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RELIGION IN SZECHUAN PROVINCE,  
CHINA

(WITH TWENTY-FIVE PLATES)

BY  
DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM



(PUBLICATION 2921)

CITY OF WASHINGTON  
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(WITH 25 PLATES)

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## PREFACE

The materials for this paper were gathered at first hand in Szechuan Province during the years 1919 to 1926. The idea of collecting the data and of writing this paper was the result of a course in comparative religion under Prof. Albert Eustace Haydon of the University of Chicago in 1919. The writer gladly acknowledges his unusual indebtedness to Prof. Haydon for inspiration to undertake this study, and for supervising the writing of the manuscript. Thanks are also due to Dr. Berthold Laufer for helpful suggestions.

The fact that there are few written sources outside the Chinese language has made this study on the one hand more difficult and on the other hand more interesting. It is hoped that it will form a contribution towards a better understanding of the Chinese religion.

## I. INTRODUCTION

### I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF SZECHUAN PROVINCE

Szechuan lies on the extreme west of China. It is a whole nation in itself, having a population of over 60,000,000 and an area of over

218,000 square miles. In the center of the province is the great red-sandstone basin, in which the soil is exceedingly fertile. Here the altitude varies from 900 to 2,000 feet above sea level. Rainfall is abundant, and it almost never snows. Trees and vegetables are green throughout the year. The farms often yield four crops annually, and a family can support itself on three or four acres of land. A part of this basin is the Chengtu plain, where there is an extensive irrigation system, and which is one of the most thickly populated country districts in the world.

On the north and west of the province are high mountains, inhabited for the most part by aborigines. To the west of Szechuan lies Tibet, "the roof of the world," and to the south are the mountainous provinces of Kueichow and Yunnan. In Szechuan, Kueichow, Yunnan, and Tibet, more than 100 tribes of aborigines inhabit the high, mountainous districts, while the rich lowlands are in the possession of the Chinese.

Great salt deposits that seem to be inexhaustible occur in some parts of the province. Coal is found almost everywhere. It is known that there are deposits of gold, copper, and iron, but, because of the lack of machinery, mining is not a main occupation of the people. Silk-raising is an important industry.

The word Szechuan means four rivers. The province contains four great rivers and many tributaries that serve as arteries of trade. There are also many overland routes, one leading through Yachow and Tatsienlu to Tibet, one northward through Chengtu and Songpan to the high grasslands on the northwest of Szechuan, one southward from Suifu through Yunnan Province, and one overland to Peking. Because of these and other trade routes, commerce plays a large part in the lives of the people of Szechuan. The main occupation, however, is agriculture.

Even in the red-sandstone basin, nature has been at work for thousands of years, resulting in erosion and folding of the rock strata, so that many natural wonders occur in the province. In places, the rock strata have been twisted and folded almost beyond belief; in other localities the sandstone has been entirely eroded away, exposing rugged limestone cliffs often abounding with natural caves. Beautiful waterfalls are not uncommon. One often sees rocks that have been washed or eroded into strange or striking shapes, or mountains that tower majestically over surrounding valleys. On the borders of Tibet are mountains capped with perennial snow. West China has some of the most beautiful, most picturesque, and strangest scenery in the

world. "Szechuan is a spooky place" is a proverb among the common people.

## 2. THE HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE

In the past centuries there have been many floods and occasional droughts. More than 1,000 years ago Suifu was destroyed by flood. The city was then rebuilt on higher ground on the opposite side of the Min River. This calamity has never recurred, and the city is now again in the more favorable location at the junction of the Yangtse and the Min Rivers. In the summertime there are terrific thunderstorms. Pestilences sweep across the land, striking terror into the hearts of the people, and killing hundreds and sometimes thousands.

Into this fertile province the Chinese came about 300 years before Christ. They soon took possession of the lowlands, although the history of Suifu says that Chu Ko Liang finally drove the aborigines out of that city after the time of Christ.

One outstanding event in the history of the province is its almost complete depopulation, during the years 1643 to 1648, by Tsang Shien Tsong, one of the most cruel rulers that ever lived. Killing off every man, woman, or child who refused to join his ranks and many of his own followers, he almost made that fair province a wilderness. After the death of Tsang Shien Tsong, settlers came from other provinces, so that Szechuan was soon again the scene of a thriving population.

## 3. CONTACTS WITH THE REST OF CHINA AND WITH OTHER RACES

There is a common conception that until very recent times China has been isolated from the rest of the world. The great wall, the Pacific Ocean, the plateau of Tibet, and the high mountains between China and India are assumed to have been efficient barriers to inter-racial contacts.

Among anthropologists, the fact that few if any groups of people have long been isolated is gaining general acceptance. Diffusion of culture, although it cannot explain all social phenomena, is receiving a larger emphasis than before. Able sinologues have dwelt on the isolation of the Middle Kingdom during the past milleniums,<sup>1</sup> but there is increasing evidence that this isolation has been more or less fictitious.

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<sup>1</sup> Pott, F. L. Hawks, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, 1915, pp. 1, 3.

In the year 65 A. D. the Emperor of China sent envoys to India to learn about the teachings of Buddha.<sup>1</sup> It is safe to assume that he would not have done so had not China had previous contacts with India. In A. D. 621 Zoroastrianism was introduced into China, Muhammedanism in 628, and Nestorianism in 631.<sup>2</sup> There is evidence of a Jewish community in China which disappeared in comparatively recent times.

According to Gowen many foreigners were resident in China in the ninth century.<sup>3</sup> Marco Polo arrived in A. D. 1271, remaining for 17 years and visiting many parts of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> Wars have been fought with Burmah, with the Turks, and with the Russians, and at one time Chinese dominion extended to the shores of the Black and the Caspian seas.<sup>5</sup>

The works of Dr. Berthold Laufer, the great American sinologue, contain a large amount of evidence of diffusions of culture between China and Japan, the Philippines, India, Persia, and even Europe.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gowen, Herbert H., *An Outline History of China*, 1913, p. 102.

Pott, F. L. Hawks, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, 1915, p. 38.

Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History*, 1914, pp. 53, 84.

<sup>2</sup> Gowen, H. H., *An Outline History of China*, 1913, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Gowen, H. H., *An Outline History of China*, 1913, p. 156.

Williams, *A History of China*, 1897, p. 42.

Pott, F. L. Hawks, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, 1915, p. 80.

Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History*, 1914, p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *A History of China*, 1897, pp. 32-35.

Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History*, 1914, p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> Laufer, Berthold, *Ivory in China*, 1925, pp. 14, 50, 56.

“ “ Tobacco and Its Use, 1924, pp. 2-3.

“ “ The Chinese Gateway, 1922, p. 1.

“ “ Sino-Iranica, 1919, pp. 1, 376.

“ “ Chinese Clay Figures, 1914, Part I, pp. 231-4, 243-4, 246, 249.

“ “ Jade, 1912, *Int.*, pp. 2, 5; pp. 23, 25, 292.

NOTE.—Since the point we are making may be considered open to question, we are adding other references showing inter-racial contacts between China and other nations.

1. Cole, Fay-Cooper, *The Tinguian*, 1922, pp. 237, 241-2, 247, 260, 396, 413, 414.

2. Pott, F. L. Hawks, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, 1915, pp. 54, 58, 59, 73, 79, 80.

3. Williams, E. T., *China Yesterday and Today*, 1923, pp. 339-40, 341-44.

4. Parker, E. H., *China Past and Present*, 1903, pp. 6, 10, 13-14.



In *Sino-Iranica* he shows that a large number of cultivated plants have been brought from distant lands and made to enrich the agricultural life of China. To quote Dr. Laufer :

We know that Iranian peoples once covered an immense territory, extending all over Chinese Turkistan, migrating into China, coming into contact with Chinese, and exerting a profound influence on nations of other stock, notably Turks and Chinese. The Iranians were the great mediators between the West and the East, conveying the heritage of Hellenistic ideas to central and eastern Asia and transmitting valuable plants and goods of China to the Mediterranean area. Their activity is of world-historical significance, but without the records of the Chinese we should be unable to grasp the situation thoroughly. The Chinese were positive utilitarians and always interested in matters of reality: they have bequeathed to us a great amount of useful information on Iranian plants, products, animals, minerals, customs, and institutions, which is bound to be of great service to science.<sup>1</sup>

Szechuan has been rich in racial contacts. Many wars have been fought between the Chinese and the aborigines, and these continue to the present day. The Chinese, being more numerous, better organized, and more highly civilized, have always in the end been victorious. There have also been wars between the inhabitants of Szechuan and those of other parts of China.<sup>2</sup>

Commerce, perhaps, has been of even greater importance. Quantities of hides, medicines, and other raw materials are shipped from Tibet and from the various aboriginal districts into the center of the province, and thence down the Yangtse River. Rice, tea, clothing, and other commodities are sent back in return. Before the completion of the railroad from Haiphong to Yunnanfu, Suifu was the shipping-place for most of the exports of Yunnan Province. When undisturbed by civil wars, the Yangtse River and its tributaries carry a tremendous amount of commerce.

The language spoken by the Chinese of Szechuan is the mandarin, which is used by about two hundred and fifty million Chinese people. The written language is the same throughout all China. Until very recent times the old system of examinations in the Chinese Classics, and the appointment of officials from Peking, further served to connect the lives of the Szechuanese with the rest of the nation. Chinese scholars went from Szechuan to Peking to continue their studies or to compete in the examinations. Officials from other parts of the empire came to help govern Szechuan. Through these contacts, through wars and pilgrimages, through commerce, and through the

<sup>1</sup> Laufer, Berthold, *Sino-Iranica*, 1919, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Pott, F. L. Hawks, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, 1915, p. 41.

interchange of literature, the people of Szechuan have been brought into contact with the rest of China and with other parts of the world.

#### 4. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE

It is a well-known fact that in China the family and not the individual is the social unit. The rights of individuals are subordinated to those of the family group. Property generally belongs to the family. When a new couple is married, they do not live in a separate house, but in a part of the groom's family home, with his parents and the families of his brothers. This principle affects the entire social, ethical, and religious world of the Szechuanese. Religion is a family and a community affair. Ethics are social. Engagements and marriages are family affairs, contracted by representatives of the families rather than by the individuals concerned.<sup>1</sup>

Filial piety is the cardinal virtue. One of the worst things that can be said about anyone is that he is unfilial. Filial piety requires that a child show love and respect to his parents and elders and to his ancestors for three generations. This virtue has been the cement that has strengthened and held together Chinese society for millenniums. Many of the legends are such as will develop filial piety in the hearts of the young. The results are partially manifested in elaborate funerals and in the erection of expensive tombs for the ancestors.

The dualistic *yinyang* conception, which has been a part of the thought form of the Chinese for millenniums, vitally affects the social life. The *yin* is the female principle, and is lower, inferior to, and weaker than the *yang*, the male principle. Happiness and prosperity depend on the keeping of this female principle subordinate to the male. Women, therefore, have always been given a subordinate position. The husband is master, and is morally and religiously ruler over his wife. Women must accept the religion of their husbands.

