

THE GENESIS AND SPREAD OF TEMPLE CULTS IN FUKIEN

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1. *Introduction*

1.1. *Preliminary remarks*

This study attempts to analyse some aspects of the rise and spread of eight popular Fukienese cults on the basis of written records. Crucial to our analysis is the view that the popularity of a deity depends on the humans who worship him or her, and not on any inherent properties which the deity possesses. We shall attempt to demonstrate that deities have evolved from what were originally (considered to be) vengeful hungry ghosts—feared and worshipped for this very reason. The origin of these deities and their cults forms the main topic of Section 2 and the spread of their cults forms the main topic of Section 3.

The eight cults were selected on the basis of their popularity in Fu-chien and/or on Taiwan by the mid-Ch'ing. They are all independent cults, with their own temples and worshipped by a geographically defined community (i.e. a town, village or neighbourhood). Local social organizations generally revolve around these temples.¹ This kind of deity belongs to a specific type, which does not include deities which stem from institutionalized Buddhism, Taoism or sectarian movements, nor most of the gods worshipped by guilds which are organized according to profession. However, gods worshipped by guilds where one of the primary criteria in deciding membership is region of origin (for instance, the guild of Fu-chien merchants) *do* belong to the type of god discussed.

The following five gods were selected because they are still very

1 K.M. Schipper, "Neighbourhood Cult Associations in Traditional China", in G.W. Skinner ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, 1977), pp. 651—676. For two detailed descriptions of associations devoted to the cults described in this study, cf. *Shou-ning hsien-chih* (1637), *chüan* 11, pp. 11b—12a, *T'ung-an hsien-chih* (1929), *chüan* 22, pp. 7a—b and Chou K'ai, *Hsia-men-chih* (in: *T'ai-wan wen-hsien ts'ung-k'an*) p. 68.

popular on Taiwan: Ma-tsu from P'u-t'ien, Kuo Sheng-wang from Nan-an, Wu Chen-jen or Pao-sheng ta-ti from T'ung-an, Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih from An-hsi, and Ch'en Yüan-kuang or K'ai-chang chiang-chün from Chang-p'u.² Kuo Sheng-wang's cult used to be very popular in Hsia-men and is described by, amongst others, De Groot.³ Ma-tsu, Wu Chen-jen and Ch'en Yüan-kuang were also very popular in large parts of Fu-chien.

The other three gods have been selected, because they were all fairly popular gods on the Fukienese mainland: Ch'en Ching-ku or Lin-shui fu-jen from Ku-t'ien, Ma-hsien from Ching-ning/Chien-an/Yung-an, and Ou-yang Hu from Shao-wu. Lin-shui fu-jen is also well-known as the matriarch of the San-nai or Lü-shan sect (a Taoist sect).⁴ There are novels, *pao-chuan* (precious scrolls), hagiographic collections and other sources (mostly late Qing) in existence, dealing with most of these deities, but the present study is limited to earlier, much more fragmentary material for reasons which are given below.

1.2. *The sources*

The written records—mainly local gazetteers and anecdotal literature (containing epigraphic material, myths and miracle-stories)—are fragmentary and full of stereotypes. Local gazetteers contain many inscriptions, but these are often full of stock phrases, with few precise details on myths, miracles or believers. The lists of private and institutional contributors to foundings and restorations, which is usually to be found on the back of stone-inscriptions, is never given by the gazetteer. Additional information could be obtained from oral traditions, miracle-stories, temple-decorations and novels, but most of this material is of a fairly late date and would not serve the purposes of our study. It seems

2 P.C. Baity, *Religion in a Chinese Town* (Taipei, 1975), pp. 15—42, pp. 259—262, C.S. Harrell, "When a Ghost Becomes a God", in: A.P. Wolf ed., *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford, 1974), pp. 193—206 and his book *Ploughshare Village* (Seattle, 1982), pp. 184—194, D.K. Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors* (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 42—48. Keith Stevens summarizes some of the later myths on Kuo Sheng-wang, and has a few interesting remarks on his present position among overseas Chinese all over South East Asia in "The Saintly Guo (Sheng Gong)", in *The Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XVIII (1978), pp. 193—8.

3 J.J.M. de Groot, *Jaarlykse Feesten en Gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen* (Pontianak, 1880), pp. 411—419.

4 K.M. Schipper, "The Divine Jester: Some Remarks on the Gods of the Chinese Marionette Theater" *Min-tsu-hsueh yen-chiu-suo chi-k'an* (1966), p. 81.

unlikely that older written material still exists in the places where the cults originated.

One could interview local people and investigate their customs in an attempt to find out more about their local history, as was done in Northern China by Western and Japanese scholars before the Second World War. Such projects are, however, extremely difficult and time-consuming, and the problem of distortion is very much present, particularly when dealing with the distant past. The scarce and unreliable written records are, therefore, still the best sources available to us. In addition to the lack of specific information in our sources, there is also a dearth of research work correlating anthropological fieldwork with historical research into Chinese religion. There are few up-to-date reference books, apart from reports of field-research and collections of unconnected anecdotes.

The distribution of cults is an historical process which takes place over an extended time-period. Because our main type of source consists of late Ch'ing gazetteers, the middle of the nineteenth century has been selected as the date from which the distribution of the eight cults has been plotted on maps. Local gazetteers contain the only systematic lists of temples for the pre-modern period. A comparison of the lists given by them with the results from fieldwork in some of the regions where both types of source are available (Manchuria, Shan-tung and Ho-pei, Fuchien), suggests that a reasonably accurate picture of the different temple-cults present in a region, and their relative importance, can be obtained from gazetteers. When the gazetteers list a founding-date for a cult in a particular place this appears to refer to the founding-date of the first temple devoted to the cult, however simple the temple may have been. Cults which were located in people's homes or in monasteries were probably never registered. However, the lists give little information on the different cults in smaller shrines or within larger temples, or on the exact number of temples devoted to one particular cult. Even the precise location of many of the registered temples is not often clearly indicated. Local gazetteers frequently contain summaries of myths relating to a deity, and unless there is good reason to assume otherwise (for instance evident copying), these summaries have been assumed to be representative of local beliefs.

1.3. *The origin of deities: the hypothesis*

Though many attempts have been made to classify deities into

different categories, comparatively little attention has been devoted to their genesis. Most researchers have confined themselves to a non-historical enumeration of the myths, folklore and rituals they have observed during their fieldwork. The existence of deities is frequently explained by their function or character. In the case of the gods of temple-cults—such as the deities dealt with in this study—the usual explanation is that their cults rose to eminence as a result of a kind of hero-worship.⁵ Such explanations are insufficient and tautological, as will be shown later.

There are substantial differences between the myths dating from the different stages in a cult's development. To understand the initial rise of a cult, it is necessary to attempt to separate its historical origin, and the earliest extant myths, from later elaborations. It is almost impossible to separate the historical origin from the earliest myths. Even the stories concerning a deity of recent origin encountered during fieldwork, are themselves already myths, because they present events from the viewpoint of the believers. The older stories, however, still preserve the reasons why believers started a cult, or at least they give some of them. The interaction between historical events and beliefs is also still present in these older stories.

Later mythology has developed and expanded in response to the need to supply a proper background for the worshipped deity or deities. Different social groups have their own particular versions and the spread of a cult over a larger area causes it to be influenced by the mythologies of other gods. Later mythology consists of an accumulation of justifications and rationalizations by certain social groups, in certain localities, at a particular moment in history for continuing to worship a deity.

Fieldwork on Taiwan (mainly in the form of locality-studies) has suggested that gods of local, Taiwanese origin generally "started" as the ghosts of people who had met with an untimely and/or unnatural death (often by violence, such as wars, murder, traffic accidents and in childbirth, at a young age and prior to marriage). In all cases, their life-energy had not yet been fully spent. Often these ghosts had no descendants to carry on an ancestor-cult and perform the rituals which might pacify them (for

5 C.K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society* (Berkeley, 1961), pp. 158—161, pp. 165—173. J.F. Pas, "Religion in a Chinese Town: Chinese Religion Rediscovered", in: *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XI (1979), p. 171 In this article he reviews P.C. Baity (1975) This type of explanation was, and is, common among Chinese writers, cf. *T'ing-chou fu-chih* (1497), *chuan* 9, pp. 1a—b.

instance by performing ghost-marriages for unmarried persons) and exorcism had also failed.

In many of the cases where something more specific than their cause of death is known about them, it seems that during their lifetime they had generally lived on the margins of society. In other cases the only thing that is known about them is their cause of death and that they revealed themselves in a dream to someone living nearby. Worship of these ghosts often started at either their grave, the place where they had died, or where their remains or bones were found. The distinction between them and the category of hungry ghosts is extremely slight. Hungry ghosts have died a premature death and are condemned to remain on earth, without being worshipped as part of the ancestor cult. They are full of rancour and spite against human society. These ghosts and “deities-to-be” originate on a local level and their cults exist for strictly local reasons.

Following hints from Chinese scholars such as Liu Chih-wan, the American anthropologists Jordan, Baity and Harrell have independently concluded, from fieldwork on Taiwan, that the worship of many deities in fact developed out of the propitiation of hungry ghosts. They all give numerous recent examples of such ghosts, who were initially worshipped by small groups of people—whose membership was not based on kinship ties — after which the worship of these ghosts developed into a proper cult.⁶ Baity attempts to apply this thesis to all Chinese deities, but only gives a few examples without any systematic historical analysis. Jordan too speculates: “Dare we suspect that the Queen of Heaven herself might have begun her career as a little god?”⁷ Harrell makes the most subtle analysis by distinguishing three stages of development—from hungry ghosts into intermediate spirits into deities.

Schipper, a student of both historical and present day Taoism, agrees with the basic premise that most of these deities had a questionable origin, but does not go so far as to equate them with hungry ghosts. In his view, they had cultivated life to such a degree, that their power was not diabolical but divine.⁸ It is here

6 Baity (1975), pp. 238—269. Harrell (1974), pp. 193—206. Jordan (1972), pp. 164—171. Jordan, Baity and Harrell do not refer to each other. They refer to articles by Taiwanese scholars, unavailable to us, and also to Japanese pre-war fieldwork on Taiwan in support of their thesis. Paul Katz, “Demons or deities?—The *Wangye* of Taiwan”, in *Asian Folklore Studies* XLVI: 2 (1987), pp. 201—4 develops this argument further.

7 Jordan (1972), p. 169, footnote 33

8 K.M. Schipper, unpublished paper to the Bellagio-conference of 1968,

suggested that their supposedly divine character was a product of post-facto rationalizations in the form of later myths, and was not caused by intrinsic differences between the origins of these deities and those of hungry ghosts.

1.4. *The spread of a cult: distribution patterns*

In section 3, we shall investigate some geographical aspects of the spread of these eight cults within Fu-chien. The spread to Taiwan will only be referred to on the basis of secondary research. In a society which from the Sung onwards was increasingly mobile, many gods had, in fact, originated in another region. Their worship was introduced into the region by different types of travellers or migrants. The presence and distribution of such gods is dependent on the background of the people who transported their cults.

This notion has been elaborated most recently by David Johnson in his study of the City God.⁹ He assumed that merchants were responsible for the spread of the cult, and not officials or ordinary people. As he himself states, this assumption is extremely hard to prove. He bases his argument on the striking distribution of the City God-cult along trade-routes. Such a pattern can be demonstrated for many cults, but in our opinion this pattern is not, in itself, sufficient to prove that merchants were the main group responsible for the spread of the City God-cult. Many other travelling groups, such as monks and priests, doctors and quacks, seasonal and permanent migrants, also moved along these trade-routes.

Monks and priests, both Buddhist and Taoist, are one possible group who might have spread the cult of the City God, particularly in view of one aspect of the City God which has been neglected by Johnson: i.e. the City God's well attested role, even in pre-Sung sources (before the spread of the cult), as a func-

"Taoism: The Liturgical Tradition", p. 2 and footnote 7; K.M. Schipper, "Démonologie Chinoise", in *Sources Orientales*, vol. VIII (Paris, 1971), p. 426 and K.M. Schipper, *Le Corps Taoïste* (Paris, 1982), p. 58. However, his comments remain sketchy.

⁹ D. Johnson, "The City-God Cults of T'ang and Sung China", *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* XLV, 2 (1985), pp. 410—424. In our use of maps for historical research of Chinese religion and folklore, we have been inspired by the fieldwork of Willem A. Grootaers (C.I.C.M.), as illustrated for example in his article "Temples and History of Wan-ch'üan (Chahar): The Geographical Method Applied to Folklore", *Monumenta Serica* XIII (1948), pp. 209—316, in particular pp. 299—313.

tionary in the underworld bureaucracy.¹⁰ Monks and priests also travelled along the trade-routes, but would never have been mentioned frequently in the inscriptions (one of the most important written sources on temple-cults) as founders and stimulators of the building and restoration of temples, since these inscriptions were written by and for the people who provided the money (the local elite, literati, merchants).

