (names of places, of sites, etc.)

are involved. The archaic form “*pa*”, meaning originally “white” was of course kept alive as it could and was reinterpreted by popular etymology as being “*pa*” = eight.

The known history of the local dialects and the geographical dispersion of both cults seems to warrant the conclusion that we have here but one cult, that of the White Dragon, and that the villages which were specially interested in the cult of the Dragon Grotto (being its trustees) liked to have a small sanctuary at a walking distance of their home. If we are to believe the tradition about the erection of this temple, the change of that *ju-sheng* word must have occurred between 1400 and now.

CHAPTER 2c

The God of the Wells 井泉龍王 **Ching-ch'üan Lung-wang** and **Chin Lung** 金龍 : 8 units

There are two more cults in the Hsüan hua area which are connected in some manner with the Dragon cults. Of one of them, little can be said: in the Lung-wang temple at Cz 315a, the western image (in bad state of repairs) was said by a local teacher to be that of Chin-lung Pa-tai-wang 金龍八代王 “Golden Dragon, Eight Dynasties Ruler.” This name seems to be a mistake for Chin-lung Ssu-ta wang 金龍四大王 “The Four Rulers of the Golden Dragon,” four brothers one of which is said to be a river god and who helped the founder of the Ming Dynasty. The *Liao-chai chih-yi* 聊齋誌異 has assured this tale a popular success²⁷⁾. Even if our identification is correct (which is purely based on books, and therefore disputable) the importance of this god here is almost nil.

A popular cult is rendered to the Dragon God under another shape, viz. that of the God of the Wells. We found seven independent sanctuaries of this cult: Cz 315c, 353, 355c, 355d, 279b, Dv 138 and 138b, all of them being small niches, three of them only being actually put up in front of a well. They were then merely a hole in the nearest wall, with the name of the god written on a bit of paper. The other sanctuaries were of a similar shape but were found in the wall of a Wu-tao temple, of a Lung-wang temple and of a T'u-ti temple. In one case only did we find a small male statue, at Cz 353, but without distinct features. One locality has a tablet in the Lung-wang temple (Dv 173a) with the words *Kung-feng Lung-wang sheng-ch'üan fo-p'u-sa* 供奉龍王聖泉佛菩薩 “To honor the Dragon King, Buddha and bodhisattva of the holy source”; this tablet was next to another tablet to the Lung-wang and the Mother of the Water. It is interesting to note how these buddhist titles have become for the people honorific appellations, which can be applied to any god.

27) See the quotation in Huang Fei-mo 黃斐默, *Chi-shuo ch'üan-chen* 集說詮眞, p. 245 1.

In many other localities, the well being situated under an open shed, some kind of a niche seems to have been managed in the middle of its wall, probably for this cult; but as there were no traces of worship at the moment of our passage, no notice was taken of them.

CHAPTER 2d:

The T'ien-ti 天地 Cult and the Ku-hun 孤魂 Cult.

We give here a short description of two cults which are always found in Lung-wang temples. A paper strip pasted horizontally on one of the uprights outside the door of the Lung-wang temple has the words *T'ien-ti shen-wei* 天地神位 or *T'ien-ti miao* 天地廟 Tablet or Temple of Heaven and Earth. As this paper strip is renewed only on New Year's Eve, many may have disappeared when we came through there in the summer. The same cult was noted in our Tatung survey and an official survey made in Manchuria mentions the same usage²⁸).

Another regular feature of the Lung-wang temple is a small shrine for the Abandoned Souls *ku-hun* 孤魂. The normal place for this shrine is in the lowest part of the western wall, which juts out under the eaves, outside of the temple hall. Sometimes a small statue of a green emaciated devil is in the shrine. We will mention a regular temple for this cult in ch. 34, but no trace of the building was left.

CHAPTER 3

The Kuan-yin 觀音 Temples: 60 units

1. Number and distribution

The temples dedicated to the goddess Kuan-yin are all independent buildings, except for a Kuan-yin sanctuary at Cz 315a which is the eastern wing of a Buddha temple (there is another independent Kuan-yin temple in the same locality) and for the western wing of the Lung-wang temple a Dv 173a, where a lone statue of the goddess was found.

There are no ancient nunneries *an* 菴 in the villages of the Hsüan-hua area; such establishments were found elsewhere to have become Kuan-yin temples when monastic life declined. There are several nunneries in the city of Hsüan-hua.

2. Building and name

One large *chien* usually constitutes the Kuan-yin building, with a low wall enclosing the courtyard. This temple has two peculiarities: its orientation and its place in the village. As a rule, it faces the southern gate of the village or the axis of the main south-north street. The two cases listed above

28) *Man-chou-kuo li-su tiao-ch'a hui-pien* 滿州國禮俗調查彙編, 1936, p. 31.

of a Kuan-yin temple in the lateral wing of another temple have of course a southern exposition, like their main temple. Of the remaining Kuan-yin temples, we found two only with a southern orientation (Cz 320a and Dv 122b). All the others look northwards (compare the cult described ch. 12).

Concerning the site of the temple in the village, there seems to be a regional difference. The Liu-ho plain at least in its northern half, and in its offshoot in the direction of Kalgan (Cz 276) has 15 Kuan-yin temples built on towers or on elevated places. We take into account three temples belonging to the Wanch'üan survey, Cz 264, 276 and 278 (see map 1). Nowhere else did we find this fashion of building Kuan-yin temples, except more than 100 miles further towards the southwest, in the Tatung area (northern Shansi) where Kuan-yin is found regularly facing north on top of the Chen-wu tower. In our present survey, the area covered by this type of Kuan-yin temples suggests strongly that it has something to do with the important road skirting the foot of the northern hills and connecting Kalgan with Ch'ang-yü-k'ou, the chief gate to Inner Mongolia for all counties further east (this locality lies approximately at the crossing of the 115°15' longitude with the 40°48' latitude.) We have one witness about the date of such fashion: a stone monument dated 1520 (Dv 89) states that in 1511 the Kuan-yin temple was for the first time erected on top of the gate tower.

The fact that Kuan-yin looks northwards, accounts for the presence of another god in the second half of the building, this one facing south. The temple has two doors in opposite directions. When the two cults are separated by a wooden partition, it is mostly possible to walk around from one temple into the other. But often there is a real brick wall in the middle of the building and two temples are completely independent from each other, each one being of course less deep than a normal temple.

The gods found back to back with Kuan-yin are listed here:

- Kuan-ti (ch. 6): seven cases, Dv 83a, 89, 98, 125a, 164a, 171a, 176a
(the large Kuan-ti temple standing alone in the hills at Cz 320a has a large annex consecrated to Kuan-yin)
- Yü-huang (ch. 17): three cases, Cz 319, 319a, Dv 95a
- Lung-wang (ch. 1): four cases, Cz 353b, 355, Dv 84a, 125d
- Wen-ch'ang (ch. 16): two cases, Cz 279b, 319
- T'u-ti (ch. 14): one case, Dv 124a
- Wu-tao (ch. 1): one case, Dv 127
- Ma-wang (ch. 4): one case, Cz 351a

Total: 19 cases, or a third of the total. By a lucky chance, we found a monument telling us when this pairing off of Kuan-yin with another god happened in a particular case. The stone slab erected in 1781 at Cz 319a in the Yü-huang temple, tells about former restoration of the temple and particularly about the adding of a Kuan-yin sanctuary at the back of Yü-

huang in the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1722), which is rather recent; this is not sufficient evidence to deduce anything concerning all other cases. The above quoted monument of 1520 must be taken into account too, as Kuan-yin has there Kuan-ti at the back of her temple.

The popular name of this temple is Kuan-yin-miao 觀音廟 "Temple of Kuan-yin." We heard P'u-sa miao 菩薩廟 "Temple of the Bodhisattava" at Cz 279. On monuments the name Kuan-yin-miao or Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音堂 "Hall of K." occurs quite frequently. Here are a couple of horizontal inscriptions above gates: *Pao-k'an wo* 保看我 "Watch over us" (Cz 278a), *Kuan-yin ts'u* 觀音祠 "Sanctuary of K.", (Dv 87), *Kuan-yin ssu* 觀音寺 "Monastery of K.", (Cz 279b), *P'u-tu-ssu* 普渡寺 "Monastery of Universal Salvation" (Dv 127d) and *Hsing-lung ssu* 興隆寺 "Monastery of Prosperity" (Cz 320a).

Both in Tatung and in Wanch'üan we found evidence of the confusion between the Kuan-yin temples and the Nai-nai temples. There is no such interchange of temples in the present area, but there seems to have been a mutual influence in the images (see sect. 4).

3. History

There are few stone monuments in the Kuan-yin temples; we have already quoted two of them above. We will have to quote one more yet to determine the presence of some frescoes in this temple (s. 4).

The oldest bells hanging in the Kuan-yin temples are:

1485	Dv 133a	1507	Cz 279b
1500	Cz 315a (now in the San- kuan temple)	1516	Dv 125a (small bell)
1506	Cz 311b (now in the San- lang temple)	1533	Dv 133 (now in the Bud- dha temple)

A copper image of Kuan-yin, dated 1535 is standing in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 133, to which it was moved recently when her own temple was ruined by floods.

4. Images and cult

a) The main image

The image of Kuan-yin is seldom painted on the wall; we found it only in about 10 cases. Usually the statue is shown sitting on a lotus seat, or on a red horse-shaped animal with a lion's head²⁹⁾. One finds also the lotus seat superposed on the horse. In half of the temples (20 cases) Kuan-yin is found alone, sitting on a lotus seat; in six more cases, she is alone, but on a horse. Nine temples have Kuan-yin with her two attendants, Wen-shu

29) This animal is mainly meant to suggest the magic power of Kuan-yin's speech. Its head is turned and its mouth opened towards the goddess (see fig. 23) to "materialize" its roar, cf. M.-Th. de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude de Avalokitevara*, Paris, 1948, p. 290-291.

文殊 Manjus'ri sitting on a lion, and P'u-hsien 普賢 Samantabhadra, sitting on an elephant (such a group of three is never painted on the wall). All these types account for 45 temples; the balance is represented by small niches, wooden tablets or half ruined temples.

The Kuan-yin image may be represented in the typical Buddhist way, of which one exemple is given here (see fig. 22) as it stands in the Kuan-yin temple, inside the southern gate of Cz 315a. The style of this statue presents a typical example of the work of a rural artist, when bound to Buddhist patterns, less familiar to him. The statue itself does not seem as living as many other statues of popular gods. The willow, the bamboo, the grotto, and the books partly visible on the back wall are emblems of Kuan-yin.³⁰⁾

We find these emblems again in another type of Kuan-yin image, together with the lotus seat and the horse. But the statue itself presents a difference: it has a child on its arms (see fig. 23). Such a Kuan-yin image was found at Cz 307a, Cz 314a, Dv 83 and Dv 127. When shown with a child, Kuan-yin is represented with some iconographic features which can hardly have another origin than the statue of Nai-nai 奶奶, Taoist goddess of the children (see ch. 21). One may note specially the large mantle and part of the headdress. The statue, as shown in our photograph, seems to have retained two of the superposed heads which are often found in the Buddhist representation of Kuan-yin. Finally, one must note that Kuan-yin is already at the end of the Sung dynasty (13th cent.) associated with a child³¹⁾.

Under the raised platform on which squats the horse, a small opening yawns, out of which comes a serpent. This peculiar arrangement was found

- 30) These iconographic features, some of them originating from extracanonical sources, are explained by N. Peri, *Hariti-la-mère-des-démons*, BEFEO, XVII, 1917, 3, pp. 72-73 and M.-Th. de Mallmann, *Introduction a l'étude d'Avalokitevara*, Paris, 1948, pp. 266-275.
- 31) Ecke-Demieville, *The Twin Pagodas of Zayton*, 19, p. 81. The problem is extremely complicated; it is first related to the female form of Kuan-yin: see Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1928, p. 79 where opinions of Edkins, Johnston, Pelliot, Foucher and Fenellosa are quoted; it has been further complicated by possible influences from the Hariti (goddess protecting children) cult.; see Peri, quoted in note 30, pages 68-69. While Peri claims that Hariti received a cult to obtain children as early as the T'ang dynasty, but that this cult was mainly known in monasteries, Maspero finds Hariti specially honored for children in South China, while Kuan-yin is only known in monasteries (*Rapport sommaire sur une mission archéologique au Tchö-kiang*, BEFEO, XIV, 1914, 9, p. 73. Finally we find Kobayashi Taichirô 小林太一郎 in his study 支那に於ける訶利帝, その信仰とその圖像について *The Hariti Worship and her Images in China*, *Shina Bukkyô Shigaku* 支那佛教史學, II, 3, 1938, p. 41) affirming that the custom of begging children from Kuan-yin is ancient, but that the statues of Kuan-yin holding a child are limited to the period from Ming on (1368). Statues with a child from Sung or Yüan times (10th century and later) may safely be called statues of Hariti. "The cult to Hariti was transferred to Kuan-yin in China; it would still be better to say: the statues of Hariti became known under the name of Kuan-yin. This must have happened early, specially after T'ang" *ibid.* p. 38-39. He promises further proof of this evolution, but we couldn't find out whether such study was published.

in two localities, Dv 98 and Dv 125a. There was nobody to tell us the significance of that serpent.

The ceiling above the main image is sometimes covered with a canopy of clouds in which heavenly spirits are nestling. This ornamentation comes forward till halfway the side walls. Such a canopy was seen at Dv 95a and 176a. It is meant to suggest the grotto, a dwelling of Kuan-yin.

b) Attendant images

Flanking the main image, often painted in the two corners of the back wall, two larger images appear. The first one (it may be found on the west wall as well as on the east wall) is Wei-t'ò 韋馱, the guardian of the Law in Buddhist monasteries (see ch. 27). He is shown in Chinese military dress, holding his scepter either in his right hand, or horizontally on both forearms. The other image is that of a devil, horned, half nude, with a string of skulls around his neck. We have tried hard to determine the identity of this attendant. One peasant in Wanch'üan had called him Li-t'ò, and because of the homonymy of Wei-(t'ò) and of *wei* (outside) (Peking: *wai*), in the local dialect, we once had thought his name to be a popular creation, *li* 裡 "inside," against *wei* 外 "outside." In our study on the Wanch'üan cults we also advanced the hypothesis that this statue may represent the monk Sha, Sha-seng 沙僧, converted by Kuan-yin and companion of Hsüan Tsang 玄奘 in the popular novel *Hsi-yu-chi* 西遊記.

During this trip however we heard another informant at Dv 97 affirm that this devil was "another shape of Wei-t'ò, *hua-shen* 化身", and call him Lü-t'ò 呂馱. This name was given in Cz 320a too. This identification receives an unexpected confirmation by what Buddhist monks of Annam told Peri about the two shapes of Wei-t'ò, a good one and a bad one³²⁾. That these two shapes sometimes show no exterior differences as Peri was told, is confirmed in our area by the fact that at Cz 314a, it was the image of the devil whom the informant first called Wei-t'ò, to find then that a Wei-t'ò in his normal shape was his pendant on the other side.

In two cases, instead of the devil, we found a deva called Li, Li T'ien-wang 李天王, opposite to Wei-t'ò (Cz 279b and Cz 314a); this name was given by local informants, but we don't know this deva; maybe his origin is due to another confusion with Wei-t'ò.

c) The lateral walls

The lateral walls of the Kuan-yin temples are covered with frescoes:

32) N. Péri, *Le dieu Wei-t'ò*, BEFEO, XVI, 3, 1916, In opposition to what the writer asserts (p. 52), we have often found Wei-t'ò holding his scepter horizontally on both arms. The presence of the two aspects of Wei-t'ò in some Buddhist monasteries of Annam (p. 55) has one peculiarity: the two statues present no external difference. About the above mentioned Li T'ò, cf. Maspero, *Mythologie de la Chine moderne*, p. 285, in: *Mythologie Asiatique Illustrée*, Paris, 1928. One of the four Heavenly Kings Ssu ta t'ien-wang 四大天王, *Vaig mana* has been adopted by the Chinese popular religion under the Taoist name Li T'ò 李塔.

two subjects mainly are treated on these walls. The first is the succession of miracles by Kuan-yin: seven villages Cz 353d, Dv 85a, 89, 122b, 127d, 133a, 176a have only this kind of paintings.³³⁾ The second subject is the series of the 18 Arhats, Lo-han 羅漢, found commonly in Chinese Buddhism. Eight villages Cz 279b, 320, 353b, 353c, Dv 121, 164a, 83a, 95a have only this series of Arhats; the latter two among them actually have statues instead of paintings.

Twenty one villages have both, viz. the miracles on the upper half of the walls, and the Arhats on the lower half; two among them have the miracles covering the whole walls, and eighteen statues of Arhats standing in front of the walls (Cz 278a and 315a).

We must finally draw the attention upon a few cases where the usual pattern has been modified. Four villages have both miracles and Arhats but have put the former in the northern half of the walls, and the latter in the southern half; this change seems to find its origin from one and the same local painter, as all four temples are situated in the same neighborhood: Dv 87, 96, 98 and 122a. It is clear that every village in the area has not his own decorator, but only larger villages, from where they are invited to surrounding localities.

Another peculiar arrangement has probably the same origin: the two villages Dv 139a and 171a have in addition to the above paintings a group of 12 bodhisattvas painted on the same walls (see the same group at Dv 139 in the Maitreya temple, (ch. 25, p. 99). The images at Dv 171a show the name of each bodhisattva; we give the list here:

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Wen-shu-shih-li p'u-sa 文殊師利菩薩 | Manjusrī |
| 2. I-ming jih-kuang p'ien-chao 一名日光遍照 | Sūryaprobha |
| 3. Erh-ming yüeh-kuang p'ien-chao 二名月光遍照 | Candraprobha |
| 4. Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa 觀世音菩薩 | Avalokitesvara |
| 5. Te-ta-shih p'u-sa 得大勢 | Mahāsthāmaprāpta |
| 6. Wu-chin-i p'u-sa 無盡意 | Aksayamati |
| 7. Pao-t'an-hua p'u-sa 寶檀華 | ? |
| 8. Yao-wang p'u-sa 藥王 | Bhaisajya rājā |
| 9. Wu-shang p'u-sa 無上 | Amuttara |
| 10. Mi-le p'u-sa 彌勒 | Maitreya |
| 11. Shih-ch'i p'u-sa 十七 | ? |
| 12. Ching-hsien p'u-sa 井現 | ? |

An interesting light is thrown on the history of the frescoes in the Kuan-yin temples by the text of a stone monument dated 1520 at Dv 89: "in 1511, we erected for the first time a Kuan-yin Palace on the gate tower; the painted frescoes represent the 18 Arhats and the 14 Great Monks." The latter theme

33) These scenes based upon the *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra* were common in Buddhist art, in India; see their descriptions in M.-Th. de Mallmann *Introduction à l'étude de Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, 1948, pp. 136-141; pp. 292-296.

has completely disappeared from the areas which we have surveyed. We don't even know which famous monks composed this group.

d) cult

In the rural area of Hsüan-hua, the Temple Feast of the Kuan-yin is held on the 29th day of the 2nd moon, according to informants at Cz 307a, Dv 84 and Dv 122b, but on the 19th day of the 2nd moon according to the people of Dv 83 and Dv 95. In the latter case, the main ceremony consists in the offering of incense, while hired musicians play the drums and the flutes. At Cz 307a however, they offer paper flowers (shown on fig. 22 and 23). More interesting still is the usage at Dv 124a of offering paper flowers on which bits of paper are pasted which have the shape of human eyes. One observes a related practice on fig. 23 where a couple of eyes hang from the hand of the child held by Kuan-yin. There is in this area a cult to the goddess of the eyes (ch. 28). Although this cult is often considered as of pure Taoist origin, some indications in the cult of the eye-goddess as it exists inside the city of Hsüan-hua seem to connect it rather with the cult of Kuan-yin. The presence of the eyes cut in paper points in that direction too.

CHAPTER 4

The Ma-wang 馬王 Cult: 56 units

1. Number and distribution

The Ma-wang, God of Horses, has six independent temples and in three more cases he has a separate building, as an annex of another temple (Cz 278a, east of a Buddha temple, Dv 139, west of a Kuan-ti temple; Dv 125d, east of a Kuan-ti temple). He is a popular god in this area, being present as a lateral image, with its own cult, in 45 more cases, viz.

in a San-kuan temple:	1 (Cz 279b)
in a Hu-shen temple:	1 (Dv 95)
in Kuan-ti temples:	3 (Dv 138b, 171a, 127c)
in Lung-wang temples:	39

Besides, his tablet is put up in two Lung-wang temples, (Cz 319 and Dv 167) and in one Buddha temple (Cz 315a).

By checking on the map the five villages where Ma-wang is found connected with Kuan-ti (Dv 139, Dv 138b, 171a, 127c, 125d) one is struck by the fact that they are all in one small corner of the territory. This must be due to a local development in these cults.

There is however a more striking aspect of the geographical distribution of the Ma-wang cult. In our Wanch'üan survey we noted that the lateral image of Ma-wang is located at the east of the main image (this being mostly that of Lung-wang). There were however eight villages which had the Ma-wang image at the west side. We added: "We feel that we have reached there the boundaries of another area where the traditional usage is different.

However, before extending our exploration south and east of the region, it is safer to abstain from giving an explanation of this fact." (p. 254 of the paper quoted note 5). This presentiment was justified by the present survey; we have put on one map both the Wanch'üan and the Hsüan-hua area (see map 6); the territory covered by the map is of course not large enough to allow for far reaching conclusions, but even so, a few additional facts about the Ma-wang cult emerge from the study of the map, and can supplement our scanty knowledge of the history of this cult³⁴).

The area covered by the type "western image" is not a continuous one. There are two islands in the western half of the map, and several isolated instances in the eastern part of the Hsüan-hua county. Furthermore, the main central area has an eastern boundary line presenting several inlets, as a corroded coastline. These facts taken together prove undoubtedly that the type "western image" is in regression; the other area is advancing from two different directions. The main advance from the east is of course well known from earlier observations in this study. We recognize there the influence of the neighboring Lung-kuan area, which makes itself felt through the roads passing through Dv 96 (to spread into the Liu-ho plain) and through Dv 139 (to open in the southeast area of the city of Hsüan-hua). The situation in the west is probably due to an influence coming from the territory south of the Yang-ho river (as it does not seem probable a priori that the regions outside of the Great Wall could possibly exercise an impulse in this field).

In interpreting this map, we may ask who is the bearer of the tradition in re the iconography of the temple. The local painters represent of course the main influence. The patterns they have learned from their master (in most cases, their father) are applied by them with a minimum interference from the part of the villagers who entrusted them with the decoration of the temples. Any change in the traditional pattern, must necessarily be very slow, and may occur in spots, when one individual painter keeps using older themes, or another painter brought up along different lines starts using new types of images.

The map of the Ma-wang images as used in lateral position, may therefore only be witness of the opposite trends represented in two different territories. There is little evidence about the period when this boundary started to be fixed, or whether further changes are still underway. There is of course the incontrovertible fact that in all parts of the map the same trend is clearly indicated towards replacement of the western type by the eastern type.

34) The technique of map drawing must not obscure the reality of the facts; for instance, the limits are indicated as a help to the eye, but they somehow constitute an interpretation. The real objective material is put on the map in the shape of distinctive symbols, to let the reader judge by himself whether the grouping into areas is legitimate.

2. Building and name

The few Ma-wang temples found in Hsüan-hua villages are all of one *chien* 間 width, and four of them have a surrounding wall with a small courtyard. One of the Ma-wang temples has a Kuan-yin temple in the northern half of its building (see ch. 3). A stranger combination is found at Cz 311b, where the temple has an upper storey with a San-kuan temple in it. This type of building is exceedingly rare for Kuan-yin in the areas surveyed, and, if at all, found only with Yü-huang (ch. 17) and Chen-wu (ch. 5).

The popular name is always *Ma-wang miao* 馬王廟 "Temple of Ma-wang." Once we found a four word expression on the door of this temple (at Cz 315a):

Hsing hui t'ien-ssu 星輝天駟

"Heavenly steed with the brightness of a star"³⁵). From the tablet found at Dv 167 (see fig. 30) we see that the full name of the god is Ma Ming Ta Wang 馬明大王 "The Great Ruler Ma Ming" (see below).

4. Images and cult

There seems to be no preference in this area for a painted or a sculptured likeness of Ma-wang. Half of the temples have the first, and the other half the second. We print here a photograph of a Ma-wang statue found at Cz 351 (fig. 28). The six arms (the upper pair crossing swords, the back pair having a bow in the east and an arrow (invisible) in the west, the front pair with a rapier in the west and a seal in the east), the eye in the middle of the brow, the dark face, are all distinctive features. Note how the sole of the lifted feet has the same stitches as the Chinese peasants' handmade shoes. From the name Ma-ming (nothing to do with Ma-ming the goddess of the silkworm in South China) one may conclude that we have here a representation of Hayagrîva; at least the writer of the tablet quoted above must have had some tradition based upon such identification. There is no hint that the people of the countryside of Hsüan-hua are conscious of that fact³⁶).

The lateral walls of the few Ma-wang temples have sometimes frescoes. In three of them (Cz 315a, 353c, 278a) the theme is the Pursuit of the Evil

35) The *t'ien-ssu* is the name of a four star group in the *fang* 房 constellation. The allusion in this inscription is purely a play for literates, and gives no indication as to the possible origin of the Ma-wang cult.

36) Hayagrîva, in ancient India sometimes with 4 arms, but with different attributes, is found as an attendant of Kuan-yin: de Mallmann, o.c. p. 161, 164, 167. In Chinese Buddhism he is considered as one of the six reincarnations of Kuan-yin, viz. the one which is specially entrusted with the living beings passing through the stage of animals. It has a horse head on top of its headdress. Already in the 10th century image of Hayagrîva found in Paris under n. 152 at the Musée Guimet, Salle Pelliot, we recognize a likeness with our Ma-wang statue. On the other hand the attendants of the Lords of the Northern and Southern Dipper as pictured on the Taoist frescoes published by William C. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, Toronto, 1940, p. 174, fig. 50 and p. 208, fig. 66 show strikingly similar features.

Spirits (see ch. 2), with of course Ma-wang as the leader of the heavenly procession. In one instance, a small-sized temple at Dv 163, the frescoes represent two men, one on each wall, leading one horse by the bridle; the man on the western wall carries a headdress in the shape of a lion head; on the eastern wall, the man has an elephant in his headdress. We cannot identify these personages, but similar headdresses were found for the attendants of the God of the Fire (ch. 13). At Dv 124, Ma-wang has the God of the Fire and Lao-tzu (ch. 24).

One village only mentioned a Temple Feast for the Ma-wang; at Dv 171a we were told that the feast is held on the 23rd day of the sixth moon. Strangely enough, this village has no independent Ma-wang temple, and one would expect the villagers in such a case to bring offerings to the Ma-wang image on the day of the Lung-wang feast, both being honored in the same building. As we have seen, this village has a separate day for its Lung-wang feast, the 25th of the 7th moon.

CHAPTER 5

The Chen-wu 眞武 Temples: 45 units

1. Number and distribution

Chen-wu, god of the North, is mainly found in independent temple buildings. We noted 43 of them, which, except for 3 cases, are situated in the northern part of the village. Twenty-three or half of the Chen-wu temples are built on a high tower, the size of which differs according to the financial possibilities of each village. In this area most of the towers are ten feet high platforms (see fig. 27); poorer villages have even less. We found few of these 30 or 40 feet towers, like those found in the most prosperous villages of Wanch'üan (see paper quoted in n. 5, photogr. 13).

In two cases, Chen-wu has only a wooden tablet (at Cz 314a) or an image (at Cz 353), both in the Lung-wang temple. The Chen-wu god is found regularly as one of the attendants in front of the Yü-huang image (ch. 17) with the southern Chen-wu (ch. 5a below); in such a case, he is not directly the object of a cult.

2. Building and name

We heard during our survey in Wanch'üan that the Chen-wu temple is supposed to have only one flag-pole in front of the gate. No such usage was noted in the Hsüan-hua villages. There are mostly no flag-poles at all, except at Dv 83, where we found the regular two flag-poles.

There are a few cases where another cult is added to that of Chen-wu, by attaching a sanctuary, or more often still, a small niche of another god to the back wall of his temple. A temple of Kuantı was built against the Chen-wu temple at Cz 316, but this seems a freak case. The Ling-kuan

cult however (ch. 12) has its regular place in such a niche, with a northern orientation; four localities have this arrangement: Dv 87, 89, 171a, 176a.

The popular name of this temple, which is often found on bells too, is *Chen-wu miao* 真武廟, except at Dv 171a where we heard *Shang-t'ien miao* 上天廟 "Temple of High Heaven." Names on bells or on gates show more variations: *Pei-chi Hsüan-t'ien* 北極玄天 "Mysterious Heaven of the North Pole" (Cz 279a); *Hsüan-t'ien Shang-ti* 玄天上帝 "High Ruler of Mysterious Heaven" (Dv 83, Cz 319); *Chen-wu Lao-yeh* 真武老爺 "Venerable Chen-wu" (Cz 319, Dv 95 and on the roof shown on fig. 8, Dv 83) *Shang-ti miao* 上帝廟 "Temple of the High Ruler" (Dv 138). The gate at Cz 279b has: *Mo-hui wei chen* 默會爲真 "Intuitive understanding brings truth," which seems to be a pun on the first word of the god's name. The local tradition has seemingly forgotten that the original name of the god was Hsüan-wu 玄武, of which the first character was changed to avoid the name of a Sung Emperor (998-1022). A rather unique inscription seems to show an unknown aspect of the cult of Chen-wu. At Dv 83, the gate has the words: *Chih-shih fu-shen* 治世福神 "god of happiness who rules the world"; the inscription was donated by pious worshipers of Kalgan in 1708.

3. History.

Very little is known about the earlier history of this temple; the only fairly old stone monument of 1486 at Dv 83a is so worn that it could not be read. Here a few of the oldest bells;

1508: Dv 133	1532: Cz 319
1539: Dv 89	1543: Cz 315a (now hanging in the Buddha temple)

Hanging in the Chen-wu temple, but without any temple name, are the following:

1515: Cz 320	1515: Cz 319
1518: Dv 89	1519: Cz 319a

4. Images and cult

a) the central image

Chen-wu is always sitting on a throne, with a girl T'ao-hua-nü 桃花女 "Peachblossom Girl" and Chou-kung 周公 "Duke of Chou" on both sides. The Chen-wu image is that of an armoured man, with a thin moustache, a small round beard, holding a sword in his right hand. In front of his two emblems: a turtle around which a snake is coiled. We found 5 villages with a painted image only. This is probably due to the greater poverty of the villages around Hsüan-hua; this was never the case in Wanch'üan.

b) The twelve generals

Arrayed in front of Chen-wu are twelve *yüan-shuai* 元帥 "commanders in chief", or twelve *t'ien-chün* 天君 "celestial rulers." Sometimes only two

of them are found, or four, six or ten, according to the size of the temple and the fancy of the local artist. We found such attendants in 19 temples. In 16 other temples these attendants were found painted on the lateral walls. There too any number of them may be present. We found however two temples where 36 images were found on the walls, at Cz 279a and Cz 320. In the former village, the names were written, near each image. We give the list here, which may be compared with a similar list given in our Wanch'-üan study (p. 251-252 of the paper quoted n. 5). Our fig. 29 shows nine of the images of the western wall of that temple. Using the numbers of the list below, we have from left to right on the bottom row: 36, 35, 34 (with his tiger, see ch. 12), 33, 32; on the top row: 18, 17, 16, 15; the names of the bottom row are inscribed on leaves between the heads of the top row images).