#### 5. THE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGION IN SZECHUAN PROVINCE

In the preface of Dore's monumental work, *Researches Into Chinese Superstitions*, the following statement is made:

Real China exists little in the Open Ports. Civilization has there done its work, and raised the Chinaman to a higher level than his fellow countrymen. Whosoever, therefore, would study him in real life, must needs see him in

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<sup>1</sup> There are great changes taking place in China which will profoundly affect social life and customs, and in the end will affect religion.

the remote regions, the quaint old towns, and the secluded villages of some distant province.<sup>1</sup>

The second sentence of this statement may be seriously questioned. The fact that a Chinese wears foreign clothing, smokes foreign cigarettes, plays foreign *bogch* (poker), and drinks foreign liquor, does not prove that he has been raised above his fellow countrymen in a distant village. The first and third sentences are true, and Szechuan, situated far from the seacoast, with only one treaty port and no foreign concessions, offers an unique opportunity to study the Chinese religion as it has been handed down through the past ages.

One day in Shanghai the writer heard a brass band in the street below. Looking out of the window, he saw a great Buddhist funeral procession. In front were two gigantic deities pushed along in carts constructed for the purpose. The deities were to clear the road of demons. Then followed six bands, three using Chinese musical instruments and three foreign. For tunes the latter were using Christian hymns. The mourners were riding in foreign cabs. Such a foreignized religious ceremony is at present never seen in West China. The student of religion has in Szechuan Province an excellent opportunity to study the religion of the Chinese people, not to mention the numerous tribes of aborigines about which comparatively little is known.

#### 6. THE WRITER'S PREPARATION <sup>2</sup>

The religious and social life of the Chinese people in Szechuan is exceedingly complex, and one might well despair of becoming a master of the Chinese language or of the Chinese religion, even in a lifetime. The writer has had fair success with the Chinese language, and has had 13 years of contact with the Szechuanese people. Most of this contact has been very friendly, and has included all classes, from the child and the coolie to the high official, the scholar and the priest. He has spent weeks in Chinese villages where foreigners are seldom seen, and, as zoological collector for the Smithsonian Institution, has travelled beyond Tatsienlu in Tibet and as far north as Songpan. He has spent several summers on Mt. Omei, and has visited Washan. He has had contacts with the Lolo, the Chuan Miao and other aborigines, and has crossed overland from Suifu to Yunnanfu and

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<sup>1</sup> Dore, Henry S. D., *Researches Into Chinese Superstitions*, Vol. I, 1915, Int., pp. i-ii.

<sup>2</sup> The written sources on the religion of Szechuan Province are so meager, and some of them are of such questionable value, that it has been necessary to secure most of the material for this paper at first hand in Szechuan Province.

thence to Haiphong in Indo-China. Among the Chinese whom he has met are many well-known Christian leaders, army officials, Chinese government officials of influence, one of the leading Buddhists of China, a Da Yung Fah Si, and many others.

The following pages are an attempt to present objectively the religious life of the Chinese of Szechuan.

#### 7. THE RELATION OF RELIGION TO THE BASAL HUMAN NEEDS

The writer believes that the basal human needs are for food, protection or security, sex, and play or amusement. Although the soil is very fertile in Szechuan, the density of the population makes the procuring of food a great problem. If no rain falls for an unusual length of time, people become panic-stricken, the prices of rice and of other foods climb rapidly, and thousands of poor people are threatened with starvation. This is also apt to be true in time of war. In the summer of 1925 the price of rice was so high in Kiating and in a number of other cities that only the rich could secure enough to eat. Well-informed Chinese said that many became half-starved, and in this weakened condition contracted disease and died. "They were half starved and half killed by disease." In Suifu this happened to an old church member. In time of threatened drought or of civil war, the suffering on the part of the poor people is intense. All over China one of the most common ways of greeting is by asking, "Have you eaten your rice?"

Security is needed from the forces of nature, from wild animals, from enemies, and from disease. Men build houses as a protection from storm, from the heat and sunshine of summer, and from the winter cold. In Szechuan occur floods, terrific storms with rain, wind, and thunder, and droughts, and from these protection must be sought. In the mountains there is danger from rolling stones. Wild leopards and other animals roam in the woods.

The need of safety from disease is keenly felt by the Szechuanese. A common pimple or boil easily becomes infected and may cause death. To this the writer can bear testimony, for he has had to be lanced by a physician three different times. Two of his best Chinese friends died of such infections. A physician who has spent many years in West China printed the following paragraph in the West China Missionary News:

Long experience in China has taught me the danger of face infections, especially those of the lip. The purpose of this short article is not primarily to scare people. But there is such an element of danger in these infections that I

feel constrained to sound a warning about them. Not only are the Chinese afflicted with these infections, but foreigners as well. We should know how to care for ourselves and be able to give advice to the Chinese on this matter.<sup>1</sup>

Malaria spreads over communities, causing suffering to thousands. Smallpox, typhus, typhoid, pneumonia, measles, and many other diseases spread from district to district, filling the hearts of the people with terror, and causing untold suffering and death.

The following story illustrates the fear of sickness and death on the part of the Szechuanese. It was told by a Chinese preacher. In ancient times there was a great Chinese warrior named Tsang Fei. He was noted for his bravery. He was unafraid of most of the things that cause ordinary or even brave men to fear. All efforts to inspire fear in his heart were in vain. Finally, a friend wrote the word *bin*, meaning sickness, on the palm of his hand and showed it to Tsang Fei. The great warrior was speechless. Of that he was afraid. Sickness is accompanied by weakness and pain, and is often followed by death, and death is dreaded by all.

The fact that all diseases are supposed to be caused by demons does not lessen, but increases the dread of disease. The demons are thought to be frightful in appearance, and cruel and evil in purpose. The sick man imagines himself to be the victim of a demon. Sometimes the demon is inside him, and native doctors sometimes puncture the bodies of the patients with needles to let the demon out.

As a respite from worry and toil, the Chinese in Szechuan feels the need of, keenly desires, and enjoys amusements, play, and recreation. This is true of men and women of all ages. With the grownups it finds expression in the popularity of the theatricals, of gambling, and of feasts. Often this need is met by a social visit with a friend in the teashop. We shall see later that this is an important element in the religious festivals, and in the ordinary programs of Buddhist and Taoist temples.

One will not be long in Szechuan before he realizes that everybody is seeking happiness. In many important places he sees the word *fuh* which means happiness. If he questions one of the many pilgrims on the way to or from Mt. Omei, the conversation may run approximately as follows: "Where are you going?" "I am going to Mt. Omei." "Why do you go there and worship the idols?" "I am seeking happiness." "What do you mean by happiness?" "That our family may prosper, that we may be protected from diseases and calamities, that our crops may be good, that we may grow wealthier.

<sup>1</sup> West China Missionary News, May, 1925, p. 37.

and that we may have many children." In other words, happiness, as used in Szechuan, is an inclusive word, meaning the satisfying life. All are seeking it, and the religious rites and ceremonies are the techniques for its attainment.

One is impressed with the fact that in Szechuan religion is very closely and vitally related to human life and human needs. This is expressed in Dore's Chinese Superstitions, Vol. III, preface, page ix, in the following words:

Religion in China is not an effort to apprehend the Infinite, love and enjoy it; it is not man's nature clamouring for food necessary for life and perfection; nor is it a duty to serve the deity directly. So far as these three volumes impress us, it yokes rather the spiritual world, the superhuman element in which man believes, to the needs and welfare of humanity.

## II. THE ANCESTRAL CULT AND DEMONS

### I. THE IDEA OF THE SOUL

We have seen that in China the family and not the individual is the social unit. Newly married couples generally do not establish separate homes of their own. They become a part of a large family group, of which the oldest members are the heads. The individual earnings are often shared with the family. If a member of the group acquires wealth, it may be necessary for him to assume the support of his parents and of poorer relatives.

The deceased ancestors are considered a part of the family group. They are the most honored members. There is a state of interdependence between the dead and the living. The living descendants provide food, clothing, money, and other necessities, and in return receive the help and the protection of the departed ancestors.

Sometimes a person is scared by a mad dog and takes a certain kind of medicine which destroys the kidneys and causes death. The popular explanation is that the dog has stolen his shadow and that this is the cause of his death. A variation of this explanation is that the dog has bitten his shadow. Here we have the conception that the shadow is a vital part, if not the soul or a soul, of the human being.

The Chinese have the idea of a multiple soul, three *huen* and seven *peh*. This makes it possible for them to commemorate the dead person at the grave and also at the ancestral tablet, considering that the deceased is present in both places and also in hades. For all practical purposes, however, we may speak of one soul or spirit as representing that which is most vital and valuable in the individual.

In ancient China there was a custom, which probably exists in some parts of China to-day, of calling the soul, soon after death, to come back. In Szechuan there are ceremonies by which the soul is enticed into the ancestral tablet, which becomes its dwelling place. Afterwards the ancestral tablet is regarded as the ancestor himself, and is treated as such. The writer once offered a poor woman, who was having much difficulty in making ends meet, a good price for her ancestral tablet. She exclaimed in surprise, "Do you think I would sell my parents?" Several years ago an enquirer applied for baptism. The foreign pastor asked, "Have you discarded your housegods?" A Chinese Christian added, "Have you destroyed your ancestral tablets?" The man was really interested in Christianity. With tears in his eyes he said, "My dear old mother, do you think I would reject her?" He never united with the church.

The ancestral tablets are carefully preserved either in the homes or in ancestral temples. At the middle of the seventh moon, at the winter solstice, and on the anniversaries of the births and the deaths of both parents, the ancestors are "worshipped." That is, food is offered, money is provided, incense is burnt, and there are the usual prayers and prostrations.<sup>1</sup>

There is a tendency in Szechuan to connect snakes with ancestors. If a large snake appears in a Chinese home he is not killed, but incense is burnt to him, and the inmates prostrate themselves before him. They regard him as the ancestor who has returned to visit his descendants.

A visit to a Chinese graveyard will furnish a probable explanation. Many of the old tombs are open. Into them broken dishes, bones, stones, and other débris have been thrown, so that they become excellent hiding places for the snakes. Serpents of different sizes, and their skins and skeletons, are often seen in and around the tombs, so that it is easy and natural for the primitive mind to regard snakes as souls of the dead.

## 2. THE ANCESTRAL CULT

The Chinese word which is translated as worship is *gin*. It means to honor, respect, venerate, or worship. It is often used in conjunction with the word *bai*, which is similar in meaning. These words vary in meaning from common respect paid to a friend or to an object to the idea of worship paid to a deity. What the Chinese think about is reverencing their ancestors. What the typical occidental thinks of

<sup>1</sup> West China Missionary News, September 1917, pp. 22-23.

when speaking of ancestor worship is venerating the ancestors as deities. Instead of misunderstanding and mislabeling these rites as "ancestor worship," it might be better to speak of the ancestral cult. The Chinese regard the ancestors with loving reverence, of which the burning of incense, the prayers, the offering of food and spirit money, and the prostrations are the outward expressions.

The memorial ceremonies of the ancestral cult are performed by the oldest son. They cannot be performed by a girl or by a woman. It is exceedingly important that the ceremonies be performed at the proper seasons. For these reasons every family is very anxious to have sons, and, once they are secured, to protect them from harm. Failure to give birth to sons is a sufficient reason for divorce. Often the solution is found by the taking of a second wife, or a concubine. Sometimes sons are adopted into the family.