Due to lack of evidence, it cannot be established whether the spread of the eight cults under investigation from their place of origin to other places merely signified that people from the place of origin had migrated to the new place, or whether the cult was eventually also accepted by the original local population or even imported by the local population in the first place. Taiwanese evidence suggests that the link between migrating groups and the cults they brought with them, from their place of origin in Fuchien or Kuang-tung, remained very strong for a long period of time.¹¹

The main purpose of the present study is to demonstrate in some detail the relation between the rise of regional migration and commercial networks and the distribution of cults. Apart from Johnson, the same point has been made by Baldrian-Hussein in her study of Lü Tung-pin. She is, however, primarily interested in the analysis of myths, as the expression of the beliefs relating to a particular deity among different social groups.¹²

If one tries to explain why particular cults from particular places spread over a large area and why such cults were able to "survive" for a long period of time, it is insufficient to point to the intrinsic importance of the worshipped deity and the different ways in which the belief in this deity fulfilled man's needs of supernatural support, as this would be merely a tautological argument. There were certainly other deities who could have been just as efficient and, in fact, many different deities have fulfilled the same or similar functions in the religious needs of man. Thus, the function or role of a deity can never be an important factor in explaining the "success" of that deity. These eight cults are rare "success-stories" amongst a legion of other cults who failed to

10 Sawada Mizuho, *Jigoku hen* (Kyoto, 1968), pp. 59—66; as one of the ten kings in hell, p. 27. A systematic study of the bureaucracy of the underworld has yet to be written.

11 Baity (1975), pp. 16—53.

12 F. Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-pin in Northern Sung Literature", *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* (1986, 2), pp. 133—169, in particular pp. 167—9 and the map on p. 168.

attract more than local and temporary attention. The link of the spread of these cults with the rise of the regions where they had originated and the spread of these cults along commercial networks, all suggest that the causes for their rise and spread must be attributed to the rise of the local groups amongst whom these cults first became popular.

2. *The Origin of a Deity*

2.1. *Ma-tsu*

The cult of Ma-tsu is the only Fukienese temple-cult to have acquired considerable nation-wide popularity, even if not on the same scale of Kuan Yü and some other deities.¹³ The cult started in the harbour of P'u-t'ien (Hsing-hua), located in the city of Ning-hai, and not on the Isle of Mei-chou which eventually became the centre of the cult. Ma-tsu lived there towards the end of the Five Dynasties period and had been active as a shaman. Her original name Shen-nü, "divine woman", may well reflect her shaman origin. When she died very young, local people started to worship her. The year 1086 has been mentioned as the year when her first miracle was performed, but this may only be because the *shih-po-ssu* in Ch'üan-chou was founded the following year.¹⁴

In 1123, an envoy went to Korea by boat and survived a violent storm thanks, it was believed, to the protection of the local Fukienese gods. These gods, of whom Ma-tsu was only one, received titles in return for their help.¹⁵ However, in the diplomat's report of the mission, Ma-tsu's name is not explicitly mentioned, and the award of the title is only mentioned in other sources, sympathetic to the deity.

13 We have drawn heavily on the research of the Taiwanese scholar Li Hsien-chang. His articles on Ma-tsu (mainly published in Japanese magazines since the Second World War) have been collected in one volume, called *Maso shinkô no kenkyû* (Tokyo, 1979), pp. 3—24, pp. 317—335. We shall only refer to this book.

14 Li Hsien-chang (1979), p. 320.

15 *Fu-chou fu-chih* (1751), *chüan* 14, p. 38b. Also a similar case in the *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chüan* 65, p. 41a of a local god from Chin-chiang. Someone from the locality of the temple of the deity took incense ashes from the temple with him on one of the Cheng Ho expeditions. When he and his boat were protected by the god, he successfully applied for her to be awarded an official title. Ma-tsu's relationship with the expeditions will be discussed later.

In the course of the years, Ma-tsu became known as a protector of local seafarers—appearing on a raft on the raging waves or as a light on the mast. She retained her basically human character and still had to use a raft for transport instead of being able to fly or swim like the water-dragons. Her raft was built in the same form as the mats used as sails by sea-farers. This shows that she was not a water-goddess by origin, but was basically human. The element of flying on rafts or mats is familiar from Taoist hagiography.¹⁶

The fact that during the Song most of the crews of sea-going vessels came from Fukien, helped to increase Ma-tsu's popularity rapidly. During the Southern Song more temples devoted to her were founded, first in P'u-t'ien and nearby Hsien-you, later in Ch'üan-chou, Ning-po, Hang-chou and other places.¹⁷ The temple on the Isle of Mei-chou, to which later sources ascribe the origin of Ma-tsu, ranks among these later temples.¹⁸ In Hsien-you her cult fused with two other cults devoted to female shamans (this fusion took place at an unknown date prior to 1257).¹⁹ In Feng-t'ing, a market city and harbour near Hsien-yu and P'u-t'ien, her cult arrived first in a seaside village, in the form of an incense-burner that came floating in on the waves (obviously a later myth, which serves to demonstrate that the cult was introduced by sea-farers).²⁰ The spread of the cult will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

16 On this Taoist element cf. K.M. Schipper, "Taoist Ritual and Local Cults of the T'ang Dynasty", in M. Strickmann, *Tantric and Taoist Studies in honour of R.A. Stein*, vol. III (Brussels, 1985), p. 816, particularly note 12 and H. Miyakawa, "Local Cults around Mount Lu in the Time of Sun En's Rebellion", in H. Welch and A. Seidel, *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven, 1979), pp. 93—4. Cf. the case of Ma-hsien.

17 Li Hsien-chang's documentation is fairly extensive, though it omits one important early founding in T'ing-chou, which will be discussed later. It should be noted here that our account differs fundamentally from J.L. Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien Hou ("Empress of Heaven") Along the South China Coast", in: D. Johnson, A.J. Nathan and E.S. Rawski eds. *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 292—324.

18 Li Hsien-chang (1979), pp. 325—6. The Mei-chou temple may originally have been devoted to another goddess of seafarers and been transformed into a temple for Ma-tsu only relatively late. According to Schipper (1982), p. 61 and p. 285, note 16, the body of a shamaness was worshipped in the later mother temple of Mei-chou; however this cannot have been Ma-tsu's real body. Schipper does not provide a source for this statement.

19 Li Hsien-chang (1979), p. 329.

20 Liu K'o-chuang, *Hou-ts'un hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan-chi* (*Ssu-pu pei-k'an* ed.), *chüan* 91, 18a—b.

2.2. *Lin-shui fu-jen*

Lin-shui fu-jen ("the woman of the Linshui-grotto") came from a family of shamans, called Ch'en, from the village Hsia-tu in Ku-t'ien (later sources locate this village in a neighbouring district, but the older sources do not specify its precise location, except as "below the river"). Her shaman-descent is mentioned by several Ming-gazetteers, such as the *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* of 1606, which was probably based on Sung- and Yüan-inscriptions.²¹ Most later sources have expressly omitted this piece of information.

The following two facts about her life are mentioned both in the *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* and the *Fu-ning chou-chih* of 1593: she was born in 767 and died at a very young age in childbirth. According to legend, she promised to help women in similar distress after she had died and she also returned to earth to defeat a dangerous local snake or dragon with a sword, near the Linshui-grotto. This dragon had caused many plague-epidemics and, by killing it, she made local people realize that she was a goddess. After killing the dragon she appeared to local people and identified herself as the daughter of Ch'en Ch'ang. Afterwards she was always venerated as a protectress of women in their direct hour of need, when giving birth to children. Local people prayed to her for rain and for assistance against plague-epidemics.²²

The precise period when her worship began cannot be established with any certainty. Her temple was originally called Lin-ch'uan or Lin-chiang temple, meaning that the temple was situated close to a river, i.e. close to a traffic-connection.²³ The oldest

21 *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* (1606), *chuan* 7, pp. 8a—b Also cf *Fu-chou fu-chih* (1596), *chuan* 9, p. 19b, *Fu-chou fu-chih* (1613), *chuan* 18, p. 8a and Ho Ch'iao-yuan, *Min-shu* (1616 comp.), *chuan* 147, p. 4a (the *Min-shu* probably copies other sources, like the *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih*). In the *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* there is a late Yuan-inscription by Chang I-ning, *chuan* 15, pp. 26a—28a, which refers to a Sung-inscription with her hagiography, which was also printed during the Yuan. Later gazetteers from Ku-t'ien contain far more elaborate stories. Wei Ying-ch'i, *Fu-chien san-shen k'ao* (1928—1929, Taipei-reprint 1969) treats her on the basis of later sources. He has not used the *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* or the other Ming-gazetteers quoted in this study. His account is an a-historical compilation of sources, treated as if they are all meaningful on the same level. He makes no allowances for discrepancies in date of composition, place of origin, background of authors or believers etc. He does, however, present a lot of later evidence that awaits further systematic investigation. His account is typical of most traditional Chinese research on Chinese religion.

22 *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* (1606), *chuan* 7, pp. 8a—b and *Fu-ning chou-chih* (1593), *chuan* 2, p. 46a.

23 *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* (1606), *chuan* 3, p. 37a mentions the building of two bridges close to the temple in ± 1550 and 1606

established miracle took place in circa 1060, when she helped the pregnant wife of an official from Chien-ning. Several Sung and Yuan officials have dedicated inscriptions to her, which shows that her cult had, by this time, become quite important locally.²⁴

The two compendia on the mythology of Chinese gods, the *San-chiao yuan-lu sou-shen ta-ch'uan* (late Ming/Ch'ing?) and the *Sou-shen-chi* (late sixteenth century) contain entirely different stories about this goddess.²⁵ The *San-chiao yuan-lu sou-shen ta-ch'uan* contains a story which elaborates on the defeat of the dragon and places the event during Lin-shui fu- jen's actual lifetime. She is taught by a master of the Lü-shan sect, which is a Taoist sect specializing in exorcist techniques. This element also returns in later mythology and is probably linked to her eventual adoption as a matriarch of the sect.²⁶ Whether the belief in her mastery of the sword, mentioned in the *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih*, preceded, or was the result of, her adoption as a matriarch of the Lü-shan sect is unclear. This question is further complicated by the unclear date of the *San-chiao yuan-lu sou-shen ta-ch'uan*.

The story in the second work, the *Sou-shen-chi*, goes back to an, as yet, unidentified source. The story is quite different from the others, since it mentions neither her death in childbirth nor the

24 Miracle of *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* (1606), *chuan* 7, p. 8a—short version—and *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* (1751), *chuan* 5, pp. 12b—13a—long version—. On Song- and Yuan-inscriptions cf. inscription by late Yuan author and official Chang I-ning in the *Ku-t'ien hsien-chih* (1600), *chuan* 12, p. 26a. On the original name of inscription by Chang I-ning and the title of a Ming-poem quoted in Wang Ying-shan, *Min-tu-chi* (late sixteenth century), *chuan* 30, p. 9a.

25 We have used the modern reprint of both works, *San-chiao yuan-lu sou-shen ta-ch'uan* (T'ai-pei, 1980) with a preface by Li Hsien-chang. He does not systematically investigate the dates of both works and only repeats traditional datings from Japanese library-catalogues. The Van Gulik-collection of the Sinological Institute in Leyden contains an edition of the *Sou-shen-chi*, with the same text as the *Tao-tsang* version, and with the same preface. In this edition, the preface is ascribed to Hsu Hung-tsu, who is better known by his pen-name Hsu Hsia-k'o (1586—1641). If he really wrote this preface, then the only date which is mentioned in it—1593—does not fit. There can be no doubt about the Ming-origin of the *Sou-shen-chi* in the *Tao-tsang* and it is also very probable that the Van Gulik-edition is a Ming-edition. The pictures in this edition have apparently been used by the compilers of the *San-chiao yuan-lu sou-shen ta-ch'uan*. The date of compilation of the *San-chiao yuan-lu sou-shen ta-ch'uan* has yet to be convincingly established. None of the known copies can be dated on the basis of internal evidence and those we have seen in different Japanese libraries are all copies of the same edition, which seems to be late Ch'ing. The dating of the *San-chiao yuan-lu sou-shen ta-ch'uan* in the catalogues of these Japanese libraries is merely conventional, and is not based upon a serious examination of the books.

26 *San-chiao yuan-lu sou-shen ta-ch'uan*, pp. 183—4

defeat of the snake, which became crucial parts of the later legend. It only speaks of her ability to foretell the future, her mastery of some magical techniques and her death before reaching maturity. According to this story she spoke through a medium after her death, which would fit in with her possible descent from a shaman-family. The precise implications of these differences cannot be gauged without an identification of the source.²⁷

An interesting anecdote in the *Sou-shen-chi* by Kan Pao (fourth century?) tells us about a custom in Chiang-lo, a district to the east of Ku-t'ien. There used to be a large snake, that had announced (through a local shaman) that it wanted virgins as a sacrifice. The snake was worshipped in a temple. The youngest daughter of a certain Li Tan offered to go, out of her free will. She took a sword and a snake-eating dog with her and succeeded in killing the snake.²⁸

The worship of Lin-shui fu- jen may very well have replaced an older and much more questionable worship of snakes. A similar phenomenon occurs in the cult of Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih and Wu Chen-jen. Johnson, in his study of the rise of the idea of city gods, mentions the rise of a city-god in northern T'ai-chou, whose worship incorporated the much older and very important local worship of a dragon.²⁹ The defeat of dragons by deities is frequently mentioned in their hagiographies.³⁰ Paul Katz points out that snake(women) often represented epidemic deities in Sung-sources and that there is a progression in the rise of epidemic deities from natural forces (such as rivers), to animals (such as snakes) to humans.³¹ These humans often tame these snakes or snakewomen in epic battles. The origin of the cult of Lin-shui fu- jen fits his scheme very well.

2.3. *Ma-hsien*

Ma-tsu and Lin-shui fu- jen are two female deities who are fairly

²⁷ *Sou-shen-chi*, pp. 825—7. The source concerned has yet to be identified.