East wall, top row, beginning north:

1. Hu-hsüan-t'ien yüan-shuai 虎立天元帥
2. Fong lun t'ien yüan-shuai 風輪天元帥
3. Chao-pao P'an yüan-shuai 招寶潘元帥
4. Hu-feng Li yüan-shuai 虎絳李元帥
5. Ch'i-t'ien yüan-shuai 器天元帥
6. T'ien-chen ta yüan-shuai 天真大元帥
7. Chang yüan-shuai 張元帥
8. Ning-ti'en yüan-shuai 寧天元帥
9. T'ien-shih-tien yüan-shuai 天使殿元帥

East wall, bottom row, beginning north

10. Yüeh-p'ei Mi yüan-shuai 月悖米元帥 (悖 mistake for 李)
11. Wen yüan-shuai 溫元帥
12. Ma yüan-shuai 馬元帥
13. Yüan-ch'iu Lan yüan-shuai 元丘藍元帥
14. Ch'a-pin Wang yüan-shuai 察斌王元帥
15. Teng yüan-shuai 鄧元帥
16. Yin-t'ai-sui yüan-shuai 殷太歲元帥 (see ch. 34)
17. Kou yüan-shuai 苟元帥
18. Lan-ch'iu Kao yüan-shuai 藍丘高元帥

Western wall, top row, beginning north

19. Chang-shih-che P'ang yüan-shuai 張使者龐元帥
20. Wang-fu Yüeh yüan-chün 王府岳元君
21. Wang-fu Jen t'ien-chün 王府任天君
22. Hun-t'ien shih-che t'ien-chen 混天使者天真
23. Sung ta-sheng yüan-shuai 宋大聖元帥
24. Fu-shen Liu yüan-shuai 福神劉元帥
25. Shen ? chu P'ei yüan-shuai 神...主陪元帥
26. Yang-ti'en-chün yüan-shuai 陽天君元帥

27. T'ien-te chen-chün 天德真君

Western wall, bottom row, beginning north

28. Shan-ho sheng-fu Liu yüan-shuai 山河聖府劉元帥

29. Yüeh-jih-ti yüan-shuai 曜日帝元帥

30. Hua yüan-shuai 華元帥

31. T'ieh-shih-che yüan-shuai 鐵使者元帥

32. Wen yüan-shuai 聞元帥 (see ch. 5a)

33. Wang ling-kuan yüan-shuai 王靈官元帥 (see ch. 12)

34. Chao yüan-shuai 趙元帥 (see ch. 12)

35. Liu yüan-shuai 劉元帥

36. Ti-chih sheng-shen 地祇聖神

c) Lateral walls

If we except the 16 temples where the wall paintings represent some or all of the twelve attendants, we found an illustrated biography of Chen-wu in 14 temples. This theme is treated in small panels, each showing a stage of the life of Chen-wu, explained by means of a short inscription along the panel. A few temples have no texts, but we copied all those we could. The average number of panels is 30, but twice we found as many as 72. We have given a summary of the theme of the Chen-wu biography in our paper on the Wan-ch'üan cults. To the 756 panels of which we could copy the text in our first survey, we can add now 430 more panels, taken down in the ten Chen-wu temples where the text was decipherable. We plan to study the complete Chen-wu biography in a separate paper.

There remains the case of a wall painting which was never found in Chen-wu temples till now. At Dv 163 the eastern wall has a painting of Pei-tou 北斗 "The Northern Dipper" and the western wall that of Ch'ih-sing 七星 "The Seven Stars" (of the Dipper). These images do occur in some other temples, but in the shape of statues put up in front of Chen-wu. We found them at Dv 136b, Dv 83, Cz 315a, and Dv 95.

The Chen-wu has his temple feast; the dates according to our informants are as follows: 3rd moon, 3rd day, at Dv 83, Dv 85, Dv 122b and Dv 139a, where the day was indicated as the birth-day of the god. At Cz 315a however, the first day of the first moon was given as the day to visit the temple and to burn incense; this is called *chi-hsing* 祭星 "sacrifice to the Star."

CHAPTER 5a

The Nan-chen-wu 南真武 and the Lei-shen 雷神 : 2 units.

Chen-wu, god of the Northern Dipper, has been paired in many Yü-huang temples with a god called Nan-chen-wu 南真武 Southern Chen-wu, (for the Southern Dipper). The latter differs in no way from Chen-wu, except for the fact that he has a third eye, vertically in the middle of his

brow³⁷⁾. We found two independent temples to this god in Wanch'üan, but not a single one in the villages of Hsüan-hua. He must be mentioned here however, first because of his presence in the Yü-huang temples, and secondly because the city of Hsüan-hua has a large sanctuary dedicated to this god. This temple proves that the god is not completely unknown in this area.

There is a connection between the Nan-chen-wu and the Lei-shen 雷神 or God of Thunder. Lei-shen is honored in two villages in our area, at Dv 138a and Dv 176a, in both cases with a wooden tablet inscribed in his name and standing in the Lung-wang temple. The Lei-shen is the beaked devil, with a blue, half-naked body, which appears often in the frescoes "The Pursuit of the Evil Ones." His image appears on fig. 29, number 32 of the list, the last to the right bottom row; he holds his hammer, as was the case on the frescoes described in ch. 2. The tablet of Lei-shen in the second village calls him with his full title: *Chiu-t'ien ying-yüan lei-sheng p'u-hua t'ien-tsun* 九天應元雷聲普化天尊 "Echoing the Primaeval, Pervading Thunder Venerable of the Nine Heavens." We find here literally the same name as that bestowed upon Wen Chung 聞仲, adviser of Chou-wang, during the canonization ceremony at the end of the popular novel *Feng-shen yen-i*³⁸⁾ Because of the wide popularity of this novel, we may safely say that the immediate source of this title is the novel.

There is in Peking a temple known as Temple of the Venerable Thunder 雷祖廟³⁹⁾; above its gate are written the words: *Chiu-t'ien Lei-tsu miao* 九天雷祖廟 "Temple of the Venerable Thunder of the Nine Heavens." But inside the temple, the statue of Lei-shen occupies only a secondary place. The main god is Nan-chen-wu, with his vertical eye. The connection which seems certain, is unknown to me.

CHAPTER 6

The Kuan-ti 關帝 Temples: 40 units

1. Number and distribution

The cult of Kuan-ti or Kuan Yü 關羽, the general of the end of the Han

- 37) The 13th century Taoist frescoes described by William C. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes* Toronto, 1940, p. 202, have a Nan Chen-wu, who has no such eye; he is completely identical with Chen-wu, except for the latter's turtle and snake.
- 38) This name is well-known from the canonization ceremony at the end of the *Feng-shen yen-i* 封神演義, chapter 99, Kuang-yi 廣益 edition, vol. 4, p. 123-124, in which this title is granted to Wen Chung, an adviser of King Chou (see the index in Grube's *Die Metamorphosen der Götter*, Leiden, 1912).
- 39) This temple stands at the Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺, the short east-west stretch at the northern end of Wang-fu-ching 王府井 (Morrison Street of the foreigners). It faces the northern gate An-ting-men 安定門.

dynasty, died 220 A. D.⁴⁰). His cult is found only in independent temples. One of the isolated sanctuaries which are a center of pilgrimages, is a Kuan-ti temple, Cz 320a and was built along the imperial highway from Peking to Kalgan, where a path for it was blasted through the rocky hills northwest of Hsüan-hua.

The temple of Kuan-ti is sometimes built in the precinct of another larger temple. In some cases, it is at the west side of the main hall:

in a Buddha temple: Cz 279, Dv 96a, Dv 133.

in a Lung-wang temple: Dv 138b (with Ma-wang)

Here are now cases where the Kuan-ti temple is at the east side of the main sanctuary: in a Buddha temple: Cz 278a, Cz 311b (with Huo-shen and Ma-wang).

in a Lung-wang temple: Cz 319a

The Buddha temple at Cz 311b has at the west side, opposite to Kuan-ti, an Erh-lang temple (see ch. 7). This is the only case where these two cults were found in combination; compare this with the Wanch'üan area, where five out of seven cases had such a combination. One may note further that all but one of the Kuan-ti annexes in that area were situated in the west of the main temple, where as the Hsüan-hua region shows no preference for either position.

Kuan-ti temples may have their own subsidiary cults. As we saw in the chapter on Kuan-yin (ch. 3), the latter, having a predilection for a northern orientation, is often found at the back of another temple. In seven such cases, Kuan-yin is found behind a Kuan-ti temple: Cz 320, Dv 83a, Dv 98, Dv 125a, Dv 164a, Dv 171a and Dv 176a. Once a Ling-kuan (see ch. 12) is found in the back wall of the Kuan-ti temple (Dv 95a). Dv 125d has an eastern annex dedicated to Ma-wang, while the Kuan-ti temple itself is found at the back of the Chen-wu temple at Cz 316.

One finds rarely others represented in the sanctuary itself of Kuan-ti. Dv 171a however has a Ma-wang statue west of the Kuan-ti image, and three San-kuan statues west of it. In two more places a few paper or wooden tablets of other gods were found in the Kuan-ti temple: Dv 178 has tablets of San-kuan and of Tsao-chün (ch. 22), Dv 138a has one of Ta-hsien (ch. 18), Dv 127c has these of Ma-wang, San-kuan and Hsi-shen (ch. 32).

If one puts together all the cases where Kuan-ti is not completely alone, we find twenty such temples, with 29 intruders; among them five instances of Ma-wang, and seven of Kuan-yin.

2. Building and name

40) He died in the 12th moon of the Chinese year beginning in 219, but ending in February 220; *San Kuo-chih, Wu*, 1739 ed., c. 2, f. 3b. The popular novel (see note 41) lets him die in the 10th moon, roughly December 219.

The Kuan-ti temple is normally a medium-sized temple, one *chien* wide, with the normal southern orientation. It may be found anywhere in the village. There are a few exceptions, now to be described. First of all there seems to be no clear reason why Kuan-ti should have his temple on an elevated spot (wall, gate-tower), like some other cults which are meant to protect the village (Chen-wu, ch. 5 and Ling-kuan, ch. 12). Ten instances were found of the Kuan-ti temple on a high spot, and these are all in a well-defined area (see map 1). This area is continued in a northwesternly area so as to include the city of Kalgan (Cz 276). Inside the boundaries drawn on the map, only three exceptions are found, two actually being Kuan-ti annexes in another temple (Cz 278a and 279) and only one independent sanctuary (Cz 314). It is interesting to note that the restoration done in 1880 of the Kuan-ti temple at Dv 98 narrates how before that date the temple was found on top of the gate; only the crumbling down of the gate, forced the villagers to move the temple to a nearby open lot.

The area where elevated Kuan-ti temples are found is roughly the region lying along the road connecting the two exits from China proper into Inner Mongolia, along the northern part of the Liu-ho plain. The coincidence between this area and that of the stone gallows (see map 1) is specially striking because the same two areas coincided in the Wanch'üan survey.

Not a single Kuan-ti temple was found with a theater (against five in Wanch'üan).

The common names of this temple are: *Kuan-ti miao* 關帝廟 "Temple of the Sovereign Kuan," or *Kuan-shen miao* 關神廟 "Temple of the God Kuan." Both on bells and in spoken language too is the appellation: *Lao-yeh miao* 老爺廟 "Temple of the Venerable One." Above the gate we found twice: *Ying-hsiung-fo* 英雄佛 "Heroic Buddha" (Dv 97 and Dv 125d; compare p. 47). We found also the inscriptions: *Chung-t'ien chiao-pai* 中天皎白 "The fullness of time is bright" (Cz 319, dated 1729) and *I sé t'ien-ti* 義塞天地 "Righteousness fills up all between heaven and earth" (Cz 320a, dated 1796; this text is adapted from Meng-tzu, see Legge, p. 66).

3. History

The oldest monument extant in a Kuan-ti temple is the stone put up at Cz 315a in 1476; it commemorates the restoration the Lung-wang temple together with the first erection of the Kuan-ti temple. A stone of 1523 at Dv 97 tells about a miracle occurring on April 7th, 1521, during an eclipse of the sun, when Kuan-ti was seen ascending to Heaven, after which the sun reappeared. (This eclipse is not mentioned in the two county gazetteers, nor in the *fu* gazetteers) The oldest bells are one of 1585 at Cz 138a and one of 1593 hanging now in the Ma-wang temple of Dv 139.

4. Images

We found only three temples where the central image of Kuan-ti was painted on the wall. All the others have statues. These now may be of two different types: the military type, showing Kuan-ti as an army general, with full armour, either standing (seven cases) or on horseback (five cases); another type is that of Kuan-ti as a literate, sitting on a throne (29 cases). There is the possibility of a combination of the two types, one type of statue standing in front of the other; Dv 97 for instance has Kuan-ti as a literate, in front of which he is represented on horseback, and more to the front yet another smaller statue as a literate. The Kuan-ti on horseback has a special name in the spoken language, *Le-ma Kuan-ti* 勒馬關帝 "Kuan-ti restraining a horse."⁴¹ This occurs once as the name of the temple, but written in a way that reflects the local speech habits. The large Kuan-ti sanctuary at Cz 320a is called 石或口力馬關老爺, on a small bell, now hanging in the adjacent Kuan-yin temple. Pronounced with the *ju-sheng* 入聲 reading of the local dialect, this must be transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet *se xwã kxew ljə ma kwǎ lo je* which ought to be correctly: 石壑口勒馬關老爺 "The Venerable restraining his horse at the pass of the stone ravine"⁴². Even there where the statue of Kuan-ti is not on horseback, his horse with a servant is shown, either on the fresco of the lateral walls, (Cz 315a) or in the shape of smaller statues in front of Kuan-ti (Cz 319a).

The statue shown on fig. 26 wears a huge yellow mantle which covers almost completely the horse; its head is still visible at right between the artificial flowers. The two fig. 24 and 25 show the statues found in front of Kuan-ti; we have first (fig. 24) the western row, viz. Chou Ts'ang 周倉 (nearest Kuan-ti) and Liu Hua 劉化, then (fig. 25) the eastern row, viz. Wang Fu 王甫 (nearest Kuan-ti) and Kuan P'ing 關平. Only one other Kuan-ti temple has four such statues, at Cz 315a, where the western row has Wang Fu (nearest to Kuan-ti) and Chou Ts'ang, and the eastern row, Chao Lei 趙累 (nearest to Kuan-ti) and Kuan P'ing. In all the other temples, only two statues are found in front of Kuan-ti, viz. Chou Ts'ang in the west, and Kuan P'ing in the east.

Chou Ts'ang, blackfaced and covered with an armour is described by three encyclopedias as a general entrusted by Kuan Yü with the defense of the city of Mai 麥 (modern Hupeh), in 219-220; he died in the siege of that city, in the company of Wang Fu. The source given for the presence of

41) A temple with the same name stands in Hsüan-hua city. The epithet *le-ma* is often used in connection with Kuan Yü in the popular novel *San-kuo yen-i* 三國演義 "Tales from the Three Kingdoms", see for instance chapter 76, Hung-wen 鴻文 popular edition vol. 3, p. 71 2nd line.

42) The local language caused another confusion in this name. The Chinese Army map writes this name *Shih-hua-tzu* 石花子 "The Stone Flower", a Pekinese bureaucrat having apparently not recognized the short abrupt pronunciation of 壑.

Chou Ts'ang with Wang Fu, in that siege is the *Shun-t'ien fu-chih* 順天府志 gazetteer of the district around Peking, and in the latter, the text occurs at the occasion of the description of his tomb. The *Ts'u-yüan* adds to this that Chou Ts'ang often occurs in Kuan-ti temples; his authority is a collection of anecdotes compiled by the modern scholar Chi Yün 紀昀 (1724-1805).

The three dictionaries, *Ts'u-yüan*, *Ts'u-hai* and *Kuo-yü ts'u-tien* seem to consider the *Shun-t'ien fu-chih* a more respectable source for quotations, exhibiting thus a little of that old fashioned prejudice attached to the popular novels. Indeed there is no doubt that both Chou Ts'ang and Wang Fu, with the other personages found in the Kuan-ti temple originate from chapters of the novel *San-kuo yen-i* 三國演義 "Tales of the Three Kingdoms." We must refer specially to chapter 76 and 77 where the last stand of Kuan Yü is retold. Cornered in the city of Mai, he first sent his general Liu Hua in search of reinforcements. Meanwhile he is tempted to try a furtive sortie at night, accompanied by his son Kuan P'ing and another general Chao Lei. They meet with two successive ambushes, Chao Lei falling in the first, father and son being caught in the second, and then beheaded. The following day their heads are shown to Wang Fu and Chou Ts'ang who had stayed behind to defend the city. At this sight, they both commit suicide, Wang Fu jumping from the city wall, and Chou Ts'ang slitting his own throat.

It is well known, specially through the studies of Hu Shih 胡適, that this novel gradually took shape from the 8th century on, firstly through the medium of popular story tellers, then through the Yüan and Ming time theater.⁴³⁾ Some of the temples described here may be in fact older than the composition of the last text of this novel. The events told must of course have been known much earlier by the rural traditions.

Three only of these personages are quoted in official history. Kuan Yü has his biography in the *San-Kuo-chih*, 三國志 *Shu* 蜀, (1739 ed. c. 6, f. 1a, b, f. 2 a, also c. 2 f. 7a). Kuan P'ing's death is recalled *ibid.*, c. 6, f. 2a. Chao Lei, called *tu-tu* 都督 "military governor," is mentioned in *San-kuo-chih*, *Wu* 吳, c. 2, f. 3b. The *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書 (1739 ed. c. 9, f. 6a) does not mention a single of our heroes.

Another important part of the set-up of the Kuan-ti temples are the frescoes of the lateral walls. There are a few themes less often found, as the horses of Kuan-ti (see above) or the two genii of wealth Tz'u-t'ung 梓潼 and Ts'ai-shen 財神 (ch. 11) at Cz 279a. But most of the Kuan-ti temples have their lateral walls covered with a great number of panels depicting incidents of Kuan-ti's life, without doubt according to the same novel *San-kuo-chih yen-i* (those panels are visible on the walls of photographs 24 and

43) See *Hu Shih wen-ts'un* 胡適文存, 2nd series, 7th edit. 1930, vol. 4, p. 185-194 (dated 1922). There is a more recent edition of this study in the writer's volume on popular novels, 中國章回小說考章 *Chung-kuo chang-hui hsiao-shuo k'ao-cheng*, Dairen, 1943, p. 381-392.

25). We found these panels in 26 temples; in a few cases there were as many as 72 (Dv 87) or 48 (Dv 176a) of them. But in no case did we find titles along each panel as is the case for the Chen-wu temples. We had therefore no possibility of taking down a detailed description of each panel.

The birthday of Kuan-ti is celebrated on the 24th day of the sixth moon. In one village, Dv 125d, a special observance is kept on that day. The local *Lung-wang shê* or Dragon King Association has divided the people of the village in two teams of 30 families each of which takes turn every half month to provide sacrificial food in front of Kuan-ti's statue.

CHAPTER 7

The Ho-shen 河神 Temples: 37 cult units

1. Number and distribution

The cult of the god of the river is represented in this area by 13 independent buildings, and by 5 lateral buildings found in other temples. In 19 more cases, the Ho-shen has a statue with its own cult, in the hall of another temple. We drew the attention upon the presence of Ho-shen in one Wu-tao temple, see p. 24.

Generally speaking the cult of Ho-shen is regularly represented over the whole region. There is however a definite pattern in the distribution of some of its features (see map 6). Firstly the independent temples, are found only in the eastern and southern part of the Liu-ho plain, within a line connecting Dv 121 with Dv 95, and further in a cluster of three villages, Dv 173a, 176a and 176 (the latter is a huge Lung-wang temple, in which the Ho-shen statue occupies the central place).

Another characteristic of the Ho-shen cult, when put up in another god's temple lies in the fact that Ho-shen is found west of the main image at Cz 278a and in the group of villages in the south-western corner (north of Cz 355 and south of Cz 315b); everywhere else Ho-shen is found east of the main central image.

The Ho-shen sanctuary as an annex is found:

- in Buddha temples: Cz 278a, Cz 311b, Dv 96a
- in Lung-wang temples: Cz 307, Dv 176a

The Ho-shen image with a cult of its own is found:

- in Lung-wang temples: eighteen times
- in Hu-shen temples: Dv 95

2. Building and name

The buildings dedicated to Ho-shen are small temples, often mere shrines on the roadside or attached to the wall of another temple. These temples, because of their size have few if any ornamentations; greater care has been bestowed on the make-up of the statue and of the wall paintings, when Ho-

shen is found in another temple.

Although the common name is *Ho-shen miao* 河神廟 "Temple of the River God," the god is called sometimes Erh-lang 二郎 "The Second Son"⁴⁴). There is no identification possible with Erh-lang, son of Li Ping 李冰, the builder of dykes in Szechwan province (as we mistakenly thought in our Tatum survey). As was the case in the Wanch'üan area, Ho-shen here is the XIIth century official, Yang Chien 楊戩, known by his dog.

One temple has above its gate the inscription: *Po-jun ho-liu* 波潤河流 "The waves are abundant and the river flows" at Cz 307, dated 1888.

3. History

Not a single inscription was found in the Ho-shen temples. There is no evidence either, that from the presence of a Ho-shen annex, we may draw conclusions on his antiquity by means of the history of the main temple.

4. Images and cult

In the independent temples, we found hardly any iconography because of their small size. The statue if any, is small with indistinct features, often there is only a wooden tablet with the name of the god. The Ho-shen in lateral buildings is represented by a man dressed as a scholar; see fig. 21. The dog was present in four cases.

Ho-shen stands mainly alone in his temple. We noted however at Dv 95a two attendants standing on his side, Shan-shen in the east and T'u-ti in the west (this arrangement calls to our mind the Wu-tao temple). In yet another case (Cz 278a) we found Ho-shen, under the name of Erh-lang occupying the eastern place, while a god called Ta-lang is in the center, and an unknown god (San-lang perhaps) in the west. (Eastern aisle of the Buddha temple at Dv 96a). The same case occurred in a group of three villages in the Wanch'üan area, about 10 miles WSW of Cz 278a (see the localities Cz 260, 291 and 293 on map 3). In our study of the Wanch'üan temples, we could not identify these gods. This time we found a flourishing cult of a god called either Ta-lang or San-lang (ch. 15). We feel however that the identification is not possible, as the Ta-lang of Cz 278a and Dv 96a is an old man with a white beard; compare the photograph of San-lang (fig. 42 and 44.)

We found twice a pair of statues in front of Ho-shen; at Cz 311b they are a statue of a man with a fierce red face, and a youth with a Taoist hairknot; at Dv 85a, they are the statues of a magician dressed as a scholar, and of a soldier holding a halberd. The local informants knew nothing about these attendants.

The lateral walls of the Ho-shen temple have the frescoes "Pursuit of the Evil Ones" (see ch. 2) at the following villages: Cz 307, Cz 311b, Dv

44) Not "The Two Sons", Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, p. 101, Paris, 1910.

85a, Dv 173a. About the date of the Temple Feast, the villages are unanimous in indicating the 6th of the 6th moon.

CHAPTER 8

The San-kuan 三官 Temples: 36 units

1. Number and distribution

The cult of the Three Rulers (of Heaven, Earth and Water) is found in 15 independent temples, of which one has fallen recently in ruin; it had been replaced by a painted screen standing in the Kuan-ti temple at Dv 167; during the first moon, this screen is moved into the courtyard, and receives the prostrations of the villagers. This a unique case in our experience. The San-kuan are found six times in a lateral building of another temple, five of which are in the east of the main hall. Further two small shrines found on the wall of temples are dedicated to this cult. Eleven times the San-kuan cult is only represented by a tablet, either in wood or in paper, put on another god's altar, mostly on the eastern side. Finally we found three images painted as a lateral group on the back wall, east of the main image, (in two Lung-wang temples and in one Kuan-ti temple).

The cult units of the San-kuan are found regularly distributed over the whole area, with this difference that independent cults are mostly found in the northern half, whereas tablets are a peculiar feature of the southern part.

2. Building and name

The San Kuan temple is a normal sized building, with a width of three *chien*, often enclosed in a courtyard. A peculiarly large San Kuan temple stands at Cz 353. There seems to be some connection between the San Kuan cult and towerlike temples. We found it once on top of a village gate at Cz 278a, once on a high earthen tower at Dv 96, three times as first floor of a Yü-huang tower (Cz 319a), of a Chen-wu tower (Dv 133) and of a Ma-wang pavilion (Cz 311b). Something similar was noted in our Wanch'üan survey, but only in connection with four Yü-huang towers.

The popular name of this temple is always *San Kuan miao* 三官廟 "Temple of the Three Officials," although the written name on bells is often *San Yüan miao* 三元廟 "Temple of the Three Principles." In two cases, the wooden tablets of these gods, used the expression, *T'ien Ti Shui San-kuan Ta-ti* 天地水三官大帝 "High Sovereigns, Three Officials of Heaven, Earth and Water."

3. History

A few stone slabs were found in the San Kuan temples, but they hardly give us any details about the history of this cult. One dated 1832 declares that the date of erection is unknown (Cz 315a), another of 1769 that the temple

dates from Ming dynasty times. Not a single bell of the 16th or 17th centuries was found with the name of this temple.

4. Images and cult

The San Kuan are represented mostly by statues, seldom by paintings. The three gods are shown as three scholars with a literate's mortar-board cap. The Shui-kuan 水官 Official of the Water is always on the western side, and has a black face.⁴⁵⁾

Our photograph taken at Cz 320 shows two female attendants near the central god (see fig. 37), the female attendants with elongated body found in Wanch'üan were not noted in this area. On both extremities of the main wall, two smaller attendants seem to be the Shan-shen 山神 Mountain God (in the west) and the Wu-tao 五道 God of the Roads (in the east).

In front of the main images, one finds often one or more pairs of the heavenly attendants who belong also to the Chen-wu cult (ch. 5, section 4). We found three times four of them, viz. Wen, Liu, Chao and Ma, once only painted on the lateral walls; there again we found three times four of them, and twice a larger number, 10 or even 28. As there were no names indicated, and as the fancy of the local artists had brought many variations in these representations, we could not identify them.

The lateral walls of the San Kuan temple, when not showing the heavenly attendants, show two other themes. Three temples have the "Pursuit of the Evil Ones." Indirectly belonging to this type are the frescoes at Dv 133 with the genii of the Days and the Hours, Jih-ts'ao 日曹 and Shih-ts'ao 時曹 (on the western wall) and these of the Months and the Years, Yüeh-ts'ao 月曹, Nien-ts'ao 年曹 (see p. 33 and note 19).

A different type of frescoes is represented by the "biographies" of the San-kuan, on the model of these of Chen-wu. The walls are divided in small panels, each depicting some incident of their legends, or some miracle attributed to them. Four villages have such frescoes: Cz 353, Cz 307a, Cz 315a, Dv 139.

The annual festival of the San-kuan temple takes place on the 15th day of the first moon, according what we were told in widely separated villages. It happens now that this day is Lantern Festival, which means in the villages of this area, that the youth of the villages dress up as historical characters, and dance around the village streets on stilts, accompanied by musicians, while they recite with (often funny) variations the lines of their personage. This popular feast is called *jā kā*, in written language *yang-ko* 秧歌 "song of the young rice plants." In the agricultural seasons of Chahar, the rice has but a scanty place, and its shooting time is about five months later. This

45) The Sung dynasty painting referred to page 37 shows a white faced Water Official (see fig. 72). Our North Shansi and South Chahar surveys found only the black faced type.

explains why the song of the young rice plants has become the popular equivalent of a historical play.

In one village at least, Cz 315a, our informant told us that the Lantern Festival procession starts from the San-kuan temple; these gods are said to be special patrons of such popular celebrations. Because of the presence among the dancers on stilts of actors dressed up as girls, the people say: *hun-nao san-kuan* 混鬧三官 "brawling celebration of the San Kuan." This fact seems to be purely local, unknown in the surrounding areas.

CHAPTER 9

The Hutu-shen 胡都神 **Temples:** 36 units

1. Number and distribution

The Hutu god, the popularity of which was first revealed by our survey of the Wanch'üan area, has still more sanctuaries in this region. He has 14 independent temples, and his tablet is found six times in the temple of other gods. As a lateral image with its own cult, Hutu was found 16 times, all of them being in the Lung-wang temples. The independent temples of Hutu are mostly found outside the villages (eleven cases out of 14) and then again mostly in the northwest of the locality (eight cases) at a small distance of one or two *li*. Although the cult units of this god are found in all parts of the territory, the independent temples are definitely distributed according to a pattern. Two of them (Cz 315a and Cz 253) on the western fringe of the region, belong to an area which is part of the Wanch'üan cultural sphere (specially from the dialectal point of view). All the others are arrayed along the imperial highways leading from the city of Hsüan-hua to the northeastern pass into Inner Mongolia (passing through Dv 95 and Dv 96), and to the eastern plain of Lungmen, (passing through Dv 139a; for these highways, see map 3). I think we may safely see in this distribution a result of the influence of Hsüan-hua city. The latter has been from ancient times the natural center of this territory and boasts two large Hutu temples, built outside but near the eastern and the western city gates. The dispersion of this cult reminds one strongly of the similar situation of the Ling-kuan cult (ch. 12 and map 3).

2. Building and name

The temples of the Hutu god are sometimes large sanctuaries with lateral buildings, theater, etc., enclosed in a courtyard. Such are the temples at Cz 315a (changed into a school, the gods are now hidden behind paper walls, which are opened on feastsdays), Cz 353 (recently changed into a school; the statue of the god was thrown into the river, out of respect, to avoid breaking it up), Dv 95, Dv 164a and specially Dv 123a, which stands alone on a hill, and belongs to the two nearest villages Dv 123b and Dv 124. It is the building

history of this sanctuary that was taken as an example of the activities of a Temple Association (see Introduction, n. 4).

Besides these large buildings, the remainder of the Hutu temples are man-high shrines, mostly found on an elevation outside the village. Actually one of the sanctuaries, although situated on the area covered by the map, belongs to a village we couldn't visit, viz. Chia-chia-wan 賈家灣, a couple of miles east of Dv 139a.

The name of the temple in the mouth of the people is *Hu-shen-miao* 胡神廟 "Temple of the God Hu"; that is also the way we found it on two recent inscriptions (1890 and 1911) at Dv 123a. Seldom found in the popular language, but regularly on bells and wooden tablets, is the name *Hu-tu Lao-yeh miao* 胡都老爺廟 "Temple of the Venerable Hutu," or *Hu-tu Ta-ti* 胡都大帝 "Great Ruler Hutu"; slightly different is *Hu-tu Chiang-chün* 胡都將軍 "General Hutu" (Dv 130, see fig. 30). As no one of these inscriptions is older than 1720, only the character *tu* 都 was found as transcription for the last syllable of the god's name. The Wanch'üan temples of the Hutu had the same character on recent inscriptions, whereas 16th century bells had two other words *tu* 毒 and *tu* 瀆. The full name is probably a foreign word.

In a study on the Hutu cult in Wanch'üan⁴⁶⁾, I proposed an identification with a mongol or pre-mongol word root, meaning "happiness." This hypothesis has not many things in its favor, specially as the Hutu cult is distinctly a rain cult (see below). Professor W. Eberhard of Berkeley kindly draws my attention to a passage from the *Wei-shu* 魏書⁴⁷⁾ where a cult to Hut'ien-shen 胡天神 on top of the Sung-shan 嵩山 (in modern Hunan) was the only one among "unauthorized" cults to be exempted from the imperial interdiction⁴⁸⁾. We can do no better than list the material we have, till one day it may add up to a solid argument.

A peculiar name was found on the gate of the Hutu temple at Dv 95: *Wu-sheng-kung* 五聖宮 "Palace of the Five Saints"; this refers to the five statues standing against the main wall, in that particular temple, viz. (from west to east): Ma-wang, Ho-shen, Hutu, Huo-shen and Niu-wang (ch. 31). It is not necessary to quote a few other inscriptions found on gates, as they are of the well-known type "how efficient is this god."