### 3. THE BELIEF IN DEMONS

If due reverence is offered to the ancestors, and the needed food, money, and other articles are provided, the ancestor is beneficent, and aids and protects his descendants. If he is neglected, he does harm to his descendants and others. He becomes a demon. In the course of time, there are naturally many without descendants who can conduct the funeral rites, and others who are neglected by their unfilial descendants. They then become demons, and demons are the causes of all diseases and calamities.

Dangerous rivers are supposed to be the abode of demons who try to drown other people. When drowned, the victims become demons dwelling in the water. The natives explain that the only way in which they can escape their demonic condition is to cause others to drown. When a person is drowning, it is thought that a water-demon is responsible, and is trying in this way to escape the demonic state. If one rescues the drowning person, he will incur the displeasure of the demon, and may himself be drowned instead of the original victim. For this reason it is sometimes hard to get a native of Szechuan to save a drowning person.<sup>1</sup>

The *tiao gin kwei* are those who have died by hanging, and can only escape their demon existence by causing others to be hanged. Women who die in childbirth are called *ts'an lan kuci*, and to escape their

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<sup>1</sup>One day I was crossing a stream near Uen Chuan Shien. We had just passed a village of Wasi aborigines. The bridge gave way, and one of our coolies fell into the swollen stream and was soon drowned. We appealed to the villagers to assist us, but not one of them would move, fearing that if they tried to save the coolie the demon would drown them.



condition and to become reborn as human beings they must cause others to die in childbirth. *Mo gin kwei* have been killed by having their throats cut, and try to cause others to die in that way so that they can escape from their condition.

#### 4. THE CH'IN MIN CEREMONY

On the fifteenth day of the seventh moon, there is what corresponds to the All Saints' day as it was originally observed in Europe.<sup>1</sup> Elaborate ceremonies are held. Amid the beating of gongs and the playing of musical instruments, much paper money is burnt. At night lights are set floating on streams or rivers. Having received the money and other offerings, the demons are expected to follow the lights away, leaving the community free from their danger.

#### 5. DEMON POSSESSION

An insane person is thought to be possessed or controlled by a demon. That is why Europeans and Americans sometimes confidently assert that there is demon possession in China. Near Li Duan Ts'ang lived a girl who had spells of insanity. Her relatives believed that she was possessed by a demon, and were afraid of her. They began to talk of putting her to death. She heard them, and was wise enough to know what it meant. She said, "If you kill me, I will come back and harm you as long as you live." Thereafter they were afraid to harm her, and treated her with much consideration.

There was a robber who lived at Huen Kiang. He robbed and killed a rich acquaintance. Later the spirit of the victim haunted him in his dreams. He became ill and died, asserting that he was being done to death by the spirit of the victim. Then the son of the robber also began to have bad dreams, and saw the spirit of the victim coming to injure him. He felt that the spirit of the victim was near him all the time trying to harm him. He sought the aid of priests, but all to no avail. Finally he secured the help of a local magistrate, a man of considerable influence. This man said to the spirit, "Come, now, you have done enough harm already. Go away and let this man alone." The spirit obeyed, and the son was saved.

In Suifu a merchant named Ch'en had two daughters and a son. Three years before the events we are about to relate, Mrs. Ch'en had died in Chungking. At the time of the death of his wife, Mr. Ch'en had opened a shop in Suifu, and on account of his business was unable

<sup>1</sup> Dore, Henry S. D., *Researches Into Chinese Superstitions*, 1915-22, Vol. I, p. 62.

to attend the funeral. He sent thirty dollars for the funeral expenses in care of a friend who was to make the proper arrangements and pay the bills. The friend did things very poorly, merely covering the coffin with a little dirt. The money he saved he used himself. The second daughter married, but her husband soon died. Later she married a man named Tsu. This man Tsu previously had a wife, but it is thought that he made away with her in order to marry the second daughter. The oldest daughter married a man named Tsao. Mr. Tsu died at Chungking and the second daughter came to Suifu. Her father was about to remarry when a curious thing happened.

The second daughter became black in the face and began to utter words incoherently. She then began to talk as though she were her mother. She said that the reason her mother had not complained before was that in hades when she first intended to complain the god told her that she should first suffer misery three years in hades, then make her complaints; that Mr. Tsu, on hearing that the second daughter was about to be married, seriously objected, and raised a row with the dead Mrs. Ch'en; that since Mrs. Tsao was unable to bear children, Mrs. Ch'en demanded that a second wife or a concubine be found for Mr. Tsao so that he should not be without descendants; and lastly, that the grave of Mrs. Ch'en must be put in first-class condition.

Mr. Ch'en proposed that much paper or spirit money should be burnt for Mrs. Ch'en so that she should have plenty of money to spend in hades. Mrs. Ch'en replied that this was not a matter of primary importance, but that she would permit Mr. Ch'en to spend much money in this way. She said that the king told her in hades that within three days she must compel Mr. Ch'en to agree to carry out all these matters. If Mr. Ch'en did not, the god would rob him of his soul so that he would die.

Mr. Ch'en agreed to all these conditions, and secured two middle men who were to guarantee the execution of all these demands. They were all carried out, so that Mr. Ch'en suffered no harm.

It was believed that Mrs. Ch'en had come from hades, and taken possession of the second daughter, Mrs. Tsu, and had used Mrs. Tsu's mouth so as to be able to speak. It was asserted that spirits cannot speak audibly because they have no bodies.

## 6. SUMMARY

So prominent is the belief in and fear of demons in Szechuan that one is tempted to say with Dore that the essence of the Chinese

religion is the belief in and fear of demons, who are thought to be the cause of all diseases and calamities, and the attempt to ward them off and secure safety and happiness by means of marvellous, super-human power that is made available through charms, amulets, incantations, priests, and gods.<sup>1</sup> This, however, would be an exaggeration. We merely note that protection against demons is a very important part of the religious technique in Szechuan.

### III. BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH, AND BURIAL

#### I. VARIETY OF CUSTOMS IN SZECHUAN PROVINCE

To most individuals, birth, marriage, and death are the outstanding events of human life. It is natural that many religious rites and ceremonies group themselves around these events.

While general resemblances between the birth, marriage, and burial customs are noticeable throughout all China, there are also many variations. These are evident even in different parts of Szechuan Province. Adam Grainger, in a little booklet entitled *Studies in Chinese Life*, describes in detail birth, marriage, and burial customs in Szechuan. Mr. J. Mortimore, in a series of short articles, has also described the burial customs. A book entitled *Chinese Culture and Christianity*, by J. L. Stewart, and based primarily on conditions in Szechuan, has recently appeared. In these descriptions one is impressed more by the differences than by the resemblances.

It is probable that the religious and social customs of Szechuan are a blend of the old Chinese culture with other elements that are aboriginal, or have been brought in from India, Tibet, or possibly other countries. It is not always possible to distinguish between them. The Miao and the Chinese of Szechuan both have the Pan Ku myth, monosyllabic languages with five tones, and many customs in common, but it cannot always be ascertained which has borrowed from the other. It seems wise and necessary to limit ourselves to those elements which are probably general in the province, and to pay special attention to certain burial customs which can be traced back into antiquity, and which throw light on the development of the Chinese religion.

#### 2. THE DESIRE FOR AND THE METHODS OF SECURING CHILDREN

Like other branches of the human race, the Chinese desire a numerous posterity. This is intensified by the need of sons to conduct the ancestral ceremonies.

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<sup>1</sup>Dore, Henry S. D., *Researches Into Chinese Superstitions*, Vol. IV, p. 431; Vol. V, pp. ii-iii.

There are several ways by which people believe that they can secure sons. A common way is to pray to one of the goddesses who gives sons, either the Song Tsi Kuan Yin or the Song Tsi Niang Niang. The Goddess Of Mercy is sometimes entirely consecrated to this purpose, and holds a child in her lap. Sometimes the priests are hired to read the sacred scriptures in the homes.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes a person will pray for a son, and if the prayer is answered he will present a wooden image of a child as a thank-offering to the deity. If a good number of these are at the feet of the god, it adds considerably to his prestige. If a barren woman steals one of these wooden images, she will surely give birth to a son, after which she is supposed to return the image. The stealing of other sacred articles will cause the mother to bear a son. Among these are the headcloth of an idol, sacrificial food, or eggs at a marriage feast.<sup>2</sup>

In some parts of the province one will occasionally see a round hole in the rock resembling the female sex-organ. It is believed that if a person succeeds in throwing a stone into certain of these holes his wife will give birth to a son. One of these holes is at Tao-si-kuan, on the Min River between Suifu and Kiating. Two others are near Suifu, one across the Min River near Tiao-huang-lo, and the other beyond Lankuang at Da Er O, or Strike Son Hole.

### 3. BIRTH CUSTOMS

Before a child is born, a priest or "sorcerer" is generally called to exorcise demons or other influences.<sup>3</sup> At birth, firecrackers or other means may be used to scare away evil spirits.<sup>4</sup> At a later time the goddess of progeny is worshipped, and a feast is held.<sup>5</sup>

Those who have the advantage of modern hospitals, with trained physicians and nurses, and anesthetics, can hardly appreciate the excruciating pains suffered by Chinese mothers. Sometimes delivery is impossible, resulting in the death of both mother and child. At other times the suffering is multiplied many fold by a slow and difficult delivery. The only duty of the female deity, the Tsua Sen Niang Niang, is to secure quick and safe delivery. The spirit tablet of

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<sup>1</sup> When a Buddhist or a Taoist priest reads his scriptures ceremonially, it is customary for foreigners to say that he is praying. He is really reading his sacred scripture, which is considered an act of great virtue that will move the gods and bring good fortune.

<sup>2</sup> West China Missionary News, January, 1921, pp. 9-11.

<sup>3</sup> Grainger, Adam, Studies in Chinese Life, 1921, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the Tsua Sen Niang Niang is brought to the home when necessary. There are many other methods. A charm may be written and pasted on the body of the mother. A priest may come to the house and read scriptures or perform ceremonial rites. If a mother dies in childbirth, she is not admitted into hades, but becomes a demon called a *ts'an lan kuci*.

After the child is born, there is something dangerous or unclean about the mother. For this reason she is not allowed to leave the room of her confinement for a month. Some of the ideas concerning childbirth are given in the Classic Of The Bloody Basin, the writer's translation of which is given below in full:

### THE TRUE CLASSIC OF THE BLOODY BASIN

(Outside Title)

### THE TRUE CLASSIC OF (OR FOR) THE SAVING OF MOTHERS BY DI TSANG P'USAH

(Inside Title)

Reprinted in the fourth moon of the fourth year of the Republic.

From Shansi Province, Shanuen Shien, published by the disciple of Li Yiu Lin. The printing boards at the T'ong Yih shop in Suifu.

The True Classic Of The Saving Of Mothers From The Bloody Basin.

Correct words for purifying the mouth.

*Shiu li shiu li mo ho shiu li shiu shiu li so p'o ho.*

Correct words for cleansing the body of impurities.