²⁸ Kan Pao, *Sou-shen-chi* (modern reprint, Peking, 1979), p. 231. The use of the title *Sou-shen-chi* will be reserved for the Ming-work. The suggestion is made by Wei Ying-ch'i, (1928—1929; Taipei-reprint 1969), p. 24. Kan Pao's *Sou-shen-chi*-story is also found in the *Yen-p'ing fu-chih* (1525), *chüan* 23, pp. 1a—b. On offerings of maidens to dragons cf. E. Schafer, *The Divine Woman* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 25—26.

²⁹ Johnson (1985), pp. 379—388. On page 431 he quotes a story similar to Kan Pao's story in the *Sou-shen-chi*.

³⁰ Miyakawa (1979), pp. 96—8. Schipper (1985), pp. 814—5, 820. Baldrian-Hussein (1986), pp. 141—144.

³¹ Katz (1987), p. 212.

well known among students of Chinese religion. Ma-hsien ("the immortal Ma") or Ma-wu-niang ("Ma the Fifth"), on the other hand, is almost unknown, but deserves more attention than has hitherto been accorded her. According to late Ming sources from Chien-an, she came from Chiang-hsiang *li* in Chien-an.³² The cult of Ma-hsien from Chiang-hsiang *li* in Chien-an was the most popular cult of Shou-ning, as Feng Meng-lung informs us, and far more important even than the cults of the San-kuan and Kuan-yin, who were also extensively worshipped.³³

Her cult started in a small village in Ching-ning, a district in Che-chiang just across the provincial border with Fu-chien. Our oldest source dates from 760—1 and was written by Li Yang-ping, while he was a magistrate in nearby Chin-yun.³⁴ He was on a tour around the prefecture to pray to all possible gods for their assistance in ending a terrible drought. Two old men came to tell him that they lived close to a very effective local shrine devoted to Miss Ma. When a clerk was sent to the place, his prayers were immediately answered. Li was very surprised and interrogated the two old men. Their story was incorporated into the inscription by Li Yang-ping and provides an early example of oral transmissions about a deity.

The two old men told Li that in their youth they had been told by local elders that during her life Ma-hsien had been a pious woman, who was very poor and made a living by spinning and weaving. One day she was crossing a river by boat. The mast of the boat broke, whereupon she opened her umbrella and floated away on it (the familiar theme of flying on a mat!³⁵). Everyone was greatly surprised. Afterwards nobody knew where she had gone. Unexpectedly she was seen standing near a well (wells are often endowed with a religious aura) and she told them that she was now an immortal, and that she would protect them against epidemics and guaranteed good harvests if they erected a shrine for her. They did this, and from then on the area prospered.

Also according to these two old men, people from the region

32 *Chien-ning fu-chih* (1541), *chuan* 21, p. 17a.

33 *Shou-ning hsien-chih* (1637), *chuan* 11, p. 11a.

34 *Chung-ning hsien-chih* (1588), *chuan* 2, pp. 24a—b. The text quoted in the temple-section seems to be incomplete. Her biography, quoted in *chuan* 5, pp. 21b—22a, purports to be based on the same inscription by Li, but gives an impossible year-title: *kuang-hua* (898—900), while some other details are also different. The *Sou-shen-chi*, p. 815, refers to both Ping-yang's inscription and another by Liu Chi, early Ming, which we have not been able to trace in his collected works or in local gazetteers.

35 Cf. our discussion of Ma-tsu.

had fought on the border and been given her divine assistance. Out of gratitude they had requested that she be given an official title. They showed the official document. The recognition by Li Yang-ping on account of her divine assistance in fighting a drought was only a further step towards prominence. A temple was founded in the district capital, which became an important local temple. The mythology altered in a very interesting way during the spread of her cult, as will be discussed in a later section.

None of these three women had fulfilled the traditional expectations of Chinese womanhood: Ma-tsu was a shaman, while Lin-shui fu-*jen* may also have come from a family of shamans, and Ma-hsien was a widow. None of them had had children, and Lin-shui fu-*jen* had died in childbirth. Marriage did not play a large role in their lives, or in the lives of the other deities to be discussed.

2.4. *Kuo Sheng-wang*

The element of unfulfillment of an ordinary life-pattern is also present in the case of Kuo Sheng-wang ("Holy King Kuo")—a deity who is still very popular among immigrants to Taiwan and Southeast Asia from Fu-chien. He was a boy, who lived near a mountain in Nan-an district in Ch'üan-chou prefecture around 937. When he was ten years old he ascended the mountain with his ox and died there sitting on an old rattan-branch. When people found him sitting thus, the wine-cup he had taken with him was empty and only the skeleton of his ox was left. Shortly after his death he appeared several times to local people in dreams and they then founded a temple for him.³⁶

After his death, he protected the local people during attacks by bandits (the first time in 1130). The miracles he performed were all closely related to the vicissitudes of the Nan-an region, which was plagued by attacks by robbers and pirates during the Southern Sung, the late Ming and the late Ch'ing. He protected people against these attacks and this stimulated his cult enormously. The reason why his cult prospered may have been that there was a

36 *Min-shu* (1616 comp.), *chüan* 9, pp. 3b—4a gives no dates at all, only gives the surname Kuo and gives his age as ten years old. The *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chüan* 16, p. 39a gives the year-title *wen-t'ung*, to be interpreted as *t'ung-wen*, which probably is a later addition, cf. Wei Ying-ch'i, (1928—1929; Taipei-reprint 1969), p. 60. The same *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih* also gives his age as sixteen.

fortified hide-out close to the temple and that—quite literally—he was the closest deity available who could provide supernatural protection to people hiding there.³⁷ Sources show that the largest increase in his popularity dates from the late Ch'ing-dynasty.³⁸

2.5. *Ou-yang Hu*

The cult of Ou-yang Hu in Shao-wu acquired considerable significance in Shao-wu and neighbouring districts. Ou-yang Hu was a Sui-dynasty magistrate, who had served in Fu-chou. It is impossible to find independent confirmation of this fact, which does not originate from Ou-yang Hu's hagiography.³⁹ The legend of Ou-yang Hu may even have been invented by pious believers who found a group of unknown drowned people. According to this legend in ±617 Ou-yang Hu was travelling up the Min River by boat, on his way home from Fu-chou to Lo-yang, when he reached Shao-wu, close to the Ta-ch'ien-mountain. According to one version of the legend, related by the local population, he was informed that the Sui-dynasty had fallen, and since he did not want to serve under two dynasties, he threw himself with his family into the river.⁴⁰ Another version, given in an old inscription, states that he admired the local scenery and was buried there when he and his family drowned.

According to this same inscription droughts and plague-epidemics cursed the region for more than ten years after his death, so people started to venerate him and built a temple in his honour. In 888 a local Buddhist priest in Lung-hu, a small market-town just across the border with T'ai-ning district, observed that the offerings of meat to him would adversely influence his rebirths, and advised him to become a vegetarian. The god appeared in a dream to local elderly people and agreed. Since that date, offerings to Ou-yang Hu have had to be vegetarian.

His cult was very popular and spread throughout the prefecture.

37 The *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chüan* 16, pp. 39a—40b is also based on Ming sources, but deviates from the *Min-shu* in a number of details. De Groot (1880), pp. 411—414 on the basis of the *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih* (1763); on pp. 414—419 he gives some interesting later mythology. Wei Ying-ch'i gives much material on Kuo, but his account suffers from the same weaknesses as in the case of Lin-shui fu-jen (cf. note 21).

38 Wei Ying-ch'i (1928—1929; Taipei-reprint 1969), pp. 60—64.

39 Cf. the analysis added to the 1253-inscription in Ch'en Ch'i-jen comp., *Min-chung chin-shih lüeh*, *chüan* 10, pp. 10a—b.

40 *Shao-wu fu-chih* (1543), *chüan* 10, pp. 24a—b.

ture. From the beginning of the eleventh century, he was given many official titles in recognition of his local eminence. To the believers the fate of Shao-wu became intricately linked to his presence. When Shao-wu suffered, this was thought to be due to his temporary absence and his cult declined accordingly. During the Sung, Taoist priests were asked several times to perform extensive rituals to placate the god.⁴¹

There are many anecdotes from the Sung and later dynasties about Ou-yang Hu's efficacy in the prediction of examination results. People went to his temple to ask for advice in their dreams.⁴² There are a number of anecdotes concerning the locally well-known Sung-intellectual Tsou Ying-lung, who consulted him several times. This Tsou Ying-lung came from T'ai-ning, but moved to T'ing-chou where he seems to have become a fairly popular local deity!⁴³ Ou-yang Hu was extremely popular among literati and remained so locally into the Ch'ing-dynasty. Nevertheless, his cult had clearly originated, and continued as, a local cult which protected the entire community. There is an interesting change in the character of the deity, who developed from a feared ghost called to help against droughts and diseases into a god recognised by and incorporated into Buddhist, Taoist and even Confucianist religious institutions.

To summarize: the six deities so far discussed all had quite different real-life backgrounds (shaman, herder of cows, (house)wife and magistrate). None of them had the most common profession of them all, that of farmer. Three of them were women. Except perhaps for Ma-tsu, who may have performed miracles during her lifetime as a shaman, none of them were deified because of what they had done in life. Only after death did they become active in the protection of the local community and perform miracles. The next three deities to be discussed were men

41 Liu Hsün, *Yin-chu t'ung-t* (late Yüan; *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.), pp. 312—313. His information dates from circa 1310. His long notice on Ou-yang Hu is one of the most informative pre-Ming accounts of a deification that we have yet encountered.

42 Except for the source quoted in note 41 also Hung Mai, *I-chien-chih* (modern reprint, Peking, 1981) pp. 1103 en 1739; *Tao-tsang*-version of the *Sou-shen-chi*, pp. 678—680; *Min-shu* (1616 comp.), *chüan* 26, pp. 11b—13a; *Ch'ung-tsuang kuang-tse hsien-chih* (1870), *chuan* 29, pp. 24b—25a; *Shao-wu fu-chih* (1900), *chüan* 4, p. 17a and *chüan* 28, p. 20b. He is only one of three local literati-gods. This material could be used fruitfully for a comparison with the famous literati-god Wen-ch'ang.

43 Hung Mai, *I-chien-chih*, pp. 1103 en 1739 on Tsou. Tsou Ying-lung as a god, cf. *T'ing-chou fu-chih* (1637), *chüan* 6, pp. 3a—b.

of considerable local achievement, who had earned the respect of their contemporaries. However, there were no farmers among them, they were a Buddhist monk, a healer and a general respectively.

2.6. *Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih*

Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih ("the founding father of the Ch'ing-shui cliff") is the monk P'u-tsu, from Yung-ch'un, where he was active stimulating the building of bridges and praying for rain. From 1083 onward he resided in An-hsi and lived in the Ch'ing-shui grotto on the Chang-yen mountain (later P'eng-lai mountain). He had been invited by local people to come to An-hsi to pray for rain and his prayers had been answered immediately. According to legend, he rid the mountain of a legendary monster in a fearsome fight and then imprisoned it in a grotto. This may be interpreted in the same way as the killing of the snake by Lin-shui fu-jen, i.e. the eradication of an older local cult which was devoted to a local monster. His cult started on the same location where this older cult had existed and incorporated/replaced it.

When P'u-tsu died in 1101, the local people built a pagoda for him and worshipped his image.⁴⁴ Baity suggests that the fact that the statues of the monk have black faces may be due to the fact that the population originally worshipped his mummified corpse. One legend suggests that this was, in fact, the case. The custom of worshipping mummified corpses of monks, priests and other people was prevalent all over Fu-chien and is also reported from other parts of China.⁴⁵ The *Min-shu* quotes a popular story which explains the black face of P'u-tsu's statues by the fact that the

44 Building bridges is a common activity of monks, cf. Fang Hao, "Sung-tai seng-t'u tui tsao-ch'iao ti kung-hsien" in his collected works *Fang Hao lu-shih chih lu-sih-ssu tzu-hsuan tai-ting-kao* (T'ai-pei, 1974), pp. 137—146. A careful reading of local gazetteers will confirm Fang Hao's findings. Our main source on P'u-tsu has been *Min-shu* (1616 comp.), *chuan* 11, pp. 13b—15a. Later sources are *An-hsi hsien-chih* (1673, microfiche) *chuan*- and page numbers unclear, and *Ch'uan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chuan* 16, 66a—b and *chuan* 65, pp. 15b—16a. One legend of Kuo Sheng-wang (de Groot, [1880], pp. 411—419) also suggests that the body of the boy covered with mud was venerated.

45 *Yung-lo ta-tien*, *chuan* 7892, p. 3b, p. 8b, p. 10b, p. 12b; *Ou-ning hsien-chih* (1693), *chuan* 9, pp. 36a—b, pp. 39a—b, *Yen-p'ing fu-chih* (1765; 1873), *chuan* 12, p. 31b, *chuan* 31, pp. 16b—17a, *Ch'uan-chou fu-chih* (1763) *chuan* 16, pp. 17b—18a, pp. 50a—b, *chuan* 65, pp. 5a—b, p. 9a, p. 24a, p. 41a, p. 44a, p. 45a, *Chang-chou fu-chih* (1573), *chuan* 27, pp. 44a—b. The Taiwanese authors of the articles quoted by Baity (1975) and Jordan (1972), mentioned in note 6, claim

legendary monster imprisoned by him in a cave had attempted unsuccessfully to suffocate him with his smoke, which had caused the face of the monk to become completely black. This story, however, may well be a later rationalization.