46) Willem A. Grootaers, *The Hutu God of Wanch'üan, A Problem of Method in Folklore*, *Studia Serica*, Chengtu, VII, 1948, p. 41-53, 1 map.

47) *Wei-shu*, c. 13, biography of Empresses, 1739 edition, f. 7b.

48) This interdiction was edicted at the occasion of a trip of the Empress-Mother, née Hu 胡 (daughter of Hu Kuo-chen 胡國珍, biography in *Wei-shu*, c. 83) on November 2nd 519 (*Wei-shu*, 1739 ed., c. 9, f. 4 b). The Empress was a fervent Buddhist, having been a nun in her youth (*ibid.* c. 13, f. 7a). Professor Eberhard suspects that the Hut'ien god was exempted because of the identity of name with the Empress.

3. History

We noted above that all the inscriptions in the Hutu temples date from the last two centuries. They give therefore scanty material on the history of this cult. On the other hand, the Hutu cult as a lateral image in the Lung-wang temple, is probably of the same age as the temple of this cult. We have hesitated to state this for other cults as well, but in the present case we found epigraphic evidence; a stone monument standing in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 176a and dated 1793, states that the date of erection of the temple goes back to an unknown past and adds: "alongside the Lung-wang images, one finds the statues of Ma-wang and Hu-shen."

4. Images and cult

The central image of Hutu is that of a black faced and bearded man; not all his images however are as black as the one shown on our fig. 36. The latter shows Hu-shen with two attendants, Yü-shih 雨師 and Feng-shen 風神 (see p. 32). With the exception of this case, we give now the lateral images found on both sides of the Hu-shen in his independent temples:

	Western image	Eastern image
Cz 315a	Tzu-fang 虻 Worm God	Ch'eng-huang 城隍 City Wall God
Dv 95	Ma-wang 馬王 and Horse God	Ho-shen 河神 and River God
		Huo-shen 火神 and Fire God
		Niu-wang 牛王 Oxen God
Dv 123a	T'u-ti 土地 Earth God	Shan-shen 山神 Mountain God

In smaller temples, the Hutu statue stands always alone.

The lateral walls of the Hutu temples have twice the "Pursuit of the Evil Ones," at Dv 123a and Dv 164a. Once the frescoes represent legends and miracles attributed to the god, in the well known pattern of small panels. (Dv 95).

In the temples where Hutu has a lateral image only, the image on the opposite side is that of Ma-wang (eleven cases), of Ho-shen (three cases) of Wu-tao or T'u-ti (one case each).

Generally speaking these features of the Hu-shen iconography are similar to that of the Lung-wang cult. There is on that point agreement from the part of all informants: the Hutu cult is a rain cult. Theaters for "rain-plays" are found in all the larger temples: Dv 95, Dv 164a, Dv 128, while plays are held in the open on the slope beneath the temple at Dv 123a. A corroboration of this cult's character was found on a stone slab dated 1804 in the Lung-wang temple at Cz 316: "Hu-shen kuan ta feng, yü, yeh shih Lung-wang 胡神管大風雨也是龍王 "God Hu regulates strong winds and rain; he, too, is a Dragon King." There is however a slightly different cult at Dv 163 where the wooden tablet is entitled *Chang-kuan ping-pao hu-shen* 掌管水雹胡神 "God Hu who regulates the hail." But at Dv 123a the parallel

inscriptions along the door have a text similar to that found in Lung-wang temples:

Ch'u Lung-kung, feng-t'iao yü-shun 出龍宮風調雨順
Ju hai-ts'ang, kuo-t'ai min-an 入海藏國泰民安

“When he comes out of the Dragon's palace, the winds are tempered and the rains favorable. When he enters the sea's treasury, the country is prosperous and the people are at peace.” This makes clearly allusion to the going out and coming back of the god at the head of the heavenly procession, pictured on the lateral walls.

The annual Temple Feast of the Hutu god is held on the 16th day of the sixth moon (at Dv 123a and Dv 126a), on the 7th of the seventh moon (at Dv 130, Dv 171 and Dv 171a) or finally on the 15th day of the seventh moon (at Dv 83). Compare these dates with those given for the Lung wang temple (p. 38); in both cases the dates are chosen so as to fall in the period when drought is likely to occur in this area. In three places at least, Dv 83, 123a and 130 we have evidence that sheep are offered to the god in exactly the same manner as is done for the Lung-wang. The Hutu temples have associations *Lao-shé* 老社 exactly like the Lung-wang.

CHAPTER 10

The Buddha 佛 Temples or Monasteries: 16 units.

1. Number and distribution

There is a local speech habit which refers to a type of temples as “*Fo-tien* 佛殿 “Palace of Buddha.” Such a temple may be a simple sanctuary with a statue of Buddha, or sometimes nothing more than a lateral building in a temple dedicated to one of the old popular cults, god of the rain, god of war, etc. On the other hand, the name may refer to an old *ssu* 寺 monastery, while in the next village the monastery may still be indicated by its old Buddhist name. All these cases are grouped in this chapter. We tried to keep into separate chapters the cults of Kuan-yin (ch. 3), of Maitreya, Milefo (ch. 25), of Ti-tsang (ch. 26) and of Bodhidharma, Ta-mo (ch. 29). But it must be clearly understood that this is not always in line with the popular attitude. It is true that Kuan-yin is more often designated as *P'u-sa miao* 菩薩廟 “Temple of the Bodhisattva,” when not directly named after Kuan-yin's name. There are however a few Buddha temples where the presence of Wen-shu and P'u-hsien leads to the suspicion that the main statue may be that of Kuan-yin. But if the local people do not recognize it as such, and if the statues allow of no certain identification, we thought it more sensible to follow the popular feeling. For the three other types of Buddhist sanctuaries, the identification is often easy, and they were grouped accordingly; it must be noted that often these temples too bear the name *ssu* monastery, or even

“Buddha temple.”

With one exception (Hua-yen-ssu, at Cz 315a), all the temples which originated from Buddhism are now empty of monks or nuns. They are completely placed on a level with the other village temples; they belong to the village community, they are repaired with the same “temple tax,” they are visited occasionally by the peasants like the other temples, and they shelter more and more some of the non-buddhist deities. This state of affairs is not what is called “Chinese syncretism.” I see this slightly differently; the Chinese popular religion was and is a strong reality, a complex of a few beliefs with a lot of observances. When Buddhism was introduced in the country it was felt to be a foreign element, no doubt for a long time; but gradually it became an appendix, then a protuberance, and now it is, to all intents and purposes assimilated. Buddhism may have enriched the popular beliefs for instance, by the notion of transmigration, which belongs now to the self-evident truths in the mental set-up of the North Chinese peasant although the ancient religion seems to have ignored this theory⁴⁹). Transmigration, as well as the modern practice of visiting a temple of Buddha, is no longer felt as belonging to a special world, different from the popular religion. (I am only speaking here of the rural communities of North China). We may compare this situation with the cult of Kuan-ti, which has a well known origin in history, or with some of the local cults of natural forces which may be remnants of cults of tribal deities in prehistoric times. In these two cases too, the assimilation or Gleichschaltung is complete.

Some hint is given, by the text of two stone monuments, as to the period when this assimilation was completed, giving us a *terminum ad quem*. On the slope of the Ming-ching-ssu, Dv 96a (see fig. 35) “a Lung-wang temple was added to satisfy the devotion of the surrounding villages” (stone of 1531). The large sanctuary at Dv 129 (to be described in our study of the city temples) was originally a large Buddhist monastery. It was changed into a Nai-nai temple in 1538; this supposes that no effective claims on it could be pressed from Buddhist side. It is generally known that Buddhism reached its present sorry state in North China about the beginning of the Ming dynasty, around 1400. This fits in with the dates given above.

In the explored area, the cult of Buddha is represented by a wooden tablet in the Lung-wang temple (Dv 171), three small statues in the Kuan-ti temple (Dv 167), three small annexes resp. in the Lung-wang temple (Cz 279b, Dv 133) and in the Ti-tsang temple (Cz 315a). Finally ten large temples, most of them former monasteries, were found in the Liu-ho plain and the adjacent approaches, south of the city of Kalgan, Cz 276, (see map 1). The county city has numerous Buddha monasteries too.

49) Maspero, *Mélanges Posthumes*, vol. I, *Les Religions Chinoises*, 1950, p. 26 and 52.

2. Building and name

The Buddha temples are all large compounds, with lateral buildings (former living quarters of the monks) in an enclosure. In one case, Cz 278a, there is a theater while the Lung-wang temple of that locality, now completely ruined, has no theater of its own.

The official names of these temples are mostly found on the monuments: here is a list

- Cz 278a Pao-lin-ssu 寶林寺
- 279a Hsing-sheng-ssu 興勝寺
- 311b Hsing-fu-ssu 興福寺
(on older monuments: Hsing-fo-ssu 興佛寺; both names are
homonymous in the local dialect)
- 315a Hua-yen-ssu 華嚴寺
- 315a Shih-fo-ssu 石佛寺
- 319a Chuang-yen-ssu 莊嚴寺
- Dv 96a Ming-ching-ssu 明境寺
and Ming-ching-ssu 明鏡寺
- 135 Pao-en-ssu 報恩寺

No names were found at Cz 279, Cz 319 and Dv 85a.

The assimilation of the Buddha temples with other temples is expressed by a couple of popular names; at Cz 279 we heard Fo-yeh-miao 佛爺廟 "Temple of the Venerable Buddha," and on a small bell at Cz 311b (dated 1694): Ta-ssu-miao 大寺廟 "Temple of the Great Monastery"; *miao* is the name for sanctuaries of the popular religion.

3. History

The Buddhist temples contain the most ancient monuments found during this survey. This is easily explained by the fact that the community of monks possessed an element of continuity and that the monasteries received more endowments than other temples; their wealth made it possible to put up frequently stone slabs and the like.

Two of the oldest monuments are described in an appendix to this part; one at least belong to the fifth century. In our Introduction, n. 3, p. 18, we gave a list of octagonal pillars, which, though undated, must go back to the 12th-14th centuries; they all stand in Buddhist temples.

The existing stone monuments give some indication on the earlier history of the temples, mostly in the following terms: "This is an old *cha* 刹; only the traces of the foundations were left when we rebuilt it" (Cz 278a, dated 1499). The same sentence occurs on a restoration stone dated 1447, Cz 319a, and again at Dv 96a with the date 1531. A restoration stone at Cz 311b is dated 1488. The conclusion seems warranted that all these temples date from before the Mongol invasion (around 1215 in this region) and that the people had to wait till some decades of peace had passed after the start

of the new Ming dynasty (1368) before they could try to restore the temples.

Among the old bells we noted:

Cz 315a 1485 (now hanging in the Kuan-yin temple)

Ca 311b 1488

Cz 315a 1502 (now hanging in the Nai-nai temple)

Cz 319a ca. 1516-1519 (dated by means of the name of the caster)

Dv 85a 1542

4. Images and cult

The central image of Buddha has no distinct features; it has the traditional Buddhist shape and is accompanied almost everywhere by the two smaller statues of Ananda and Kasyapa...When three images were noted, Wen-shu and P'u-hsien are the most commonly found. Twice, (Dv 85a and Dv 133) we found the Buddhist Triad, Sakyamuni, Loshana and Vairocana. One informant at Cz 315a saw in the three images: "the Past, Present and Future Buddha."

The Buddha images are the only one which are sometimes made of another material than the mud used for the other gods. Once a stone or iron image is made for a temple, it is practically indestructible. Some longer period may elapse during which the temple is ruined and the images buried or hidden. But sooner or later they are discovered, giving rise to tales of miraculous discoveries. We found three stone images of Buddha at Cz 315a and Dv 133 and three cast iron statues at Dv 85a. In the last two localities, legends exist about their reappearance.

The sanctuary at Dv 129 which will be described among the city temples, has a hall of the Thousand Buddhas, in which originally thousand wooden statuettes of Buddha were disposed along the walls. Every pilgrim visiting the temple during the last decades (or centuries) has taken one or more of these statuettes back to his home village. (By the way, the local language says *ch'ing lao-yeh* 請老爺 "invite a Venerable," for this practice of "stealing" statues). We have found these wooden Buddhas in all the villages in the surrounding countryside, put up in all kinds of temples.

The lateral frescoes of the Buddha temples show mostly scenes from the life of Sakyamuni. We found three times paintings of the "Twelve Bodhisattvas" (see above p. 53) at Cz 315a, Dv 85a and Dv 96a. The first one identifies some of them: Hsiang-hua-ti 香花帝, Kuan-shih-yin 觀世音, Ming-chao-t'ien 明照天, Yüeh-kuang-kung 月光宮, Ti-tsang. The 18 Arhats, commonly found in the Kuan-yin temples, were noted once at Dv 96a. The oldest Buddha temple at Cz 278a has frescoes of the 18 Heavenly Generals Shih-pa t'ien-chiang 十八天將.

Here is now a list of the cults found in the enclosure of the Buddha temples, by which clearly appears the assimilation of these temples to the popular religion. (W. means western aisle or annex, E. means eastern).

Kuan-ti, two cases: E. Cz 278a, Cz 311b
 San-kuan, two cases: E. Cz 279a, W. 279b
 Huo-shen, one case: E. Cz 278a
 Ma-wang, one case: E. Cz 278a
 Nai-nai, one case: W. Cz 279a
 Ho-shen, two cases: W. Cz 311b, E. Dv 96a
 Ts'ai-shen, one case: E. Cz 319a.

On the first day of the first moon, most temples in a village are visited, at least by one representative of the villagers, and incense burned in front of the statues. The Buddha temple is no exception to this practice.

Among the monks who originally built the large monasteries two different tendencies existed: some wanted the monastery near or in the village, to influence people, and some wanted mainly to indulge in meditation and prayer. Among the Buddha temples of this area, only the monastery at Dv 96a (see fig. 35) belongs to the latter category (compare also the sanctuary of Bodhidharma, ch. 29, fig. 50). Notwithstanding its isolated position, this monastery became the center of a yearly gathering of people from the surrounding villages. We have the evidence of the people of Dv 97, that each year on the 8th day of the 4th moon, a large Temple Fast was held on the slopes of the hill with accompaniment of theatrical plays. There must be a connection of course with the presence of a Lung-wang temple halfway the slope (see p. 74) although the date of the feast is too early to be a Lung-wang feast. However one year, the feast was followed by a disastrous hail storm, which made the people understand that the god (they said *shen* 神, not *fo* 佛 Buddha) didn't like the custom of having a play; from then on, only a religious feast was held.

CHAPTER 11

The Ts'ai-shen 財神 Temples: 14 units

1. Number and distribution

The cult of the God of Wealth has two main forms in this area, one, to be described in this chapter, goes under the name of Ts'ai-shen, the other, see ch. 23, is more a cult of gods of crops. Both are sometimes found together, but we kept them apart to facilitate the description.

The Ts'ai-shen has only two buildings in the Hsüan-hua rural region, one is built as the eastern lateral building of the Buddha temple at Cz 319, the other is a large compound, one of the best preserved, in the market place Cz 315a; several of its lateral buildings contain gods which are found nowhere else in the region (see ch. 13 and 33). We suspect the influence of some literate who made the plans of the temple, more according to a theoretical scheme found in a Taoist treatise, than following the popular beliefs existing

in the village. This kind of things happens often in cities, under the influence of government officials and of the scholars. The locality Cz 315a is the nearest thing to a city in that area, and goes proud of its many imperial graduates whose honorary tablets hang above the door of rich houses.

The other cult units of Ts'ai-shen are 9 lateral images found in other temples, and three wooden tablets; of these twelve, eight are found in one small group in the southeastern corner of the explored area (see map 1). The temples where they were found, are two Kuan-ti temples and ten Lung-wang temples; the Ts'ai-shen is in eleven cases out of twelve at the western side of the main image.

2. Building and name

The tablet at Dv 171 calls the god Tseng-fu ts'ai-shen 增神財神 "God of the Wealth who increases Happiness"; the same name was given to the central statue at Cz 315a (see fig. 63). But the people call him mostly Ts'ai-shen. At Cz 319, the central image was given the name: Ch'ien-lung 錢龍 "Dragon of Money."

We have noted the large size of the temple at Cz 315a. We are faced with the problem to what use were put the great number of buildings found in that temple; maybe Taoist monks occupied them, though there is no trace left of their passage. The present village administration has taken them over to put up its offices.

3. History

No monuments were found in the Ts'ai-shen temples, except a bell dated 1848, at Cz 315a.

4. Images and cult

The names given to the five huge statues at Cz 315a are as follows: from west to east (fig. 62): 1) Li-shih Ta-kuan 利市大官 "The Great Official favoring the markets," a clean shaven scholar, the position of his hands shows he must have been holding a scepter, or more probably a *ju-i* 如意, missing now. 2) Lu-shen 祿神 "God of the Official Appointments," a red-faced bearded scholar with a gourd-like fruit in his right hand (fig. 63). 3) Tseng-fu Ts'ai-shen (see above), a scholarly figure, with moustache; his right hand holds a purse, his left a silver ingot. 4) Wu-ku Ts'ai-shen 五穀財神 "God of Wealth of the Five Cereals (see ch. 23): a clean shaven scholar, with a diadem with ten leaves at its base, holding a *ju-i* in both hands. 5) Wu Ts'ai-shen 武財神 "Military God of Wealth," a military figure, blackfaced and bearded, holding his belt. This is clearly not Kuan-ti, military God of Wealth in other parts of China; he recalls rather the "Turkish personage" said to be often the military Ts'ai-shen by Alexeev⁵⁰.

50) Alexeev, *The Chinese Gods of Wealth*, London, 1928, p. 31.

Here are now the three statues found in the Lateral Ts'ai-shen building at Cz 319: from west to east: 1) Wu-ku 五穀 God of the Five Cereals, red-faced, with a fierce expression (note the difference with above). 2) Ch'ien-lung 錢龍 "Dragon of Money," a blackbearded scholar, with a smiling countenance. 3) Pi-kan 比干 with an eye-socket in the middle of each palm. Pi-kan is a well-known member of the Imperial Court of Yin, who according to the legend was killed by the King Chou, to use his heart as a medicinal broth for his concubine. We couldn't find anything that would explain either the eye-sockets in his hands, or his presence in the Ts'ai-shen temple.

The Ts'ai-shen depicted on the walls of the Kuanti temple on top of the village gate at Cz 279a, corresponds on the opposite wall to the painting of Tz'u-t'ung 梓潼 who in some parts of China is considered as one of the shapes of Wench'ang 文昌⁵¹). In our fresco Tz'u-t'ung is shown on horseback, distributing wealth. There seems in fact to be some similarity with the representations of Wench'ang, who is often depicted with a horse or a mule (see ch. 16 and fig. 49). Tz'u-t'ung has no distinct cult in this area.

CHAPTER 12

The Ling-kuan 靈官 Temples: 13 units

1. Number and distribution

The Ling-kuan "Efficient, or powerful, Official" cult is a peculiar feature of the religious life of the Hsüan-hua area. Outside of the city, it is only represented by one independent small-sized temple, standing outside the village of Dv 83a and facing south. A wooden tablet with his name is found in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 164a and the small statue on a table in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 98 (see fig. 16) was said to be his. There is in fact a general likeness and he holds the Ling-kuan's scepter. But he holds a fire-wheel too, which is a symbol of the god of the Fire (ch. 13). What constitutes the characteristic of this cult is the fact that 10 shrines of Ling-kuan were noted, all of them leaning against the wall, or carved in the wall of another temple, mostly a highly placed temple. The shrine faces north in 8 cases, and in two cases faces east and west, both being attached to the side walls of the same temple, Dv 176a. The temples to which these shrines are affixed are: the Chen-wu temple (Dv 87, Dv 89, Dv 122b, Dv 171a, Dv 176a), the Wu-tao temple (Dv 125c, Dv 163b), the Kuan-ti temple (Dv 95a) or on top of the gate (Dv 133).

The Ling-kuan shrines are only found along the main imperial highways; the influence of the county seat is easily recognizable on map 3. This city has two large Ling-kuan temples (recently affected to other uses, it is true)

51) See the description of Chehkiang cults in Clarence B. Day, *Chinese Peasant Cults*, Shanghai, Kelley and Walsh, 1940, p. 112.

which explain the presence in the rural area of a cult unknown in the more remote regions.

2. Building and name

The Ling-kuan shrine is seldom higher than three feet. The name inscribed on wooden tablets is *Ling-kuan Hsüan-t'an shen-wei* 靈官立壇神位 "Residence of the Spirit of the Efficient Official Hsüan-t'an." Our informants called him He-hu Ling-kuan 黑虎靈官 "The Efficient Official with the black tiger" (Dv 87) or Chao Kung-min Hsüan-t'an 趙公民立壇 the latter name may tempt us to translate "Mysterious Altar of Chao Kung-min." The fact is that Hsüan-t'an is felt as an epithet of the god. The same was the case in the Wanch'üan ara, where Hsüan-t'an was the recipient of a quite different cult (see below Part Two).

3. History

Nothing is known about the history of these shrines. We may observe here that the Ling-kuan temples in the city of Hsüan-hua are both older than the year 1600.

4. Images and cult

The image of Ling-kuan shows a red-faced, blackbearded warrior, brandishing a knotted scepter (fig. 16). Twice he is shown riding a tiger (Dv 83a and Dv 133). His left hand is extended threateningly before him (see fig. 70). Except for the fact that he is seated, this image is identical with that shown among the twelve generals or attendants in front of the Chen-wu images (see ch. 5 and fig. 29, second from the left).

Strictly speaking, in Taoist mythology, Ling-kuan is not the name of a person, but of a function. On both sides of the Jade Emperor Yü-huang 玉皇, two Efficient Officials are standing, one called Wang Shan 王善, more often Wang Ling-kuan, the other Chao Kung-ming, or Chao Ling-kuan, or Hsüan-t'an (both are on fig. 29, second and third from the left.) We found both of them in front of the Lao-tzu 老子 statue in a temple of Hsüan-hua city, and again each one was found in two distinct, but neighboring localities in our Wanch'üan survey (Cz 216 and Cz 227, see page 246 of the paper quoted note 5). In these latter cases, no separate cult was rendered to them. Hsüan-t'an was God of Hail in Wanch'üan as we will see in Part Two. Here we must limit ourselves to the description of the cult of Ling-kuan in the present area.

The evidence gathered in the villages is unanimous: Ling-kuan protects the village against evil influences, against the wrong *feng-shui* 風水 or geomantic influences. Here are the words of some witnesses: "*Chen-shou shen-lin* 鎮守山林 "he protects against mountains and forests" (Dv 83a) or "against mountains" *chen shan* 鎮山 (Dv 163b); or elsewhere: *chen-wu* 鎮物 "he

protects against (evil) things” (Dv 125c). The explanation given at Dv 133 was even more complete: “This village at first had no Ling-kuan temple; but one day a physiognomist told us that through the influence of some tombs situated outside the village, premature deaths were caused among the youth. We build a temple on top of the village gate, and have had no such deaths since. The Ling-kuan *chen-fen* 鎮墳 “protects against tombs.” When we passed in that village, the Ling-kuan temple had just been burned by accident, and the image of the god put away in the Lung-wang temple. We saw the lay guardian of all village temples, who acts as a representative of the people in ceremonies, burn incense on the spot of the former temple before a strip of paper with the words: *Ling-kuan shen-wei* 靈官神位 “Residence of the Spirit of Ling-kuan.” As this ceremony was not held before the statue itself, it seems that the particular place from which the god can protect against the tombs, is more important than the image of the god itself.

CHAPTER 13

The Huo-shen 火神 Temples: 9 units

The God of the Fire has two lateral buildings in his name, one east of the large Ts'ai-shen temple at Cz 315a, one east of the main hall of the Buddha temple at Cz 278a. Besides we found a small shrine of the Huo-shen in the east wall of the Lung-wang temple at Cz 315b, further 4 wooden tablets with his name, three in a Lung-wang temple, one in a Buddha temple, finally two images of the Huo-shen are honored in other temples, east in the Hu-shen temple at Dv 95 and east in the San Kuan temple at Cz 279b. There seems to be a fixed custom to put this god in the eastern position.

The God of Fire (see fig. 38) has a fiery red beard and a red face, with a frontal eye. He is wearing an armour on top of which a short mantle is loosely thrown; in his left hand he holds a scepter. In other statues we saw him present a wheel of fire in his hand. Besides the servants he may have on his side, one finds in his temple a group of fierce warriors; because no photograph could be taken in our area, we show here the four main assistants of the Huo-shen which are standing in the Huo-shen temple at Cz 276, Kalgan, a few miles north of the temple at Cz 278a. The typical features of these assistants is their headdress: the statues on the west (fig. 39) have a monkey's head and an elephant's head on top of their helmets; these on the east side (fig. 40) have a serpent and a tiger's head on top of theirs. The frescoes at Cz 278a besides four attendants with exactly the same designs show two more with a crab's head and with a pheasant's head on their helmets.

We think that the local artists have been inspired by the popular novel *Feng-shen yen-i* 封神演義, also called *Feng-shen pang* 封神榜 “Honor roll of the canonization of the gods.” The two last chapters give a list of honors granted to the souls of the heroes fallen in the campaign of the new dynasty

Chou 周 against the last tyrant of the Yin 殷 dynasty. Among these gods, one group is proclaimed patrons of the fire⁵²⁾. Four of them seem to correspond to the four attendants of the Fire God, as each has an animal attached to his name:

- 1) Tiger: Chu Chao 朱昭 2) Pig: Kao Chen 高震
3) Monkey: Fang Kui 方貴 4) Snake: Wang Chiao 王蛟

There is only a difference for the second one, who ought to have: Elephant.

The fifth god in the novel is Liu Huan 劉環 and the head of the group is Lo Hsüan 羅宣. The two last named were Taoist hermits who joined the battle earlier in the novel⁵³⁾. Chapter 64 describes among other things how they put fire to a city by throwing fire arrows into it. The text describes Lo Hsüan as having "a headdress with the tail of a fish on top and a third eye in the middle of his brow." (ibid. p. 70).

These peculiar headdresses have influenced directly the statues we show here. The third eye is a regular feature of this god⁵⁴⁾.

CHAPTER 14

The T'u-ti 土地 Cult: 9 units

The god of the Earth, so often present as an attendant of Wu-tao (ch. 1) and on the frescoes of the Lung-wang temple (ch. 2), has a few sanctuaries of his own. Only one independent temple was noted, a small-sized building, outside the village Dv 89, with the inscription on the gate: *T'u-ti-ts'u* 土地祠 "Sanctuary of the Ruler of the Earth." Another temple of this god must have existed at Dv 133a, but the only evidence left is the inscription on a spheric gong, now in the Chen-wu temple. Three small shrines dedicated to this god were found in the wall of the Kuan-ti temple at Cz 279a, of the Lung-wang temple at Dv 125b, and standing alone at Dv 138b. Further, twice a lateral image of T'u-ti is honored in other temples: in the Shan-shen temple at Dv 127b and in the Ho-shen temple at Dv 95a. The statue of T'u-ti in the Hu-shen temple at Dv 123a is not the object of a separate cult, although specially mentioned in the report on the construction of the temple (see Introduction, p. 15).

Not a single inscription was found in the T'u-ti temples. The T'u-ti god is an old man, white bearded, dressed like a scholar, with a benign expression or a smile (see fig. 9).

CHAPTER 15

52) *Feng-shen yen-i*, Kuang-i edition, vol. 4, p. 124.

53) *Feng-shen yen-i*, Kuang-i edition, vol. 3, p. 70-73.

54) See the description of the Fire God in the Po-yün kuan 白雲觀 in Peking, by Kubo Tokutada 窪德忠 in *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku* 支那佛教史學, VII, 11, 1943, p. 70.

The San-lang 毛郎 Cult: 9 units

1. Number and distribution

We have here a totally new cult, the origin of which seems to be purely local. We have tried to gather the greatest possible number of facts about it.

The San-lang cult has two large temples at Cz 311b (see fig. 41 and 42) and at Dv 85 a (see fig. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47). Besides seven tablets are put up with his name in other temples (see fig. 30). The nine cults of the San-lang seem to be centered around two different centers (see map 5); one of the two independent temples has a relation with a village called Ta-pai-yang 大白陽 in the northeast of the surveyed territory. The tablets were all found in the east and southeast of Hsüan-hua city (note that the city doesn't know the cult); they are centered around a large temple built on a mountain south of the Yang-ho river. Both these centers were in territory inaccessible to us at that time, so that there was no possibility to check directly.

2. Building and name

Both the temples at Cz 311b and Dv 85a are three *chien* wide buildings, with southern orientation, and elaborate carvings on the pillars and above the doors. The first temple is standing on its own, in a walled-in courtyard with a couple of annexes for the temple-keeper. The second temple however was built in the western end of the courtyard of the Lung-wang temple, but because of its size has eclipsed the older sanctuary. Both are called in the spoken language San-lang-miao.

There is now the problem of the first word *san* 毛, written like *mao* 毛, but with the central stroke starting above the top of the first horizontal stroke. It looks more as if the character was made up from *san* 三 three, its homonym, with a down stroke through it. This character is attested only in older dictionaries. The K'ang-hsi dictionary (under the radical 82) quotes the *Hai-p'ien* 海篇, affirming: "it is the name of a god, originally written San-lang-shen 三郎神. The Man-jen 蠻人 pronounce the (constellation) 參 as *san* 毛, by phonetic change made it 三" (follow then two names of places in which this character occurs). The origin of the part of the text about the cult of a god, can be traced to the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書⁵⁵, where a god called Chu-wang San-lang shen 竹王三郎神 "Third Son of the Bamboo King" is said to be honored in the county Yeh-lang-hsien 夜郎縣 (in northern Kuichow). A king of a local tribe, is said to have been found, as a baby, in a hollow bamboo drifting down a river. He made his submission in 111 B.C. to Emperor Wu of Han. He received the title Yeh-lang-hou 夜郎侯 "Earl of Yeh-lang." After his death, the title was granted again to his third son. Hence the name San-lang.

55) *Hou-han-shu*, chapter 116, 1739 edit. f. 6b.

There seems to be no influence traceable between these legends from southwest China, and our Hsüan-hua god, unless some local literate or well-read monk, looking for a really new name for a god, thought of using this character. There is even no proof that the character 老 is the same as 三. We were not able to check the context of the *Hai-p'ien* text.

The names used on the wooden tablets for this god are of greater folkloristic interest. A few of them simply give the name of the god:

Dv 138a: *San-lang-yeh chih shen wei* 老郎爺之神位

“Residence of the Spirit of the Venerable San-lang”

Dv 163a: *Kung San-lang-yeh chih wei* 供老郎爺之位

“To honor the residence of the Venerable San-lang”

Dv 167: *Kung-feng San-lang ta shen chih wei* 供奉老郎大神之位

“To honor the residence of the great god San-lang”

Another type of tablet gives the god a solemn title:

Dv 139a: *Kung-feng San-lang ta-hsien hu-kuo chien-fo-tzu chih shen-wei* 供奉老郎大仙護國堅佛子之神位

“To honor the residence of the spirit of San-lang, Great Immortal, Protector of the Realm, Resolute Bodhisattva”

We will see below that San-lang has one or two sisters. They have their tablet too. We found at Dv 163 two tablets:

a) *Ch'ih-feng Pao-ning-shan Hu-kuo Shun-chi Lung-wang chih shen-wei*
敕封保寧山護國順濟龍王之神位

“Residence of the Spirit of the Dragon King, who by Imperial Rescript is: Mountain (see below) Insuring Peace, Protector of the Realm and Helpful.”

b) *Ch'ih-feng Pao-ning-shan An-chi Sheng-ku ts'u-mei chih shen-wei*
敕封保寧山安濟聖姑姊妹之神位

“Residence of the Spirit of the Sisters, who by Imperial Rescript are Mountain Insuring Peace, Soothing Help and Holy Ladies.”