*Shiu do li shiu do li shiu mo li so p'o ho*

Correct words for pacifying the Tu Di gods.

*La mo shan man do mo t'o lan ngan du lu du lu tsac wei so p'o ho.*

For respectfully calling the eight gods.

*La mo Kuan Si Yin P'usah mo ho sah,*

*La mo Mi Leh Fuh P'usah mo ho sah,*

*La mo Shu K'ong Chang P'usah mo ho sah,*

*La mo P'ushien Fuh P'usah mo ho sah,*

*La mo Gin Kang Seo P'usah mo ho sah,*

*La mo Miao gih Shiang P'usah mo ho sah,*

*La mo Ch'u Tsai Chang P'usah mo ho sah,*

*La mo Di Tsang Wang P'usah mo ho sah.*

Verse for beginning the Classic—

O marvellous way, so lofty and so deep,

A myriad ages one can hardly meet;

But now I see and hear, can grasp and keep;

With joy I'll tell the truth to others as it meet.

The True Classic For The Saving of Mothers By Di Tsang Wang P'usah.

Reverently calling the gods.

Shi T'ien Fuh P'usah,

Mi T'o Fuh P'usah,

Ru Lai Fuh P'usah,

Shih T'ien Nien Wang Da Di P'usah,

Ih Ch'ih Gieu Lan P'usah.

La mo Gieu K'u Gieu Lan P'usah who pronounces the following incantation: "*Do ch'ueh lan ngan do fah lu lai t'ang shuen i ho gieu lan uin t'o sen.*" I now will cultivate and preserve and always read and chant (this classic) in order that I may save my female relatives from that punishment which befalls them when after ten months of pregnancy they have given birth. I will constantly chant with my mouth this classic for the rescuing of mothers. When Nien Wang in his dwelling brings the women to him and reproves them for their sins, if one chants the True Classic it interferes with the star of calamity. I pray that my female relatives may early escape from the calamities, and I, the son, receive the punishment, which I should. I have already prayed and obtained the saving from calamities by the goddess Kuan Shi Yin who by the pure water from her vial washed away the body of evil sins from all people. The female relatives do not understand the meaning of this, but let all kinds of sin and evil be upon me. Every day I will chant this classic which frees from calamity. May my mother escape from all earthly evils, and our family cultivate themselves in mercy and righteousness.

A chant to be accompanied with the burning of incense.

Ti Tsang P'usah, the merciful gods of the ten courts, the gods of the three terraces, and of the eight thrones, the nine ministers, the rulers of hell and Tsen O. If you invite the Buddhist priests to proclaim abroad this classic, hell will change into heaven.

La mo Di Tsang Wang P'usah mo ho sah (repeat three times).

The Faith Of The Bloody Basin Classic Explained By The Great Tibetan Orthodox Religion Which Was Spoken By Buddha.

Once upon a time the god Muh Lien went to U Tseo Tsua Yang Shien, and saw the hell of the bloody basin pool eighty-four (probably li) wide, in which there were one hundred and twenty things, iron crossbeams, iron pillars, iron cangues, and iron locks, and saw a multitude of the non-Buddhist women of the earth with unkempt hair all dishevelled, and long cangues and bound hands being punished in hell. The keepers of hell and the king of demons three times daily took bloody water and ordered the women to drink it. The sinners did not dare to obey, therefore they were beaten with an iron club by the Lord of Hell until they screamed. Muh Lien had compassion and asked the Ruler of Hades saying, "I do not see the non-Buddhist women's husbands undergoing this punishment. I only see many women suffering this bitter pain." The Ruler of Hades replied to the Learned One, "This does not concern the husbands, but it is simply that women in giving birth allow the bloody dew to defile the gods in the earth. If the unclean garments are taken and washed in creeks or rivers, the water carries the defilement and injures all the righteous men and women of the faith who secure water and boil tea to offer to all the holy ones (gods, saints, etc.), causing it to be unclean. The Great General of Heaven

writes down their names, records them in the book of good and evil, to await until, within a hundred years, life is ended, when they receive this bitter recompense." Muh Lien was very compassionate, and quickly asked the Ruler of Hades, "How can we reward the virtue of mothers in bearing children so that they can escape from the hell of the bloody basin pool?" The Ruler of Hades replied, "Only by carefully being filial, and men and women respectfully worshipping the Three Precious Ones and by observing the three years bloody basin fast, and assembling the festival for succeeding over the bloody basin, inviting Buddhist priests to chant this classic once, and when the time is fulfilled the repentance observances are completed, and then a boat of mercy will bear her over the River of Purgatory to the shore, and it will be seen that five lotus flowers appear in the bloody basin pool. The sinners will be glad, and will develop shame in their hearts, and they will be able to rise to the Buddhistic land. Then all the great gods and Muh Lien will inform and respectfully urge the unbelievers and the men and women who believe righteousness to quickly learn and cultivate virtue so as to remove the punishments and greatly alter the future course of events. Do not lose this teaching, for in ten thousand years you will not easily get it back." Buddha said, "If the people who believe in the classic of the bloody bowl write it and keep its instructions, it will cause them to secure the ascension to heaven of all their parents for three generations, and their enjoying all blessings—clothing and food of course, long life, wealth, and honor." Now, at this point (in the reading of this classic), the Heavenly Dragon, the eight grades of men, and the non-human beings are all filled with great joy and believe, receive, and obey this book, give a salute, and depart.

The Completion Of The Classic Of The Orthodox Tibetan Religion Explaining The Faith Of The Bloody Basin.

The Classic That Buddha Spoke Of The Great Grace Of Fathers And Mothers And Of Bones Of Unborn Babies.

I have heard thus, that once upon a time at Tsisou in the Kingdom of Shaewae, Buddha spoke to the gods of Kuh Duh Uen and to the 1,250 priests of Dae Pi Ch'iu, at which time the divine Ho Lan arose from his throne, with his hands offered obeisance to Buddha, and spoke these words: "What is greatest in the universe?" Buddha replied, "In the universe that which is weightiest and of most importance is the grace of fathers and mothers." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Will Buddha mercifully and kindly explain?" Buddha said, "When the child is in the womb of the mother for the first month, it is like pearls of dew on blades of grass." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Why do you say pearls of dew on blades of grass?" The Universally Honored One replied, "In the morning it collects, but at noon it evaporates. It is present only in the morning. It is not present in the afternoon. When the child is in the mother's womb for two months, it changes like snow crystals." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Why do you say snow crystals?" The Universally Honored One replied, "Like snow crystals in the air falling down. When the child has been in the womb for three months, it changes into a lump of blood six and three-tenths inches long." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Why do you say a lump of blood?" The Universally Honored One said, "In the first place, it may be called a lump of blood. In the second place it may be called a snow mountain. In the third place it may be called blood collected together. When the child has been in the mother's womb four months, it develops the four limbs." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Why do you say four

limbs?" The Universally Honored One replied, "First two hands appear like spring and summer. Later two feet appear like autumn and winter, and finally you call them four limbs. When the child has been in the mother's womb for five months, it develops the five lumps." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Why do you call them five lumps?" The Universally Honored One replied, "First, the skull develops, then the fanbones develop, then the two kneecaps, so they are called five lumps. When the child has been in the mother's womb for six months, it develops the six senses." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Why do you say the six senses?" The Universally Honored One replied, "Eyes can see color, ears can hear sound, the nose can smell all fragrances, the tongue can taste flavors, the body feels fineness and smoothness, and the mind can understand all things, so they are called the six senses, and are also called the six thieves. When the child has been in the womb of the mother seven months, it develops the seven kinds of bones." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Why do you call them the seven kinds of bones?" The Universally Honored One replied, "My mother bore me having bones of diamond that would not decay. Kuanyin P'usah was born having red lotus bones. Shen Uen Lohan when born had bones that are sacred relics. Wan Shen Di Wang was born having bones like the womb of a dragon and the body of a phoenix. The imperial officers and the prime minister are born with *keo lien shiao* (meaning not clear) bones, and the generals of war are born with bones of tigers and wolves. We, whether we are men or women, are born with three hundred and sixty joints. The bones of men and women are different. Bones of men develop from the head down. Bones of women develop from the soles of the feet upward. The large intestines are twelve feet long, just as a year has twelve months. The small intestines are twenty-four feet long, as the year has twenty-four semi-lunar periods. When the child has been in the womb of the mother eight months, it daily suffers eight kinds of hellish torments." Ho Lan asked Buddha, "Why do you call them eight kinds of hellish torments?" The Universally Honored One replied, "When the mother eats hot food, it is called the hellish torments of (boiling) kettle soup. When the mother eats cold food, it is called the hell of cold ice, When the mother is full (that is, when her stomach is full), it is called the hell of crushing stone. When the mother is hungry, it is called the hell of hungry demons. When the mother eats hard things, it is called the hell of the sword mountain. When the mother travels or is weary of labor, it the called the hell of pounding and beating (with pestles, mallets, etc.). When the mother is sitting down, it is called the hell of the iron bed. When the mother nods her head, it is called the hell of hanging upside down (the idea is that the nodding of the head causes the child to be turned upside down). When the child has been in the womb of the mother for nine months, it will daily turn over three times, and with both hands take hold of its mother's heart and liver, and twice (daily) turn its body and tread on the mother's backbone and thighs so that it tires her four limbs painfully, and all her joints are tightly stiffened. When the child has been in the mother's womb for ten months, you can see that it is about to be born. Daily it comes and congeals the mother's abdomen, and nightly it comes and congeals the mother's womb. When the time of birth arrives, then you should fear four kinds of evil birth. The first to fear is the grasp-dry-wood birth, the second to fear is the birth of stepping on the lotus flower (feet appearing first), the third dreadful birth is being born crosswise, and the fourth to dread is that of begging salt (probably with the hands appearing first). The middle fingers of filial children are hot



when they are born. When an unfilial child is born who in past existences has been your enemy, in two or three days of travail he will still be unborn, the whole family will be alarmed, and the mother's life will be lost because of the child. If men and women who believe wish to recompense their parents, they should copy this book, and with it exhort the people all around, spread abroad the teaching of filial piety, and contribute to the support of Buddhist priests, and they will secure the good health of their parents in this world, and cause them after death to rise to the land of Buddha. At this point the Heavenly Dragon, the Eight Divisions of Gods, and all men will greatly rejoice, believe, obey, perform a courtesy, and disperse. This is the end of the classic which is Buddha's words about the great grace of parents in regard to pregnancy.

The Words Of Buddha Which Are The Marvellous Classic Of Di Tsang P'usah For Salvation From Torments.