The *Min-shu* informs us that the cult for P'u-tsu (the name Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih is not mentioned by this source) was very popular locally and that prayers for rain were always fulfilled.⁴⁶ The cult was transmitted by local people from An-hsi to Taiwan during the early Ch'ing, where it has remained extremely popular until today. P'u-tsu was certainly a meritorious local monk, but did not make any outstanding contributions to the development of the Buddhist religion in general.

2.7. *Wu Chen-jen or Pao-sheng ta-ti*

Another famous god worshipped on Taiwan, whose cult—contrary to that of Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih—was also popular in southern Fu-chien and northern Kuang-tung, is Pao-sheng ta-ti ("the great emperor who protects life"). His real name was Wu Pen; in the sources he is often called Wu Chen-jen ("Wu the perfected man"). He came from a small village called Pai-chiao, immediately opposite the important Ming-harbour of Hai-ch'eng and also close to modern Hsia-men, which was to become important during the Ch'ing.

Two inscriptions, one from 1209 by the *chin-shih* Yang Chih and another from 1221 by the functionary Chuang Hsia, contain detailed biographies of him.⁴⁷ He was born in 979 and died in 1036.⁴⁸ He had a weak constitution, was a vegetarian and never married, which is remarkable. He was a famous local doctor, healing people suffering from all kinds of sicknesses and without

that this was a South Fukienese custom, but the custom is found in all parts of Fu-chien. Furthermore, Keith Stevens, in his article "Chinese Preserved Monks", *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. XVI (1976), pp. 292—297, mentions numerous cases from all over China. He also describes the various techniques by which these bodies were preserved.

46 *Min-shu* (1616 comp.), *chüan* 11, p. 14b.

47 We have used the texts in the *Hai-ch'eng hsien-chih* (1633), *chüan* 17, pp. 3b—8a. The text in *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chüan* 16, pp. 72a—73a is not the same. Unless otherwise indicated our account is based upon both texts. K. Schipper has devoted a separate study to this deity (also in this volume), and therefore we have decided not to go into too much detail on this interesting deity.

48 Yang Chih-text.

discriminating between rich and poor. He is not credited with having made any additions to Chinese medical science.

Immediately after he died, his statue was carved by people who knew him and erected in a small monastery, called the Lung-chiu *an* after the name of the place. The god told the carpenter in a dream how to make his statue after his likeness. People prayed to him to be healed and their prayers were always answered. When still alive, Wu Pen had made an oath that he wanted to be buried in this place. It is not explicitly confirmed that he was indeed buried there, but the next anecdote shows that his spirit was definitely considered to be linked to the place.

In the late 1140's bandits had caused havoc and the local people had prayed to the god for help. In the ensuing battle between government troops and bandits, the leader of the bandits had died near the small monastery. In 1151 a high official wanted to build a temple to the god in another locality, but a worker was possessed by a spirit and shouted loudly that the god was "living" to the south of Lung-chiu, where the small monastery with the statue of Wu Pen was located. The holiness of the place was confirmed by the discovery of snakes there (which, in view of its name Lung-chiu or the Pond of Dragons, must have been linked with snakes from time immemorial). Thus, this may have been a holy place where a newer cult supplanted the original one. If this is true, this is one more example of the development of snake cults into human cults. After this discovery, it was decided to build the temple there.⁴⁹ The cult then became very popular with all strata of society and people came from all directions to the temple to receive its incense (for their own house-altars?).

Another miracle performed by the god took place in 1207 when the entire region was plagued by a terrible drought. The people prayed to the god for help and their locality was the only one where there was sufficient rain to produce an excellent crop that year. This miracle shows clearly that the god was primarily conceived by the local people as being the protector of the locality, even though they also valued him as a healer.⁵⁰ This image of him as a local protector is confirmed by many other miracles.⁵¹

49 This anecdote is only mentioned in the Yang Chih-text, *Hai-ch'eng hsien-chih*, (1633) *chuan* 17, pp. 4a—b.

50 Chuang Hsia-text, *Hai-ch'eng hsien-chih* (1633), *chuan* 17, pp. 7a—b.

51 *T'ung-an hsien-chih* (1929), *chuan* 4, pp. 2a—3b on the basis of local gazetteers and collections of hagiographies not available to us.

2.8. *Ch'en Yüan-kuang*

The gods discussed up to now have little in common with the meritorious officials who, according to more traditional views of Chinese religion, often became gods. One of the few gods who conforms to this picture is Ch'en Yüan-kuang or K'ai-chang chiang-chün, the founding father of Chang-chou, as he is called. His precise dates of birth and death are unknown. He was a T'ang-general who led the armies in colonizing Fu-chien, succeeding his father who had also been an important local general. In 686 he requested that a prefecture (*chou*) should be founded between Ch'üan-chou and Ch'ao-chou. He was chosen to be prefect of Chang-chou for the rest of his life, with its capital in Chang-p'u, which was then called Sui-an. He died while fighting further to the south and was buried on a hill near the city. When the capital of the prefecture was moved from Sui-an (modern Chang-p'u) in 786 to Lung-hsi (modern Chang-chou), his grave was moved too. A temple had already been founded near his grave in Sui-an and the same happened in Lung-hsi. There is a famous story that his grave was moved to Yun-hsiao during the Sung by a common labourer assisted by ghosts! The start of his cult in the vicinity of his grave fits our hypothesis on the origins of deities.

There is practically no historical information about him, which is not linked with his cult, and the *Chang-chou fu-chih* of 1573 complains that he was not treated at all in the previous local gazetteers. Apparently, interest in him as a general of historical importance postdates the rise of his cult, or may even be a direct result of it.⁵² The oldest source we have found on him is an anecdote quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* on his extreme cruelty!⁵³

He had at least four generations of descendants, all men of some local significance, who served as local magistrates until 823. This does not fit in with our hypothesis, since it is reasonable to assume that these descendants carried out some form of ancestor-worship and that Ch'en Yüan-kuang must, therefore, have gone through some form of *rites de passage*. His violent death in battle,

52 We have used his biography in the *Chang-chou fu-chih* (1573), *chuan* 4, pp. 1b—3a. Another biography in *Ch'uan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chüan* 16, pp. 36b—37b. A Sung-poet laments this lack of official notice! Cf. *Ch'uan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chuan* 16, p. 37b.

53 Li Fang, *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*, *chuan* 267, p. 2094. The anecdote describes how he had a servant boiled and fed to his guests, merely because he was angry at the man.

on the other hand, made him a prototypal hungry ghost which needed to be pacified. The worship of Ch'en Yüan-kuang must have started either at a moment when the two fundamentally incompatible types of worship on the basis of family-relations or on the basis of social relations, did not yet conflict with each other (before the spread of ancestor-worship on an organized scale), or after Ch'en's last descendant had died. During the Sung, old graves of an (preferably the first important) ancestor became sites of worship by entire groups of agnates, with the purpose of strengthening group unity. This development made it virtually impossible that the graves of people with surviving descendants would become the sites of worship by non-kinship groups of the kind discussed in this study.⁵⁴

It was believed that the deity killed those people who did not worship him with due respect. During the Sung, a Zen monk taught him about Buddhist retribution, after which the god stopped harming people.⁵⁵ His cult became very popular among the local population, who erected their own shrines. The cult was supported by local magistrates who organized restorations and provided land.⁵⁶ After his death, Ch'en Yüan-kuang helped the local people several times, but these cases all date from the Sung or later.⁵⁷ Even in Chang-chou prefecture itself, the first temples which were at a distance from his grave were all founded in the eleventh century. Maybe the rise of the cult only started during the Sung, which would fit in with the paradox referred to in the preceding paragraph.

54 The *Chang-chou fu-chih* (1573), *chuan* 4, pp. 1b—3a used a *Yuan-kuang chia-p'u* (clan-genealogies often give mythical ascriptions for their family ancestors. This may have been such a case). His clan probably died out during the Tang, because otherwise it would surely have tried to recover the cult to their famous ancestor from the hands of the general population. Examples of how this could have happened are discussed by Kanai Noriyuki in an interesting article, "Sôdai no sonsha to sôzoku" in: *Rekishu ni okeru munshû to bunka* (*Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen ronshû* (Tokyo, 1982) pp. 351—367, in particular pp. 354—359. Our remarks on the changing importance of graves to kinship groups have been based on P.B. Ebrey, "The early stages in the development of descent group organization", in P.B. Ebrey and J.L. Watson eds., *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China, 1000—1940* (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 16—61, in particular pp. 20—29.

55 *Min-shu* (1616 comp.), *chuan* 28, p. 20b.

56 *Chang-chou fu-chih* (1573), *chuan* 2, p. 10a, *chuan* 5, pp. 54b—55b; *chuan* 11, pp. 7a—8a.

57 *Chang-chou fu-chih* (1573), *chuan* 20, p. 59a. Both in circa 1045 and again in circa 1230 he helped local inhabitants against bandits from T'ing-chou and Shao-wu.

2.9. *Analysis*

Despite the limited information concerning the origin of these eight deities, some remarks can be made concerning the hypothesis that deities originate as hungry ghosts. First some aspects which they all have in common, such as their family-situation, manner of death and burial place will be discussed.

Except for Ch'en Yüan-kuang, the other seven gods had no surviving descendants; the children of Ou-yang Hu and his wife drowned with him, and also became the object of veneration. It has been suggested that even in the case of Ch'en Yüan-kuang no contradiction will have existed with the rule that ancestor-worship conflicts with deity-worship, but decisive proof is absent in this case. Ma-tsu began as a shaman without descendants, but acquired an entire family of fishermen in one legend, and an official as a father in another. Also in the case of the other deities, many details were added to the stories in the course of time. The oldest stories about Lin-shui fu-jen and Kuo Sheng-wang do not even mention their personal names, which are only added in later sources.⁵⁸ It seems that stories about relatives were often later additions intended to "sanitize" the original stories.

The personal life of these gods had often been insecure. Lin-shui fu-jen died in childbirth, Ma Hsien's husband, according to a late version of the legend, died after one year of marriage. The shaman Ma-tsu, the monk P'u-tsu, and the doctor Wu Pen never married (there is, however, an interesting later legend of Ma-tsu and Wu Pen engaged to be married!⁵⁹). Kuo Sheng-wang died before having reached the marriagable age. Ou-yang Hu drowned in the river with his whole family. Ch'en Yüan-kuang died in battle. It seems, furthermore, that they generally died without the performance of the crucial *rites de passage* and often in a mysterious or unnatural manner.

The only gods who performed specific services to the local community during their lifetimes were P'u-tsu, Wu Pen and Ch'en Yüan-kuang. Ch'en Yüan-kuang is the only one who stands out among them for his extraordinary achievements for the Chang-chou region, which distinguish him from ordinary gen-

58 Lin-shui fu-jen is merely called Mrs. Ch'en in the oldest sources, but becomes Ch'en Ching-ku. Kuo Sheng-wang is merely called Mr. Kuo and becomes Kuo Chung-fu.

59 Li Hsien-chang (1979), pp. 148—151 discusses a myth about an arranged marriage between Ma-tsu and Wu Chen-jen, which was broken off by Ma-tsu at the last moment. In Hsia-men the two deities are often worshipped together, cf. *Hsia-men-chih*, pp. 63—8.

erals. He belongs to the archetypal category of vanquished heroes who were deified after their deaths, such as Hsiang Yu and Kuan Yu. This type of hero died gloriously in a lost battle, with unfulfilled ambitions and life-energies. P'u-tsu and Wu Pen acquired local fame, but there can be no doubt that there were other equally famous monks and doctors, who did not become gods. Merit alone, then, can never have been a decisive factor leading to deification.

Ou-yang Hu and Ch'en Yüan-kuang and possibly also Wu Pen, were worshipped at their graves. The monk P'u-tsu's preserved body was probably worshipped and Kuo Sheng-wang's preserved body may also have been worshipped. Certainly Kuo Sheng-wang's worship, like P'u-tsu's worship, started in the place where he had mysteriously died.⁶⁰ In the case of the other cults discussed in this section, it is unclear whether the cult began from the deity's grave, the place where he had died or where his remains were found. It should now, however, be clear that these deities had many traits in common with the hungry ghosts.

People did not become deities out of some inevitable necessity: sheer chance must have played a significant role. In the rise from a hungry ghost to local eminence as a deity, a large role was played by local historical developments. The stories of the miracles performed by these deities, during their rise from ghost to god, make it very clear to us that they all acquired their higher status because they offered protection to the locality where they had died or where their remains had been found. When large-scale natural or man-made disasters took place, the local inhabitants always tried to enlist the help of supernatural beings. These supernatural beings were often deities who had already proved their mettle, and were linked to social and local groups with whom they had a well-defined relationship.

Sometimes, these supernatural beings were hungry ghosts, considered powerful because of their background as spirits who had

60 Any Fukienese local gazetteer will yield large numbers of cults that started at a grave or at the site where an unknown person had died. Wicher Slagter, "Prinses Babao en de Boot van Kenting", *Krant met Karakter*, V, 2 (1985), pp. 2—5, about a cult devoted to the remains (bones) of a Dutch princess, in Kenting in the southernmost area of Taiwan. This is a good example of the process of mystification which takes place after the discovery of unknown remains. At the time the Dutch sailed those seas, the Netherlands was still a Republic and as far as can be ascertained no Dutch ship was even wrecked near that particular place. Professor Wilt Idema points out in his article that the Netherlands were thought to be a kingdom (Chiang Jih-sheng, *T'ai-wan wai-chi*, ± 1690).

not received the necessary *rites de passage*, even though their very power was also feared because of its vengefulness. Such hungry ghosts had advantages, as they had not yet become linked with particular social or geographic groups and because they were untested and so had not yet had a chance to fail. If the intervention of these ghosts was successful, a small group of local inhabitants would start to venerate them. As hungry ghosts they were still feared, but now respect began to take the place of fear. Starting on an extremely small, local scale the process would repeat itself (if not, the deity would disappear). The accidental opportunity to demonstrate supernatural power was the main factor in turning ghosts into gods.