At Dv 171a we found three tablets on the altar of the Lung-wang temple; two of them have the same text as the above. The third tablet, as was explained by the local informants, is also dedicated to the San-lang and has the following text:

Ch'ih-feng Huang-yang-shan Hu-kuo San-sheng Lung-wang, Sheng-mu chih-wei 敕封黃陽山護國三聖龍王聖母之位

“Residence of the Spirits of the Three Saints: The Dragon King and the Holy Mothers, by Imperial Rescript, Protectors of the Realm, from Huang-yang-mountain.”

In front of the three statues found in the temple at Dv 85a (see fig. 44) we noted the following tablets:

a) (in front of the central statue)

Kung-feng Hu-kuo Shun-chi Lung-wang Ku-fo shen-wei

供俸護國順濟龍王古佛神位

“To honor the Residence of the Spirit of the old Buddha, Dragon King, Helpful and Protector of the Realm”

b) (in front of the western statue):

Kung-feng Hu-kuo an-chi Sheng-ku shen-wei

供俸護國安濟聖姑神位

“To honor the Residence of the Spirit of the Holy Lady, Pacifying and Protectress of the Realm”

c) (in front of the eastern statue) an identical inscription as under b), except for the words *ch'üan-chi* 泉濟 “Help from the Source” (no satisfactory sense) replacing the words *an-chi* of the preceding tablet.

3. History

The temple of the San-lang at Dv 85a has a very recent history; so recent in fact that the work was not completed when we passed there. The stone slabs commemorating the erection were being prepared for the carving. In 1939, a rich peasant of the village, Kuo Wu 郭武, gave 10,000 silver Chinese dollars for the erection of a temple to San-lang, on the condition that the whole village contributed for a similar amount. The San-kuan temple, which was touching the western wall of the Lung-wang temple, was removed to a more eastern site, and a large San-lang temple was built in the gap left. (see fig. 43).

The temple at Cz 311b is much older. According to the (undated, but clearly recent) stone monument: “there was a San-lang cult in this village in the beginning of the K'ang-hsi reign (around 1662) when the San-lang was manifesting himself often through his help to the crops. The people, instead of building him a temple, contented themselves with putting up a painted image of the god in the Lung-wang temple. The San-lang god, seeing that his help did not get sufficient recognition, moved in 1701 to the village Ta-pai-yang 大白陽 in the neighboring Lung-kuan-hsien (see map 3) where the people erected a temple for him. Later however this temple here was erected.”⁵⁶⁾

The only dated monument in this temple is a bell of 1936 with the name of the temple San-lang-shen-miao 老郎神廟. Two other bells found there belong resp. to the Lung-wang temple and to the Kuan-yin temple of the same village.

The wooden tablets do not give any date, but at Dv 171a I was told by an old peasant that he remembered quite clearly one occasion in 1914 when the monk of the Lung-wang temple on the Huang-yang mountain was invited

56) The gazetteers of Lung-men 龍門縣志 (1712 edition, c. 4, f. 8 b) and of Lung-kuan 瀧關縣志 (new name of Lung-men, 1934 edition, c. 2, f. 14 b) both note a Lung-wang temple in the village Ta-pai-yang, erected in the year 1499, but the cult of San-lang does not receive a single mention in these works.

to the village to pray for rain; the monk got into a trance, and possessed by the spirit of the San-lang god, walked up and down the streets, while the villagers kneeled on his passage.

We come here now to the role played by the mountain Huang-yang-shan. This mountain is a characteristic feature of the landscape south of the Yang-ho river; the photograph 48 was taken in a straight southernly direction from a point about a mile north of Dv 170a. The line of trees in the center show the emplacement of that village. Less than a mile further the Yang-ho flows, hidden by the slope. The mountain Huang-yang, with its typical patches of white sand on the lower slopes, is completely deserted on its northern side, visible here. It has a height of 1666 meters (5060 feet)⁵⁷, viz. 1100 meters (3400) feet) aboven the Yang-ho. On its southern slope however, as we know both from the accounts in the gazetteers of Hsüan-hua county⁵⁸) as from the conversations with the villagers, who went there for

57) H. C. T'an 譚錫疇 *Geology of Hsüan-hua, Cho-lou and Huai-lai Districts, Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China*, 10, January 1928.

58) The sanctuary on the southern slope of the Huang-yang-shan being out of reach because of war conditions at the time of our passage, I will try to give a summary of its history according to the Hsüan-hua county gazetteers (1712 and 1922 editions). The name of the mountain is spelled Huang-yang 黃羊山 in the 1712 edition (c. 2, f. 4 b) which means Mountain of the Antelope. This seems to fit much better with the local speech habits. H. C. T'an though (see work quoted in note 57) giving the name Huang-yin-shan 黃陰山 to a southern branch of the Huang-yang shan suggests a parallel *yin* 陰 -*yang* 陽.

The same text of the gazetteer notes that the local people have noticed that rain often is predictable when clouds gather on top of the mountain. Rain in Hsüan-hua comes normally from the southeast and the mountain is about 18 kms. (10 miles) in that direction from the city. The 1922 edition (c. 1, f. 8 b) adds that the local tradition has it that Huang Po-yang 黃伯陽 practised asceticism there: nothing is known about that man.

The temple on the mountain is called Ch'ao-yang-ssu 朝陽寺; although the name implies a Buddhist monastery, there is evidence of other cults being represented. The temple is the center of a rain cult according to both gazetteers (1712 ed., c. 13, f. 9 b; 1922, ed. c. 2, f. 26 b), in addition there is a San-kuan cult, whose building erected in 1596 (1712 ed. c. 13, f. 9 b) was repaired 1679 by Yen K'o-ch'üan 閻可權, a military governor from 1674 on (in another passage the date given is 1675, c. 19, f. 7 a), whose biography (1712 ed. c. 22, f. 23 b), affirms he was very zealous in the restoration of temples of popular deities. He died in function and received a local cult after his death (1922 ed., c. 11, f. 34 b). Yen K'o ch'uan had a local scholar Hu I-wen 胡以溫 (1712, ed. c. 20, f. 2 a, says: graduated in 1646, was in 1679 in function as a county prefect in Kiangsi) write the commemorative inscription. Although the above temple is clearly mentioned as a center for rain prayers, there is evidence of another temple on the same mountain, called Lung-shen temple 龍神廟. The 1922 gazetteer (c. 2, f. 27 a) notes that this sanctuary was built near a "Dragon Grotto" (compare above p. 28) in 1500, with several successive restorations mentioned. The last one recorded has left a monument, dated 1748 and written by Wu Ku 吳穀 (native of Chekiang and in charge as governor of the *fu* 府 of Hsüan-hua from 1746 till 1750, *ibid.* c. 12, f. 16 a). The complete text is reproduced in the gazetteer (c. 16, f. 73 a-b) and does not add very much to our knowledge, except where it states that on the first day of the fourth moon there is an official sacrifice of wine and sheep; compare this with the interdiction of wine and meat in the rites held at Dv 85a, section 4 below.

pilgrimages, a large Lung-wang temple has been the center of a successful rain cult for centuries. According to the account we heard at Dv 85a the San-lang god originally was a holy man, who lived with his two sisters on the Huang-yang-shan where he attained a perfect contemplative state. When villages were plagued by prolonged drought, he was asked to come and to pray for them. At such occasions, he got into a trance and was moved by the spirit of the Dragon King of the mountain. After his death, a cult started, which although directed to him, still implies a connection with the Lung-wang temple on the Mountain. This is shown: 1° by the name "Dragon King Protector of the Realm" found on the tablets, or Pao-ning-shan 保寧山 Mountain which insures peace." 2° at Dv 178, where no tablets were found of this cult, the villagers told us that in periods of drought, the villages send a delegate to the Mountain, from where the statues of San-lang and of his sisters are brought for a procession around the villages (incidentally, this is the only evidence we have that the Lung-wang temple on the mountain also has statues of the San-lang); 3° at Dv 170a the Lung-wang temple has a verse pasted above its door:

Miao-men cheng tui Huang-yang-shan 廟門正對黃羊山

Ch'iu miao ch'i yü pu chien-nan 求苗祈雨不艱難

"The door of the temple faces the Huang-yang mountain

To beg for crops and for rain is not difficult."

To summarize the history of this cult, we could say that a highly popular center of worship on the Huang-yang Mountain, whose existence is attested from the year 1500 on, has produced in the villages north of the river, a derived cult to San-lang, considered as an instrument of the Rain God's power. Although found only in a temple dating from after 1700 and in a recent sanctuary, the cult is more popular than many others in the region. However the need for a visible symbol (building, tablet) for this cult, is not as strong as for other cults, as the main sanctuary of the mountain is easily accessible to the villagers.

4. Images and cult

The San-lang statue at Cz 311b shows a black-faced and black-bearded warrior, with armour and sword (see fig. 42). At Dv 85a however the statue is that of a white-faced and black-bearded scholar. His large robe hides his clothes, but on the lateral frescoes (see fig. 45 and 46) one sees him in the conventional garb of a scholar. He holds a willow twig in his right hand; it is a local custom to hold such a twig or to crown the statues of the gods with such twigs during rain processions. The San-lang is flanked by the statues of his two sisters (Fig. 44).

The lateral frescoes at Dv 85a are inspired from the theme "Pursuit of the Evil Ones" (see ch. 2) with the necessary adaptation. This fresco is a good example of contemporary rural art.

The lateral walls at Dv 311b have a succession of 31 panels showing the life and the feats of the god. Each panel has a short title. The life starts on the eastern wall, upper southern corner, and goes on with successive vertical rows of three or two titles towards the back or northern wall. We could take no photographs, but here is the text of the inscriptions:

1. He comes into the world by Heavenly command
2. To meet evil and to change it in good fortune
3. The Jade Emperor gives him a flag
4. With spiritual heart he practises virtue
5. Leaving his mother, he visits his teacher
6. The thunder rolls and the rain gathers
7. His teacher gives him a sword
8. In a dream at night he sees his teacher
9. Kuan-yin educates him
10. The Venerable Son observes the Classics
11. Finally he meets sudden rain
12. The Venerable Son brings redemption to a tiger
13. When keeping sheep, he meets his teacher
14. The Venerable Son gets born in another existence

Western wall:

1. He brings thanks to the Five Dragons
2. He receives the command to grant rain
3. He worships the Jade Emperor
4. His flag flutters, the wind stops
5. He finally becomes "Venerable Son"
6. Returning to Heaven, he receives a mission
7. He prays the gods to be ennobled
8. That he may subdue the devils and save the people
9. There comes a sudden wind and a violent rain
10. The people thank for the favors
11. And repay the favor of the god
12. The Venerable Son removes the wicked influences
13. Removing violence he pacifies the people
14. For the people he scatters the devils
15. The people receives rain
16. Getting rid of the devil, he fulfills his mission
17. The Venerable Son manifests his might.

The text sounds a bit weak in the sequence of the story and it may be read horizontally, instead of vertically; this brings some sentences in a more logical context, but again does not work out rightly for many others. Here is the sequence of the sentences if read horizontally. Eastern wall: 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 13, 2, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 5, 8. Western wall: 1, 3, 6, 7, 12, 15, 2, 4, 7,

10, 13, 16, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17. There is no way to decide which method is the right one; we have examples of numbered panels of the Chen-wu biographies (see ch. 5) where the story starts at the bottom of a wall, and works upward and vertically, which seems against all habits of Chinese inscriptions.

The same temple has two paintings on the outjutting parts of the lateral walls, in the outside gallery under the eaves; there is a white tiger (east side), and a black dragon (west side). The tiger, also quoted in the above text, is otherwise unknown in the lore of the rain gods in this area.

The temple feasts for the San-lang are held on the sixth of the sixth moon (Dv 85a) and on the 18th of the third moon (Cz 311b). Of special note is the fact that at the first village, rain plays or music is the only permissible celebration. Offering of sheep is forbidden. Furthermore, the god San-lang is honored there in case of illness too. The sick take some ashes of the incense burned in front of the god; this cure has no effect except if the patient refrains from eating meat, from smoking and from drinking wine. In these prescriptions I think we may safely see the influence of the secret brotherhoods existing all over North China, which strongly advocate these three abstinences for their members.

CHAPTER 16

The Wen-ch'ang 文昌 Temples: 9 units and the K'ui-hsing 魁星 Cult: 3 units

1. Number and distribution

The gods of the literati, Wen-ch'ang and K'ui-hsing are treated together here, as is customary. They do however not appear together in the explored area, except once. Wen-ch'ang has six independent temples, all of them on top of the village gate; besides he is honored in two side buildings of other temples, both situated in the east: in the Lung-wang temple at Cz 307a and in the Buddha temple at Dv 96a; his image was found once more as a side image of the San-kuan, on the west side, corresponding to an image of the Ts'ai-shen on the east side (Cz 279a).

The K'ui-hsing god is found once on the gate of the village, sharing the temple with Wen-ch'ang (Dv 171a), the first facing north and the latter south, both separated by a wooden partition. Two independent shrines of K'ui-hsing were found, one in the wall of the Kuan-yin temple at Dv 97, the other inside the Kuan-ti temple at Dv 167.

2. Building and name

The Wen-ch'ang temples are medium-sized buildings one *chien* wide. Typical for this temple is the fact that there is always another cult sharing the same building, but facing in the opposite direction. We have seen above

one case where the K'ui-hsing is the partner. This seemed to be common in our two former surveys (Wanch'üan and Tatung, Shansi). There is however a difference in the present area. As this difference was already showing itself in the eastern extremity of the Wanch'üan area, we brought both on one map (see map 5). Noteworthy on this map is the fact that on the western margin of it, an area starts which extends much farther westwards, and in which all the Wen-ch'ang temples (eleven in all) face south and have K'ui hsing at the back facing north (see map 4 of our Wanch'üan study, page 302). The present map however shows a great variety of shapes; the regular pattern is lost. We list these cases according to their characteristics:

1. Wen-ch'ang facing south: five cases, Cz 319, 279b, 305, 260, 315
2. Wen-ch'ang facing north: five cases, Cz 306a, 264, 278a, 279a, 315a
3. Kuan-ti partner of Wen-ch'ang: three cases, Cz 279a, 264, 306a
4. Kuan-ti partner of K'ui-hsing: one case, Cz 293
5. Kuan-yin partner of Wen-ch'ang: four cases, Cz 319, 305, 279b, 315
6. San-huang (see ch. 30) partner of Wen-ch'ang: one case, Cz 315a
7. San-kuan, partner of Wen-ch'ang: one case, Cz 278a.

One may note that on the map, no Wen-ch'ang cult is found further south till Dv 171a, where we again found the regular pattern: Wen-ch'ang facing south with K'ui-hsing facing north behind him. There must be a reason for the great irregularity listed above and limited to one small corner of the map. It occurs exactly on the boundary line between the two counties Wanch'üan and Hsüan-hua, where the southern county of Huai-an 懷安 pushes a tongue of territory northwards between the two other counties. In fact, historically and linguistically this area is a transition area.⁵⁹⁾ That might explain why the religious usage too shows a mixed pattern on this spot; none of the represented combinations is found grouped in a homogeneous nucleus.

The popular name of the temple is *Wen-ch'ang miao* 文昌廟 "Temple of Wen-ch'ang." The painted image of Dv 85a was called in our presence Su-tze yeh 蘇子爺 "The Venerable Master Su," a name we cannot explain.

3. History

No monuments were found in these temples, except an inscription above the gate of the temple at Cz 278a, dated 1679, with the words *Wen-chang ssu ming* 文章司命 "Literature directs human destiny" which is to be understood of the literary career, after all the only real career in imperial times.

4. Images and cult

The image of Wen-ch'ang shows a typical scholar, with a *ju-i* 如意 in his

59) The linguistic and historical boundaries are added according to the map published in the study quoted note 4 above.

left hand (see fig. 49). On the side, next to the attendants holding book and paper (the old man at right is probably Chu I⁶⁰), clad in red with a scroll) we found twice a white robed *chuang-yüan* 狀元 “scholar who passed first in the imperial examinations” (shown only partly on our photograph) and on the other side a youth holding a horse or a mule. This mule was found with Tz’u-t’ung, sometimes identified with Wen-ch’ang, but shown as a god of wealth in our survey (see ch. 11).

The lateral walls of the Wen-ch’ang temple in four cases show frescoes with the biography of the god, but without any titles to the panels. One temple at Dv 96a has the painting of an old man on the western wall (unknown) and that of Wen-ch’ü hsing 文曲星, in the shape of a devil, on the eastern wall; this star is said to exert influence on the examinations. Under this name, the minister Pi-kan 比干 is canonized in the popular tradition⁶¹.

The feast of Wen-ch’ang is held on the day of the winter solstice, which is one of the 24 key-days of the solar calendar used by the peasants, *tung-chih* 冬至. On that day, according to an informant at Cz 315a, all the schools have a free day. In the morning, the pupils go to the Wen-ch’ang temple to give a prostration to the statue, after which each goes to the house of his friends to wish them “a good winter.” A common meal brings the boys together in the evening; they play then a game called *sheng-kuan t’u* 陞官圖 “board to climb to office,” a kind of game of goose, in which by a throw of the dice or the spin of a top the progressing to some “offices” indicated on the board is determined.

The K’ui-hsing statue found in the two shrines represents the god in his usual shape of a distorted demon, standing on one toe and brandishing an arrow. In one case he is standing on a tortoise (Dv 87) which is not usual, some kind of fish being commonly found there. The image at Dv 167 is the only china statue we found in Chahar or Shansi, although china statues of gods are often found in shops in Peking. I was told there that they are made in Kiang-su province only. The parallel inscription found on the shrine at Dv 87, though half torn away, shows the purpose of the K’ui-hsing cult: the first line reads: *i pi tien chuang-yüan* 一筆點狀元 “with one stroke of the brush he marks the first graduate.”

CHAPTER 17

The Yü-huang 玉皇 Temples: 6 units

The Jade Emperor, supreme god of the Taoists, has only independent

60) Van Gulik, *On the Seal Representing the God of Literature, Monumenta Nipponica*, Tôkyô, IV, 1 1941, pp. 36-37.

61) Pi Kan (see p. 79 above) is canonized as Wen-ch’ü star, among the stars of the Northern Dipper, in the popular novel *Feng-shen yen-yi*, c. 99, Kuang-i edit. vol. 4, p. 125.

sanctuaries in the explored area, six of them in the Liu-ho plain, and two more on the approaches from the plain towards Kalgan (Cz 276). The cult of Yü-huang is well represented in the city of Hsüan-hua Dv 128, but was not found anywhere else in the southern half of the area (see map 1).

The Yü-huang sanctuaries are built on high spots, except at Cz 319, and their emplacement is chosen in the north of the village. Twice it stands on a high hill overlooking the locality, Dv 85 and Dv 95a, but more often it stand on an earthen tower built for this special purpose: Cz 278a, Cz 319a, Dv 96, Cz 315a (for the latter see fig. 53). We have already described the special Yü-huang shrine found on top of the roof of the Lung-wang temple at Dv 122a (see page 27 and fig. 8).

Another cult is often found either at the foot of the tower or at the back of the Yü-huang temple. We found the San-kuan (Cz 319a), Chen-wu (Cz 315a) in the first position, and twice Kuan-yin (Cz 319a and Dv 95a) in the latter.

The history of the Yü-huang temple can be gathered from a few monuments. Bells with the name of the temple were noted at Cz 278a (date 1611) and at Dv 96 (date: 1599); without the name of the temple, in the two same localities, dated 1561 for the former and 1535 for the latter. A couple of recent stone monuments commemorate the restoration of the Yü-huang temple; specially valuable is the stone of 1781 found at Cz 319a which first mentions a restoration in 1590, and adds that the Kuan-yin annex was added in the K'anghsi reign (1662-1722).

The name of the temple is regularly *Yü-huang-ko* "Pavilion of the Jade Emperor". Above the gate at Cz 315a is written *Hao-t'ien Shang-ti* 昊天上帝 "High Ruler of the Vast Heavens."

The image of the Jade Emperor shows a bearded scholar with a mortar-board cap; two small female servants stand at each side. In front of the main statue, we found several pairs of attendants standing in a row (Cz 319 and Dv 95a); in another place, Cz 278a, these attendants are painted on the side walls. These images represent the twelve heavenly generals found usually in front of the Chen-wu statue (ch. 5), either all of them (as in Cz 278a) or only two of them (Dv 95a). Besides these, in all three temples, the pair nearest to the entrance of the temple represents Chen-wu and Nan Chen-wu (see ch. 5a).

Finally we found once the two images of Yin Hung and Yin Chiao; we had found them once before in a temple situated at the western extremity of the Wanch'üan area, but could not identify them at the time (see our Wanch'üan study, page 277). They are represented by half naked and winged gods, with claws and beaks. In the popular novel *Feng-shen yen-i*⁶²⁾ they

62) *Feng-shen yen i*, Kuang-i edit., vol. 4, p. 127.

are the two sons of King Chou of Yin. Yin Chiao is raised in the canonization ceremony to the office of god of the year T'ai-sui shen 太歲神 (see note 19); his brother Yin Hung receives the title of god of the Five Cereals, Wu-ku shen 五穀神⁶³).

Two temples of Yü-huang have lateral frescoes depicting scenes of the life of the god, at Cz 319 and Dv 96.

There is a solemn offering of incense in his temples on the morning of Chinese New Year. At Cz 315a we were shown a booklet with a special prayer to Yü-huang, called *Yü-huang ching* 玉皇經. The full name is *Kao-shang Yü-huang pen-hsing chi-ching* 高上玉皇本行集經, printed in 1612.⁶⁴ The local people who have a special devotion to the god recite this text every day during the first month of the lunar year.

CHAPTER 18

The Ta-hsien 大仙 Cult: 7 units

The cult of the Great Genii is mainly a cult adressed to supernatural foxes, although sometimes other transcendental or magic animals are called by this name. This cult has no real temples, if one does not call by this name a small shrine at Cz 279. It has no images either, with one exception, in the San-ch'ing hall (see ch. 24) at Cz 314a where a small figure on horseback was given the name "Lao Hsien-yeh 老仙爺 "Venerable Genius," by a Taoist monk. We found four tablets with his name in the Kuan-ti temple (Dv 138a), the Buddha temple (Cz 315a twice) and the Lung-wang temple (Dv 163a). Here is the text of the latter *Pao-yu ho-pu p'ing-an Ta-hsien chih wei* 保佑閣 (for 闔) 堡平安大仙之位 "Residence of the spirit of the Great Genii who keeps the whole village in peace."

The three remaining places consecrated to this cult are trees, standing at Cz 279 (with a small bell hanging in it), at Dv 139a and at Dv 124a. A few ex-voto in paper or cloth are the only sign of this cult being practised there. In the last place, the people told us the tree was at least 1800 years old, and that the *ta-hsien* in it was very efficacious: *Lao-hsien-yeh-tzu hen ling* 老仙爺子很靈 (note the use of tzu, which proves the name is treated as a single word, which seldom happens with a three syllable word.)

CHAPTER 19

The Shan-shen 山神 cult: 6 units

The God of the Mountains is mostly found as an attendant of the Wu-tao god (see ch. 1 for the description of the statue and fig. 9). We noted above

63) *Feng-shen yen-i* writes this 五穀神 in c. 1 (vol. 1, p. 3) but 五角星 Star of Wu-ku in c. 99 (vol. 4, p. 125) where Yin Hung is listed among the 108 stars which are canonized.

64) L. Wieger, *Le Canon Taoïste*, t. I, p. 31, n. 10.

that some of the temples going under the Wu-tao name have a Shan-shen statue in the center. He is also once an attendant of Hu-shen (ch. 9). We found four temples going under the name of Shan-shen: Dv 85, 95, 122b and 126. They are small-sized shrines (see fig. 51) in which there is often nothing more than a bit of paper with the name of the god. The temple shown on our photograph has two statues, the eastern one being Shan-shen, the western one T'u-ti; in front of them stand a devil and a judge; the lateral frescoes show a tiger (east wall) and a wolf (west). This is exactly as if it were a Wutao temple deprived of his central Wu-tao statue. But it is called a Shan-shen temple, (which is the main point in a description of religious practices) and it stands alone on a hillside, favorite place for a Shan-shen temple, but where we never found a Wu-tao temple.

These Shan-shen temples are all built at some distance of the village to which they belong. From the words used by an informant at Dv 83a, when describing the Ling-kuan cult (ch. 12) "he protects against mountains and forests, like the Shan-shen," we suspect that the name Shan-shen ought not to be interpreted: patron, or, protecting spirit of such or such a mountain, in charge of such a mountain, but "god who controls, who restrains the evil influences of the mountains."

The Shan-shen is further found in the Ho-shen temple at Dv 95a as the eastern image, and a wooden tablet in his name is put up in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 83. One shall have noticed that the Shan-shen is only represented in the Liu-ho plain, and even the temples of the city of Hsüan-hua do not so much as mention his name.

The Shan-shen is offered incense in the 30th day of the 12th moon at Dv 85. A local Taoist hermit is supposed to burn incense in the name of that village on the first and fifteenth day of each moon.

CHAPTER 20

The Ch'ung-wang 虫王 Cult: 5 units

The cult of the God of Worms seems to be a combination of two cults each with a different origin. The first one is a popular cult to a god called Tzu-fang; this word is written 虯房 on a tablet at Dv 83, but 虯蚘 in the dictionaries, and translated "weevil." The second cult is due to the local interpretation of the term *pa-cha* 八蜡; this is originally an official cult of thanksgiving to the god of harvest. In the latter sense, it is only found in larger cities where temples and cults were set up in imperial times "according to the book," and not solely as natural outflow of popular religious feelings. There is such a Pa-cha miao 八蜡廟 in the city of Hsüan-hua. This cult now seems to have remained (or become?) meaningless for the people of the villages. They considered it as another form of the cult to the worm god. The name of this god here is pronounced *patsxa*, (which may correspond to either

ts'a or *ch'a* in standard language). This explains the presence of the name on the tablet at Dv 83, parallel with the name of Tzu-fang.

The only independent temple for this cult is called *pa-ts'a-miao* 八蜡廟 (Cz 311b); this is only a recent transformation. The temple was being restored for the *pa-ts'a* cult when we passed there. The bells and the stone however show that it was a He-lung-wang temple (see ch. 2a) till the 18th century at least. This constitutes an interesting example of the way by which an older cult becomes obsolete, the new one being in addition a local combination of a nature cult, with remnants of misunderstood state observances.

Besides the cases described, we found one more tablet at Dv 171, inscribed simply: *Kung-feng ch'ung-wang shen wei* 供俸虫王神位 "To honor the residence of the spirit of the King of Worms." In two temples, the Hu-shen temple at Cz 315a and the Lung-wang temple at Dv 176, we found the Ch'ung-wang as the western lateral image, having his own cult alongside the main image.

CHAPTER 21

The Nai-nai 奶奶 Temples: 5 units

The goddess of the children has one lateral building in the Buddha temple at Cz 279a, and four independent temples, all large compounds enclosed in walls. The largest sanctuary of this cult is halfway the slope of the mountain north of the county seat; it has the number Dv 129 on the map. It is not described in this paper, because it belongs to the city of Hsüan-hua. One may however notice that three sanctuaries of Nai-nai are built on mountain tops, Dv 129, Dv 95a and Cz 314a, all of them isolated sanctuaries and centers of pilgrimages.

The temple at Dv 133 has the statue of Nai-nai only, while the others all have three main images, habitually found in the temples of the goddess Pi-hsia yüan-chün 碧霞元君 or goddess of the T'ai-shan 泰山. Nevertheless the local people call all three goddesses *nai-nai*, and their temple *nai-nai miao* 奶奶廟 "Temple of the Mother(s)," and honor them to obtain children. We found twice a local Taoist monk who could give names to the statues; they follow here and may be compared with the official names as given f.i. by Chavannes⁶⁵):

- at Cz 314a: west: Pi-hsiao 碧霄
 center: Sheng-hsiao 生霄
 east: Yün-hsiao 雲霄
 at Cz 315a: west: Pi-hsiao 碧霄
 center: Ling-hsiao 靈霄
 east: Ch'iung-hsiao 瓊霄

65) Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, pages 37 sq.

The only place where the names occur in this form, seems to be the popular novel *Feng-shen yen-i* which here again has influenced the religious ideas. In the ceremony concluding the book and by which all gods are canonized, the three *nai-nai* are given the following titles⁶⁶):

Yüan-hsiao niang-niang 雲霄娘娘

Ch'iung-hsiao niang-niang 瓊霄娘娘

Pi-hsiao niang-niang 碧霄娘娘

They are canonized at the end of the ceremony, right after the 5 gods of the small pox (see below).

In all the five temples we found along the lateral walls two rows of attendants: the western row has one or two *nai-mu* "nurses," with children at the breast, while the opposite row in the east has the god and the goddess of the small-pox Tou-erh-chieh-chieh 痘兒姐姐 and Tou-erh ko-ko 痘兒哥哥. These attendants are standing on an elevated platform. Further towards the entrance of the temple, one or two more pairs of attendants are standing on the floor; we found there the Bringer of the Children, Sung-tzu ko-ko 送子哥哥 (see the smaller statue on fig. 54). Finally at Cz 314a two fierce looking warriors stand opposite each other near the entrance of the temple, one (west) has a red face and a knotted, square scepter (see fig. 54) and the other (east) a white face, a frontal eye and a knotted round scepter (see fig. 57). Their names were given as: Hua-hsiu 華秀 (west) and Hua-ch'ing 華清 (east). Nothing is known about them. Except for the frontal eye of the eastern statue, they may be the two Ling-kuan, Chao and Wang (see p. 80).

The lateral walls at Cz 279a and Cz 314a show the three goddesses going out or coming back to their sanctuary, accompanied by a large procession marching on clouds. This is clearly the adaptation for this cult of the well-known "Pursuit of the Evil Ones" (see the background on fig. 54 and 57).

We found no stone monuments in the Nai-nai temple; the bells are not old: one is dated 1810 at Dv 133 and one 1717 at Dv 95a; this calls the temple T'ai-shan-miao and the temple there was burned by the army in 1947.

The Nai-nai temple at Cz 315a is specially popular among all temples there. The feast proper is held on the 16th of the fourth moon. As the temple is touching that of the Ch'eng-huang (ch. 34) whose feast is on the 15th of the same month, there are usually theatricals held from the 13th till the 19th for both gods. A large theater built in front of the Nai-nai temple is used for the celebrations held in both temples (see fig. 56).

A temple with a cult to obtain children is sometimes called Tzu-sun miao 子孫廟 in the Wanch'üan area; such a temple has a statue of Wen Wang 文王, contemporary of Confucius, with his wife (see article quoted n. 5, p. 272). This cult is unknown in the rural area of Hsüan-hua, but we will describe

66) *Feng-shen yen-i*, Kuang-i ed. vol. 4, p. 128-129.

such a temple in the city itself. A reference to such a temple, now no longer extant, was found on the stone at Cz 315a, see p. 28 above.

CHAPTER 22

The Tsao-wang 灶王 Cult: five units

The cult of the God of the Kitchen is mainly confined to the private house of every peasant. Nevertheless we found on five occasions a tablet of this god in temples, viz. in three Lung-wang temples (Dv 130, Dv 83 and Dv 171a), in one Kuan-ti temple (Dv 178) and in one Buddha temple (Cz 315a). Two of these tablets had the conventional formula: *Tsao-chün ta-wang chih shen-wei* 灶君大王之神位 "Residence of the spirit of the Great King, Lord of the hearth." But the three others showed a title for the god which we have not met with before. Actually were it not for the explanation given by a Taoist Hermit at Dv 171a, and by an informant at Cz 315a, we couldn't have identified the god. The tablet at Dv 171a gave the title fully: *Kung-feng chien-chai shih-che huo-pu wei-shen chih shen-wei* 供俸監齋使者火部威神之神位 "To honor the residence of the spirit of the August God of the Fire Place, the Messenger, Supervisor of the Fast." The first part of the title could as well mean the Huo-shen, or God of the Fire. The title Chien-chai is only known as an ancient title used for one of the three men at the head of a Taoist monastery (according to the *P'ei-wen yün-fu*) but in a modern monastery there is no trace of this name⁶⁷).