Once upon a time Di Tsang P'usah dwelt in the everbright land in the south, and used his pure, heavenly eyes, and saw in far away hades all human creatures who were undergoing torments—iron pestles and beaters, iron grinders, iron saws, kettle soup (boiling), fierce fire reaching to heaven, hungry people swallowing hot iron, thirsty people drinking melted brass, receiving all bitterness and vexations, having no rest. Di Tsang P'usah could not bear to see it, so he came from the south to the midst of hell, and was in the same apartment with Nien Wang, but slept in another bed. They discussed all the reasons: first, that possibly Nien Wang might not have judged justly; secondly, that possibly the documents of accusation were disposed of wrongly; thirdly, that possibly the god had wrongly caused individuals to die; and fourthly, that possibly sinners were allowed to suffer punishment beyond their due. Therefore, for these four reasons, if a good man or a believing woman has images made of Di Tsang Wang P'usah and causes the classic of Di Tsang P'usah to be read, calling out to Di Tsang P'usah, this person can certainly reach the western paradise before the face of O Mi T'o Fuh (Amitabha), and his body become pure like the lotus flower, which cannot be explained, and his six souls will become intelligent and can go anywhere, from Buddhaland to Buddhaland, and from one heaven to another. Any person who causes images of Di Tsang P'usah to be erected, and this classic to be read, and protects the name of Di Tsang P'usah, after he dies Di Tsang P'usah himself will come to welcome this person to be forever with Di Tsang P'usah. All divine creatures and men of the universe, and O Shiu Lo when they hear this classic which Buddha spoke, will rejoice, believe, obey, make an obeisance, and depart.<sup>1</sup>

After the month of confinement is over, the relatives and friends who have been given presents are invited to a feast.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. MARRIAGE

Up to very recent times it was customary in Szechuan for all marriages to be arranged by the parents through go-betweens. Even

<sup>1</sup> The above "classic" is evidently a translation into Chinese of a Tibetan book, and the incantations are transliterations of incantations used by the Tibetan lamas, having no meaning in the Chinese. This book, although it has sometimes been prohibited by progressive officials, is widely used and its ideas are generally accepted in West China.

<sup>2</sup> Grainger, Adam, *Studies In Chinese Life*, 1921, p. 6.

now the exceptions are few. The consent of the young couple was not asked, and they were not permitted to see each other until they met at the marriage ceremony. Social conditions are now in a process of change, and sometimes young people find a way of choosing their own life partners, but on the whole the old customs are still in vogue.

A family will generally resort to divination before approaching another family about the marriage of their son to a young woman. If results are assuring, a middle man is found. The middle man or woman takes presents when approaching the parents of the young lady. If the parents are willing to negotiate, they produce the girl's horoscope, with which the go-between returns to the boy's parents.<sup>1</sup> Again divination is resorted to. If the result is favorable, an authority on horoscopes is called, and the horoscopes of the two young people are compared.<sup>2</sup> If the results indicate that the marriage would be unlucky, the matter is dropped; if the opposite is true, there are further negotiations, and a lucky day is set for the exchange of horoscopes.<sup>3</sup> Presents, and sometimes money, are given to the parents of the young lady, who in turn provide a feast for all the guests.<sup>4</sup>

On the day of the wedding, which must be on a lucky day, there is a procession, and the bride is carried to the home of the groom in a *hua giao*, or flowery sedan chair, which is red in color and beautifully decorated.<sup>5</sup>

The bride says farewell to her parents, and departs with weeping.<sup>6</sup> The procession is led by musicians with gongs, drums, flutes, and other wind instruments.<sup>7</sup> Banners and other paraphernalia are carried.

On the back of the bridal chair one or two lighted lanterns are hung, although it is broad daylight, to keep the demons away. Old bronze mirrors, glass mirrors, and other charms are used. The bride is often clothed in special garments that are supposed to protect her from evil spirits.

On arriving at the home of the bridegroom, a cock is killed, and the blood is sprinkled in a circle around the flowery chair.<sup>8</sup> This is a

<sup>1</sup> Grainger, Adam, *Studies In Chinese Life*, 1921, pp. 8-9.

Stewart, James Livingstone, *Chinese Culture and Christianity*, 1926, pp. 144-5.

<sup>2</sup> Grainger, Adam, *Studies In Chinese Life*, 1921, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Stewart, James Livingstone, *Chinese Culture and Christianity*, 1926, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> Grainger, Adam, *Studies In Chinese Life*, 1921, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

further protection against demons. Then the bride enters her new home.

The bride is led to her place beside the bridegroom. Their first act is often to face the front door and worship heaven and earth.<sup>1</sup> Then they worship the housegods and pay their respects to the bridegroom's parents and ancestors. Finally, they bow to each other.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the guests bring presents to the new couple, and the customary wedding feast is held.

A widow does not generally remarry. A man may take several wives if he wishes and is able to support them. There is little ceremony when a widow is remarried or when a man, while his wife is still living, takes a second wife or concubine.

#### 5. DEATH AND THE FUNERAL PROCESSION

Soon after death cash paper is burnt to provide the spirit with travelling expenses for use on the way to hades. This is bound in small, square bundles. Mortimore has translated the inscription on the last bundles :

The recently deceased . . . (name) . . . whose earthly life began in (the reign of) . . . such and such a year . . . month . . . day . . . hour, in . . . province . . . prefecture . . . county . . . township . . . section at the place called . . . grew to manhood; enjoyed . . . years of life; the great sphere (of earthly existence) closed in (the reign of) . . . such and such a year . . . month . . . day . . . hour . . . while living at . . . province . . . prefecture . . . etc., death took place due to illness. This is personally-prepared cash paper for use en route, packet number . . . to defray expenses in the spirit world.

(To whom it may concern:) At each of the barriers by land and water and at fords, examine and take note and allow to pass without obstruction.

On the last package must also be written :

The year that the sky disappears;  
 The month when the fixed time is fulfilled;  
 The day that the end has come;  
 The hour when a standstill is reached.

Transform (that is, the paper is to be burnt and transmuted into paper currency).<sup>3</sup>

The first two paragraphs correspond very closely to what the Chuan Miao K'a Gi, who opens the way for the spirit of the dead person to hades, says as a part of the Chuan Miao funeral ceremonies. Mr. Mortimore also says that a careful watch is kept so that no one can

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> West China Missionary News, April, 1915, p. 26.

throw pieces of iron into the coffin for that would cause disaster to come to the descendants of the deceased. This also corresponds to one of the customs of Chuan Miao.

A priest or geomancer closes the coffin. He must also choose a lucky burying site where the *fengshui* is good. If it is not good, the descendants of the dead will have calamities and reverses and surely decline. If it is good, the descendants will prosper and be happy. A lucky day for burial must also be chosen.

It is believed that the soul goes to hades to be judged, and that there, in contrast to earthly conditions, judgment is just and in accordance with one's conduct on earth. In many Buddhist temples are scenes that portray judgment and punishment in hades. Sometimes hades is also represented in Taoist temples.

Before the funeral, Buddhist or Taoist priests are called to "open the way" for the soul to hades. This involves much ceremony, including the reading of scriptures and the worship of gods. The spirit is generally provided with a road-guide or passport to heaven.

Friends of the family send gifts in the form of *tua tsis*, or double scrolls, which have written on them sentiments that are complimentary to the deceased. In return they are invited to the funeral and to the funeral feast, and provided with a white cloth of mourning to wear on the head during the ceremonies.

In the funeral procession the oldest son of the deceased walks in front of the coffin, dressed in sackcloth and supported by friends. A live cock is generally perched on the coffin to keep away demons. Firecrackers are set off at the beginning of the funeral procession and at the grave.

## 6. THE BURIAL AND GRAVE CUSTOMS

At the grave the customary scenes of mourning take place, including weeping and prostrations. Paper cash, gold and silver ingots, a gold hill and a silver hill, and paper images of human beings, of houses, furniture, boxes, weapons, and even opium pipes are burnt. They are transformed by burning into cash, gold and silver ingots, a gold hill and a silver hill, living servants, sedan chairs, houses, etc., for the use of the departed spirits in the land of shades. Actual food is offered, incense and candles are burnt, there are prostrations and mourning, and the coffin is covered with dirt. Usually the hole is not dug very deep, and the dirt is heaped up in a mound over the coffin.

To explain the custom of burning paper money, paper images of human beings, houses, furniture, and other articles, we must go back

thousands of years into ancient Chinese history. In the sixth section of the history of Si Ma Ch'ien, it is stated that 177 persons were killed and buried with the emperor. The following quotation is from the journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1910:

From the Chinese classics we know that, in remote antiquity, a straw figure of a man was placed in the grave with the dead. Confucius himself commended the act in preference to a later custom of substituting a wooden image with moveable joints. His counsel, however, went unheeded. It is not certain, but presumably he was aiming at stopping the immolation of human beings at the tombs of the great. The burying of wooden men was, in all likelihood, the bogus form of this savage reality. Later history contains many examples of it. To quote from Professor Kid: "When Woo—king of the state Tsin—died sixty-six persons were put to death and buried with him. One hundred and seventy-seven ordinary individuals, together with three persons of superior rank, were devoted by death to the service of Muh-kung in the other world; a monody still exists lamenting the fate of these three men. Tsin-shih-huang-ti, who flourished about two hundred years before the Christian era, commanded that his household females and domestics should be put to death and interred with him." The custom long survived this period, "and when persons offered themselves voluntarily to die, from attachment to their masters and friends, such sacrifices were esteemed most noble and disinterested."<sup>1</sup>

In the Encyclopaedia Sinica there is a similar statement:

SACRIFICES, HUMAN. This title should more properly be reserved for the killing of men as offerings to the Deity, as in the case of Abraham and Isaac, or the religious ceremonies of the Aztecs. In default of a more convenient term, it is used for the burial of living slaves, concubines, and others, with the rich or royal dead; though the idea of providing companionship and service in the other world is more prominent than that of appeasing anger or seeking favor.

The practice must have been established in China in very early times, but the first example recorded in Chinese history was at the burial of the Ch'in ruler Wu Kung, B. C. 678, when sixty-six persons were buried alive to keep him company in the other world. In Ch'in again, when Mu Kung died in B. C. 621, there were buried with him one hundred and seventy-four people. This caused the Ode called *Huang niao* to be made (Legge's *She King*, p. 198). The fact itself is recorded in the Ch'un Ch'iu. The practice had been forbidden by Hsien Kung on his succeeding to the Ch'in earldom in B. C. 384, but at the death of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in B. C. 210, all his wives and concubines who had not borne him children were buried with him, and the workmen who had made his tomb were also walled up alive in it.<sup>2</sup>

In North China many old graves have been unearthed, and their contents are in the world's great museums. Some of them go as far

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XLI, 1910, pp. 63-4.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopaedia Sinica, 1917, p. 493.

back as the Han Dynasty. A number of large cases of these relics are in the Field Museum in Chicago.