Their historical origin was then slowly forgotten or was transformed by the evolving mythology. For instance, both Ou-yang Hu and Ch'en Yüan-kuang had died an violent death and were "tamed" only several centuries after their deaths by a Buddhist priest or monk. The worship of Ma-tsu, Lin-shui fu-jen and Wu Chen-jen was also incorporated into Taoism by Taoist priests. Before this they were still dangerous gods, who did not live according to the rules of civilisation. Many stories developed after their deaths, when they had performed miraculous deeds, and more information was "necessary" on their backgrounds. An analysis of this growth and the different *topoi* involved would teach us much about the social *milieu* of the worship of a deity and the acceptance of (the belief in the efficacy of) a deity by groups other than the local group which first started to worship him or her.

3. *The Spread of Cults*

3.1. *Preliminary remarks*

The spread of cults is a complex phenomenon. There are two important aspects to the spread of a cult: one aspect is the growth in its status and its acceptance by different groups (both socially and geographically defined), caused by the conferment of official state-titles, and/or by the performance of miracles and subsequent increase in oral and written mythology. The other aspect is the geographical spread of the cult, which can be divided into two parts (possibly stages): one (the first stage) being the spread of the worshippers themselves, who take the cult with them, and the other (the second stage) is the diffusion of the cult among, and acceptance by, people elsewhere, unconnected to the original worshippers either by kinship or by geographical links.

It will have become clear in the preceding section that all eight

cults started out as purely local cults. For a cult to spread beyond the immediate boundaries of a village and/or district, it was necessary that there should be a group of travelling people to transmit it—usually merchants and/or monks (many monks were also small peddlars and travelled along the same routes as merchants) or migrants (migrating farmers, seasonal labourers, hawkers, prostitutes, gamblers etc.).

In this section we shall analyze some aspects of the spread of the cults of Ma-tsu (whose cult is the only one that can be traced back almost to its earliest beginnings) and Ma-hsien. Except for the cults of Lin-shui fu-jen and Wu Chen-jen, there is little information about the spread, within Fu-chien, of the other four cults which are the subject of this study. The spread of the seven cults (apart from Ma-tsu's, which will be discussed in detail below) will be analyzed on the basis of the available information on their founding-dates and on the spread of the cults, as summarized in Table I and Map III.

3.2. *Ma-tsu*

In order to obtain an impression of the spread of the cult of Ma-tsu within Fu-chien, the dates of the temples have been collected in Map I. The insertion shows that nearly all Sung-foundings were close to P'u-t'ien, in small market-cities near the coast and one temple in the capital of the neighbouring district, Hsien-you. The only other Sung-founding in Fu-chien itself was in the harbour-city Ch'üan-chou. The Sung- and Yüan-foundings of temples outside Fu-chien were also in trading centres, like Hang-chou. The map shows that Ma-tsu's cult spread along the rest of the Fukienese coast during the late Ming, and to the hinterland of Fu-chien even later, during the Ch'ing.

Only two early foundings are extant/known from the hinterland of Fu-chien. One temple was founded in circa 1413 by a member of the Cheng Ho expeditions (which took place from 1405 to 1435).⁶¹ In fact, several temples along the coast were restored in connection with the Cheng Ho expeditions, as Ma-tsu was one of the protectors of the expeditions. The other early founding was in Shang-hang. Somebody who had a statue of her in his own home later built a small monastery (*an*) for her. In 1415 this was transformed into a formal temple.⁶² It is not known why this person had a statue of Ma-tsu.

61 *Ch'ang-lo hsien-chih* (1503), *chüan* 5, p. 58a.

62 *T'ing-chou fu-chih* (1497), *chüan* 9, p. 8a.

As described in some detail by Li Hsien-chang, Ma-tsu became the protectress of the P'u-t'ien seafarers. Because she was their protectress, they took her with them in 1206 on one of the Southern Sung campaigns against the Chin-invaders. She protected them by her divine assistance and was rewarded an official title for her help. The early temples devoted to her cult outside Fu-chien in Ssu-ming (Ning-po), Hang-chou, Shang-hai and Chen-chiang were all founded by people from Fu-chien. The temple in Ssu-ming was founded by a ship's captain who got incense from Hsing-hua (through *fen-hsiang*).⁶³

She was only one of many gods to whom people prayed for protection at sea or on rivers. There are frequent mentions of cults worshipped by traders and seafarers in local gazetteers.⁶⁴ It was Ma-tsu's association with seafarers and merchants *from a particular region* which caused the spread of her cult to other regions together with the groups that worshipped her, and not her role as a protectress of seafarers. It is not correct simply to call her a seafarers' goddess.

The spread of Ma-tsu's cult was slow. It originated sometime early in the eleventh century and other temples in the Hsing-hua commandery were founded during the twelfth century. The cult reached Ch'üan-chou, Ssu-ming and Hang-chou towards the end of twelfth century. As noted above, in Fu-chien the cult began to spread much later, although it had, in the meantime, continued to spread throughout the Chiang-nan area, stimulated by its association with the overseas grain-transport system under the Yüan.⁶⁵

The Cheng Ho-expeditions provided another impetus to the cult's increasing institutionalisation. These expeditions were the last expression of the Chinese state-interest in maritime ventures, which had started with the southern Sung navy.⁶⁶ Ma-tsu performed several miracles saving Cheng Ho's expedition during storms. In Fu-chien, however, only one founding and some restorations can be connected with the expeditions. A plan and a

63 Li Hsien-chang (1979), pp. 339—340.

64 Miyakawa (1979), pp. 85—91. Some other examples: *Chien-ning fu-chih* (1541), *chüan* 3, p. 10b, *T'ing-chou fu-chih* (1497), *chüan* 9, p. 12a and *T'ing-chou fu-chih* (1637), *chüan* 6, p. 27a for river-farers, *Shao-wu fu-chih* (1900), *chüan* 11, pp. 40b—41a a sea-god from Fu-chou.

65 Li Hsien-chang (1979), pp. 231—252 and 339—352.

66 Li Hsien-chang (1979), pp. 258—279. J.J.L. Duyvendak, "The True Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century", *T'oung Pao* XXXIV (1939), pp. 341—412.

famous novel were devoted to Cheng Ho's expeditions and his worship of her cult is extensively described in both works.⁶⁷

The titles conferred on her in the context of the overseas grain-transport system of the Yüan and the Cheng Ho-expeditions contributed enormously to her status, since the recognition by the central government implied by these titles made her cult much more acceptable to higher social levels.⁶⁸ The popularity of her cult was prior, however, to her adoption as the protectress of Yüan overseas grain-transport and of the early Ming overseas expeditions by Cheng Ho.

The spread of the cult from the late Ming onwards, both within and outside of Fu-chien, was furthered by Ma-tsu's adoption as the patron-saint of the Fu-chien merchants. Many temples were restored or founded in her honour by these merchants. To mention just one instance: in the city of Ch'ang-chou (modern Su-chou) numerous temples were founded or restored in her honour. Out of six temples, one was founded by provincial merchants in 1613, three by merchants from Chang-chou, from Ch'üan-chou and from Hsing-hua, (all of them during the K'ang-hsi period), one by merchants from Ning-po and one by merchants from Shao-wu at unknown dates.⁶⁹ Many more examples, both from Fu-chien and other provinces, of the role of merchant-guilds in the founding of Ma-tsu temples could be given. These guild-temples were all founded in large commercial centres.

Ma-tsu was also the protectress of many coastal communities along the Southeast coast and was adopted by Chinese migrants from Fu-chien to the Philippines and other regions in Southeast Asia, to the Ryûkyû-islands and to the isle of Kyûshû in Japan in the north. The remnants of the Chinese community of Nagasaki on Kyûshû still hold rituals for her.⁷⁰ It seems, however, that her cult was not present (at least up to the late Ch'ing) in every inland district of Fu-chien. Her immense popularity in the coastal regions (often visited by Chinese and foreign investigators of Chinese society and religion) does not, however, necessarily mean

67 R. Ptak, *Cheng Hos Abenteuerer in Drama und Roman der Ming-Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 104—111.

68 Watson (1984), pp. 292—324, in particular p. 294, pp. 299—300. He draws attention to the many titles conferred on her by the central government in an attempt to further (sponsor) her rise to the position of leading goddess in South China. However, these titles were the result of her popularity and not its primary cause.

69 Li Hsien-chang (1979), p. 347.

70 Li Hsien-chang (1979), pp. 461—593 and personal observations.

that she has also always been as popular in the hinterland of the southeastern provinces as well. This may have created a false impression of her popularity up to the mid Ch'ing period.

3.3. *Ma-hsien*

The cult of Ma-hsien is a fascinating example of two interesting phenomena arising out of the spread of a cult: a change in the cult's centre and the fusion of two cults. Of course, in the cults of Ma-tsu and possibly Lin-shui fu-jen the centre of the cult also moved (from Ning-hai to Mei-chou and Ku-t'ien to Fu-chou respectively), while the mythology of these two cults and the cult of Wu Chen-jen was also changed by their spread (the marriage of Ma-tsu and Wu Chen-jen and mutual influences of the myths of Ma-tsu and Lin-shui fu-jen, for instance). Nevertheless, in the case of Ma-hsien two entirely different cults seem to have fused.

The geographical development of the cult has been summarized in Map II. It started in a small village, far from the capital of Ching-ning district, Ch'u-chou prefecture in Che-chiang. After its recognition by Li Yang-ping (described in a preceding section) the cult acquired some regional fame and, probably from that moment onwards, it spread to the other villages in the region.⁷¹ Interestingly, it spread both northward to Li-shui, the prefectural capital, and southward to Chien-an in Fu-chien. In Ch'u-chou prefecture many local temples were founded in Ma-hsien's honour and she was extremely popular in Li-shui, the prefectural capital, and Yün-ho.⁷²

When the cult reached Chien-an, its mythology underwent some interesting changes, acquiring elements which had been lacking in Ching-ning. The biography from Chien-an gives the same incorrect date that is also given in a later Ching-ning biography, stating that she lived around the year 890. It is unclear which of these biographies came first, but this date cannot be correct. The inscription by Li Yang-ping suggests a founding date

⁷¹ *Ching-ning hsien-chih* (1588), *chuan* 2, pp. 24a—25b and *chuan* 5, pp. 21b—22a. In the *Ch'u-chou fu-chih* (1877), *chuan* 8, pp. 14a, 24b, 28a, 30b, 32a, 35b and *chuan* 24, pp. 4b—5b, 18b there are many references to her cult and mythology. The cult is particularly popular in Li-shui and Yün-ho. The additions from Chien-an are nowhere mentioned or even implied.

⁷² Except for the *Ch'u-chou fu-chih* quoted above, the *Yün-ho hsien-chih* (1864), *chuan* 7, pp. 3a—4a mentions five temples for the worship of her cult. *P'ing-yang hsien-chih* (1925), *chuan* 45, p. 26b states that there were shrines for her worship in many places.

for the cult of circa 700 or even earlier. According to the Chien-an biography she came from Ching-ning in Ch'u-chou and lived in Chien-an, Chiang-hsiang *li*. Fukienese sources generally assume this to be Ma-hsien's place of birth. The Chien-an version states that she was married a year, when her husband died. She vowed not to remarry and lived in great poverty, which she endured bravely. She could cross the river on an umbrella, but in the Chien-an version she did not disappear in doing this. She was believed to have obtained Taoist techniques of self-cultivation, taught by an immortal (*hsien*) in reward for her piety towards her deceased husband. This element was a later addition, which is not mentioned in the Ching-ning sources.

According to the Chien-an version, she predicted her own promotion to the status of immortal. This happened on a certain day, after prayers for rain by the local population had been successful. She ascended to heaven without anyone knowing where she had gone.⁷³ There were small monasteries (*an*) on several mountains in Chien-an where she was worshipped. One mountain was designated as the place where she had cultivated her spirit and another as the place from which she had ascended to heaven. The mountains were connected with different parts of her hagiography.⁷⁴ This significant element was not yet present in the myths from Ching-ning.

The cult in this form probably spread to Fu-chou from Chien-an, as is suggested by the fact that there are similarities in the legends of Fu-chou and that one temple in Fu-chou is explicitly linked with people from Chien-an. Furthermore, one popular temple was worshipped by river-boatsmen and located on the banks of the Min River—which linked Fu-chou with Chien-an and with P'u-ch'eng further upstream, while another large temple devoted to her was founded in a small market town on the same river. The cult became quite popular in the prefectures of Fu-chou and Fu-ning.⁷⁵

The myth of Ma-hsien's ascent to heaven from a mountain must have originated from a fusion of her cult with the cult of a popular goddess, from Yung-an, called Ma the Fifth. Yung-an lies to the south of Chien-an. This goddess was worshipped in Yung-an and its surroundings. Her story is as follows: she had just been married, when she became very ill. She was rejected by her husband's family and sent back to her father. Her father asked a

73 *Chien-ning fu-chih* (1541), *chüan* 21, p. 17a. *Sou-shen-chi*, p. 816.

74 *Chien-ning fu-chih* (1541), *chüan* 3, p. 5b, p. 20b, p. 28b, p. 51a.