CHAPTER 23

- a) **The Wu-ku 五穀 Cult: 3 units**
- b) **The Ch'ing-miao 青苗 Cult: 2 units**
- c) **The Shu-shen 黍神 cult: 1 unit**
- d) **The Ts'ang-kuan 倉官 Cult: 1 unit**

We group here four different cults which all seem to have relation to the crops. They have some affinities with the cult of the God of Wealth (ch. 11) and we have given there a description of the statues of the Wu-ku shen, God of the Five Cereals (fig. 63).

- a) The Wu-ku shen cult

Besides the two statues of the god described above, we found a small shrine in his name at Dv 170a with the following inscriptions:

Ch'iu shou wan-tan ku 秋收萬石谷 (for 穀)

Jen-min yu mi ch'ih 人民有米吃

67) See Koyanagi Shigeta 小柳司氣太, *Po-yün-kuan chih* 白雲觀志 (in Chinese), Tôkyô, 1934, p. 83. There is however an official called *chien-yüan*, who has a seat in the common refectory of the monks, behind which a statue of Wang Ling-kuan receives offerings of foods at the start of every meal. See Kubo Tokutada (paper quoted note 54), p. 69-70.

“May we have 10,000 piculs of millet at the fall's harvest
And the people will have millet to eat”.

b) The Ch'ing-miao cult

The God of the Green Shoots has a lateral building all to himself in the Pai-lung sanctuary at Cz 314a (ch. 2b). Three statues representing scholars were called by that name. Besides we found on a small bell hanging in the Chen-wu temple at Cz 315a the name *Ch'ing miao lao-shê* 青苗老社 “Venerable Association of the Green Shoots.” We suspect we have there only a local name for another Dragon King Association (ch. 2, sect. 4).

c) The Shu-shen cult

This god clearly owes his shrine to the need of having a parallel shrine to the above mentioned shrine of the Wu-ku at Dv 171a. This one has the inscription:

Shu-tze chang-ti kao 黍子長的高

Ta-chia kou ch'ih kao 大家够吃糕

“If the millet (another variety) grows high, everybody will have enough steamed millet-dough to eat.” Our translation is chosen to describe the local dish designed by *kao*.

d) The Ts'ang-kuan cult

A statue of the God of the Granaries was found on the west of the main image of the Lung-wang temple at Dv 98 (see fig. 31). We noticed in a nearby village (Dv 122b) another statue standing in a similar position in the Lung-wang temple. But local informants called this one “Ts'ai-shen, God of Wealth.” There seems to be confusion in the mind of the people. Of course several other Ts'ai-shen images were found in the west of the Lung-wang images, (ch. 11), but without there being any doubt as to their identity.

CHAPTER 24

The San-ch'ing 三清 Cult: 1 unit

The Lao-tzu 老子 Cult: 2 units

The cult of the Three Pure Ones, which is mainly a monk's cult, originating in Taoistic treatises, has a building of its own in the Pai-lung wang sanctuary (ch. 2b) at Cz 314a. The Taoist monks guardians of the temple gave us the following names for the three statues:

- (west) Tao-fa T'ien-tsun 道法天尊
“Celestial Venerable, Law of the Tao”
- (center) Yüan-shih T'ien-tsun 元始天尊
“Celestial Venerable, Primordial Origin”
- (east) Ling-pao T'ien-tsun 靈寶天尊
“Celestial Venerable, Spiritual Treasure”

This enumeration does not seem to correspond exactly with the orthodox Taoist nomenclature.

In the same building, the following statues were noted: behind the central statue, a smaller one of Lao-tzu 老子. In a western annex, a statue of the founder of the monastery, in an eastern annex, a small statue of the Lao-hsien-yeh on horseback (ch. 18).

We note here at the same time two other statues of Lao-tzu found in the explored area. One, at Dv 83a shows the "founder" of Taoism as a member of the trinity of religious founders, with Confucius and Buddha (see ch. 35, fig. 34). Another statue of Lao-tzu makes him an attendant of Ma-wang (ch. 4), east of the latter, with the Huo-shen (ch. 13) in the west; the whole group is found west of the main image of the Lung-wang temple at Dv 122a.

CHAPTER 25

The Mi-le-fo (Maitreya) 彌勒佛 Cult: 3 units

The cult of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future universe, has one large and seemingly old temple at Dv 139. The stone monument of 1587 calls the temple Mi-le ch'an-ssu 彌勒禪寺, a sign it was probably a monastery of the *dhyana* school. The text refers to the erection of the temple "at the beginning of the dynasty" viz. of the Ming (1368). The statue of Maitreya, a bald, smiling, potbellied monk is shown in the center, with his right hand on his knee, holding a rosary and his left hand a purse. Two large bodhisattvas (unknown) make with him a kind of a trinity. Maitreya himself has two small attendants, in military attire, one white-faced, the other red-faced. The back wall and the ceiling of the temple are covered with a continuous rocklike canopy in the crevices of which stand dozens of small statues. In the prolongation of this canopy, along the side walls, we recognized the twelve bodhisattvas met with at Dv 139a and 171a (see ch. 3, p. 53); next to them stands a series of statues called the sixteen Fo 佛 Buddhas.

The same conventional statue of Maitreya is found in the entrance building of the Buddha temple at Cz 319; this is the classic place for this statue.

A third Maitreya statue shows some striking peculiarity; it stands in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 122a. We took it outside in the courtyard to photograph it (see fig. 59). Maitreya is shown wearing a crown; we don't think this crown is a normal emblem of this god. It was never found in the eight Maitreya temples visited in the neighboring Wan-ch'üan area; the use of a crown there is limited to the temples of a secret religion which preaches the approaching end of the world (see our Wanch'üan study, page 284) and in which Maitreya is said to be now visiting the world as a tentative to save the chosen souls. There is however no trace of such secret religion in the Hsüan-hua area, except for this crowned image.⁶⁸⁾

68) Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 2d ed., Oxford 1928, p. 24 describes a slightly

CHAPTER 26

The Ti-tsang 地藏 Cult: 3 units

The cult of the Buddhist god of Hell, Ksitigarbha, has three temples in the explored area, one is the southern half of a Kuan-yin temple (Dv 139a), one is the western annex of the Buddhist temple (Cz 278a); the last one is an independent Ti-tsang-ssu (Cz 315a), which must have been a large monastery if one may judge from the size of the rubble strewn courtyard; a lateral building of this temple houses three Buddhas.

The statue of Ti-tsang shows him with the scepter and the flowing robes which are customary, but only with a small headgear; the typical many pointed hat is absent, except in an old monument described in an Appendix below (p. 105). In all of the three temples, Ti-tsang is accompanied by the ten Kings of Hell, Yen-wang 閻王, shown sitting along the side walls, and shown once more on the paintings of the lateral walls. Only once, at Dv 139a, do the statues of the Kings of Hell stand upright, while the paintings show them sitting down⁶⁹).

The bells of the Ti-tsang temples are dated 1535 (at Dv 139a, hanging now in the Lung-wang temple), 1545 (at Cz 315a, for the restoration of the temple), while the stone monument of 1576 says the temple was again in ruins in 1562 and needed another restoration.

CHAPTER 27

The Wei-t'ò 韋馱 Cult: 3 units

Wei-t'ò, guardian of the Law in Buddhist monasteries was found often in Kuan-yin temples of this region; see the description in ch. 3, sect. 4. His customary position in front of the Buddha hall, and facing it, is known in two cases: in the Buddha temples at Cz 319 and Dv 133. In the latter, the shrine carries his name spelled: 韋陀. In the village Dv 171a, where no Buddha temple exists, a wooden tablet stands in the Lung-wang temple with the inscription: Hu-fa Wei-t'ò Tsun-t'ien P'u-sa 護法韋馱尊天菩薩 "The bodhisattva and Venerable Deva Wei-t'ò, Protector of the Law."

CHAPTER 28

The Yen-kuang 眼光 Cult: 2 units

The goddess of the eye-sight, called popularly Yen-kuang Nai-nai, is described in most books on Chinese cults as one of the companions of the Taoist deity Pi-hsia yüan-chün 碧霞元君 (ch. 21). This is clearly not the case

different bodhisattva, always wearing a crown or a turban. She rejects the identification with Maitreya and believes it to represent the prince Siddharma. But our fig. 59 does not allow any doubt.

69) Alice Getty, o.c. p. 105 affirms the contrary.

in our region. Not only is there no instance known of the Yen-kuang nai-nai being found in the Nai-nai temples (as the temple of Pi-hsia yüan-chün are known here), but the existing statues of the Eye-sight Goddess show a Buddhist influence and some unmistakable traits of the Kuan-yin cult. We have clear evidence of this fact in our material in the city temples, but already in the rural cult of this goddess some hints can be gathered.

This cult is first represented by a simple tablet in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 98 with the name Yen-kuang Sheng-mu "Holy Mother of the Eye-sight." She has also a small-sized temple at Dv 138b facing west; note that her statue here has six arms. We have noted above some instances of offerings for the eyes in Kuan-yin temples (ch. 3, see p. 54).

CHAPTER 29

The Ta-mo 達摩 Cult: 2 units

Bodhidharma, the first Patriarch (probably legendary) in the series of Chinese Buddhist Patriarchs, is honored in the western annex of the Buddhist temple at Cz 278a. His statue is accompanied by two others, equally large, which could not be identified. The lateral walls show two scenes of his life, one on each wall.

More remarkable is the hermit's abode consecrated to Ta-mo and which is built against the rock wall of the Liu-ho gorge, north of the city of Hsüan-hua; we gave it the number Dv 126a (see fig. 52). The sanctuary had been abandoned for some years when we visited it. The main hall has a statue of Ta-mo, standing, with his customary Indian exterior (see fig. 50). One of the now ruined side buildings must have been consecrated to Kuan-yin; her tablet and a parallel inscription in verse are now put on the altar of Ta-mo.

Bodhidharma has two attendants, one being Liu Hai, also called Liu Hai-ch'an 劉海蟾 (known by the toad he holds hanging from a string and which is an allusion on his name); the other is unknown. Liu Hai is popularly known as a disciple of Lü Tsu 呂祖 or Lü Tung-pin, 呂洞賓, one of the Eight Genii, Pa-hsien 八仙, who has a painted image on the wall of one of the lateral buildings of this sanctuary.

The name of this temple is Hsüan-k'ung-ssu, which is written 玄空寺 "Monastery of the Mysterious Void" on the gate, but 懸空寺 "Monastery Hanging in the Void" on a bell and on an incense burner.

CHAPTER 30

The San-huang 三皇 Cult: 1 unit

The Three Emperors of legendary antiquity have one temple built on top of the southern gate of Cz 315a. This position is traditional for this type of temple, also in the Wanch'üan area.

The three statues (see fig. 58) are, from west to east: Huang-ti 黃帝, clothed as a scholar, because he introduced the use of textiles; Fu-hsi 伏羲 and Shen-nung 神農; these two are shown wearing a "primitive" garb made from leaves. The Three Emperors are regularly found in the temples of Yao-wang 藥王, the God of Medicine. This deity is not present here, but the lateral decorations are similar to these found in such temples. The lateral walls have the painted images of the ten *hsien-i* 先醫 "ancient doctors." Their names are written on the wall:

(western wall, beginning north:)

T'ai-i Lei-kung 太乙雷公, Huang-fu Shih-an 皇甫士安, Shen-ying Wang Pien-hsi 神應王扁鵲, Ts'ang-kung Ch'un-yü-I 倉公淳于意, I-sheng Chang Chung-ching, 醫聖張仲景.

(eastern wall, beginning north)

P'ao-pu-tzu Ko Hung 抱朴子葛洪, Shen-i Hua-t'o 神醫華陀, Chen-jen Sun Ssu-mao 真人孫思邈, Ta-Huang Wang Shu-ho 大皇王叔和, T'ien-shih Ch'i Ti-po 天師岐地伯.

This panel of ancient doctors is only partly identical with that found in the city of Hsüan-hua in the Yao-wang temple. The diversity found in these lists was already noted by a gazetteer of Shan-tung, in its description of the Hsien-i miao 先醫廟 "Temple of the Ancient Doctors," standing formerly near the T'ai-shan⁷⁰.

CHAPTER 31

The Niu-wang 牛王 Cult: 1 unit

The God of Oxen was only found once, in the Hu-shen temple at Dv 95. Its statue is of a novel type, never met with before, and we regret that the late hour and the bad weather made a photograph impossible. Sitting on a throne at the eastern extremity of a row of five statues, with Ma-wang, Ho-shen, Hu-shen and Huo-shen, the Niu-wang is dressed like a scholar. His face is ferocious, but it is split by a gap extending from the root of the hair to the center of his chin. With both hands, the god takes hold of the edges of that gap, at the height of the nose, and opens both sides of his face. In the opening one sees a serene, quietly smiling and slightly feminine visage. It is quite an impressive performance.

CHAPTER 32

The Hsi-shen 喜神 Cult: 1 unit

70) This temple had disappeared when Chavannes visited the T'ai-shan (*Le T'ai-chan*, Paris, 1910, page 95). According to the *T'ai-an hsien-chih* 泰安縣志 (1828 edit. reprinted in 1867, c. 7, f. 12 a-b) there were 14+14 images of ancient doctors in the western and eastern galleries of this temple. The gazetteer adds: "we give this list to show the official pattern of this cult; the images of the ancient doctors found in various cities often differ."

The God of Joy has a wooden tablet along the wall of the Kuan-ti temple at Dv 127c. This cult is often quoted in the same group with the gods of Longevity, Happiness, Wealth, etc. We have seen the God of Wealth having in his temple a statue of the god of Official Career (ch. 11). Here we have Kuan-ti, God of Wealth too, with a tablet of the God of Joy.

CHAPTER 33

The Chiu-shen 酒神 cult: 1 unit

The God of Wine (of Spirits?) has an annex on the west side of the Ts'ai-shen temple at Cz 315a. There is no special wine production in the area, except for the *shao-chiu* 燒酒 or liquor made of sorghum, very common in the North. This cult does not seem to be of popular origin. The god is represented by a scholar with flowing robes and long sleeves; he holds a *ju-i* in his left hand (see fig. 60).

CHAPTER 34

The Ch'eng-huang 城隍 cult: 1 unit

We have found in the survey of the Wanch'üan temples that the cult of the God of City Walls, at least for its independent temples, is limited to cities. In the rural area of Hsüan-hua only one locality has this temple, and here too we have an old township, market place and post station along the old imperial highways, Cz 315a. The large Ch'eng-huang temple is built in the southwestern corner inside the walls (see fig. 56) and includes in its compound an independent Nai-nai temple with its theater (see ch. 21).

The main hall of the temple has a width of three *chien*. In the center of an elevated canopy of woodwork and curtains (see fig. 55) Ch'eng-huang is shown, dressed as a scholar, with a long moustache, and a tablet in his hands. In front of this statue, a second one is seated on a mobile sedan chair; this statue wears a red robe and is crowned with an elaborate crown of copper meshwork. The lateral walls show the Ch'eng-huang engaged in a Heavenly procession, on the model of the "Pursuit of the Evil Ones" (see ch. 2).

The temple feast days are on Ch'ing-ming 清明 day, (feasts of the tombs, April 5th or 6th), on the 15th of the 7th moon and on the 11st of the 10th moon. On these days, the statue of the god is carried out of the locality and brought to a temple of the Abandoned Souls Ku-hun 孤魂 (whose feast is held on the 15th of the 7th moon; this temple situated northwest of the locality is now ruined). The men chosen for carrying the statue are some who have made a vow to the god. Making such a vow is called *yü Ch'eng-huang* 昇城隍 "to carry Ch'eng-huang," or *ta chih-shih* 打執事 "to wear official emblems". The statue of Ch'eng-huang remains outside the walls till nightfall, when it is carried back to its temple. There are further some days reserved for theatricals, in conjunction with these held for the neighboring Nai-nai temple

(ch. 21).

The Ch'eng-huang temple is visited by the eldest son of the family after a bereaving. He must wear one piece of clothing belonging to the deceased, hold in one hand a hand broom and in the other a small paper flag. He makes a triple prostration, burns incense before the god. When he is about to leave the temple, the guardian locks the main door against him. The son knocks three times while he weeps and says the name of the deceased in a loud voice. By this rite the name of the deceased is said to be "registered" at the infernal tribunal of Ch'eng-huang. The whole ceremony clearly calls to mind the impersonation of the dead by the *shih* 尸 in the sacrifices of antiquity.⁷¹⁾

CHAPTER 35

The San-chiao 三教 Cult: 1 unit

The cult of the Three Founders of the Chinese Religions: Confucius, Lao-tzu and Buddha, was frowned upon by the Imperial authorities in Ch'ing times⁷²⁾. Notwithstanding several interdictions, it managed to survive. We found one temple dedicated to this cult at Dv 83a. The temple has a width of three *chien* and stands in an enclosed yard. It is fairly large for a rural temple. Of the three main statues, that of Buddha shows the conventional type and occupies the central place. This was of course the main reason for the interdiction of this cult: the authorities felt that the position given Buddha and Lao-tzu detracted from the uniqueness of Confucius. The statue of Confucius in the west and of Lao-tzu in the east are shown on our photographs 33 and 34. Since the Ming time ban on them, the statues of Confucius in temples have become a rarity.

A huge bell dated 1727 belongs to this temple. On the temple's feast day, the 16th of the first moon, a troupe of musicians is invited to play in the courtyard and incense is burned.

CHAPTER 36

The T'an-kung 譚公 Cult: one unit

This cult is addressed to a local celebrity, former military governor of the city of Hsüan-hua, and its surrounding territory. T'an Kuang 譚廣, Chung-hung 仲弘, 1363-1444, native of Tan-t'u 丹徒 (Kiangsu province), had a glorious military career, mainly spent on frontier warfare against the Mongols. He was for 20 years military governor of Hsüan-hua and received

71) Maspero, *Mélanges posthumes*, vol. I, *Les Religions Chinoises*, Paris, 1950, p. 26.

72) Chavanne, *Le T'ai-chan*, p. 119; the suppression dates from 1837, Parker, *Studies in Chinese Religions*, London, 1910, p. 292. For further details, see J. Shryock, *The Temples of Anking*, Paris, Geuthner, 1931, p. 132 sq.

the title of Earl of Yung-ning 永寧侯 in 1441. He has his official biography in the Ming history.⁷³⁾ In chapter 2a, we have retold the heroic feat attributed to T'an Kuang, from which the sanctuary at Cz 314a got its origin. T'an Kuang has a building of his own in the group of temples on that mountain slope. It is called T'an-kung-shen ts'u 譚公神祠 Sanctuary of the god Duke T'an. Kuang is shown there (fig. 61) in a idealized shape (he was 82 when he died.)

APPENDIX

Some Archeological Findings

a) Undated *ex-voto* (VIth century?)

Fig. 66 and 67 show a small monument carved in black stone, found in the Buddha temple at Dv 85a. The height is 25 cm (8 in.). The face shown on fig. 66 is probably the front, as it bears the likeness of Buddha. The latter wears a round monk's cap, with a large halo; his right hand seems to be in the *abhaya-mudra* 施無畏印 the reassuring gesture. On both sides, Kasyapa and Ananda are easily recognized. On a lower plane, Manjusri and Samantabhadra are shown with their symbolic animals. The left figure is Manjusri, the elephant's head emerging from the folds of his robe at the lower left corner. The right one is Samantabhadra, whose lion is crouching in the lower right corner. The figure on the side panel visible on the same fig. 66, seems to be a monk holding a staff in one hand and a round object in the other. He is probably Mu-lien 目蓮 Maudgalyâyana, the disciple of Sakyamuni, frequent companion of Ti-tsang, the latter being shown on the other face of the monument.

The side panel shown on fig. 67 shows a similar figure with what seems to be a whisk or a fly broom. This could not be identified. The back of the monument shows only one personage, clearly Ti-tsang 地藏 Ksitigarba, as appears from his five cornered crown. He too has a large halo, but there is no trace of a canopy like that above the group of Buddha.

The whole monument has a roofshaped top and a basis of lotus leaves. No inscription was found on this *ex-voto* and the rough workmanship probably indicates a local artist as its author. Some hint as to its age may be found through comparison with similar monuments which are dated. A striking similarity exists with a 13-inch high *ex-voto*, dated 549, of the Lundington Collection⁷⁴⁾. This votive shrine has the Buddhist trinity in front, a bodhisattva at the back and on each side. A tile-ridged roof tops the whole. The pedestal however with two ornamental lions, is somewhat higher than in our monument. Another monument exhibiting some stylistic similari-

73) See *Ming-shih* 明史, c. 155, 1739 ed., f. 4 b, 5 a.

74) *Friends of Far Eastern Art, First Exhibition, Chinese Art*, Mills College, California, 1934, page 44 and plate 28.

ties is described by Otto Kümmel, as being of the Northern Ch'i 齊 dynasty (550-577)⁷⁵.

That this early date for our monument is not unlikely in this region, is clear from the discovery, during this survey, of a Buddhist shrine of still an earlier date.

b) *Ex-voto* dated 460.

The village Cz 278a has an old Buddhist monastery, called Pao-lin-ssu 寶林寺. A few steps from it, a small isolated Kuan-yin temple has on its altar a dozen of small Buddha statues, thrown together in disorder. They clearly have been brought from the monastery. Among these statues, a small shrine carved in black stone, height 25 cm (fig. 65) shows a squatting Buddha, surrounded by a frieze of genuflecting or sitting heavenly spirits. The back of the monument is hemispheric and carries the following text (see the rubbing of the text photographed above the *ex-voto*, fig. 65):

維大代和平元年歲在庚子五月(壬)戌朔八日己巳(12 words missing) 造像一軀以表敬誠乃作銘曰能人應世明宣大慈，神儀雖緬遺教在茲，聖凶登邀率土同凶，敬一靈，像冥福

Translation: Now on the *chi-ssu* day in the beginning of the fifth moon with sign -*hsü*, the year being in the sign *keng-tzu*, first year of the era Ho-p'ing 和平 (June 12th 460) of the Ta Tai made one statue to express his sincerity⁷⁶, and he composed this inscription:

The Buddha came into the world
and brightly spread his benevolence.

Although we can only remember longingly the heavenly model
the teachings he left are among us.

The Holy . . . ⁷⁷

all over the region, together . . .

honor . . . the efficacious image.

May happiness in the next world

Apart from the early date of the monument, the text itself has little historical importance. The formulation of the date is rather peculiar. In the empire of the Wei 魏 or T'o-pa, of which the capital city in 460 was at P'ing-ch'eng 平城 (now approximately Ta-t'ung 大同 in Shansi) the era Ho-p'ing belonged to Emperor Wen-ch'eng 文成 (personal name: T'o-pa Chün 潛), who was the fourth to have the imperial title. In 398 already the king of Tai 代 took the name of King of Wei 魏, to change it in emperor of Wei in

75) Otto Kümmel, *Ein Denkmal der Nord-Ch'i Periode*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. VI, 1930, p. 233-235.

76) The character 傲 is given in a Buddhist quotation by the K'ang hsi dictionary with the notes: meaning and sound unknown.

77) It is not clear whether we have here an archaic form of *teng-hsia* 登遐 "to die" or one of *teng-ch'u* 登趣 "to come into the world."

399⁷⁸⁾. The area of this empire grew from its starting point in Northern Shansi towards the south and the east. In the latter direction, its rule in the region which interests us here, was secured at the last in 423, by the building of a great wall passing a score of miles north of Cz 278a⁷⁹⁾. We see here after two generations the old name Tai still in use in the rural area of the empire. There can be no doubt about the authenticity of the monument, the cyclical characters for the year and the day being correctly used.

The missing words after the date must have mentioned the name of the pious donator, with the names of the territorial divisions used at that time. The *fu-gazetteer*⁸⁰⁾ enumerates the administrative divisions used before the reform of 440 and following years. The later divisions of the empire are given by the *Wei-shih*⁸¹⁾ and must have been somewhat like: (Ying-chou) Ch'ang-li-chün, Kuang-hsing-hsien [營州] 昌黎郡廣興縣 with three more characters for the name of the village (this is not necessarily the modern name Kao-miao-pu 高廟堡) and three characters for the name of the donator.

Part Two

FOLKLORE GEOGRAPHY

Part One of this study presented the material gathered during our survey; its aim was to describe the state of each cult in a well-defined area. A large synthesis will only become possible when a great number of such surveys are available. However some limited conclusions may be drawn from this material, if one fulfills two conditions: first the object of these conclusions must only be local facts, or at least facts which have been locally influenced; secondly, the conclusions must not be extended outside the limited region. Notwithstanding these limitations, there is a method which gives valuable results, viz. the geographical method. Even when applied to such a restricted survey the geographical method may lead to conclusions which may prove fruitful for the larger synthesis of the future.

CHAPTER 37

The use of maps

It must firstly be noted that the geographical method is not a handy way of presenting statistics, nor a methodological trick to let speak a row of dry figures. For instance map 1 in our Wanch'üan study⁸²⁾ showed by means of conventional signs which temples possessed the frescoes "Pursuit of the

78) *Wei-shih*, 魏史 c. 2, f. 6 b (1739 edit.) cf. *T'oung-pao* XXXIII, p. 128.

79) *Wei-shih*, c. 3, f. 6a. Cf. O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, 1930, vol. II, p. 190.

80) c. 2, f. 8b.

81) *Wei-shih*, c. 106, f. 24a.

82) Page 297 of the paper quoted note 5.

Evil Ones." Actually it revealed nothing that was not to be found in the simple list of the 131 temples with such a fresco. In the present study therefore, no such map was published. The reason is: the spreading of this material in its natural geographical milieu adds nothing to our knowledge. In this particular instance, we are brought to the consideration that this type of fresco occurs in 121 temples dedicated to gods of the water (rain, river . . . or to gods in charge of the local community; only ten cases were in other temples (Mawang, Nai-nai, Huo-shen). As the two former types of cults correspond in this area to universal human needs, their temples are found everywhere, and so are the frescoes. There is no geographical differentiation. The present survey gives exactly the same picture: a map is unnecessary to reach such conclusion.

The geographical method considered from its theoretical implications down to its most concrete realization puts into work three main principles:

A. The activities of man must be replaced in their natural frame in the completeness of his earthbound existence (synchronic) which bears the lineaments of his past history (diachronic). Actually the use of the geographical method, which was first applied to language, arose from the 19th century conception of man, as an object of positive science only, by which a set of exact laws could be determined. It is a matter of history how inescapably the conclusions of the first dialectal maps burst open these very principles. Mainly through the genius of Gilliéron, linguistic science was one of the first fields where the contemporary reaction set in against rationalism.

In the case of a local survey, in addition to the mere gathering of materials, one must acquire a feeling for the concrete individuality of the area, or of each part of it. Of course this feeling must be backed by an extensive knowledge of its history, its economic needs, its mentality. But the sympathetic immersion in the climate particular to each local community must never be lacking.

A good example of what we mean here is given by our study on the Wanchüan cults. The manuscript of that study was at the printers before we started the Hsüan-hua survey. Nevertheless in three distinct instances, we predicted accurately what the development of a cult would be in areas adjoining Wanch'üan. First: the geographical dispersion of the Hei-lung-wang cult was shown to be in a state of progressing decay. And in the Hsüan-hua area this cult was found not only to be still less represented than in Wan-ch'üan but the two sole remaining instances were in the very act of disappearing (see ch. 2 a). The two other instances are treated below in ch. 38 and 40.

B. It is evident that general and simple cultural features arising from deep human needs may have a completely independent origin in widely separated regions. For instance nothing could be construed from a map showing the dispersion of the kneeling position while at prayer; this is a

natural response to a general human tendency.

But complicated features, although sometimes of small importance, must have arisen in one place only and hence propagated. When folkloristic facts differ within a given area, the significance of the boundaries between areas is ultimately based on probability. A concrete example to illustrate this. In the present study, every cult was put on a map. The cults sparsely represented had to be disregarded; each case could have been started by one individual or by one community⁸³). On the opposite extremity of the list, we found cults represented everywhere; no differentiation was apparent. The origin from a single source is no longer traceable, at least not in the narrow limits of our survey. But it could not be due to chance that two cults at least were found mainly along the highways leading from the county city (map 3) or grouped around a center (maps 2 and 4) or that several others covered a common area (maps 1 and 6).

After mapping the cults, we found that individual features of some cults differed also according to a definite geographical pattern. All these differences were put on maps, and here again we were confronted with definite tendencies (maps 1 and 6). The probability that such grouping was due to chance is too remote, when we consider the number of villages and temples involved, especially where small and complicated details are differentiated.

The task of geographical folklore is to try to interpret these maps, to trace the origin of the divergent developments, to analyze the cultural factors which gave them such an evident direction.

C. The technique of map drawing must try to fully present the complex reality. This means, at the same time, to avoid the pitfalls of putting too much on the map, so as to obscure the lines of evolution, and to watch for oversimplification, which would impose on the reader one's subjective interpretation. The map must show clearly which interpretation has been adopted, but it must give also the reader all the relevant facts so that he might check for himself. For instance, map 1 gives six boundaries; the explanation must clearly indicate the relative importance of the feature on each side of these boundaries. On map 6 the full material of one case has been indicated on the map by means of triangles and of a capital E, to allow the reader to decide for himself whether the boundaries were legitimately drawn. For both maps 1 and 6, sketch maps are presented which emphasize the general trend of the evolution (see maps 7 and 8); these are but conclusions of our interpretation.

The above must suffice to sketch our starting position. The following chapters will give an example of map interpretation. One may note that

83) An exception is clearly the case of the Ch'eng-huang temple (ch. 34) which by its very essence is bound to larger cities. Hence its presence at Cz 315a only.

the legend of the maps and the main roads of the area were only explained once, viz. on map 3.

CHAPTER 38

Cultural units with their own cults

We have seen in ch. 12 the cult of the protector against evil influences given to Ling-kuan, alias Chao Kung-ming, alias Hsüan-t'an in the Hsüan-hua area. The same god has also a cult in the Wan-ch'üan area, where he is invoked against hail. In our study on the Wanch'üan cults (p. 218-219) we made the following remark: "We feel that we can venture some conclusions on the purely local plane . . . A clear example is that of the Hsüan-t'an cult. A Pekinese folklorist, hearing from us about the Hail God, Hsüan-t'an, launched forth with an ingenious hypothesis, running approximately as follows: Hsüan-t'an is in Peking the God of Wealth. For the peasants their harvest is their most precious possession. Hence the God of Wealth is invoked for the protection of the harvest against hail and frost. Such a hypothesis is made out of whole cloth; its fundamental weakness lies in the presupposed originality and antiquity of everything that exists in Peking (or in Hangchow, or in Sian, or in any former capital city), or alternately that is found in books. It is always safer to leave open the possibility of a local origin or development; as long as no survey has been made of the whole territory lying between Wanch'üan and Peking, nothing is gained by wild guessing or premature comparisons."

This proved to be a sound principle. Our map 3 shows clearly the independent development found in the very cult discussed above. The Hail God cult of Wanch'üan is found in small temples (see fig. 68 and 69), generally oriented towards the northwest (see the slant given to the triangles on the map), and standing alone on a corner of the village wall. The Ling-kuan cult of Hsüan-hua is found in small shrines appended to other temples, and is mostly oriented northwards.

The image of the god in both types of temples is of course the same, as may be judged by fig. 70 and 71. But both cults differ in their local origin. The Ling-kuan cult is found in two large temples in the county city Dv 128. It spread from there, following the main highways. There is no such center for the Hail God's cult in Wanch'üan, although there too a good many temples are found along the imperial highways.