In Szechuan Province are thousands of caves that were chiseled out of the soft red-sandstone many centuries ago. Perhaps most of them are around Kiating and Chengtu, and all of them seem to be near rivers and streams. There are fewer around Suifu, possibly due to the facts that the sandstone is much harder and the Chinese secured possession of Suifu at a later date than Chengtu and Kiating. The larger of these caves are nearly a hundred feet deep and contain many relics. The most extensive collections that have been made are in the British Museum and in the Museum of the West China Union University. Many Chinese and foreigners assert that these caves were the homes of the aborigines who lived in these districts before the arrival of the Chinese. Rev. Thomas Torrance, F. R. G. S., was one of the first to assert that they were burial tombs of wealthy Chinese who probably lived from the Ts'in Dynasty B. C. to the time of the Three Kingdoms. Mr. Torrance has spent years in the study of these caves and their contents, and the collections in the British Museum and in the Museum of the West China Union University were made almost entirely by him. The following quotation is from a letter received from Mr. Torrance, written at Kuanshien, Szechuan, China, July 12, 1925:

The cave tombs are found all the way from the Hupeh-Szechuan border westwards as far as Lifan. Ninety-nine per cent of them are in low altitudes. Their age is from the end of the Ts'in Dynasty B. C. to the time of the Three Kingdoms. The people were in the Pa, Shuh (Szechuan), and Chinese territories. My own opinion is that the people were Shuh-Chinese or Pa-Chinese, mixed blood. There are only a few inscriptions in seal and common Chinese character. There is no evidence at all that they were originally for anything else than tombs. Later they were used for different purposes, that is, some of them, notably near Kiating. The goods found in these caves correspond closely to goods found in tomb mounds of the same date and in underground graves all over China, that is, China north of the Yangtse. The carvings are distinctly of Han type and are all in close correspondence. The carvings often follow the appearance of Han houses, showing they were built of logs.

Volume I of the Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society, published in 1886, contains an article entitled "A Journey Of Exploration in Western Ssu-ch'uan," by E. Colborne Baber, Chinese Secretary of Legation, Peking. This article tells of a visit to West China in 1877, when a number of caves between Kiating and Suifu were inspected. Mr. Baber found what he decided were cisterns inside the caves, and so concluded that the caves were dwelling-places.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Supplementary Papers, Royal Geographical Society, 1886, Vol. I, pp. 131-2.

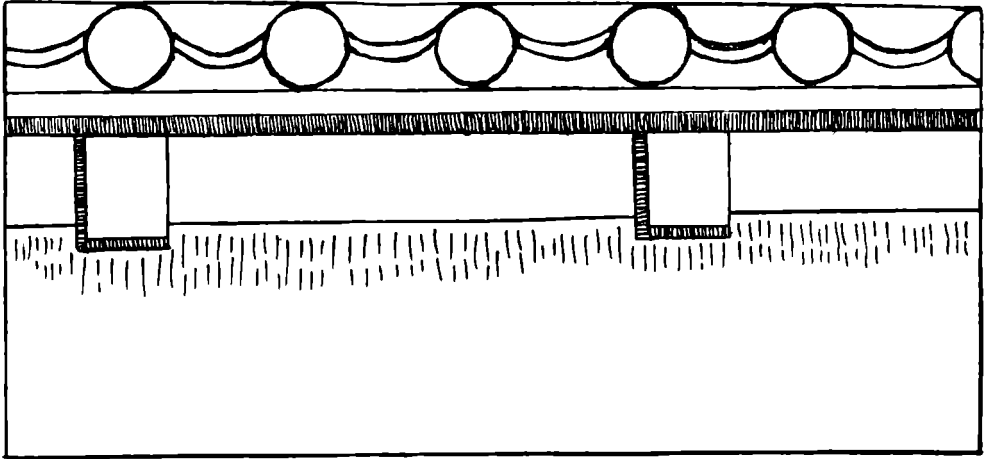


FIG. 1.—Diagram of a carving on the wall of a cave above Suifu on the Min River. Copied from a drawing by E. Colborne Baber.

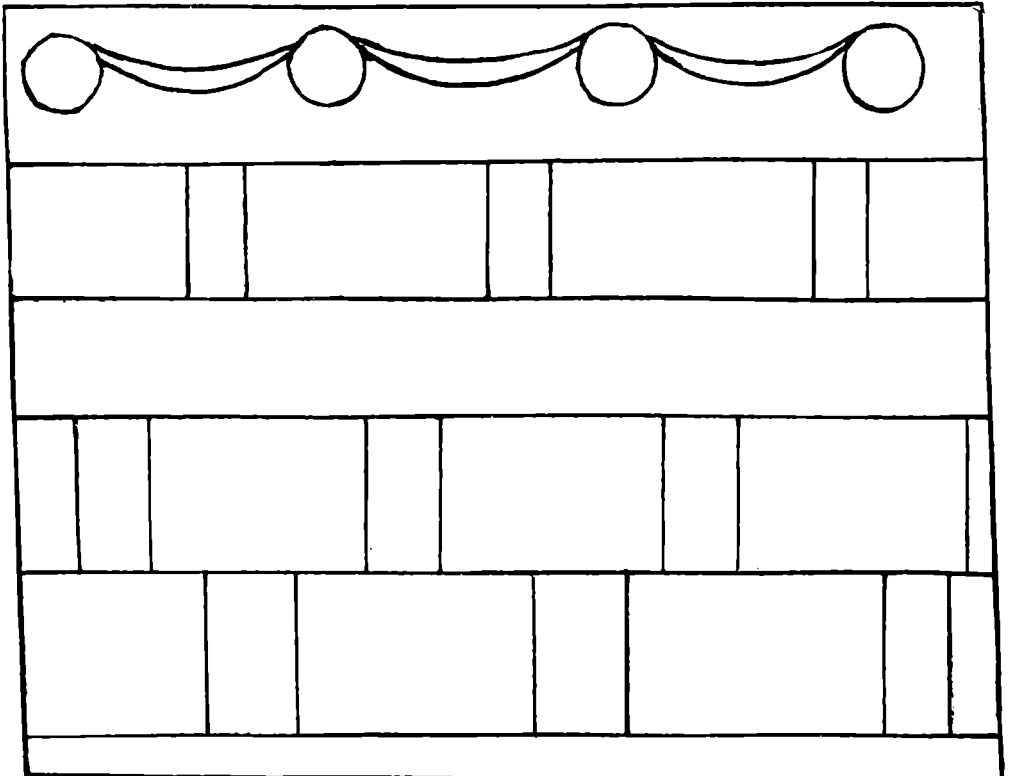


FIG. 2.—Diagram of a carving on a wall of a cave three miles west of Kiating, China.

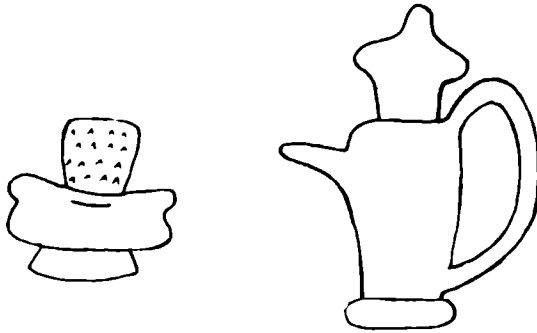


FIG. 3.—Copy of carvings of an ancient teapot and a teacup on the wall of an old burial tomb in a cave at Song Tsua, near Li Chuang, about fifteen miles east of Suifu.

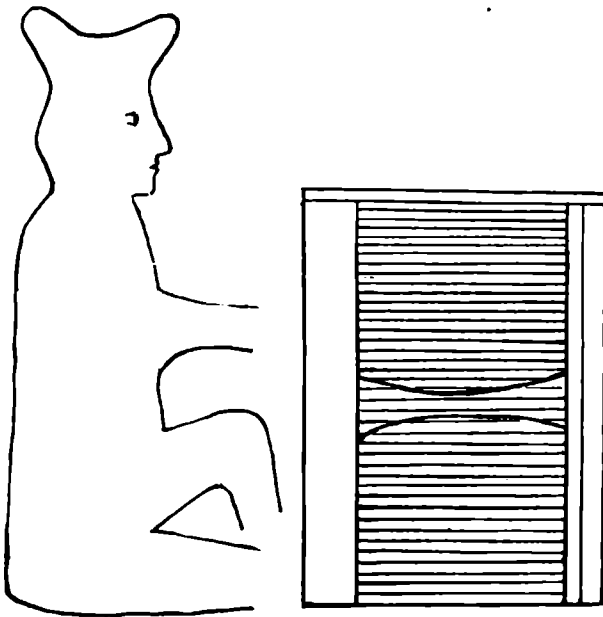


FIG. 4.—Copy of a carving on the wall of an ancient Chinese tomb in the sandstone at Song Tsua, near Li Chuang, about 15 miles east of Suifu. The instrument probably represents a loom. The tomb is a cave in a solid rock.

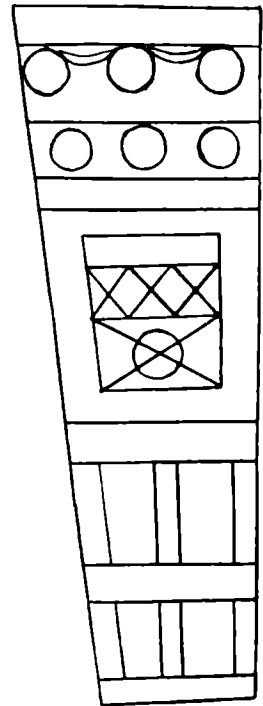


FIG. 5.—Diagram of a carving on a pillar at the entrance of an ancient Chinese burial cave near Kiating, Szechuan, China.



The writer has visited the caves about Kiating and Suifu a number of times, and is convinced that Mr. Torrance is right, and that these are burial tombs of the early Chinese. The reasons, briefly stated, are as follows :

First, the relics found in these caves very closely resemble those in the tombs of North China which belong in the Han and the Tang Dynasties. The watchdogs look so much alike that one could believe that they came from the same tomb. The articles found are very similar, from earthenware images of houses, human beings, and chickens to the coins and the jade cicadas that were placed on the tongues of the dead. Evidently, they were the work of the same civilization.

Secondly, the coins in the Szechuanese tombs are all Chinese coins. The dates of most of them can easily be determined.<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, large numbers of these caves still have remnants of coffins in them. Some caves have places for several coffins, indicating that they were probably used by a family. Some of the coffins have been found with skeletons in them. Baber's "cisterns" are the places where the coffins are found.

Fourthly, the caves are so well made that they are evidently the work of a people who were in a high state of civilization.

Fifthly, we know of no tribe of aborigines in West China that is accustomed either to live or to bury its dead in artificial caves of this kind.

We believe that the weight of evidence is strongly in favor of the theory that the caves of Szechuan are Chinese burial tombs dating approximately two thousand years ago.

All the images yet found in these caves are of unglazed, burnt clay, of a gray color. Later the Chinese of Szechuan ceased the burying of their dead in caves, and buried them in tombs covered by mounds. Many of the images found in the later tombs are beautifully glazed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XLI, 1910, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Some diagrams are appended that the writer has made of carvings on caves near Kiating, and also copies of some pictures that he found on the side of a cave at Song Tsui, near Li Chuang, east of Suifu. The hat worn by the man whose picture is carved in the cave near Song Tsui resembles those on clay images, unglazed.

Mr. Torrance gives the following list of the articles which he has gathered in the caves of Szechuan:

Instead of straw or moveable wooden figures of men you will find them of burnt-clay, grey and terra-cotta in color, glazed and unglazed, from a few inches high to nearly full life-size. They represent persons of both sexes and various ranks and callings. There are besides models of houses, cooking-pots, boilers, rice-steamers, bowls, basins, vases, trays, jars, lamps, musical instruments, dogs, cats, horses, cows, sheep, fowls, ducks, etc. Standing with your reflector lamp in the midst of a large cave it seems verily an imitation of Noah's Ark.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that the Chinese believe that the caves of Szechuan were made and used by aborigines, and call them Mantsi caves. This is explained by the fact that the old Chinese population was practically exterminated by Tsang Shien Tsong, and the new immigrants would naturally know little about the past history of the province.