75 *Fu-chou fu-chih* (1613), *chüan* 16, p. 20a.

Buddhist monk to drown her in the river. At that moment a terrible storm broke out and, through a medium, a god announced that she had to be brought to the top of a local mountain to become an immortal.

According to the story, this was done and together with her two sisters and her sister-in-law she ascended to heaven. The original cult started on this mountain, but a temple was also founded later near an important bridge close to the district-capital.⁷⁶ From there the cult probably spread to Chien-an, which is situated on the same network of rivers and roads. Both in Sha, which lies on the river which connects Yung-an with Chien-an, and in Ta-t'ien, which borders on Yung-an in the east, cults were devoted to her on mountains and she was called by the same name as in Yung-an.⁷⁷ The story shows all the typical signs of having started from the worship of a hungry ghost.

On the basis of this information, it seems probable that the cult of Ma-hsien first spread from Ching-ning north to Ch'u-chou and to the other districts belonging to that prefecture. The cult must then have spread through P'u-ch'eng to Chien-an along the trade-roads that linked Ch'u-chou prefecture with Chien-ning prefecture to the south.⁷⁸ In Chien-an (the capital of Chien-ning prefecture) it fused with the cult of Ma the Fifth and spread to the rest of northern Fu-chien. This explains why, in Chien-an, the myth incorporated the important element of the ascent to heaven and the alternative name of Ma-hsien in Fu-chien: Ma the Fifth. The ascent to heaven is also seen in later versions of the hagiography of Wu Chen-jen and is common in the biographies of many immortals and deified persons.⁷⁹

The local people in Chien-an prayed to Ma-hsien for rain, for help with diseases, to have children and so forth. The local temple was restored in about 1568 with the support of a functionary, whose wife had been told in a dream that she would have children and had later indeed given birth to them.⁸⁰ The cult was extremely popular in Shou-ning, as is testified by the Ming-author

76 We have used the version from the *Yen-p'ung fu-chih* (1765), *chuan* 3, p. 21b, *chuan* 7, p. 31a, *chuan* 31, p. 15b. The story in the *Min-shu* (1616 comp.), *chuan* 20, pp. 37b—38a differs in details, but is the same as far as essentials are concerned. The *Min-shu* adds that the episode took place during the early Sung.

77 *Sha hsien-chih* (1918), *chuan* 5, p. 7b and *Ta-t'ien hsien-chih* (1931), *chuan* 2, p. 33b. The temple is fairly old, cf. the poems quoted in *chuan* 2, p. 33b.

78 E. Rawski, *Agricultural Change and the Peasant Economy of South China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 59—61 and pp. 94—6.

79 Schipper (1985), pp. 814 and 822—3.

80 *Chuen-ou hsien-chih* (1929), *chuan* 21, p. 4b.

Feng Meng-lung and later writers. The main temple was close to a bridge, where there were a lot of fish, who were considered to be the fish of the goddess and thus should not be caught. Feng Meng-lung uses the Chien-an source, which suggests that the cult devoted to Ma-hsien in Shou-ning came from Chien-an. This is remarkable since Shou-ning lies directly south of Ching-ning, where the cult of Ma-hsien originated. Nevertheless, there were few links between Shou-ning and Ching-ning, and there were very close social and economic links between Shou-ning and Chien-ning (Chien-an), which would explain why the cult arrived from Chien-an.⁸¹

3.4. *The spread of the cults*

Information on the precise founding-dates and the locations of the temples, devoted to the other seven cults is scarce, but nonetheless contributes to our further understanding of their spread. The information has been ordered by district. Information has been included on a temple's earliest known date (of founding -f, restoration -r, or earliest known date of existence -e), precise location and the background of the main person(s) responsible for founding or restoring it. The number of a cult on Map III is indicated in parentheses.

Table I

Lin-shui fu-jen (no 7): It is unclear exactly when the original cult started, but it was during, or just before, the early northern Sung.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Imitator</i>
Fu-chou	± 1246e. ⁸²		
Yung-fu	± 1270e. ⁸³		

81 Feng Meng-lung gives a lot more, clearly local, information on the goddess, which suggests that his story about Ma-hsien reflects local beliefs and is not merely copied out of another gazetteer as an easy way out. For links between Chien-ning and Shou-ning see Rawski (1972), pp. 59—61 and pp. 94—6. *Fu-ning fu-chih* (1772), *chuan* 2, p. 4a on the original administrative locations of Shou-ning. N.B. a later myth on Ma-hsien elsewhere in this same gazetteer *chuan* 44, pp. 18b—19a, shows influences of the myth of *Lin-shui fu-jen*. Both cults covered the same territory, so such influences are hardly surprising. Similarly the myths of *Lin-shui fu-jen* influenced the myth of Ma-tsu, cf. Li Hsien-chang (1979), p. 79.

82 *Fu-chou fu-chih* (1751), *chuan* 14, p. 42a.

83 *Ch'ung-tsu'an fu-chien t'ung-chih* (1835), *chuan* 20, p. 60b.

Table I (Continued)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Initiator</i>
Fu-ning	1470r.	city-gate	local people (originally located near the [Lin-shui-] Fu-jen-bridge). ⁸⁴
Fu-an Cheng-ho	± 1436r. ⁸⁵ ± 1300e.	near the city, same temple 1496r	city people (the only early example of the cult's spread north of Ku-t'ien). ⁸⁶
Ch'ang-lo	± 1540e.	near Ma-tsu's temple. ⁸⁷	

Ma Hsien (no 2): Our oldest source dates from 760-1 and mentions that the original shrine in Ching-ning had been founded several generations earlier, which suggests that the cult was founded before 700.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Initiator</i>
Chien-an Fu-chou	± 1302f. ⁸⁸ 1395f.	people from Chien-ning built a bridge here in 1417. ⁸⁹	

Ou-yang Hu (no 4): His cult started several years after his death in 617 and by 888 it had already reached the market-city of Lung-hu on the border with T'ai-ning. The cult became particularly prominent from the early Sung onward. All temples mentioned below were called *hsing-tz'u* ("travelling shrines"), probably indicating that some kind of relationship with the mother temple in Shao-wu still existed.

84 *Fu-ning chou-chih* (1593), *chüan* 2, p. 46a and p. 49a.

85 *Ibid.*

86 *Cheng-ho hsien-chih* (1919), *chüan* 22, p. 29a.

87 *Ch'ang-lo hsien-chih* (1503), *chüan* 5, p. 60b.

88 *Chien-ou hsien-chih* (1929), *chüan* 21, p. 4a; another small local monastery for her was also founded during the Yüan dynasty, *Chien-ning hsien-chih* (1541), *chüan* 19, p. 41a.

89 Wang Ying-shan, *Min-tu-chi* (late sixteenth century), *chüan* 22, pp. 4b-5a and *chüan* 24, p. 13b. *Fu-chou fu-chih* (1613), *chüan* 16, p. 20a.

Table I (Continued)

Place	Date	Location	Initiator
Ning-hua	± 1180f	beside the City God's temple in the city	
	± 1192f	close to the northern city-gate ⁹⁰	
Ch'ing-hu	± 1192r	close to a bridge (before that it was located in a monastery, which is not strange in view of the cult's relationship with Buddhism and Taoism) ⁹¹	
Lien-ch'eng	± 1201	close to the city ⁹²	

Wu Chen-jen (no 6) The cult started soon after his death in 1036

Place	Date	Location	Initiator
Ch'ao-yang	1077f	(suspiciously early) Taoist priest	
	1301f		popular local cult ⁹³

90 Ning-hua *Yung-lo ta-tien*, *chuan* 7892, p 4a Some other examples of *hsing-tz'u* and *hsing-kung* Ou-yang *hsing-tz'u* (Ou-yang Hu) in *Yung-lo ta-tien*, *chuan* 7892, p 4a and p 5a, Wei-hui *hsing-tz'u* (Ch'en Yuan-kuang) in *Chang-chou fu-chih* (1573), *chuan* 19, p 11a en *chuan* 23, p 10b, Tz'u-chi *hsing-kung* (Wu Chen-jen) in the same gazetteer, *chuan* 24, p 43b The term probably refers to dependancies of the original temple, which have preserved their link with the mother-temple

91 *Yung-lo ta-tien*, *chuan* 7892, p 5a

92 *Yung-lo ta-tien*, *chuan* 7892, p 5b

93 *Ch'ao-yang hsien-chih* (1572), *chuan* 10, pp 9b—10b (confirmed by a Ming-inscription, *Ch'ao-yang hsien-chih* (1884), *chuan* 21, p 39b) identifies Wu Chen-jen as Wu Meng The legends on this Wu Meng have been analyzed by Schipper (1985), pp 814—816 and by Miyakawa (1979), pp 92—94 Wu Meng was not a healer Since local legends in Ch'ao-yang clearly identify "their" Wu Chen-jen as an effective doctor-god and his title is also Tz'u-chi like "our" Wu Chen-jen, the identification is definitely a mistake The author of the comment in the gazetteer is dissatisfied with this ascription and stresses Wu Chen-jen's local role as a real doctor It is unclear whether the mistake in the gazetteer has been caused by a literati's personal knowledge of other gods and legends and

Table I (Continued)

Place	Date	Location	Initiator
Chin-chiang	± 1146f.	city. ⁹⁴	
Ch'ang-t'ai	1349f.	bridge	official. ⁹⁵
Nan-an	Yüan f.	near the city	official. ⁹⁶

Ch'en Yüan-kuang (no 7): when his grave was moved in 786 a temple already existed near the first grave.

Place	Date	Location	Initiator
Feng-t'ing	1108f.	market city. ⁹⁷	
Ch'ang-t'ai	± 1115r.		magistrate. ⁹⁸
Chang-chou	1130f.	city-gate. ⁹⁹	
Fu-chou	Sung f.	city	townsman (founded the temple by fetching incense (<i>ch'ing hsiang-huo</i>) from the temple in Chang-p'u). ¹⁰⁰
Yün-hsiao	± 1476f.	city-gate. ¹⁰¹	

The registered foundings of cults were actual foundings, generally of small and inconspicuous temples, which developed into larger buildings much later, when they were restored for the first time. All the cults spread slowly and generally only started to spread

is, therefore, purely individual, or whether the mistake is based upon popular beliefs and therefore represents a significant change in the contents of the mythology of Wu Chen-jen. The same view, probably copied from a *Ch'ao-yang hsien-chih*, is found in the *P'u-ning hsien-chih* (1745), *chüan* 11, 7a. Funnily enough, the *P'u-ning hsien-chih* of 1610, *chüan* 4, page unclear, also gives a temple for Wu Chen-jen, but states that it is unknown to the author which god this is. This suggests that the author of the identification of Wu Chen-jen as Wu Meng may have invented it to explain a gap in his understanding.

94 *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chüan* 16, p. 15a.

95 *Chang-chou fu-chih* (1573), *chüan* 24, p. 43b and *Ch'ang-t'ai hsien-chih* (1748), *chüan* 12, p. 4a.

96 *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih* (1763), *chüan* 16, p. 36b.

97 *Ch'ung-tsuang fu-chien t'ung-chih* (1835), *chüan* 21, p. 15b.

98 *Ch'ang-t'ai hsien-chih* (1748), *chüan* 12, p. 4a.

99 *Ch'ung-tsuang fu-chien t'ung-chih* (1835), *chüan* 23, p. 2b.

100 *Fu-chou fu-chih* (1751), *chüan* 15, p. 25a.

101 *Tün-hsiao hsien-chih* (1947), *chüan* 5, p. 6b.

many years after they had originated (during the T'ang, the Five Dynasties Period and during the northern Sung, at the latest). The earliest foundings of temples for these cults elsewhere took place during the twelfth century or even later, and, geographically speaking, the cults remained near their places of origin.

The *San-shan-chih* of 1182, the first gazetteer of Fu-chou, does not mention any regional cults except the City God and the God of the Eastern Peak (*Tung-yueh-shen*).¹⁰² However, later gazetteers of the area mention quite a few regional cults, which must have come afterwards. The Ming local gazetteers of T'ing-chou prefecture mention relatively many temples from other regions. Nevertheless, extremely popular cults like those devoted to the Wu-hsien gods from Hsin-an and Kuan Yü from Hsieh-chou only arrived in T'ing-chou in the early twelfth century.¹⁰³ This general impression on the well-documented areas of Fu-chou and T'ing-chou confirms the distribution pattern of our cults and shows that we are dealing with a general phenomenon.

If one links these developments with the rise of commercial networks during the Sung, the reason for this timing becomes obvious. It cannot be pure chance that the earliest foundings of cults far from their place of origin were in the larger trade-cities, like Lin-shui fu-jen in Fu-chou, Ma-hsien in Chien-an, Wu Chen-jen in Chin-chiang and Ch'ao-yang, or Ch'en Yuan-kuang in Fu-ch'ing and Feng-t'ing (Hsien-you). Cults spread from the large commercial cities along their respective trade-networks. Ma-tsu's cult spread outwards from Hsing-hua. Lin-shui fu-jen's cult probably spread from Fu-chou. Her cult was enormously popular in Fu-chou and Fu-ting prefectures—the cult was even worshipped by seafarers. Her myths dating from the late Ming stressed that she was born in one of the districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Fu-chou.¹⁰⁴ Wu Chen-jen's and Ch'en Yüan-kuang's cults undoubtedly spread along the coast through the important trade-network from Chang-chou, through Yüeh-kang and Hsia-men. The worship of Ou-yang Hu spread to districts directly adjacent to the prefecture, probably over the trade-roads along the local rivers.¹⁰⁵

102 *San-shan-chih* (1182, Taiwan-reprint) *chüan* 9 (no pages).