The areas of both cults are separated by a large empty region in which many historical and linguistic boundaries occur (see map 5 and ch. 40). In other words, the fact that both counties developed their own cult to Hsüan-t'an is but one facet of a larger phenomenon, viz. the existence of local cultural units which push a large part of their cultural evolution along independent lines.

Map 4 with the San-lang cult is another example of a cult with a local origin, and map 2 with the Pai-lung-wang is a third one. In these two instances a strong influence is exercised by an isolated sanctuary. It is clear from the maps that the geographical disposition of the cults does not extend far from their starting point. Village cults have no hierarchy and no organized proselytism. Nevertheless on map 4 we see, besides the seven instances of San-lang cult (which depend from the main sanctuary on the Huang-yang-shan) two larger temples built at a greater distance. This fact results from the nature itself of religious cults. Whereas language essentially spreads through direct contact, one solitary "apostle" may carry a cult far from the place where it was first practised. This is exactly what happened with the erection of the San-lang temple at Cz 85a (see ch. 15).

CHAPTER 39

The influence of highways and mountains passes

The primary highway crossing this area is the old Peking-Urga (Outer Mongolia) road which enters map 3 in the southeastern corner, passes through Hsüan-hua, Dv 128, and Kalgan, Cz 276, from where it crosses the Great Wall towards the north. From Kalgan a branch road goes to Ta-t'ung (North Shansi); its course was followed in modern times by the railroad. The other roads indicated on the map connect one county seat with another.

1. We have just found on map 3 how the influence of the county seat makes itself felt along highways. Another such case is presented on the same map by the Hutu cult, indicated by a capital H. Here again we see the county seat Hsüan-hua exerting a more direct influence on the surrounding rural communities, than is the case in the neighboring Wanch'üan. Another factor is here at play: Wanch'üan (Cz 126) is of rather recent origin (after 1400). Before that period, its rural area was centered on other cities, now no longer important: Cz 286 (from 618 till 1214, with short interruptions), Cz 254a (from 1197 till 1368), Cz 72 (from the 12th century to the 17th century).

2. If we now keep to an examination of the Hsüan-hua area only, we find another striking example of the influence of highways on the dispersion of cult features. Map 1 shows the southern boundaries of 6 distinct areas with their own cult features. The common area covered by at least 4 out of 6 of these areas, is shown in black on map 7. We must first examine the value of each of the boundaries:

Line 1: north of this line were found all of the 22 Buddha temples of our survey, these of the county seat Dv 128 excepted;

Line 2: two distinct areas, containing all the Ts'ai-shen temples; 13 were found in the northern area, 7 in the southeastern one; Cz 253 is an isolated case;

Line 3: north of the line all 23 cases of stone gallows used for bells;

Line 4: north of the line all 14 Kuan-ti temples put on a high tower or on the village wall (against 26 normal temples south of the line);

Line 5: north of the line, all 12 Kuan-yin temples put on a high tower or on the village wall (against 44 normal temples south of the line);

Line 6: north of the line all the 12 Yü-huang temples, these of the county seat Dv 128 excepted.

We must conclude that some special factor must be responsible to group such divergent cult features into a common area. The summary map 7 shows the main line of influence extending from the northeastern corner to the northwest. The road entering the map at Dv 96 is not only leading to the northern part of the Lung-men county; it is a wellknown thoroughfare for all traffic toward the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. It crosses the Great Wall near Ch'ang-yü-k'ou 常峪口 (see that place on map 1), which is locally called Hsiao-k'ou-wai 小口外 "Little Mongolia," in opposition with Kalgan, Cz 276, which is Ta-k'ou-wai 大口外 "Great Mongolia," or K'ou-shih, local pronunciation of K'ou-shang 口上 "On the Pass."

The black area shown on map 7 connects the two outlets to Mongolia, and covers the territory which has the most frequent contact with these two passes in the Great Wall. The territory not touched by this influence is the center around the county seat Dv 128; in the case of these six boundaries, the city holds its own and influences the immediate surroundings.

One may note that the southeastern area limited by line 2 presents a special case; there we may suspect the influence of yet another axis of influence; this small area constitutes a transition case with that presented below on map 6.

3. Map 6 is a combination of two maps. A1. It first shows the exact dispersion area of the image of Ma-wang as a lateral cult in the Lung-wang temple (see ch. 4). The area in which the Ma-wang image is at the western side of the Lung-wang image (black triangles on the map) covers mainly a north-south belt along the county limits between Wanch'üan and Hsüan-hua. This belt broadens in the south towards, and including the city of Hsüan-hua. The eastern boundary (Line 1) of this area is partly drawn arbitrarily. It might have been drawn further east, so as to include a few isolated cases, at Dv 95, Dv 122a, Dv 127c, Dv 138,b and Dv 139. It is striking to note that all these islands are situated exactly along the main roads as pictured on map 3. One may actually see three feelers extending from the main road along the lines

a) Dv 83, 84, 95

b) Dv 122, 133

c) Dv 171, 171a, 138b, 139

These three feelers are exactly duplicated in the Ling-kuan and the Hu-shen

dispersion areas of map 3.

B. Map 6 shows further four distinct boundaries:

Line 1: is the eastern limit of the Ma-wang image in western position (see above);

Line 2: east of the line 31 cases were found in which the Shan-shen image occupies the central place in the Wu-tao temples, Wu-tao and T'u-ti being placed on both sides. Dv 129 and Dv 89 however have T'u-ti in the center, Dv 127c has Ho-shen in the center (these three last cases have Shan-shen and Wu-tao on both sides). Of the 66 Wu-tao temples found in the city of Hsüan-hua, Dv 128, two only have Shan-shen in the center. One may further note that in the north Dv 85 has a normal temple with Wu-tao in the center;

Line 3: east of the line, 22 Lung-wang temples show on their lateral frescoes the Mother of the Water (see ch. 2, 4, c) accompanying the heavenly procession. Four temples in the county city are included. Dv 139 is an exception. Cz 353c and 353d belong to the eastern area, but are separated from it;

Line 4: two areas, including all the independent Ho-shen temples, 10 in the north, 3 in the southeast;

The common area covered by at least 3 out of 4 of these different features is shown on map 8.

One may first note that both maps 7 and 8 show a distinct bulge in the direction of Cz 352. The main imperial highway passes through this village when crossing the rocky hills. Further, the black area on map 8 illustrates in a slightly different manner how highways carry the influences from one county center into the area of another county. Both roads entered the map at Dv 96 and at Dv 139 (see map 3) lead from Lung-men county into the plains of Hsüan-hua.

CHAPTER 40

The transition area between two local cultural centers.

We have found some cults existing only within small cultural areas; we have also described the irruption of external influences from a neighboring area. These different dispersion areas stop sometimes at approximately the same place; although each one of the boundaries differs from all the others (each religious feature having its own history and its individuality), under the influence of some common factor, these boundaries are grouped into bundles. These constitute the real cultural frontiers between cultural units. Several units of different size may of course be superimposed; when their boundaries too tend to run along parallel lines, we have a still more important boundary, a cultural limit of the first degree.

Our map 5 shows what happens when some cult is subjected to the con-

flicting influences which meet in a frontier area. The Wen-ch'ang cult (see ch. 16) is normally of a definite type: built on top of the village gate, the Wen-ch'ang temple faces south, with K'ui-hsing at his back facing north. Map 5 shows 12 cases in a narrow area where Wen-ch'ang and K'ui-hsing are found in varying combinations with four other cults. All these cases occur in the immediate vicinity of four important boundaries; two historical boundaries which from 1432 till 1696 separated the east and the west (see Introduction, par. 5). This administrative separation has been continued in some way by the modern county limits which pass approximately in the same region. There are further two linguistic boundaries: the western one separates two different treatments of the vocalic element of a score of words, like *p'o* 坡 and *lo* 驛; the map indicates the phonetic value of the vowel. The eastern boundary separates two forms of the personal pronoun *wo* 我 "I." There are probably other linguistic boundaries crossing the same areas; our stay there was too short to note more than the most obvious differences.

Finally in conversation with the countryside people, we were struck by the frequent use of the phrase: "west of the river," "east of the river," which recurs, for instance, when indicating somebody's birth place. This river is the Ch'ing-shui-ho 清水河 (see fig. 3 and 5), flowing southward from Kalgan, Cz 276. The river is only used here as a convenient base of reference to indicate the difference between east and west, and is by no means a natural obstacle to the traffic between its two banks. In fact it is more often a convenient road, being without water a great part of the year. (See Fig. 5)

Taken together, all these factors show concretely how the two areas follow divergent ways in many of their cultural manifestations. It is then easily understood how the villages of such a boundary area, might invite rural artists of either area to decorate their temple, and how clear cut traditions on temple set-up may be lost. The confused state of the Wen-ch'ang cult shown on map 5 bears witness, though negatively, of the importance of local cultural collectivities.

CONCLUSION

SOME BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE CHINESE POPULAR RELIGION

The religious cults practised in the rural areas of Chahar surveyed by us, seem at first sight to be enormously complicated. However some basic elements may readily be recognized which bring some unity in the general picture.

A. The religious outlook of the people.

The average peasant is so taken up with the struggle for the daily food

(specially because of poor crops due to climate and to archaic agricultural methods) that no liberty of mind is left to profess more than a few traditional religious ideas, or to practise more than occasional acts of worship, directed towards the more urgent needs of his existence. This general attitude can but be strengthened by the absence of exclusive claims put forward by religious teachers. Actually hardly any Buddhist monks are left in the rural area, and the few Taoist monks are, like elsewhere, notorious for the "catholicity" of their religious ideas, if not in their own personal life, at least *ad usum delphini*.

One may add that the Chinese peasant brings into his religious opinions a part of his wonderful realism, which makes his social intercourse a deft play of respect for everybody's face, of diffident avoidance of personal assertiveness.

These dispositions explain the slow but sure process by which cults from whatever origin are brought to the same level, and incorporated in the traditional body of beliefs and practices.

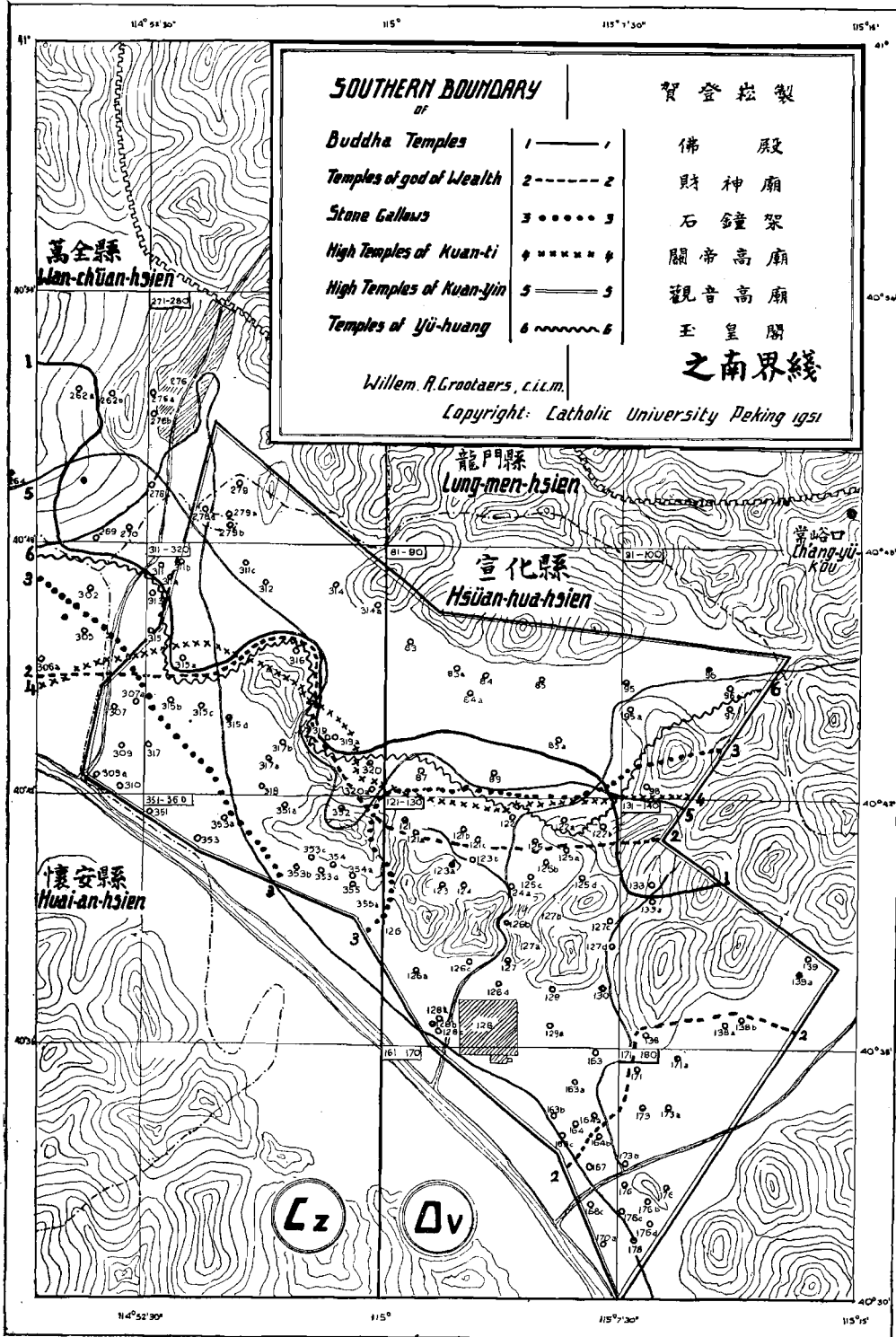
B. The basic religious needs.

If one adds up the cult units of the Hsüan-hua area according to some larger categories, the result looks somewhat as follows:

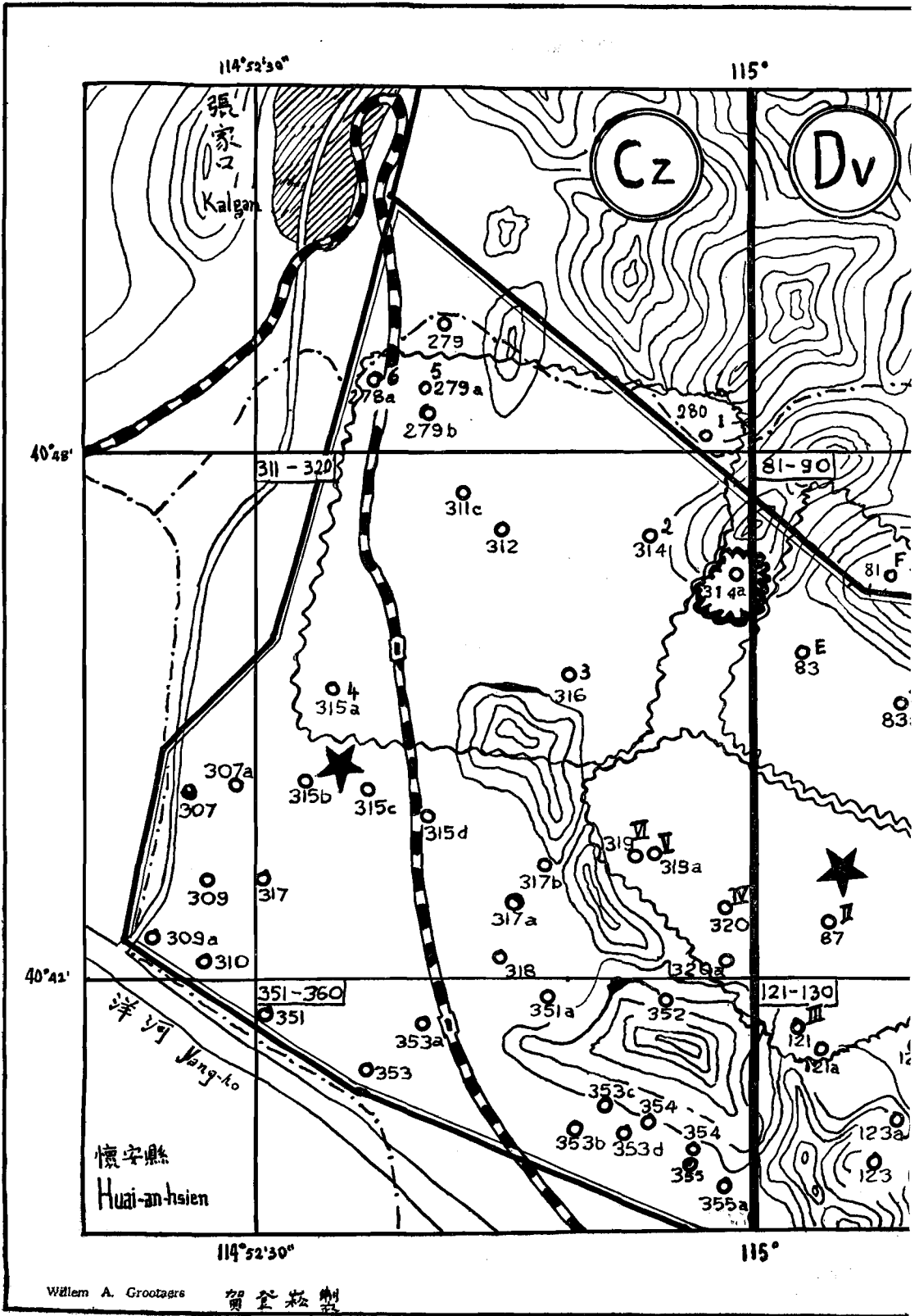
- 1° Prosperity in this world: 377 units or 59.1%
 - a) agricultural cults: 244 units (38.3%), among which 175 units (27.4%) to obtain rain or water (viz. ch. 2, 7, 9, 15, 4, 20, 23, 31)
 - b) to obtain wealth: 66 units (10.3%) (viz.: ch. 6, 11, 16)
 - c) to obtain or protect children: 67 units (10.5%)
- 2° Awe or protection against the invisible world: 213 units or 33.4%
 - a) protection against bad influences: 107 units (16.8%) (viz. ch. 5, 8, 12, 18, 19)
 - b) judgment of evil deeds: 106 units (16.6%) (viz. ch. 1, 14, 22, 26, 34).
- 3° Varia: 48 units (7.5%)

These figures barely suffice to appraise the real place taken by some cults in the daily life of the peasants. Some cults are only practised on rare occasions (a death or a marriage, ch. 1), some are almost exclusively the duty of women (for children). In reality the greatest attention, the largest expenses, the most frequent duties are attached to the various rain cults. Second only to this comes the preoccupation with the judgment of the soul. Actually we have seen that even the temples dedicated to rain gods show many reminders of the god's power to chastize evil doers. These two are by all counts the basic tenets and practises of the Chinese popular religion, as we found it in the surveyed areas.

We may conclude by underlining the important fact that manifestations of the religious life of the peasants are tightly woven into the history, the economics, the language, into the whole fabric of the cultural life of the region. Hence the creation of local cults, the centering of cult features around local nuclei, and the mutual influences of one center upon its neighbors, all factors which could only be brought into light by accurate surveys, interpreted by the geographical method.

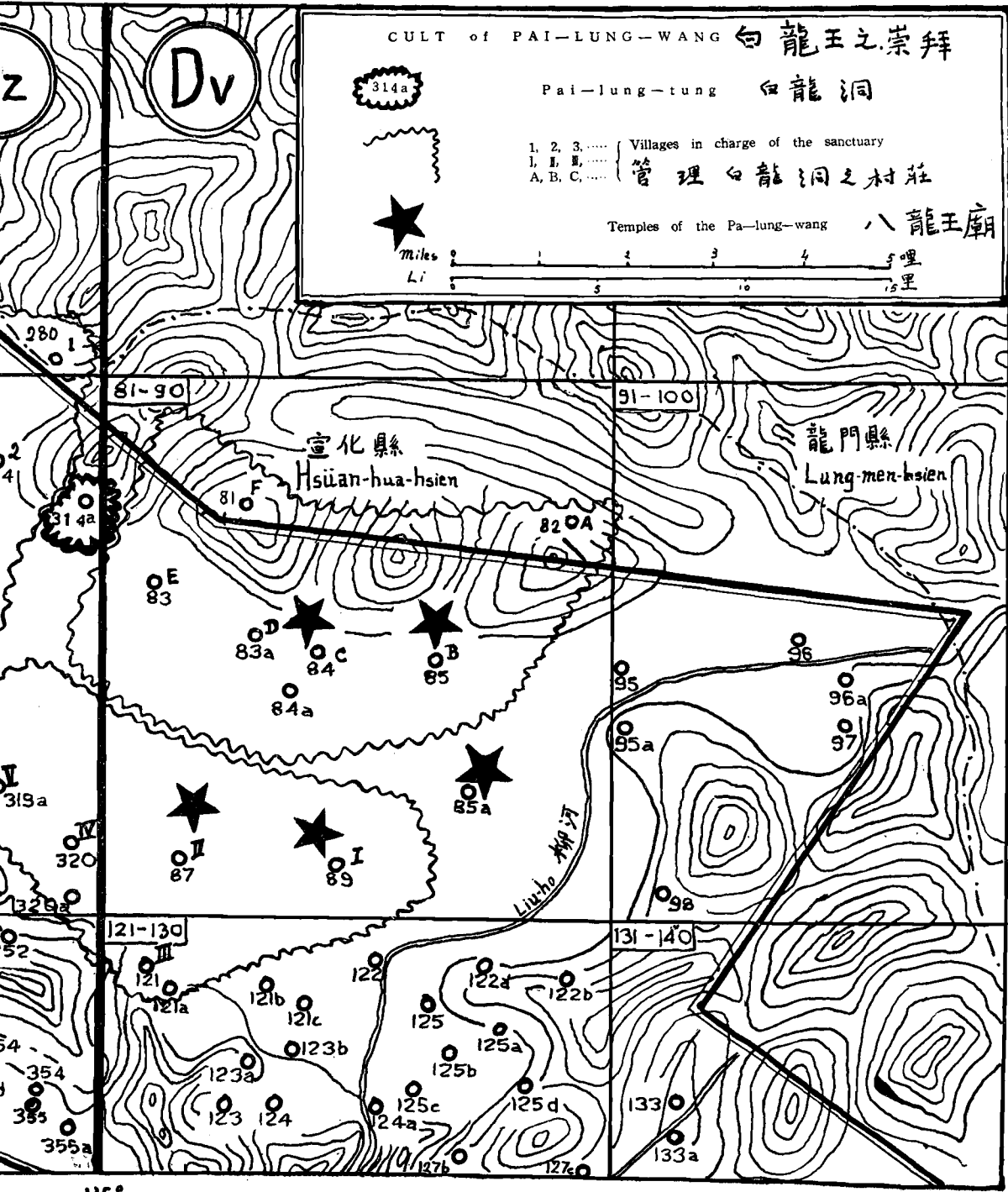


Map 1



115°

115°7'30"

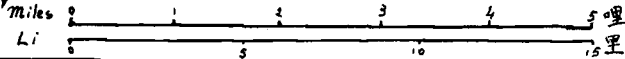


CULT of PAI-LUNG-WANG 白龍王之崇拜

Pai-lung-tung 白龍洞

- 1, 2, 3, ... Villages in charge of the sanctuary
- I, II, III, ... 管理白龍洞之村莊
- A, B, C, ...

Temples of the Pa-lung-wang 八龍王廟

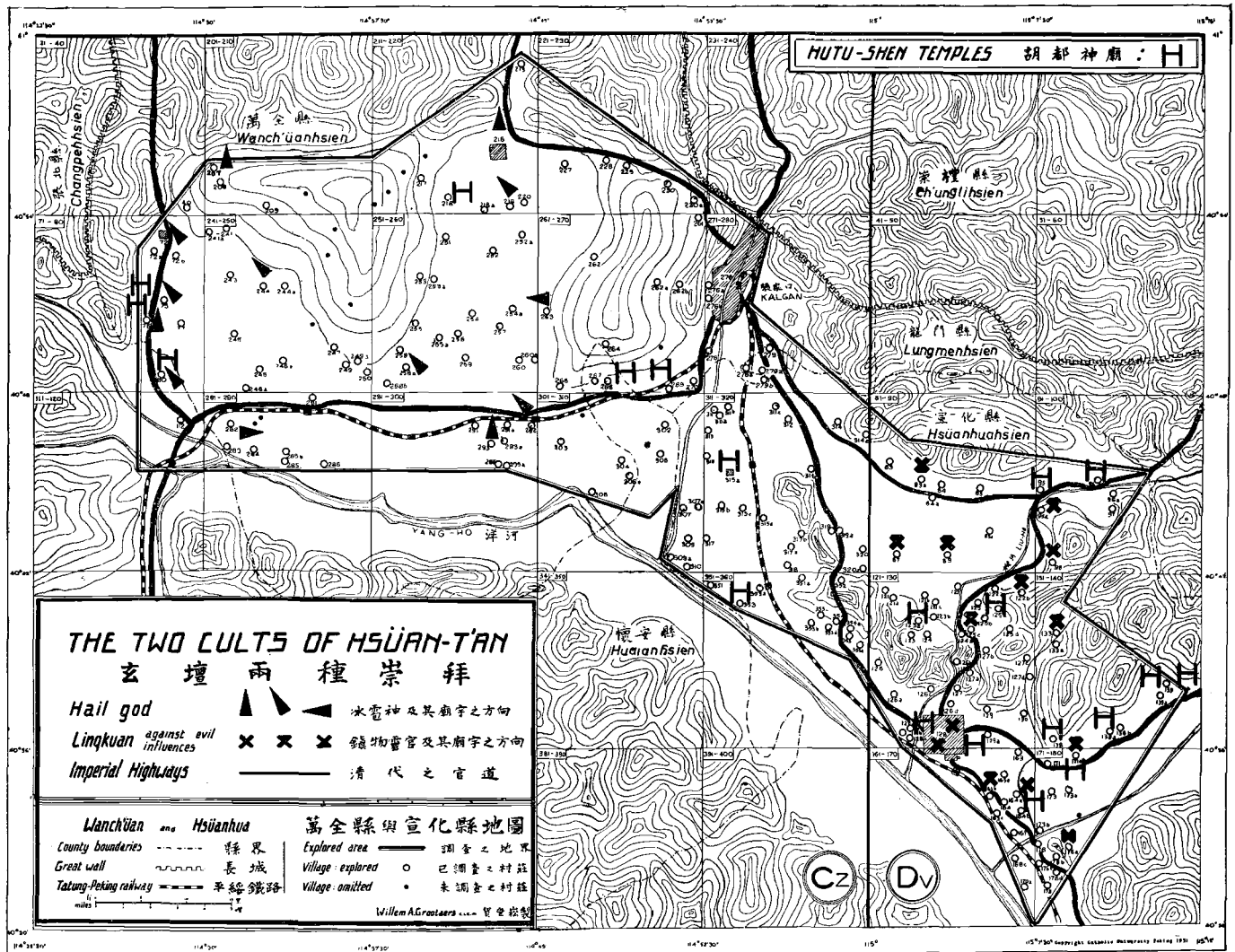


40°48'

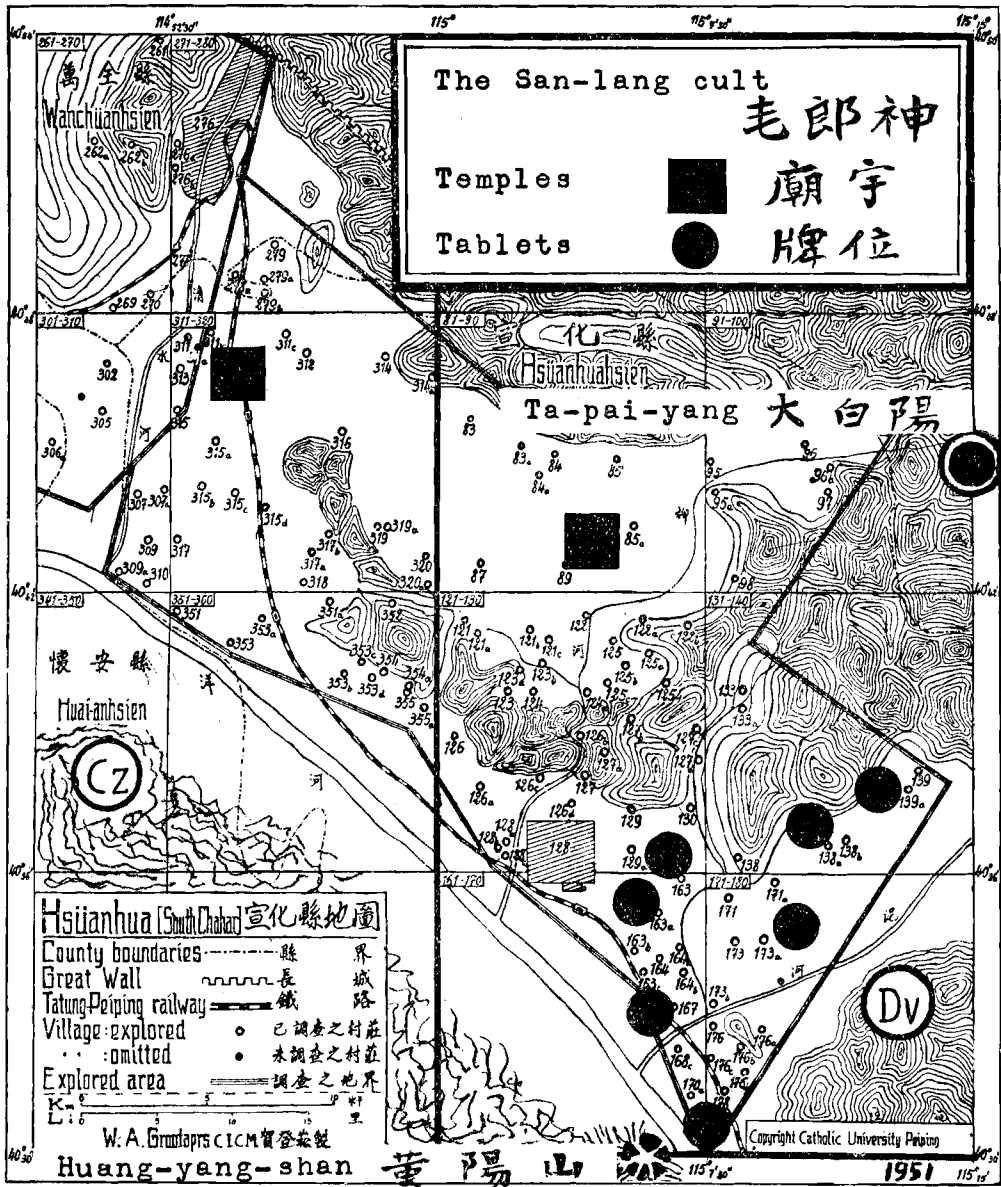
40°42'