We therefore advance the following theory: In early Chinese history men provided food for the dead as the Chinese still do to-day, and also placed in the tombs weapons of war, money, and articles of everyday use. They killed human beings, including wives and servants, to put in the graves with the deceased leaders. The moral development of the people led to the substitution of burnt-clay images for human beings and the fowls, animals, and the articles of everyday life. The clay images were at first unglazed, but later were glazed. The placing of quantities of money in the graves took it out of circulation, and with other valuables tempted the robbers to loot the graves. In time people began to substitute paper money for real money. The paper was burnt, and was transformed by the flames into spirit money that could actually be used by the departed spirits in the land of shades. Now nearly all the articles are burnt, so that very little is placed in the tombs. Actual food is still offered at the graves and before the ancestral tablets so that the spirits of the dead will not hunger. The food offered is not destroyed. The spirit must be supposed to in some way secure the essence of the food, and the descendants of the dead are permitted to eat what is left.

After burial, the grave is revisited on occasions, food is offered to the departed soul, and the ordinary acts of reverence are performed. Mourning for one's parents is kept up for three years, and the ceremonies usually included under "ancestor worship" are performed for three generations of ancestors—parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents.

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<sup>1</sup> Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XLI, 1910, p. 68.

On Chin-min, or Tsin-ming, which comes on the third day of the third moon, all who are able to do so go to the tombs, burn paper money and incense, offer food, light candles, and repair the graves. While all the seasonal festivals are occasions of family reunions and ancestral ceremonies, this is the great Decoration Day of the Chinese people.

Two peculiar practices should be noted. One is that if a person dies away from home he is not removed to his home for the funeral services, for it would be unlucky to take him into the house after he has died elsewhere. Grainger mentions this custom, which is apparently general.<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 1925 the writer saw a woman hastening to a doctor with a sick child in her arms. A little later she returned, still carrying the child, which had just died. On being certain that the infant was dead, she threw it into the Min River. The explanation given was that it was unlucky to take the child into the home after it had died elsewhere.

We sometimes hear of the custom of making a hole through the wall of a house, through which the dead person is taken for burial, and later sealing up the hole, so that the spirit cannot find the way back, which it could do if it were carried through a door. There is an example of this among the Wasi aborigines at Kuan Tsai, near Uen Chuan Shien, where a great hole was made through the wall of the temple-yamen to bury an attendant who had died inside. Later the hole was sealed up.

#### IV. YINYANG AND FENGSHUI

##### I. THE YINYANG CONCEPTION

The conception of *yinyang* permeates and saturates the mental, moral, and social life of the Chinese, affecting every phase of their existence. Dr. Arthur H. Smith, in what is perhaps an overstatement, describes this conception :

This Chinese (and Oriental) habit is at once typical and suggestive. It marks a wholly different conception of the family, and of the position of woman therein, from that to which we are accustomed. It indicates the view that while man is *yang*, the male, ruling, and chief element in the universe, woman is *yin*. "dull, female, inferior." The conception of woman as man's companion is in China almost totally lacking, for woman is not the companion of man, and with society on its present terms she never can be.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Grainger, Adam, *Studies In Chinese Life*, 1921, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, A. H., *Village Life in China*, pp. 302-3.

According to Chinese philosophy death and evil have their origin in the *yin*, or female principle of Chinese dualism, while life and prosperity come from the subjection of it to the *yang*, or male principle; hence it is regarded as a law of nature to keep woman completely under the power of man, and to allow her no will of her own. The result of this theory and the corresponding practice is that the ideal for women is not development and cultivation, but submission. Women can have no happiness of their own, but must live and work for men, the only practical escape from this degradation being found in becoming the mother of a son. Woman is bound by the same laws of existence in the other world. She belongs to the same husband and is dependent for her happiness on the sacrifices offered by her descendants.<sup>1</sup>

This statement of Dr. Smith is extreme in some respects, but he is right in his description of the *yinyang* principle, and of its vital connection with Chinese social customs and conceptions.

The *yin* and the *yang* have their source in the great extreme, or the *t'ae gih*.

## 2. FENGSHUI

In China a great deal is heard about the *fengshui*. Sometimes you see a peculiar rock in the river, interfering with traffic and causing wrecks. You look at the great line of boats that is passing by, realizing that every boat is endangered by the rock. You think of the constant loss of life and property. You know that it would be easy to destroy or to remove the rock in low water. To your suggestion that this be done, your Chinese friend answers, "*P'ang puh teh*." That is, it must not be touched. Why? Because it is a *fengshui* stone.

Near Gioh Ch'i is a place where a creek makes a great bend, returning practically to its starting point before proceeding again in the general direction of the stream. By cutting through an earth bank less than 15 feet thick, the stream could be made to flow in a straight line, and acres of land could be saved for cultivation. To the suggestion that this be done, the farmer replied that someone had attempted to do this, but that the neighborhood had objected on the ground that it would injure the *fengshui*, causing all to suffer.

There is a *fengshui* stone at Ngan Bien or An Pien, a town about 20 miles up the Yangtse River from Suifu. Some Chinese would like to remove the stone, but the general sentiment of the town will not permit it, although every year boats are wrecked and people are drowned. If that stone were injured, all sorts of calamities might occur in Ngan Bien.

*Fengshui* stones occur on dry land. About 20 miles up the Min River from Suifu, at Kiang Gioh Ch'i there is such a stone on the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 305-6.

north bank of the river. It is peculiar in shape, being high, round, and pointed.

Many *fengshui* stones are vitally related to the welfare of certain towns, cities, or districts. Below the city of P'in Shan, on the bank of the river, is a round stone that is the *fengshui* stone of P'in Shan. The injury of this stone would cause ill-luck to the city of P'in Shan.

There are also *fengshui* trees. A great tree at Shin Kai Si on Mt. Omei is the *fengshui* tree of Chien Way. Another tree on Mt. Omei is the *fengshui* tree of Omeishien. Both are great, majestic trees.

Families also may have *fengshui* stones or trees. Between Ngan Bien and Leo Dong on the Yangtse River, a strange-looking stone has been for many generations the *fengshui* stone of the powerful Lin family of Leo Dong. At Shuin Gien Si, close to the Golden Sands Cave, is a family *fengshui* tree.

Between Suifu and Li Chuang, on the south bank of the Yangtse River, is a large stone that is the *fengshui* stone of the Lo family, who for generations have lived on the north side of the river opposite the stone, and who in the past prospered and accumulated great wealth through the help of this wonderful stone. It is said that formerly when wood was split in the home of the Lo family the rock would move. The Tsang family lived on the opposite side of the river and owned the land on which the *fengshui* stone is situated. The Tsangs were jealous of the prosperity of the Los, so they chiseled and "broke" the stone whose power and influence helped the Lo family. Thereupon the Lo family accused the Tsang family at court, and a long period of litigation ensued, consuming much of the wealth of both families. No satisfactory solution was reached at court, so the two families agreed to settle the matter out of court by each family throwing silver into the river. The family throwing in the most silver would be considered the strongest and the greatest. The Tsang family threw in pewter, but the Lo family threw in silver. Both families are now poor. Because the stone was chiseled or broken, it has lost its power to benefit the Lo family.

In 1924 the magistrate of the Lan Ch'i Shien district issued a proclamation forbidding the cutting of *fengshui* stones lest calamity fall upon the people.

Practically every large town or city has a pagoda that has been built in some prominent place, and some cities have more than one. The pagoda must be correctly situated, and affects for good or ill the *fengshui*, and, through the *fengshui*, all the important interests of a city.

About 80 li up the Min River from Kiating is Shiang Pih Si, or Elephant's Nose Monastery, where there is an unfinished pagoda. When the pagoda was being constructed, two noted scholars suddenly died, and it was concluded that the pagoda was injuring instead of helping the *fengshui*. Work was discontinued, and the pagoda has never been finished. If it had been in the right spot, it would have improved the *fengshui*, and a result would have been that more scholars would be born and developed, and that scholarship in the district would be generally improved.

Before a house is built or a grave is dug, it is necessary to have a specialist tell whether or not the *fengshui* is good. If the *fengshui* of the ancestral grave is good, the family will increase and prosper. If it is bad, the family will decline. The same can be said of the house in which the family lives. Merchants are more apt to enjoy financial prosperity if the *fengshui* of the store is good.

In the summer of 1923 I took a trip to Tatsienlu, which is often called the gateway of Tibet. On the way I saw where the robbers had attacked the home of a wealthy farmer. The father and another relative had been killed, the house had been badly smashed up, and a servant had been wounded, although the robbers had been driven off and no money stolen. The farmer was asked why he did not move into a city where the militia could protect him. The reply was that the *fengshui* of that place was good, so that anybody living on that farm would get rich.

What is this mysterious power or force called *fengshui*? *Feng* means wind, and *shui* means water. The expression stands for mysterious forces that operate for good or evil on families, cities, and districts. It is apt to be localized in strange or peculiar trees and stones.

Let us note that the man who in English is generally called a geomancer is in Szechuan called a *yinyang shiensen* or a *fengshui shiensen*, the two terms being interchangeable. The former term is commonly heard, and means a professor of *yinyang*. The latter term means a professor of *fengshui*. This suggests a close and vital relation between *yinyang* and that strange, mysterious force known as *fengshui*.

So far the writer has drawn entirely from his own experience. A quotation from Mr. Mortimore and another from the Encyclopaedia Sinica will further elucidate the meaning of *fengshui* and its connection with the *yinyang*.

It is now high time that the location of the grave be determined. In the case of the more wealthy, such an important matter will probably have been attended

to by the sons years in advance; and good reason why, for upon the direction of the grave, the surrounding landscape and a score of other circumstances will the future wealth, happiness, or even the life of the descendants, depend. But let us suppose that in this case it remains yet to be done, while, at the same time the family purse is full enough to meet the expense of securing a lucky site. One of the sons deputed by the others, engages a geomancer and sets out with him on the momentous search.

Now, to understand what follows, we must remember that, geomantically viewed, mountain ranges (or, in a flat country, the higher levels) if of a certain conformation are to be regarded as dragons, and the parallel hills with the valleys or depressions on either side of the range constitute the sandy banks and the water, in which the dragon swims forward. Even to the western mind an undulating mountain ridge does not lack the suggestion of being a vast reptile; but to the Chinese, that is, to the great majority, this is far more than a mere metaphor, for within the range is believed to flow, like an underground stream, the dragon's vital force or energy and wherever this collects or becomes concentrated deposits of gold, silver, or other precious metals occur. The secret to be discovered then is the exact spot where this throbbing force comes near the surface, or, as it is called, the Dragon's pulse so that when the remains of the parent are lowered into the earth, they will be in a perfect line to receive through the head and into the whole body this wealth-accruing energy. This accomplished, it must naturally follow that his posterity, who are the bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, will abound in riches. There may be other theories propounded for this belief, but this is the one I have heard.<sup>1</sup>

FENG SHUI, wind and water. (The outward and visible signs of celestial *Yang* and *Yin*.) The art of adapting the residence of the living and the dead so as to co-operate and harmonize with the local currents of the cosmic breath (*Yin* and *Yang* q. v.); often incorrectly called "geomancy."