103 *T'ing-chou fu-chih* (1497), *chüan* 9, p. 2a, p. 4a, p. 5b.

104 On the belief by the seafarers and on some Fu-chou temples: Hsieh Chao-che, *Wu-tsa-tsu* (Tokyo, 1972 reprint of 1661-reprint in Japan), *chüan* 15, p. 19b. On the legends: Wei Ying-ch'i (1928—1929; Taipei-reprint 1969), pp. 15—16.

105 We have attempted to trace the spread of the worship of Ou-yang Hu

Despite the complexities in Ma-tsu's case, it seems clear that the spread of a cult was linked to the behavior of the group that worshipped the deity. It is difficult, however, to establish which social segments of the original local group were responsible for the spread of a particular cult. The only clue is provided by an analysis of the known locations of the other seven selected cults in Map III, in which the most important trade-routes are also shown. The spread of the cults is quite consistent, with no large and unexplainable blank areas. This consistency suggests that the map is reliable. The gazetteers of districts just across the provincial border have been searched for cases where cults have spread across the borders. There was a lot of evidence of the spread of cults across the northern and southern borders of Fu-chien, but only one case (except for the special case of Ma-tsu) of the spread of a cult over the western borders.

The distribution of the cults in northern and southern Fu-chien (see Map III) shows two clearly demarcated areas, which fit into the general pattern of trade and population movements.¹⁰⁶ Northern Fu-chien formed one trade-network, integrated by the Min River system. It is hardly surprising that the cults of Ma-hsien and Lin-shui fu- jen were distributed precisely along the lines of the northern Fukienese trade-networks.¹⁰⁷ The cult of Ou-yang Hu remained confined to north-western Fu-chien, but also seems to have spread along the trade-routes. Southern Fu-chien had international trade connections and her inhabitants migrated to Taiwan and to Southeast Asia on a large scale. Human migration followed the same networks that were used for trade, and most migrants worked in trade and commerce. The cults of Wu Chen- jen and Ch'en Yüan-kuang extend over the entire of southern Fu-

on the basis of dates and places in the *Shao-wu fu-chih* and other gazetteers from that region, and then analyze the results on the basis of the trade-roads mentioned in the guide-book *T'ien-hsia lu-ch'eng shih-wo chou-hsing* (1774-preface by Lai Sheng-yüan). As was to be expected, the trade-roads fit the general pattern of the distribution of the cults quite nicely, but it was impossible to correlate all the temples in smaller places with the trade-roads on the basis of the available evidence. Only some of the locations could be identified, which were a bridge, a water crossing and an important market-city (Lung-hu) on the border between the district of Shao-wu and the district of T'ai-ning.

106 Miki Satoshi, "Kôso to sobei, Minmatsu Shinshoki no Fuken o chûshin to shite", *Tôyôshi kenkyû* XLV: 4 (1987), pp. 25—57 gives a analysis of rent revolts during the late Ming and early Ch'ing. For this purpose he analyses the economic interdependency of different parts of Fu-chien on the basis of their foodgrain-situation, pp. 37—42 with maps on pp. 39 and 41. He distinguishes the same three zones within Fu-chien as distinguished in this study.

107 *Fu-an hsien-chih* (1884), *chüan* 13, p. 4a, p. 5b, p. 7a; *Fu-ting hsien-chih* (1806), *chüan* 4, p. 2b.

chien into northern Kuang-tung. Cults, such as those of Kuo Sheng-wang and Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih, that spread to Taiwan and Southeast Asia through trade and migration, also originated from Southern Fu-chien.

The distribution-patterns fit in well with Skinner's thesis that the region of Fu-chien, but with southern Che-chiang and northern Kuang-tung, formed one macroregion—the Southeast Coast.¹⁰⁸ The region may be subdivided into three smaller regions: 1. northern Fu-chien plus southern Che-chiang, 2. coastal southern Fu-chien plus northern Kuang-tung, and 3. in view of the spread of the cult of Ou-yang Hu western Fu-chien. The inland orientation of northern Fu-chien and the overseas orientation of southern Fu-chien are clearly illustrated by the distribution of the cults.

The fact that many temples were located near bridges tends to support the thesis that the cults spread along the trade-routes. Bridges were a crucial element in any trade-route, and in addition we know that markets were often held at or near them.¹⁰⁹ For two of the most important groups of travelling people, monks and merchants, building a bridge was a form of religious expression and so they were often involved in bridge-building.¹¹⁰

One late Ming-work on Fukien, the *Min-pu-shu* by Wang Shih-mao, states that each bridge had a statue of a god or Buddha and that much incense was burned for them. These statues were meant to protect both the bridge and the traveller.¹¹¹ It seems probable that such deities were those gods that were most important to the groups that used and built the bridges. Local gazetteers suggest that regional and national temples were often located near bridges, while purely local temples could be located anywhere. Numerous examples of temples devoted to our cults founded near bridges have been mentioned above.¹¹²

108 G.W. Skinner, "Regional Urbanization in Nineteenth-Century China", in G.W. Skinner ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, 1977), maps pp. 215—6.

109 C.R. Boxer ed. *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 104. J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (London, 1866), vol. I, p. 27 tells that there used to be shops on the top of one of the largest bridges of Fu-chou.

110 Our impression of the role of merchants is based on inscriptions and the lists of names contained in local gazetteers and collections of inscriptions (from Su-chou, Shanghai, Peking and other places). It would take up too much space to present this evidence here.

111 Wang Shih mao (late Ming), *Min-pu-shu* (Taiwan-reprint) p. 14a. *Hui-an hsien-chih* (1730), *chuan* 11, p. 9b.

112 An analysis of three Ming-gazetteers from T'ing-chou, (*Yung-lo ta-tien, chuan* 7892, *T'ing-chou fu-chih* (1497), *chuan* 9 and *T'ing-chou fu-chih* (1637), *chuan* 6, all of which are fairly precise in their indications of the locations of

4. *Conclusions*

We have attempted to test two hypotheses concerning the origins and spread of temple-cults. The first hypothesis was that temple-cults developed out of the worship of hungry ghosts. We emphasised the purely local origins of these hungry ghosts, their intimate link to small, local groups and the chance character of their rise to the status of deity.

The eight cults originated from the worship of people who died without known descendants (who might have started ancestor-worship), the only exception being that of Ch'en Yüan-kuang. In the case of several of these cults, a close link existed between the site of death or burial and the place where worship first started. None of these deities achieved the "ideal" life-cycle of marrying, having children and dying at a ripe and old age. They often died an unnatural or mysterious death: Ch'en Yüan-kuang died in battle, while Ou-yang Hu, and possibly Ma-hsien, drowned. Kuo Sheng-wang died mysteriously before reaching maturity. Lin-shui fu-jen died in childbirth—a frequent, but nonetheless unnatural death—and without fulfilling woman's natural "purpose" in life. Thus, the life-energies of these gods remained unspent and their ghosts stayed on earth roaming about as a threat to the living.

The beginnings of all the cults were modest and they often remained confined to the same locality for centuries. What little is known about the historical lives of these deified figures suggests that their deification was not due to their achievements in life. In the case of all our deities it was the miracles performed *after* their deaths, and not the deeds or local fame they had achieved *before* their death, which were decisive for their rise to the status of deity. As deities they were entirely the "products" of human belief.

In the early stages of a cult, most miracles involve anonymous local people. The deity appears in dreams or visions to individuals who lived in the immediate vicinity of the place of his death or burial, or appears to the population as a whole, to protect them against attacks by bandits or against diseases and natural disasters. At a later stage, the miracles may become focused on particular persons, and the names of these persons have sometimes been handed down to posterity. These persons were often important people such as functionaries, and their relatives.

temples) yielded many further examples of this. For reasons of space we have not included any specific references.

The growing body of mythology serves to accentuate the deities' human virtues and their deeds for the local population, both as gods and as human beings. The similarities between their origins and the origins of hungry ghosts are slowly obscured. An image develops of these deities as local heroes, and it is on the basis of this later, mythological image that most theories which attempt to explain the origins of temple-cults have been developed.

Thus, there are many similarities between the development of cults which have developed out of the worship of hungry ghosts (as on Taiwan) and the development of the cults which have been investigated in this study. However, the lack of reliable historical evidence on the earliest stages of the development of the cults prevents any truly falsifiable statements.

The second hypothesis is that there is a close relation between the spread of the regional cults and the commercial and migration routes. The material presented in this study enables us to draw some conclusions. At a certain moment in their development, the deities became the protectors of a locality, starting in a village, but eventually becoming the protectors of an entire region (for instance part of, or even a whole, district). Because they functioned as symbols and protectors of communal unity, people took their deities with them when they migrated. Though it lies outside the boundaries of this investigation, a look at the situation in Taiwan shows a very close link between the spread of deities from the mainland to Taiwan and trade- and migration-patterns.

The spread of the cults closely followed Fukienese trade- and migration-patterns. The cults from southern Fu-chien spread along the coast northward to Fu-chou, south to Ch'ao-yang and overseas to Taiwan and Southeast Asia. This reflects the outward orientation of the area, as shown by its trade- and migration-patterns. The cults from northern Fu-chien spread along the trade- and migration network of the Min-river, north to southern Che-chiang (and vice versa), and also along the coast, from Fu-chou north to southern Che-chiang.

One aspect of the rise and spread of the cults, that has not been fully discussed in this study, is the precise timing of their development. It was remarked that in the cases of Lin-shui fu-jen and Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih, they may have replaced older non-anthropomorphic cults. It is also quite probable that the cults developed near places, that had from ancient times been imbued with religious significance, such as mountains (Ma-hsien, Ou-yang Hu, Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih), grotto's (Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih, Lin-shui fu-jen) or even wells (Ma-hsien in Shou-ning, Ma-tsu on a little

island lying off the coast of Fu-chien).¹¹³ Whatever the relationship of these older cults and older religious places to the new cults, the new cults had a number of common characteristics: they were all anthropomorphic deities and there was a tendency for them to have come into being around hungry ghosts and/or tragic human figures. This tendency can be noted all over Fu-chien.

If we return to the timing of the rise of these cults, the following pattern becomes apparent. The oldest cults are from northern or inland Fu-chien, dating from the early and middle Tang (Ouyang Hu, Ma-hsien, and Lin-shui fu-jen), the only exception being the cult of Ch'en Yüan-kuang, which originated in southern Fu-chien. The other cults are more recent, dating from the Period of the Five Kingdoms or the early northern Sung (Kuo Sheng-wang, Ma-tsu, Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih and Wu Chen-jen), and originated in the southeast coastal area. There seems to be a relationship between the arrival of the Han-Chinese colonizers of the area and the rise of these new gods.

Although the cults originated at different times, they all started to become prominent and spread only in the twelfth century. This was also a period of regional economic and cultural prosperity. Their distribution-patterns suggest that their spread and growth was closely linked to the rise of trade, commerce and migration. It has proven impossible to link the spread of these cults to particular social groups. In the case of Lin-shui fu-jen and Wu Chen-jen there seems to be sufficient mythological evidence to attempt a further social analysis, such as that of Lü Tung-pin by Baldrian-Hussein.