115°

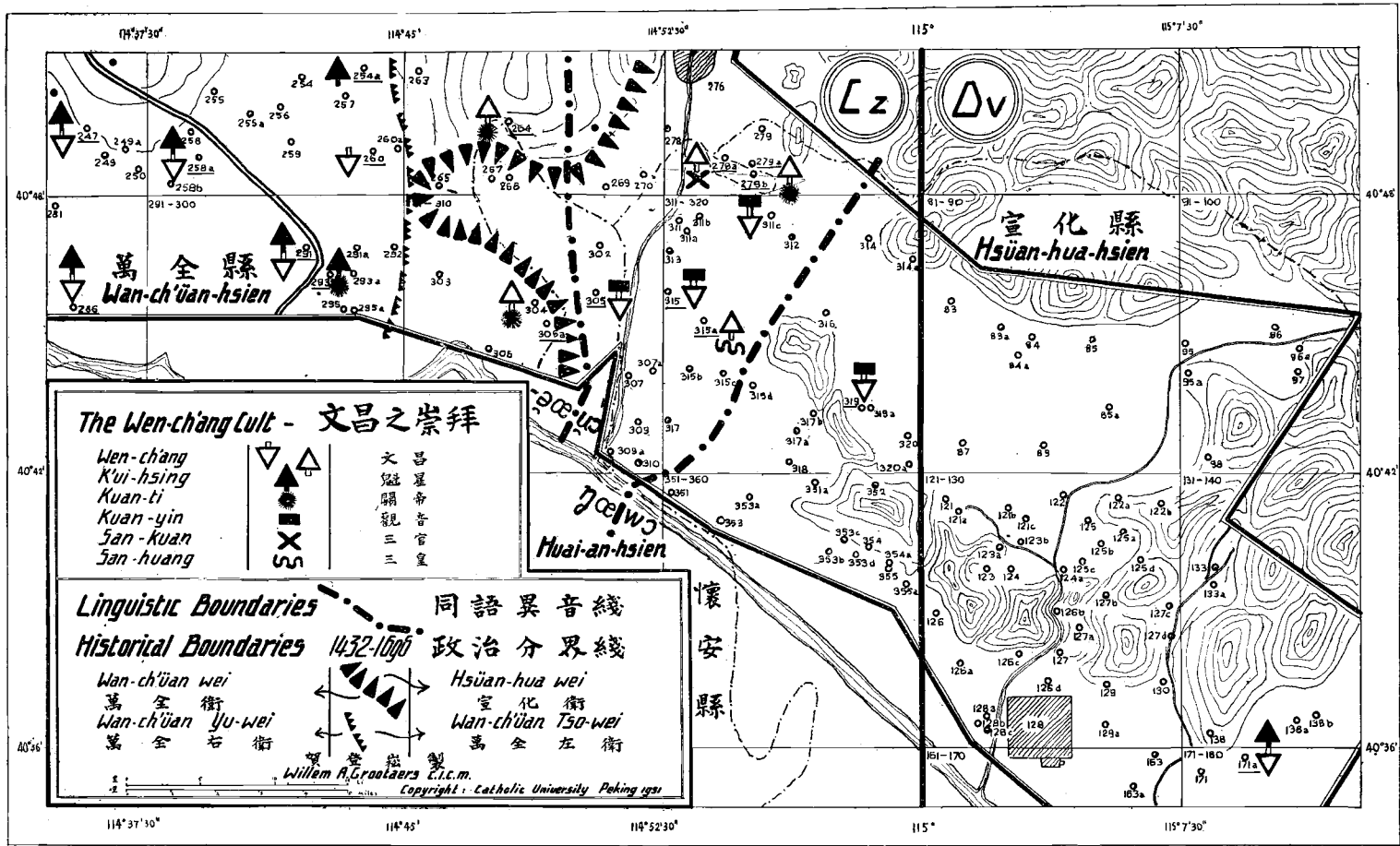
115°7'30"



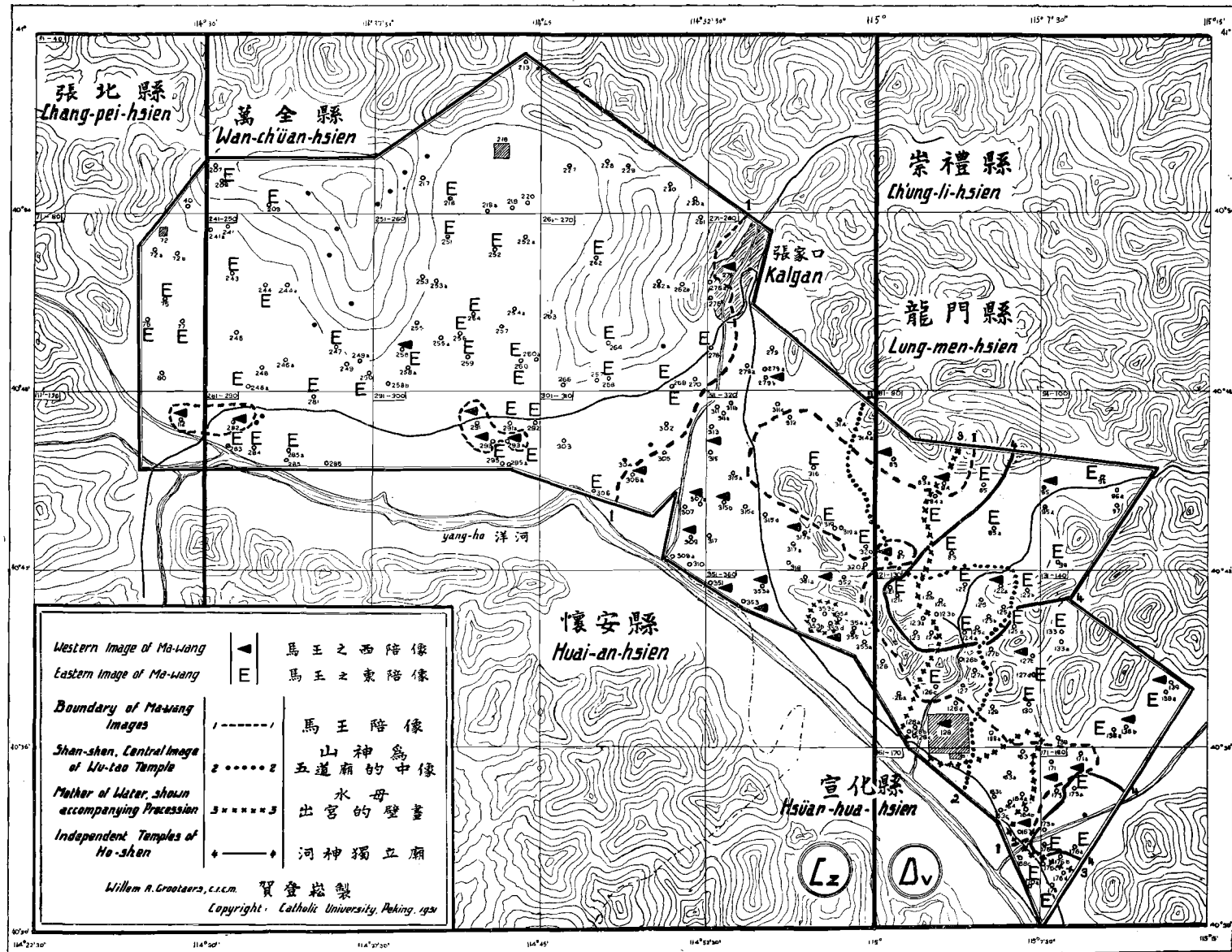
Map 3



Map 4

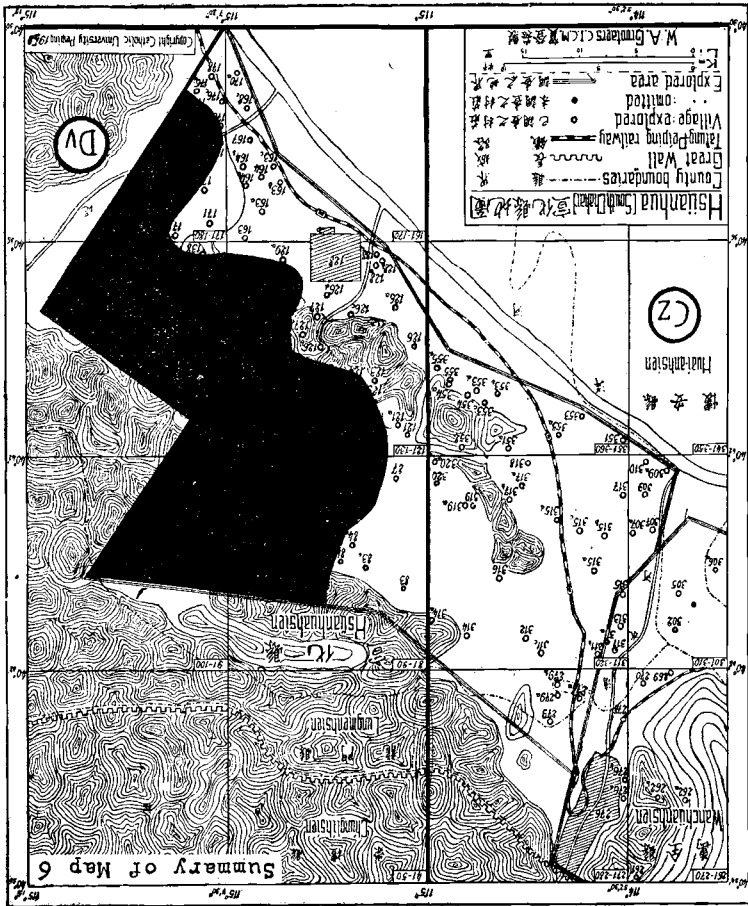


Map 5



Map 6

Map 8



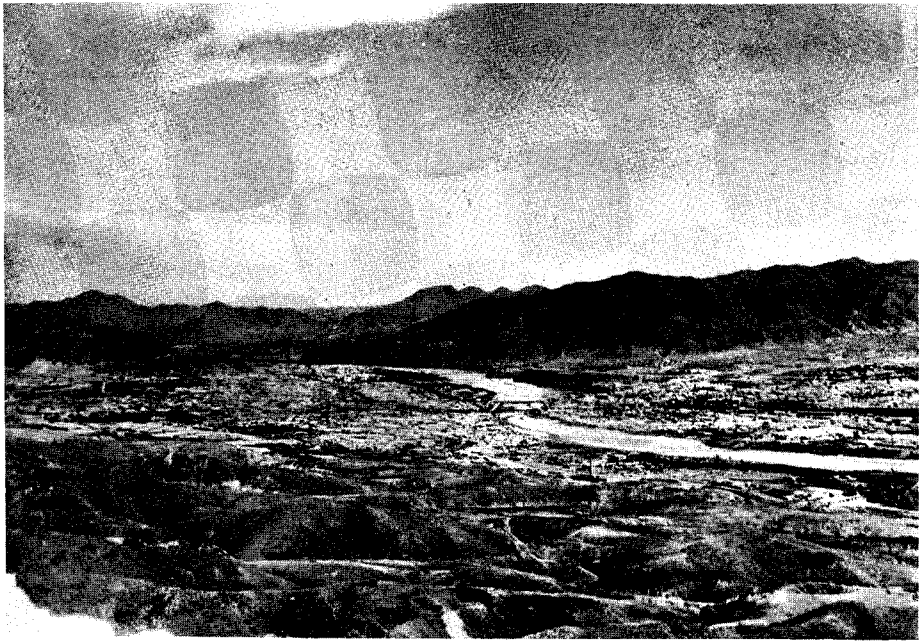


Fig. 1

From above Cz 278, towards Cz 276 Kalgan



Fig. 2

From above Cz 278, towards southeast (Liu-ho plain)



Fig. 3

From above Cz 278 towards the south



Fig. 5

From the mouth of the Ch'ing-shui-ho
towards the north



Fig. 4

From Dv 139a towards Dv 139

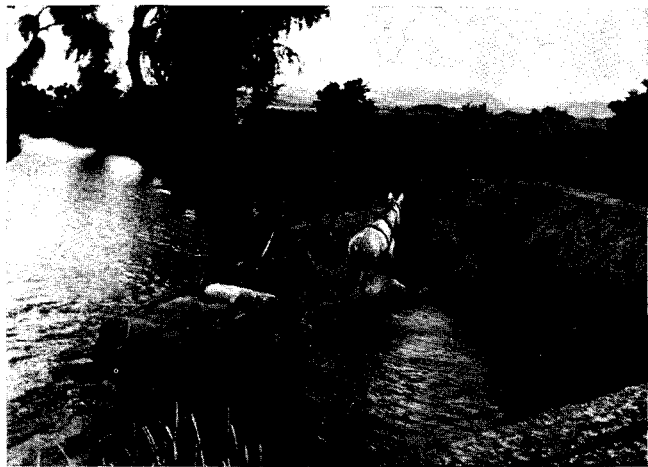


Fig. 6

Irrigation canal at Cz 307

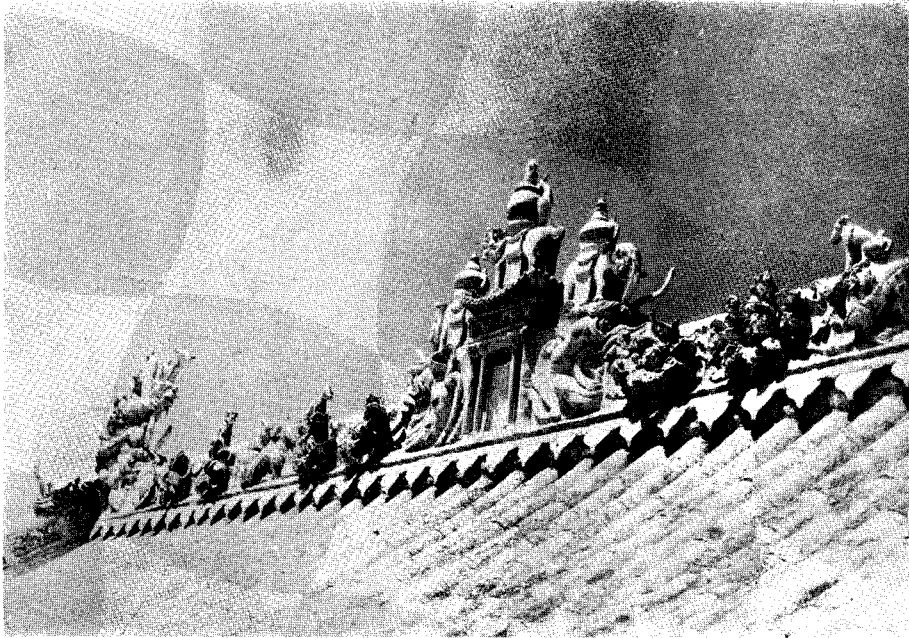


Fig. 7

Roof of Chen-wu temple at Dv 83



Fig. 8

Roof of Lung-wang temple at Dv 122a

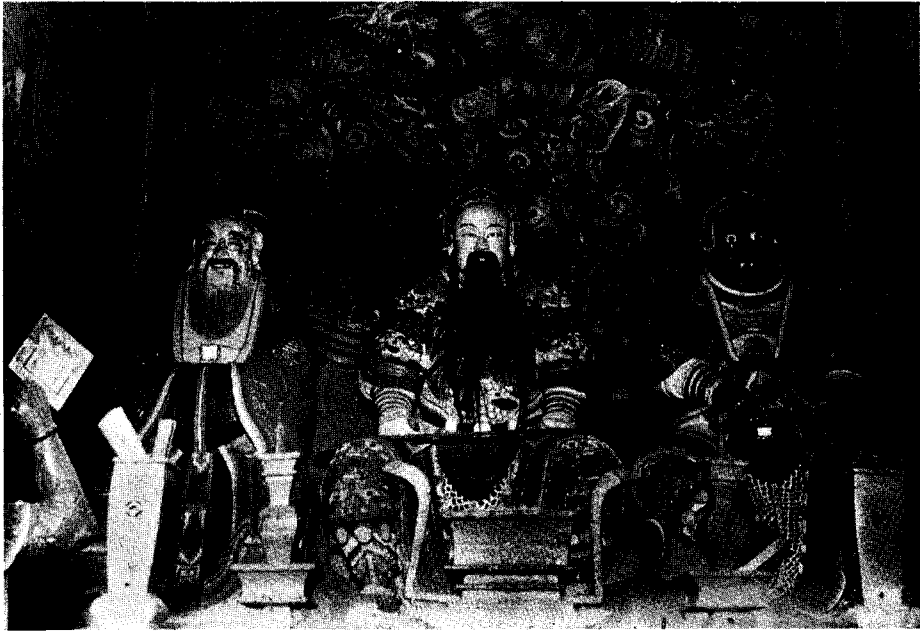


Fig. 9

The statues of a Wu-tao temple at Cz 276



Fig. 10

The statue of the male Lung-wang at Cz 307



Fig.11

Wang Fu-shih in front of the Wu-tao
temple at Cz 351a



Fig.12

Lantern of the Lung-wang-shê at Dv 126c

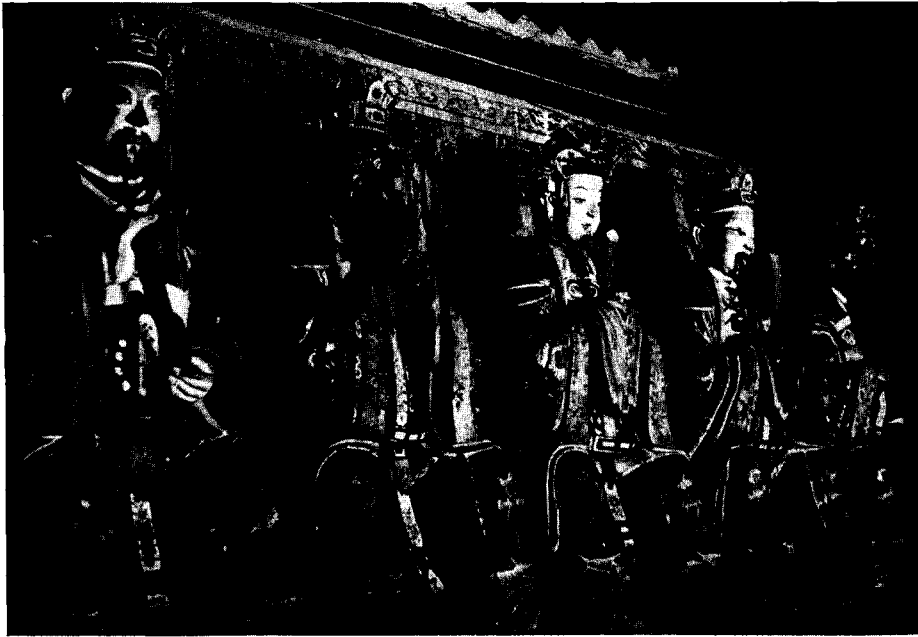


Fig.13

The statues of the Lung-wang temple at Cz 351



Fig.14

Fresco of the western wall, Lung-wang temple, Cz 355

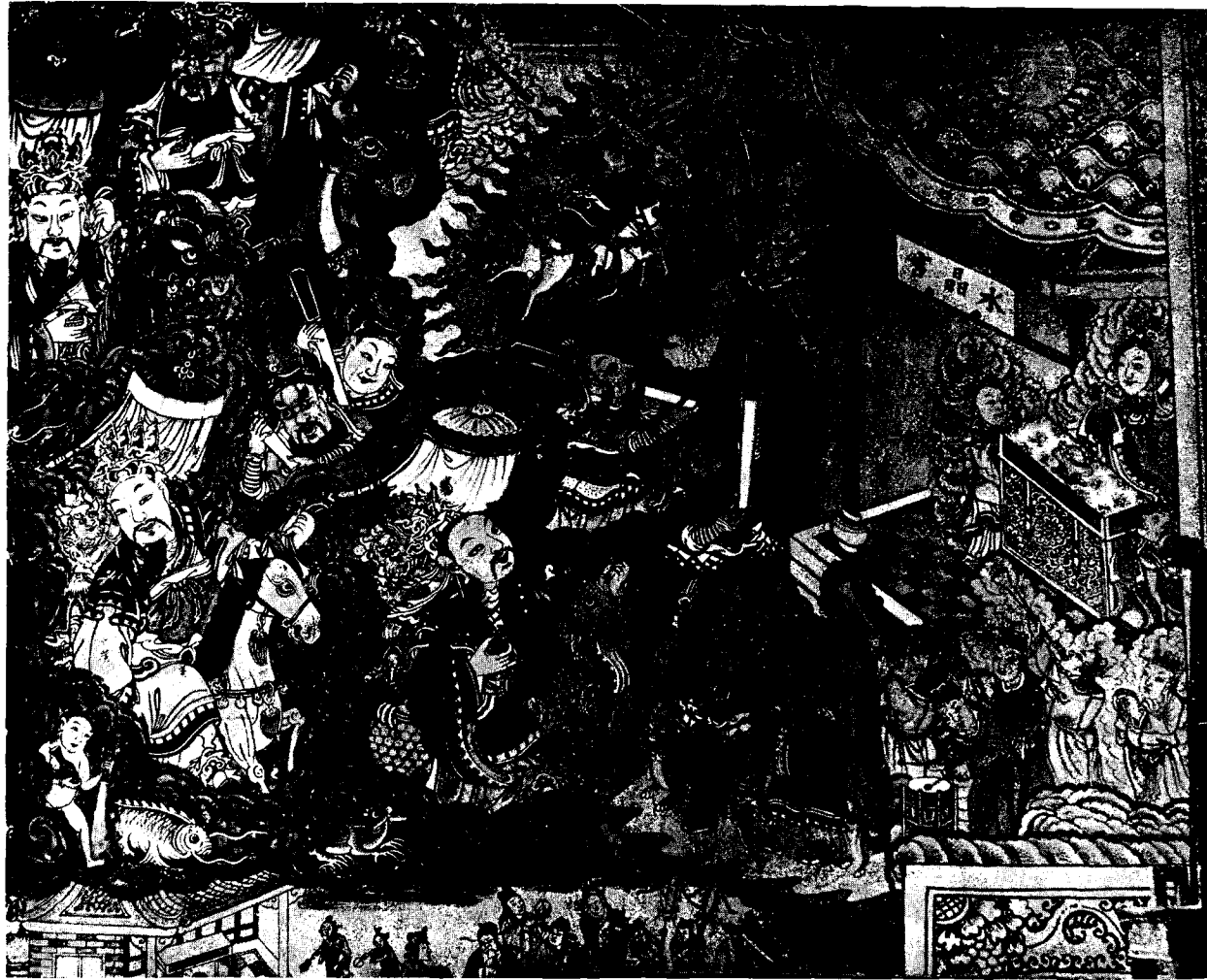


Fig.15

Fresco of the western wall, Lung-wang temple, Cz 278 (northern half)



Fig.16

Fresco of the eastern wall, Lung-wang temple, Dv 98 (northern half)



Fig. 17

Fresco of the eastern wall, Lung-wang temple, Dv 98 (southern half)

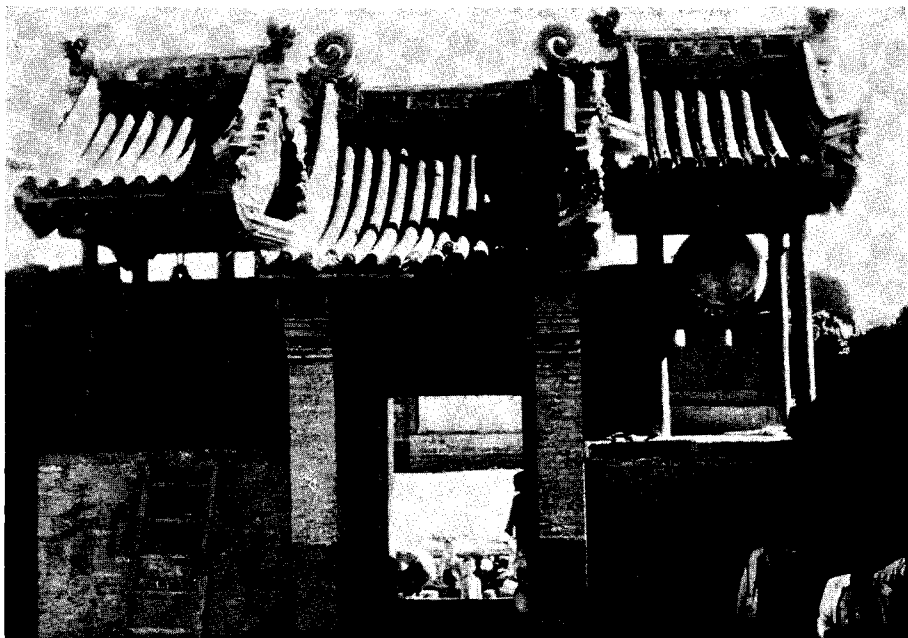


Fig.18

Gate of the Lung-wang temple, Cz 307 a

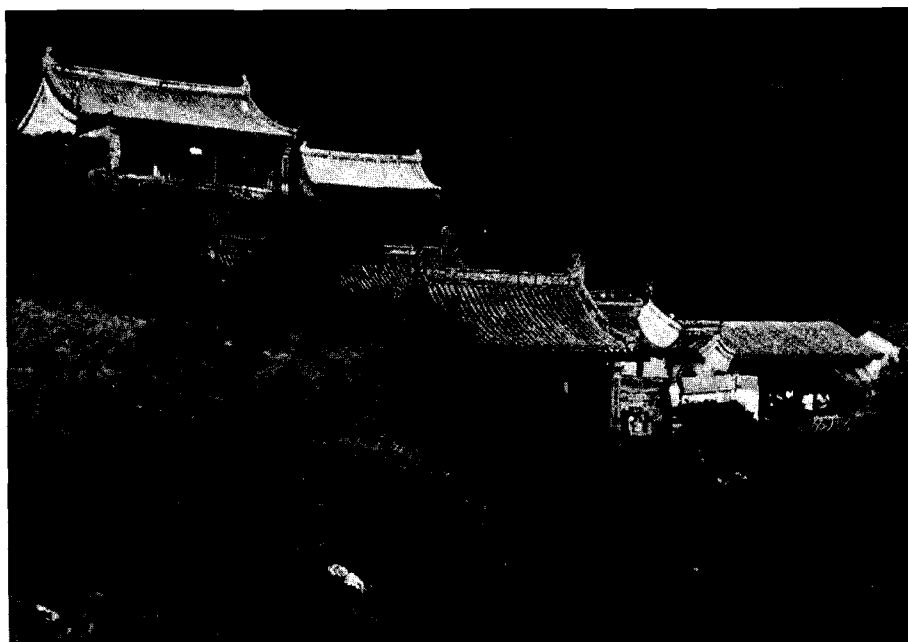


Fig.19

The temple buildings at Pai-lung-tung Cz 314a

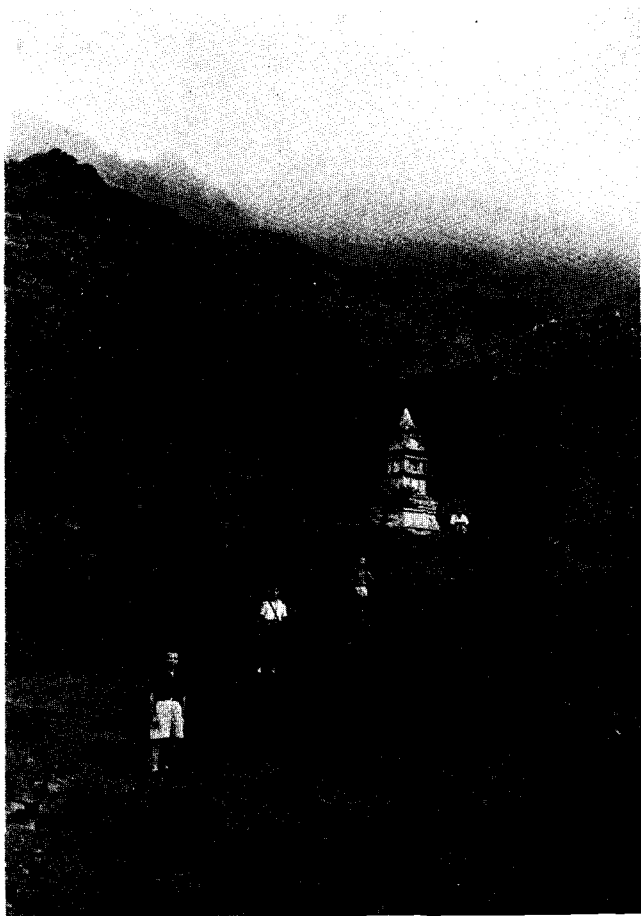


Fig.20

The members of the team at the foot of the
Pai-lung-tung, Cz 314 a



Fig. 21

The Ho-shen statue in the Buddha temple
at Cz 311b



Fig. 22
The Kuan-yin statue at Cz 315a



Fig. 23
The Kuan-yin statue at Cz 307a

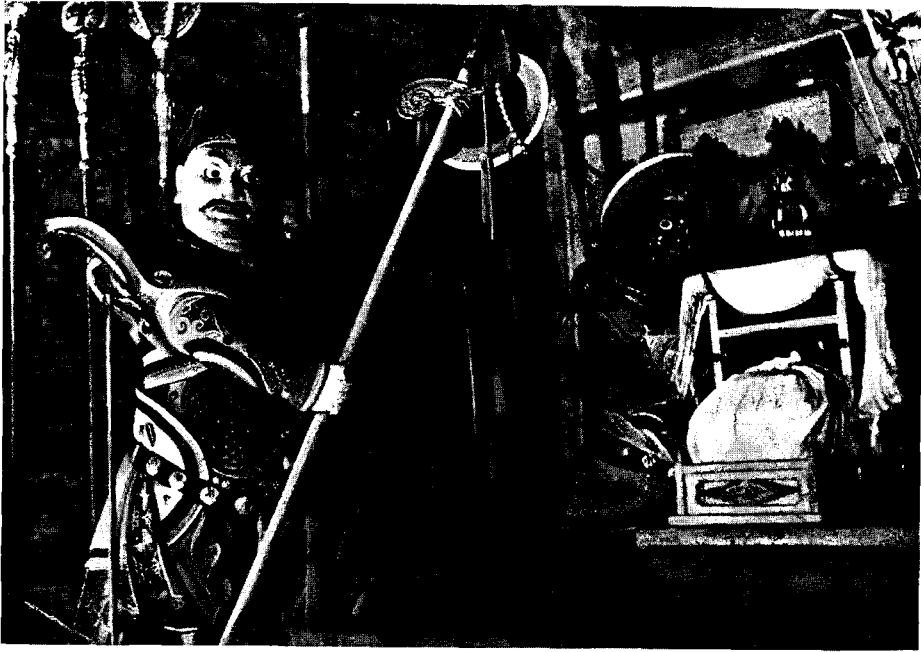


Fig. 24

Chou Ts'ang (right) and Liu Hua in front of Kuan-ti, Cz 320a

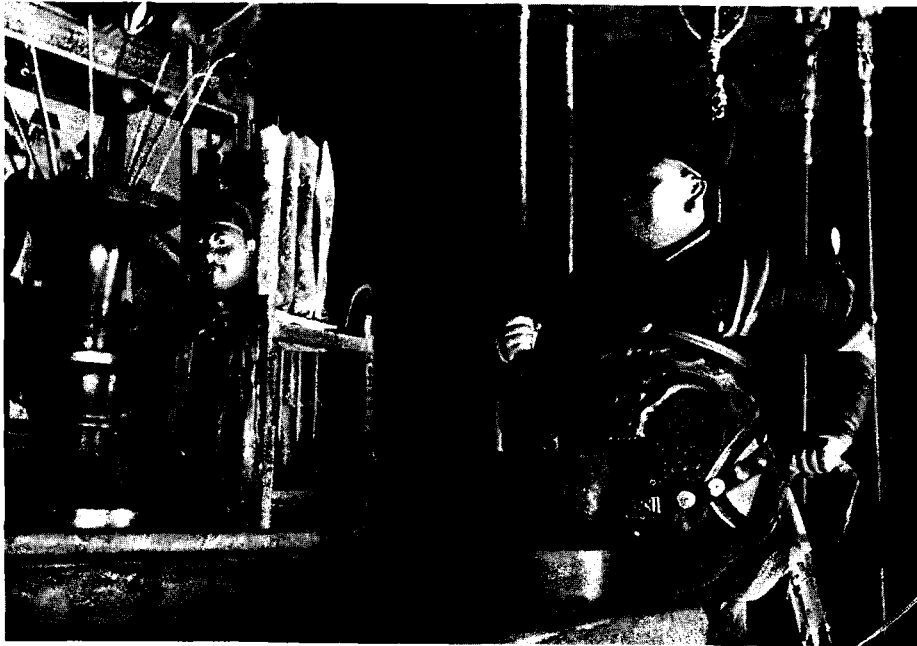


Fig. 25

Kuan P'ing (right) and Wang Fu in front of Kuan-ti, Cz 320a

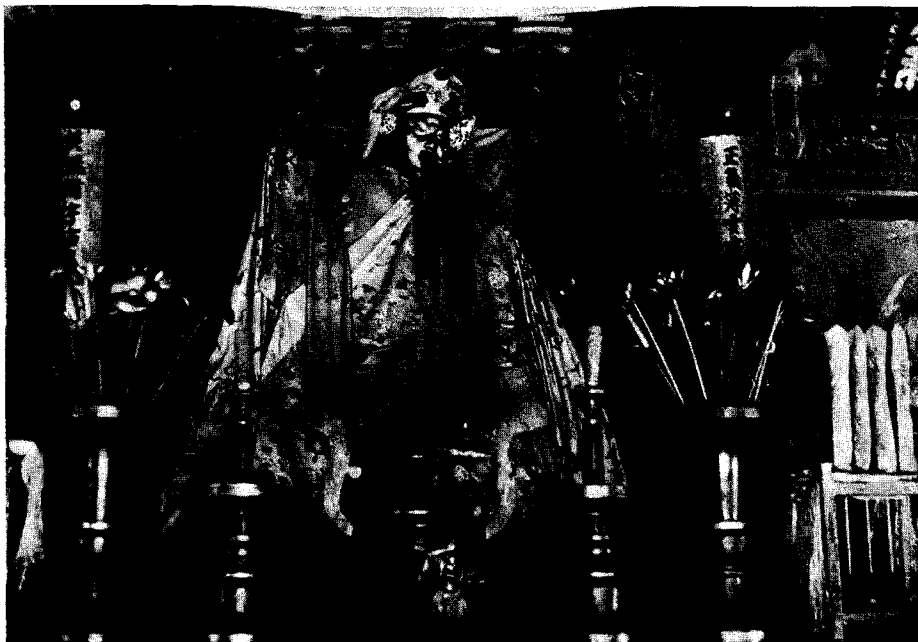


Fig.26

Kuan-ti on horseback, Cz 320a



Fig.27

Chen-wu temple, Lung-wang temple, Wu-tao temple (see fig.11) and
entrance of the village Cz 351a

Ma-wang statue in the Lung-wang temple at Cz 351

Fig. 28





Fig. 29

Fresco of the western wall, Chen-wu temple, Cz 279a

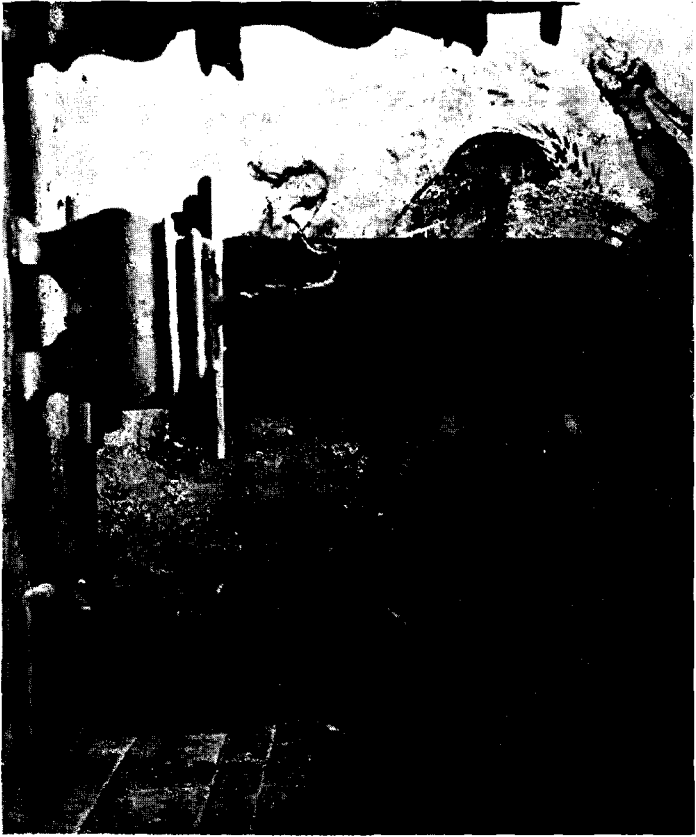


Fig. 30

Tablet of San-lang, Ma-wang and Hu-tu in Lung-wang temple,
Dv 167

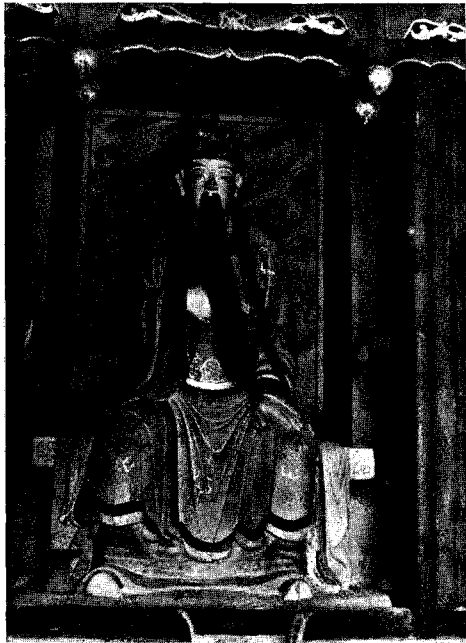


Fig. 31
Statue of Ts'ang-kuan in the
Lung-wang temple at Dv 98

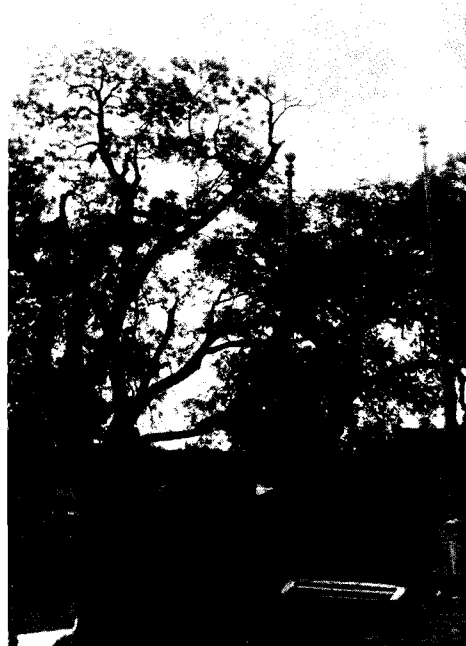


Fig. 32
Entrance of Buddhist monastery
Pao-lin-ssü, Cz 278a



Fig. 33
Confucius in the San-chiao-ssü
at Dv 83a

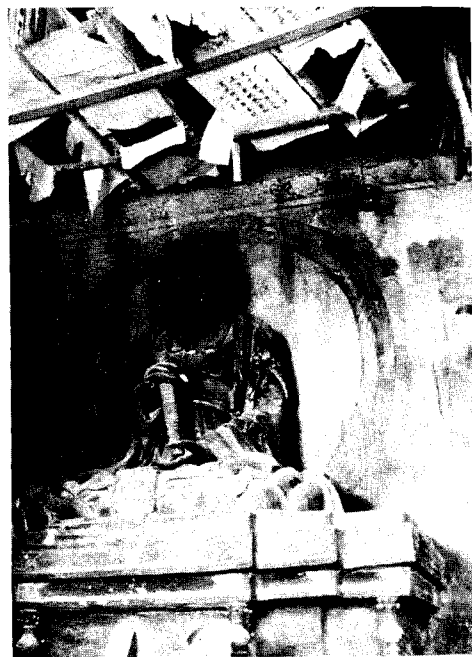


Fig. 34
Laotzu in the San-chiao-ssü at
Dv 83a



Fig. 35

The Ming-ching-ssü monastery on top of the hill at Dv 96a

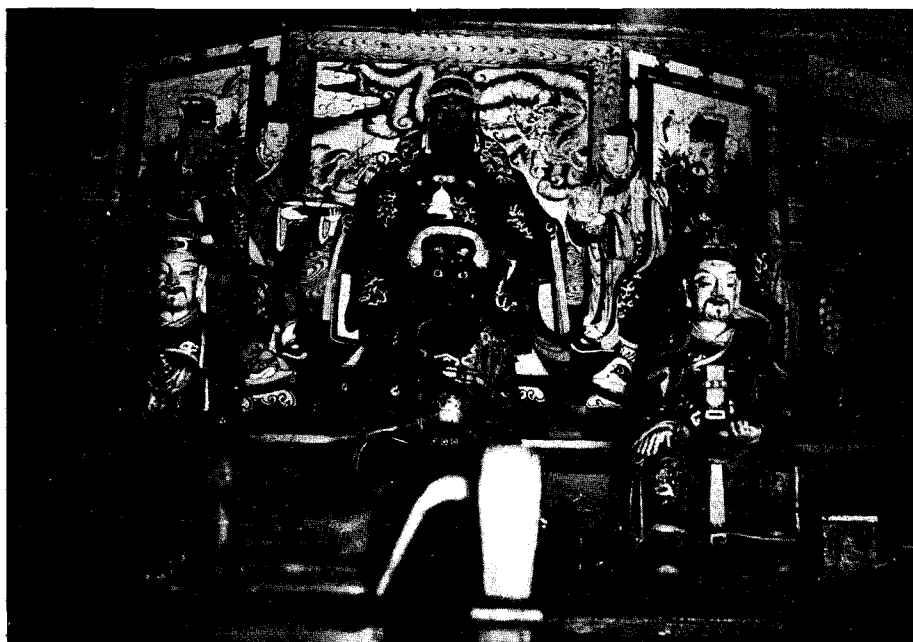


Fig. 36

The Hu-tu god with Yü-shih and Feng-po in the Lung-wang temple, Dv 176a



Fig. 37

The San-kuan images at Cz 320



Fig. 39

Western row of attendants of the Fire God,
Cz 276



Fig. 38

The Fire God in the Ts'ai-shen temple at Cz 315 a

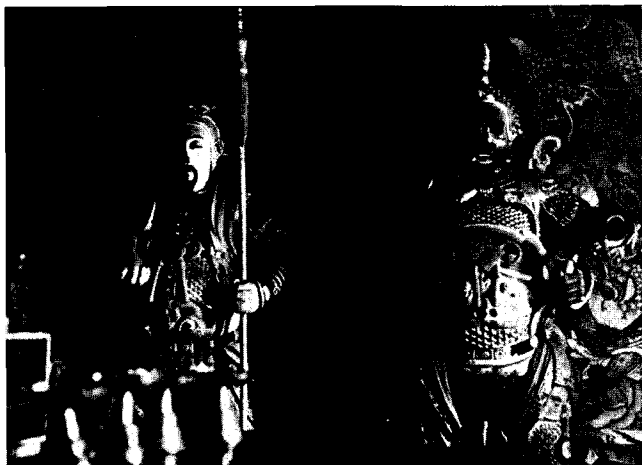
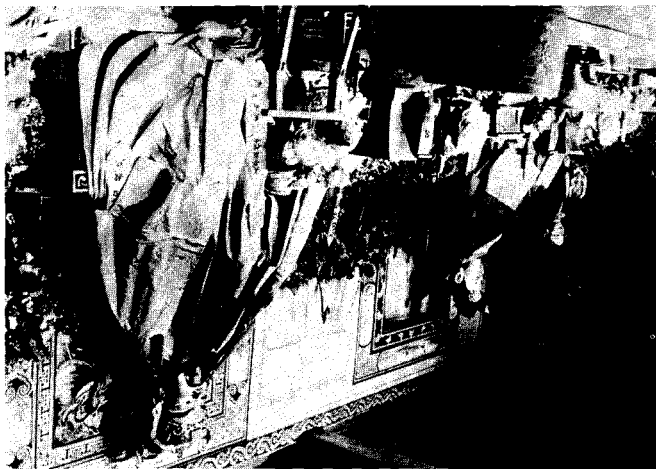


Fig. 40

Eastern row of attendants of the Fire God,
Cz 276

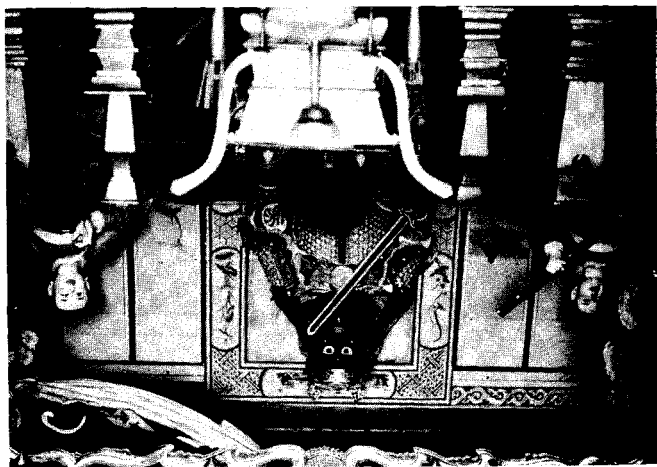
The San-lang god and one of his sisters at Dv 85a

Fig. 44



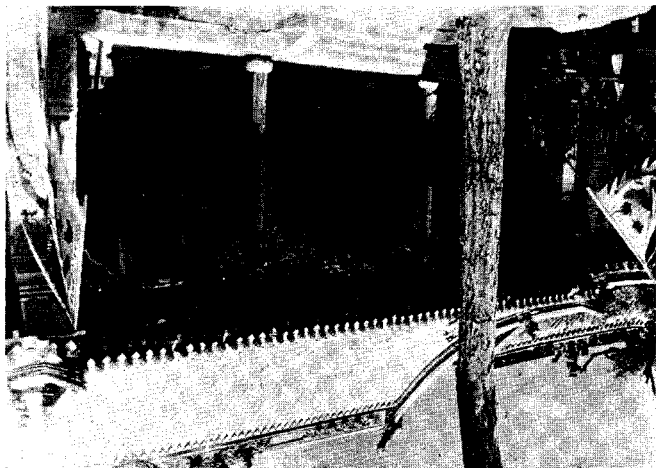
The San-lang image at Cz 311b

Fig. 42



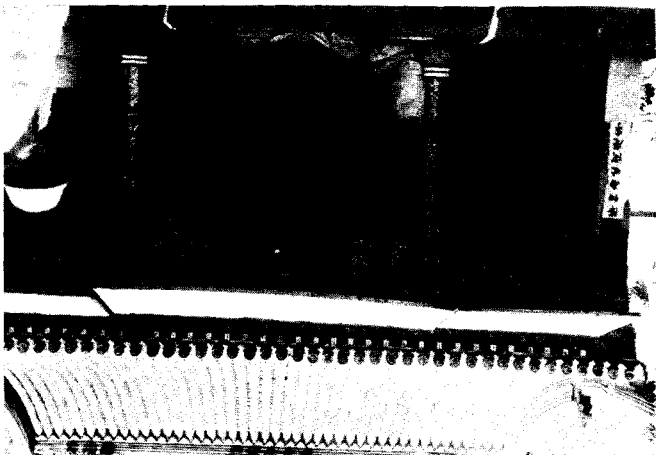
The San-lang temple at Dv 85a

Fig. 43



The San-lang temple at Cz 311b

Fig. 41



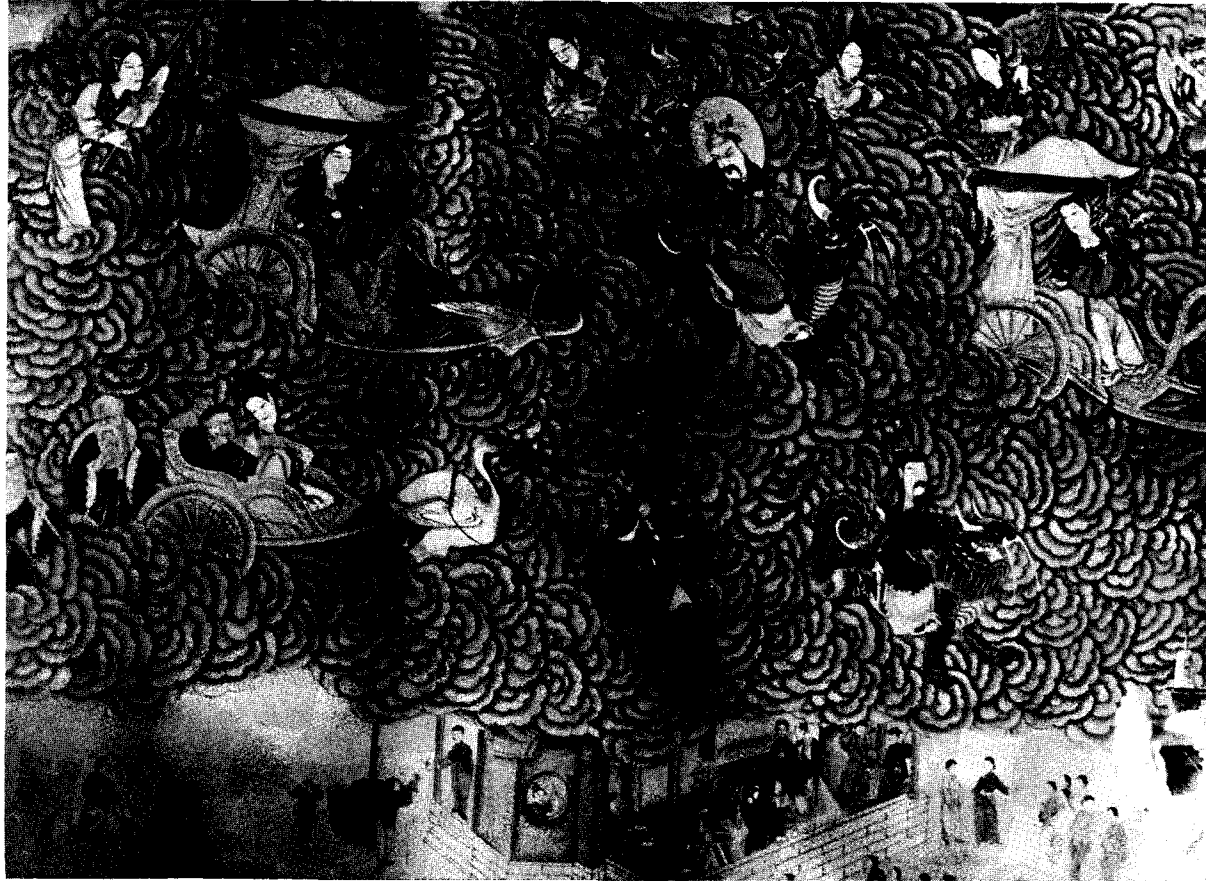


Fig. 45

The fresco of the western wall in the San-lang temple at Dv 85 a

The fresco of the eastern wall in the San-lang temple at
Dv 85a (northern half)

Fig. 46



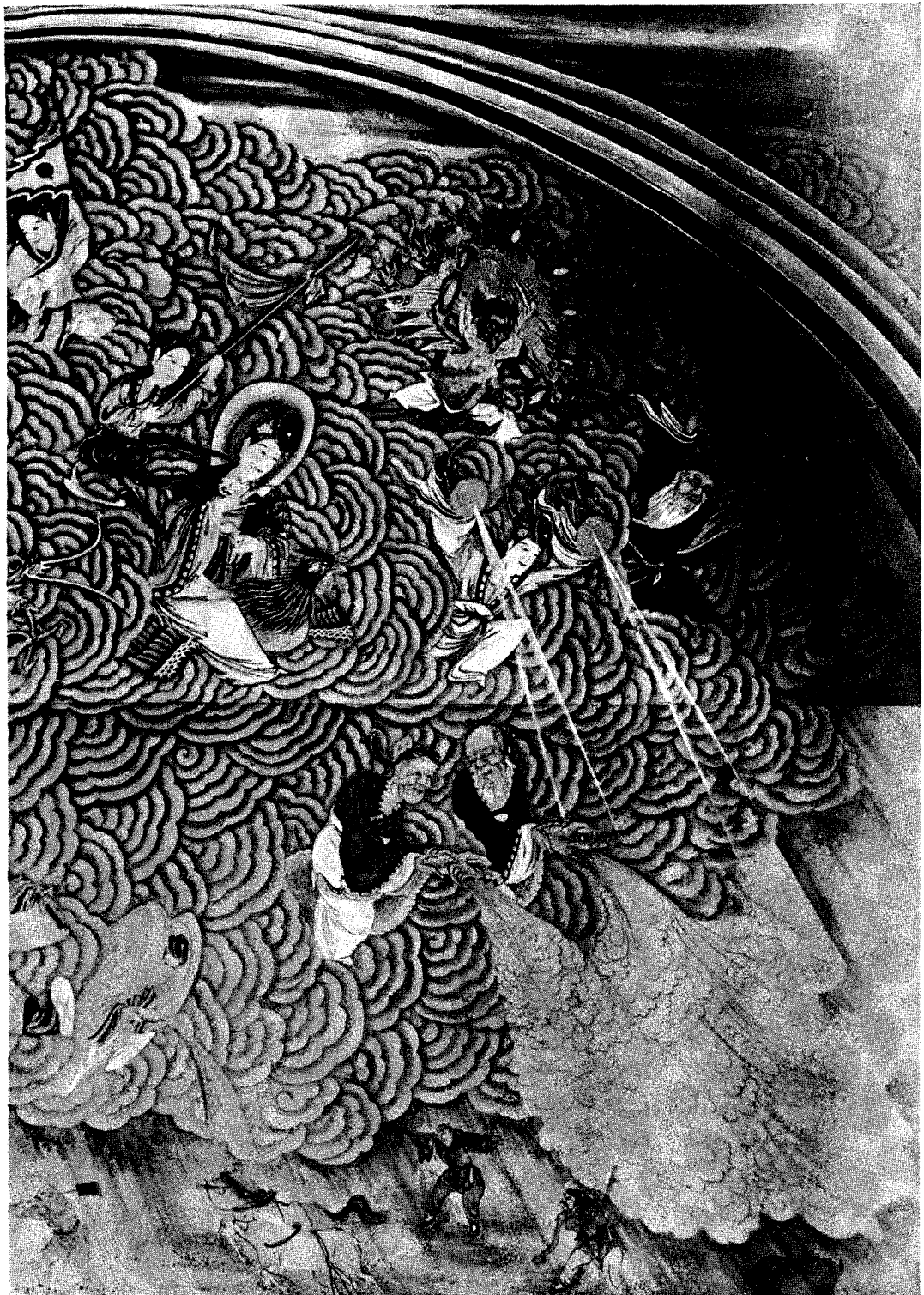


Fig. 47

The fresco of the eastern wall in the San-lang temple at Dv 85a (southern half)



Fig. 48

The village Dv 170a and the Huang-yang mountain



Fig. 50

Bodhidharma statue in the Hsüan-k'ung-ssü,
Dv 126b



Fig. 49

The Wen-ch'ang image at Cz 279b



Fig. 51

Li Shih-yü in front of the Shan-shen temple in the hills east of Dv 95a

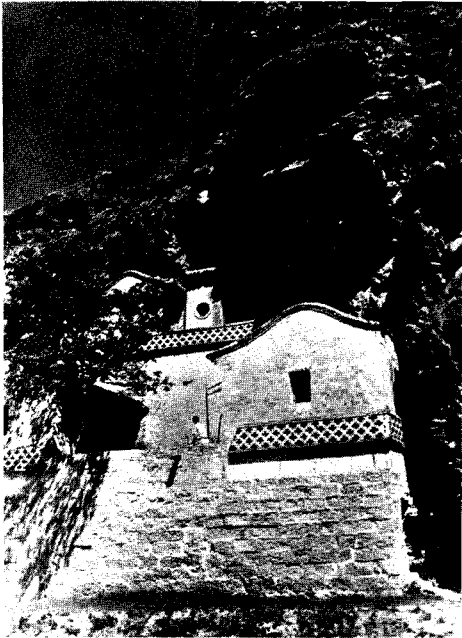


Fig. 52

The Bodhidharma hermitage at
Dv 126b



Fig. 53

Paul B. Denlinger in front of the
Yü-huang temple at Cz 315a



Fig. 54

The western wall of the Nai-nai
temple at Cz 314a



Fig. 55

The two statues of Ch'eng-huang
at Cz 315a



Fig. 56

Theater and entrance of the Ch'eng-huang temple
at Cz 315 a

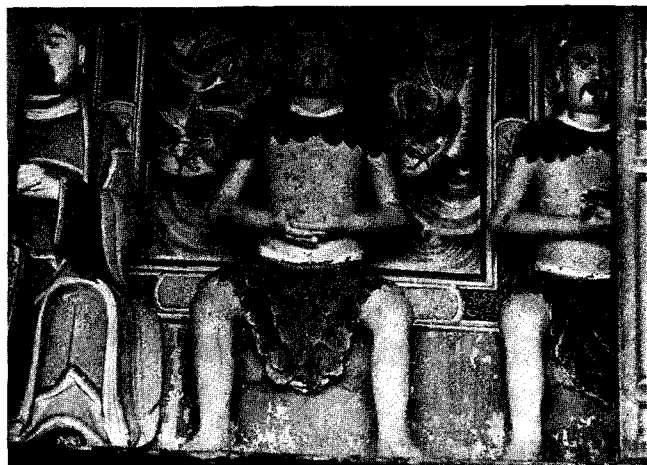


Fig. 58

The San-huang images at Cz 315 a



Fig.57

The eastern wall of the Nai-nai temple at Cz 314a



Fig.59

The crowned image of Maitreya in the Lung-wang temple at Dv 122a



Fig. 60

The God of Wine in the Ts'ai-shen temple at Cz 315a



Fig. 62

Statues of Li-shih and Lu-shen in the Ts'ai-shen temple at Cz 315a



Fig. 61

The image of T'an Kung at Cz 314a



Fig. 63

Statues of Ts'ai-shen, Wu-ku and Wu Ts'ai-shen
in the Ts'ai-shen temple at Cz 315a

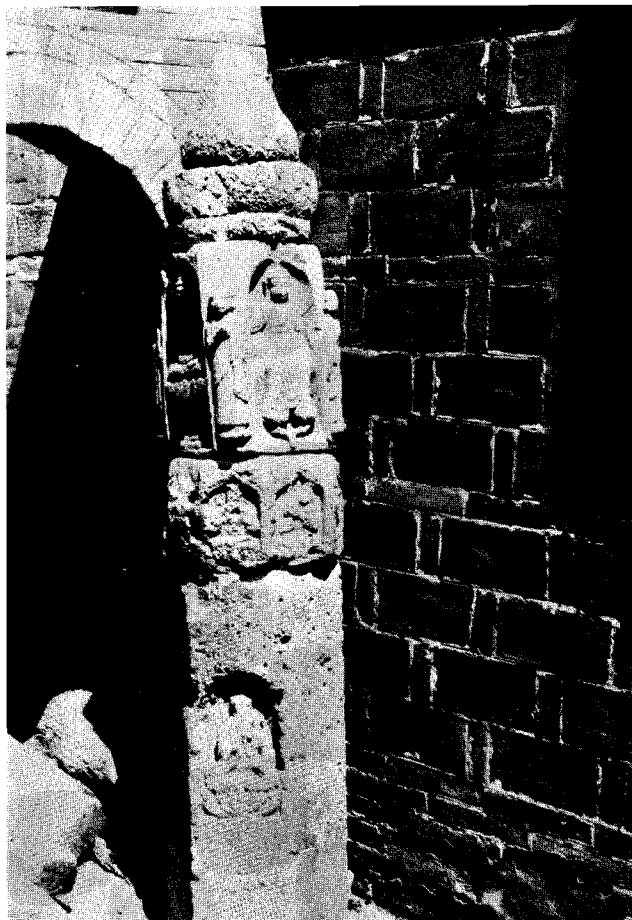


Fig. 64

The dharani pillar in the Buddha temple at Cz 311b



Fig. 65

The Buddha image (dated June 12th 460 A. D. and the rubbing of the text at the back. From the Pao-lin-ssū monastery at Cz 278a)



Fig. 66

The Buddhist ex-voto in the Buddha temple at
Dv 85a (front)



Fig. 67

The Buddhist ex-voto in the Buddha temple at
Dv 85a (back)

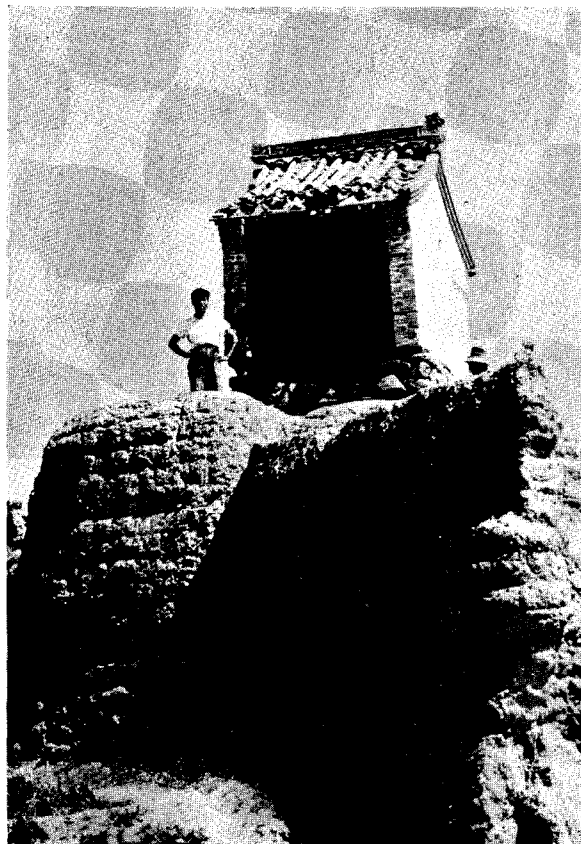


Fig. 68

Chang Chi-wen in front of the Hsüan-t'an temple at Cz 244 (Wanch'üan survey, 1947)



Fig. 69

Hsüan-t'an temple at Cz 292 with Chen-wu temple in the background (Wanch'uan survey, 1947)



Fig. 70

The Ling-kuan statue, back of the Chen-wu temple at Dv 122b

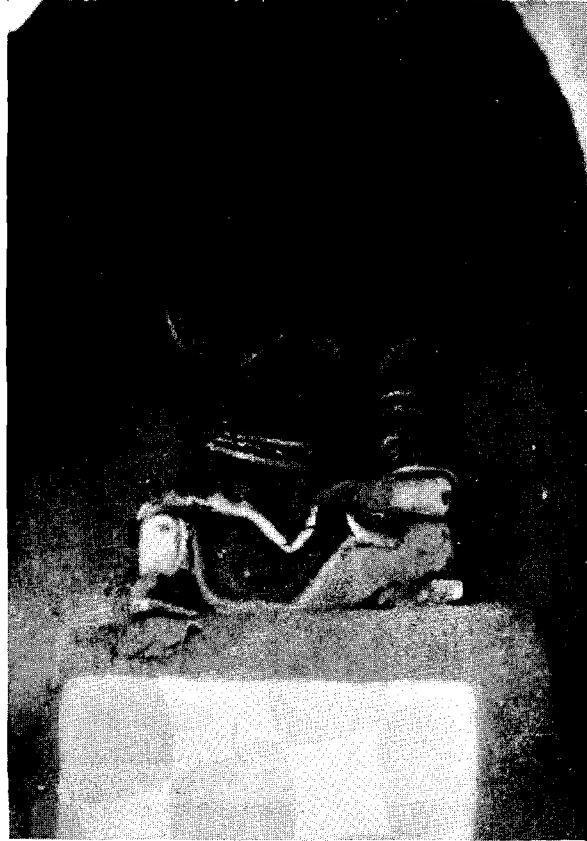


Fig. 71

The Hsüant'an statue at Cz 292
(Wanch'üan survey, 1947)



Fig. 72

The God of Water (Sung painting).

Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.