List of characters

an 庵

An-hsi 安溪

An-hsi hsien-chih 安溪縣志

Chang-chou 漳州

Chang-chou fu-chih 漳州府志

Chang I-ning 張以寧

Chang-p'u 漳浦

Chang-yen 張巖

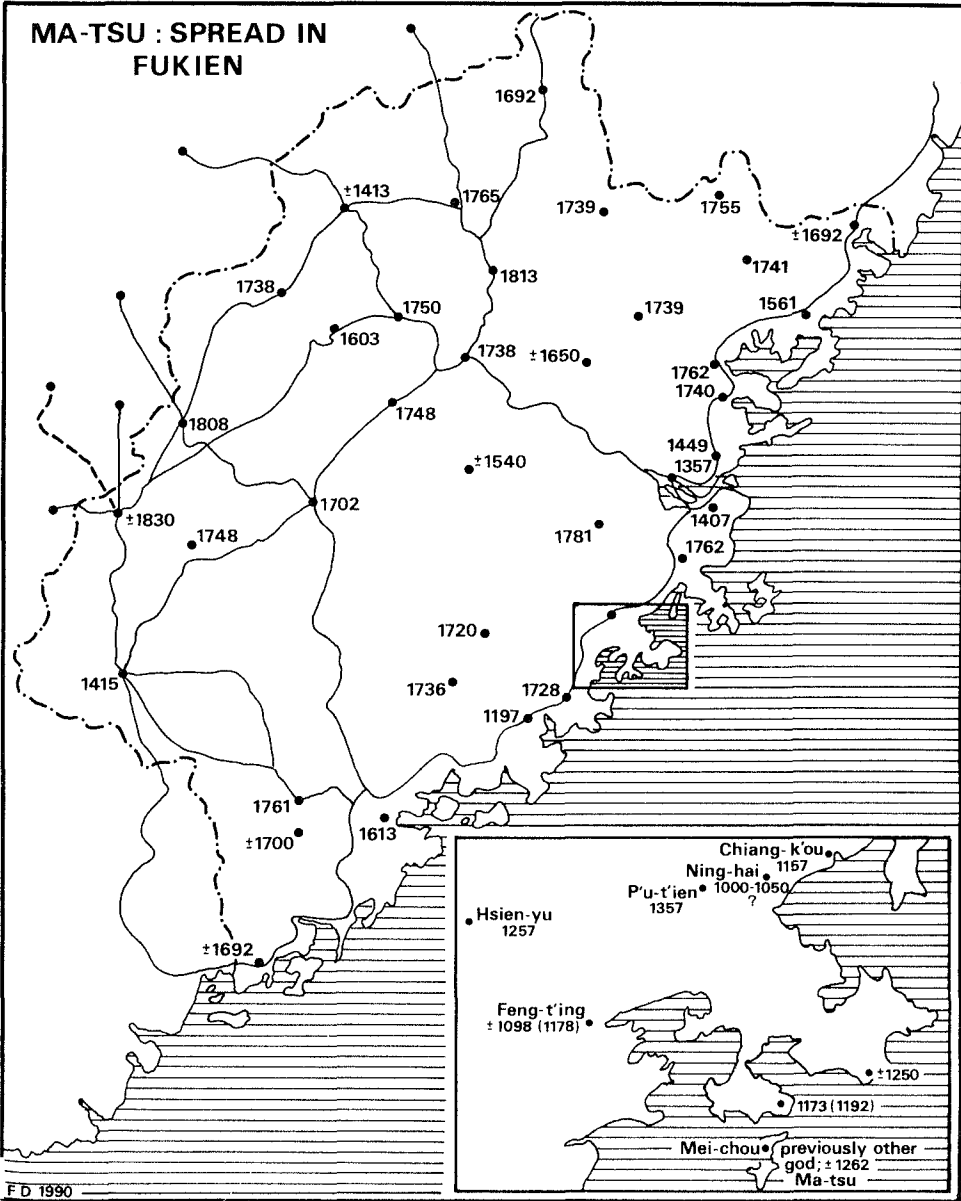
Ch'ang-chou 長洲

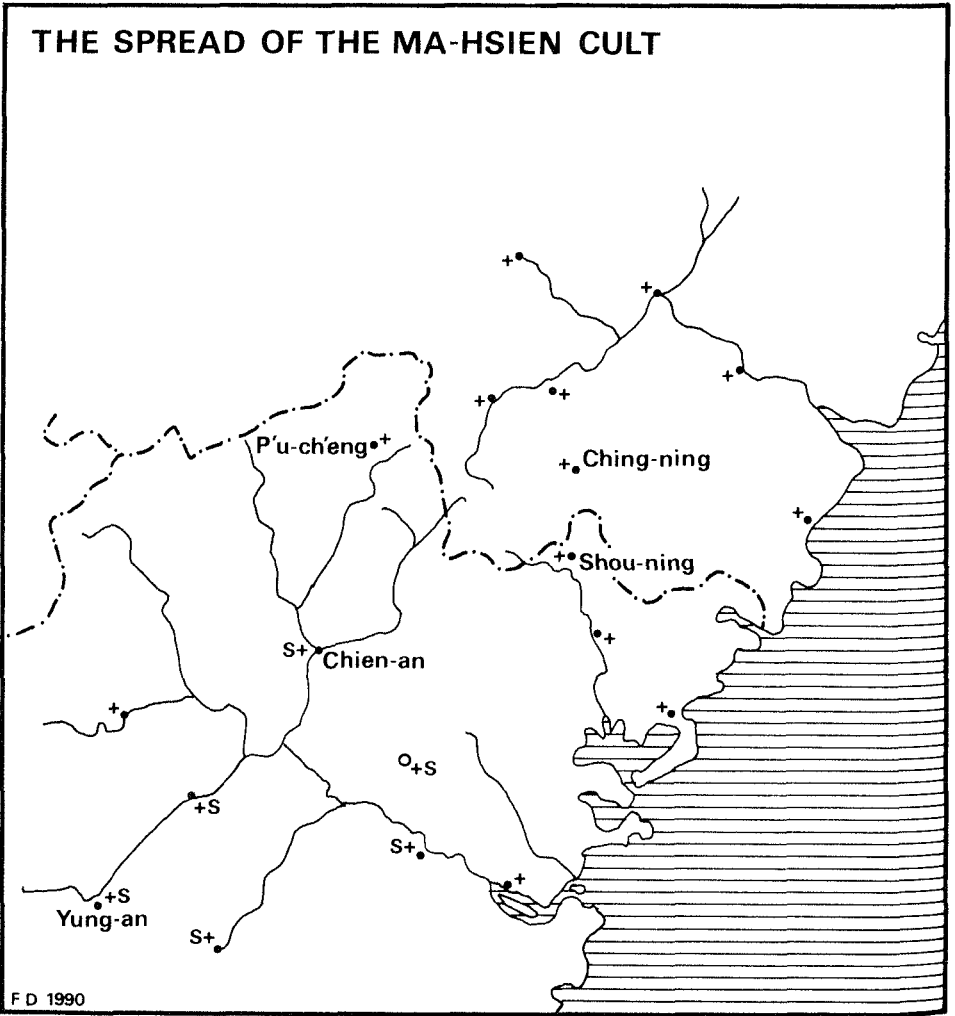
Ch'ang-lo 長樂

Ch'ang-lo hsien-chih 長樂縣志

Ch'ang-t'ai 長泰

113 Oral communication by Drs. K. Ruitenbeek.





- Ch'ang-t'ai hsien-chih* 長泰縣志
 Ch'ao-chou 潮州
 Ch'ao-yang 潮陽
Ch'ao-yang hsien-chih 潮陽縣志
Che-chiang t'ung-chih 浙江通志
 Chen-chiang 鎮江
 Ch'en 陳
 Ch'en Ch'ang 陳昌
 Ch'en Ch'i-jen 陳啓仁
 Ch'en Ching-ku 陳靖姑
 Ch'en Yüan-kuang 陳元光
 Cheng-ho 政和
 Cheng Ho 鄭和
Cheng-ho hsien-chih 政和縣志
 Chiang-hsiang li 將相里
 Chiang Jih-sheng 江日昇
 Chiang-lo 將樂
 Chiang-k'ou 江口
Chiang-hsi t'ung-chih 江西通志
 Chien-an 建安
 Chien-ning 建寧
Chien-ning hsien-chih 建寧縣志
Chien-ning fu-chih 建寧府志
Chien-ou hsien-chih 建甌縣志
 Chin-chiang 晉江
 chin-shih 進士
 Chin-yün 縉雲
 Ching-ning 景寧
Ching-ning hsien-chih 景寧縣志
 ch'ing hsiang-huo 請香火
 Ch'ing-liu 清流
 Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih 清水祖師
 chou 州
 Chou K'ai 周凱
 Ch'u-chou 處州
Ch'u-chou fu-chih 處州府志
 Chuang Hsia 壯夏
Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u-chi 中國歷史地圖集
Ch'ung-tsuan fu-chien t'ung-chih 重纂福建通志
Ch'ung-tsuan kuang-tse hsien-chih 重纂光澤縣志
 Ch'üan-chou 泉州
Ch'üan-chou fu-chih 泉州府志
 Fang Hao 方豪

Fang Hao lu-shih chih lu-shih-ssu tzu-hsuan tai-ting-kao

方豪六十至六十四自選待定稿

fen-hsiang 分香

Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍

Feng-t'ing 楓亭

Fu-an 福安

Fu-an hsien-chih 福安縣志

Fu-chien san-shen k'ao 福建三神考

Fu-ch'ing 福清

Fu-chou 福州

Fu-chou fu-chih 福州府志

Fu-ning 福寧

Fu-ning chou-chih 福寧州志

Fu-ting hsien-chih 福鼎縣志

Hai-ch'eng 海澄

Hai-ch'eng hsien-chih 海澄縣志

Hang-chou 杭州

Ho Ch'iao-yüan 何喬遠

Hou-ts'un hsien-sheng ta-ch'uan-chi 後存先生大全集

Hsia-men 廈門

Hsia-men-chih 廈門志

Hsia-tu 下渡

Hsieh Chao-che 謝肇淩

Hsieh-chou (this is the correct reading!) 解州

hsien 仙

Hsien-yu 僊游

Hsin-an 新安

Hsing-hua 興化

hsing-kung 行宮

hsing-tz'u 行祠

Hsü Hsia-k'o 徐霞客

Hsü Hung-tsu 徐宏祖

Hui-an hsien-chih 惠安縣志

Hung Mai 洪邁

Jigoku hen 地獄變

K'ai-chang Chiang-chün 開漳將軍

Kan Pao 干寶

Kanai Noriyuki 金井德幸

Kôso to sobei, Minmatsu Shinshoki no Fuken o chûshin to shite

抗租と阻米，明末清初期の福建を中心として

Ku-t'ien 古田

Ku-t'ien hsien-chih 古田縣志

Kuan-yin 觀音

- Kuan Yü 關羽
kuang-hua 光化
Kuang-tung t'ung-chih 廣東通志
 Kuo 郭
 Kuo Chung-fu 郭忠福
 Kuo Sheng-wang 郭聖王
 Lai Sheng-yüan 賴盛遠
 Li Fang 李昉
 Li Hsien-chang 李獻璋
 Li-shui 麗水
 Li Tan 李誕
 Li Yang-ping 李陽冰
 Lien-ch'eng 連城
 Lin-ch'uan 臨川
 Lin-chiang 臨江
 Lin-shui fu-jen 臨水夫人
 Liu Chi 劉基
 Liu Hsün 劉燾
 Liu K'o-chuang 劉克莊
 Lo-yang 洛陽
 Lung-chiu an 龍湫庵
 Lung-hsi 龍溪
 Lung-hu 龍湖
 Lü-shan 閩山
 Lü Tung-pin 呂洞賓
 Ma-hsien 馬仙
Maso shinkô no kenkyû 媽祖信仰の研究
 Ma-tsu 媽祖
 Ma Wu-niang 馬五娘
 Mei-chou 湄州
 Miki Satoshi 三木聰
Min-chung chin-shih lüeh 閩中金石略
Min-pu-shu 閩郡疏
Min-shu 閩書
Min-tsu-hsüeh yen-chiu-suo chi-k'an 民族學研究所集刊
Min-tu-chi 閩都記
 Nan-an 南安
 Ning-hai 寧海
 Ning-hua 寧化
 Ning-po 寧波
Ou-ning hsien-chih 甌寧縣志
 Ou-yang hsing-tz'u 歐陽行祠
 Ou-yang Hu 歐陽祐

- Pai-chiao 白礁
pao-chüan 寶卷
 Pao-sheng ta-ti 保生大帝
 P'eng-lai 蓬萊
P'ing-yang hsien-chih 平陽縣志
 P'u-ch'eng 浦城
P'u-ch'eng hsien-chih 浦城縣志
P'u-ning hsien-chih 普寧縣志
 P'u-t'ien 莆田
 P'u-tsu 普足
Rekishì ni okeru minshû to bunka (Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen ronshû) 歴史における民衆と文化(酒井忠夫先生古稀祝賀紀年論集)
San-chiao yüan-liu sou-shen ta-ch'üan 三教源流搜神大全
 San-kuan 三官
 San-nai 三奶
San-shan-chih 三山志
 Sawada Mizuho 沢田瑞穂
 Sha 沙
Sha hsien-chih 沙縣志
 Shang-hai 上海
 Shao-wu 紹武
Shao-wu fu-chih 紹武府志
 Shen-nü 神女
shih-po-ssu 市舶司
 Shou-ning 壽寧
Shou-ning hsien-chih 壽寧縣志
Sou-shen-chi 搜神記
Sôdai no sonsha to sôzoku 宋代の村社と宗族
 Ssu-ming 四明
Ssu-pu pei-k'an 四部備刊
 Su-chou 蘇州
 Sui-an 綏安
 Sung-tai seng-t'u tui tsao-ch'iao ti kung-hsien 宋代僧徒對造橋的貢獻
 Ta-ch'ien 大乾
 Ta-t'ien 大田
Ta-t'ien hsien-chih 大田縣志
 T'ai-ning 泰寧
T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 太平廣記
T'ai-wan wai-chi 臺灣外記
T'ai-wan wen-hsien ts'ung-k'an 臺灣文獻叢刊
 T'an Ch'i-hsiang 譚其驥
Tao-tsang 道藏
T'ien-hsia lu-ch'eng shih-wo chou-hsing 天下路程示我周行

- T'ing-chou 汀州
T'ing-chou fu-chih 汀州府志
Tôyôshi kenkyû 東洋史研究
 Tsou Ying-lung 鄒應龍
Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng 叢書集成
Tung-yueh-shen 東嶽神
 T'ung-an 同安
T'ung-an hsien-chih 同安縣志
t'ung-wen 通文
 Tz'u-chi 慈濟
 Tz'u-chi hsing-kung 慈濟行宮
 Wang Shih-mao 王世懋
 Wang Ying-shan 王應山
 Wei-hui hsing-tz'u 威惠行祠
 Wei Ying-ch'i 魏應騏
wen-t'ung 文通
 Wu Chen-jen 吳真人
 Wu-hsien 五顯
 Wu Meng 吳猛
 Wu Pen 吳本
Wu-tsa-tsu 五雜組
 Yang Chih 楊志
Yen-p'ing fu-chih 延平府志
Yi-chien-chih 夷堅志
Yin-chü t'ung-i 陰居通議
 Yung-an 永安
 Yung-ch'un 永春
 Yung-fu 永福
Yung-lo ta-tien 永樂大典
 Yüeh-kang 月港
Yüan-kuang chia-p'u 元光家譜
 Yün-ho 雲和
Yün-ho hsien-chih 雲和縣志
 Yün-hsiao 雲霄
Yün-hsiao hsien-chih 雲霄縣志