It is believed that at every place there are special topographical features (natural or artificial) which indicate or modify the universal spiritual breath (*Ch'i*). The forms of hills and the directions of watercourses, being the outcome of the moulding influences of wind and water, are the most important but in addition the heights and forms of buildings and the directions of roads and bridges are potent factors. From instant to instant the force and direction of the spiritual currents are modified by the motions of the sun and moon, (see *Astrology*), so that at any particular time the directions of the celestial bodies from the point considered are also of great importance.

The professor of *Feng Shui* employs a *Lo-pan* (graduated astrolabe with compass) to observe directions and astrological harmonies, while at the same time he notices the forms which the spiritual forces of nature have produced.

By talismans (dragons and other symbolic figures on roofs or walls, pagodas on hills, or bridges) and charms (pictures of spirits or "words of power" inscribed on paper scrolls or stone tablets), the unpropitious character of any particular topography may be amended.

Artificial alteration of natural forms has good or bad effect according to the new forms produced. Tortuous paths are preferred by beneficent influences, so that straight works such as railways and tunnels favour the circulation of maleficent breath.

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<sup>1</sup> West China Missionary News, Oct. 1915, pp. 27-28.

The dead are in particular affected by and able to use the cosmic currents for the benefit of the living, so that it is to the interest of each family to secure and preserve the most auspicious environment for the grave, the ancestral temple and the home.<sup>1</sup>

We should note especially the phrase in parenthesis, "The outward and visible signs of celestial *Yang* and *Yin*." Under the heading "YIN and YANG," the following lines are also found in the Encyclopaedia Sinica:

YIN and YANG, The negative and positive principles of universal life. These words meant originally the dark and bright sides of a sunlit bank, and occur on the Stone Drums (8th century B. C.). By the time of Confucius they had acquired a philosophical significance as the two aspects of the duality which Chinese thinkers perceived in all things. Traces of the dual notion occurred in the "Great Plan" of the Shu Ching, but the actual words *Yin* and *Yang* as used in this sense occur first in the pseudo-Confucian commentaries on the I-Ching.

In this way *Yang* came to mean Heaven, Light, Vigour, Male, Penetration, The Monad. It is symbolized by the Dragon and is associated with azure colour and oddness in numbers. In *Feng Shui* raised land forms (mountains) are *Yang*.

Similarly *Yin* stands for Earth (the antithesis of Heaven), Darkness, Quiescence, Female, Absorption, the Duad. It is symbolized by the Tiger and is associated with orange colour and even numbers. Valleys and streams possess the *Yin* quality

The two are represented by a whole and a broken line respectively, thus:—

—
—
—

*Yang*
*Yin*
*Yin*

Groups of three such lines are known as "trigrams," groups of six as "hexigrams," and the I-Ching is classified under the sixty-four possible hexagrams.

In connection with the five elements, the *Yin* and *Yang* have been for at least two thousand years used to interpret the processes of nature and they are the fundamental feature in the theories which underlie *Feng Shui*, Astrology, Divination and Medicine.

*T'ai* (Great) *Yang* means the Sun, *T'ai Yin* the Moon, *Shao* (Lesser) *Yang* the fixed stars and *Shao Yin* the planets, these four being supposed to be the four primary combinations (*Hsiang*) of *Yin* and *Yang*.

*Yin* and *Yang* are themselves supposed to have proceeded from a "Great Ultimate."<sup>2</sup>

*Fengshui*, then, is the outworking of the *yin* and the *yang* elements in nature. It is a mysterious potency that affects for good or evil the welfare of families, cities, and districts. It is often localized in strange and awe-inspiring trees and stones. It works according to definite laws which the professor of *yinyang* and *fengshui* can inter-

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopaedia Sinica, 1917, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopaedia Sinica, 1917, pp. 615-616.



pret by the help of his instrument, the *lopan*. There is a book or classic which explains the use of this instrument. It is based on the Book of Changes, and the writer has been told that it takes about three years of study to master the science of *fengshui*.

## V. INCANTATIONS, CHARMS, AND AMULETS

We are beginning to see that the Chinese of Szechuan Province believe that there is a mysterious potency about them that may do good or evil. This potency is differentiated into the *yang* and the *yin*. The *yang* is good and helpful and the *yin* is evil and harmful. Incantations, charms, and amulets are means by which one endeavors to use this power for his good, especially in keeping away demons, the source of most evils.

### I. INCANTATIONS WIDELY USED

Incantations are often used by Buddhist and Taoist priests as parts of their ceremonies, or by the *tuan gong*, a term generally translated by the word sorcerer. The *tuan gong*, like the Buddhist and the Taoist priests, also exorcises demons. In the True Classic of the Bloody Basin we have examples of incantations that are merely transliterations of incantations in the Tibetan language which probably have meaning in the Tibetan, but have none in the Chinese. They are considered very potent, probably the more so because they are mysterious and not understood. Similar incantations are found in the classic of the Gin Gang P'usah, which is Buddhist.

### 2. NEW YEAR MOTTOES SUPPOSED TO BE POTENT

There are a number of mottoes which are written on colored paper and hung up in the homes on New Year's Day. The Chinese do not consider them to be charms, but regard them more as expressions of their dearest wishes. Yet they have the feeling that expressing the wish will tend to cause the wish to come true. Below are a few examples:

NIEN NIEN FAH TS'AI, "Grow rich year by year."

SEN I SHIN LONG, "May our business prosper."

FU KUEI SHUANG CHUEN, "May wealth and honor be complete."

CHEN TSAE SI TSONG, "Right in the very time" of luck and prosperity.

These express the wishes of the family, and there is also the belief that the expressing, reading, and hanging or pasting up of the wishes tends to cause them to be fulfilled.

### 3. CHARMS TO TRANSFORM UNLUCKY DREAMS TO LUCKY ONES

The people of Szechuan take dreams very seriously. They are much troubled if they have bad dreams, and of course happy to have good ones. There is a charm that is written on red paper and hung on the east wall of a city. By shining on it, the sun transforms a bad dream into a lucky one. The charm is given below :

Translation :

At night I had an unlucky dream.  
I paste this on the east wall.  
When the sun shines on it,  
It will be changed to a lucky omen.

### 4. CHARMS TO CAUSE BABIES TO SLEEP AT NIGHT

There is evidence that many Chinese parents do not enjoy having their sleep disturbed by crying babies. Charms to cause the child to sleep soundly until daylight are often seen pasted up on the highways. They are written in verse, and show many variations in their wording. They are always written on red paper. It is thought that if the traveler reads the charm it will cause the baby to sleep soundly until daylight. The following is a free translation that gives the sense of these charms :

The sky is bright, the earth is bright.  
We have a baby that cries at night.  
If the passerby will read this right,  
He'll sleep all night till broad daylight.

### 5. CHARMS WRITTEN ON PAPER

The above examples furnish points of departure in discussing written charms, whose kinds are unnumbered and innumerable. In volumes I to III of *Researches Into Chinese Superstitions*, Dore has given illustrations of a large variety of written charms. They are written by Buddhist and Taoist priests, and by *tuan gongs*. They are usually given to the user in return for financial contributions which vary according to the size and condition of one's purse.

These paper charms are of all sizes. Some are hung up above the front doors to keep the demons from entering. Others are hung up in the middle of the front room. Some are pasted up on the four sides of the room. Some are pinned on the bed to protect the sleeper. Some are pinned on one's clothing. Some are burnt, the ashes mixed with water, and the water drunk. Nearly all of them are to protect from the various attacks of evil spirits.

The characters of the written charms are often so fantastically written that an ordinary Chinese scholar cannot decipher them. This creates an air of mystery that increases the belief in their potency. Frequently the name of a god is used, indicating that the power of the god is made available in the charm. The paper on which the charm is written is almost always yellow, because Chinese official proclamations are on yellow paper, and the charms are meant to be in the spirit world a kind of official proclamation. This idea and appearance are enhanced by the fact that in Szechuan the written charms are practically always stamped with the official temple seals resembling in color and shape official seals of Chinese magistrates. The official proclamation of the magistrate, stamped with his official seal, is extremely important, and not to be lightly disregarded or disobeyed. The yellow paper and the official seals of the temples are meant to convey the same impression to the demons, thus making the charms more efficacious.

The name of Buddha is often seen on written charms. The word thunder, which is also frequently found, could mean just thunder or the god of thunder, since thunder is thought to be the work of the thunder-god.

#### 6. THE USE OF BLOOD ON CHARMS

If feathers are pasted to a charm by means of chicken blood, it will be more efficacious. Blood is considered very potent. First in efficacy comes human blood, which is seldom used. Second is chicken blood, which is generally used. Third comes duck blood, which is more rarely used because chicken blood is easily obtained.

The writer saw a hunter who had pulled some feathers off one of the birds that he had killed and stuck the feathers to the gun by means of the blood of the bird, believing that this would make the gun shoot more accurately.

#### 7. OTHER CHARMS

Sometimes a boy whose mother is dead will take a lock of her hair and wear it around his neck. The lock of hair is supposed to protect him from evil spirits.

Small images of Buddha are used as trimmings on the hats of boys, and they are believed to protect the boys from harm.

There is a special kind of a brass or copper coin called happiness and long-life money, which is suspended from the backs of boys' hats as charms or amulets. They often have on them the eight figures called the *bah kua*, or images of the 12 creatures that determine lucky

or unlucky days. Very often they have on them mottoes in four large characters which express the wishes of the parents for their sons. Among these mottoes are the following:

HOW UIN LIN SHEN, "Good luck fall upon his body," or befall him.

GIN LUH JIA KUAN, "Enter into fortune, advance in official rank."

One of these coins bears the following inscription:

The order of Laotsi. Use this to kill demons, subjugate spooks, behold phantoms, avoid evil influences, and forever guarantee safety.

The newest kind of a charm that the writer has seen in Szechuan Province is the Red Cross emblem. He noticed it first in 1925. Before the Chinese revolution of 1911, the Red Cross and its emblem were practically unknown in this province. Since then the people have seen hospitals and Red Cross Societies marvellously healing the sick, and have assumed that there was mysterious power in the Red Cross emblem. The emblems are used as a protection to boys and are sewed into the garments.

Old bronze mirrors are very efficacious in keeping away demons. The glass mirror, which is comparatively new, is used for the same purpose. It is hung up above the entrances to the homes, or is placed inside the front doors so that a person going into the house will see his own image. The demon who is trying to enter the house sees his own image and becomes frightened at it, for he is a horrible-looking creature, so that he turns and flies away.

The *bah kua*, or eight figures, has come down from the most ancient times, and is considered very efficacious. It can control any calamity, including fire, flood, or pestilence. This is because the demons cause these calamities, and the *bah kua* has power to control demons.

The crow of a rooster frightens away demons, who scamper away when the cocks begin to crow at daylight. In some places geese are raised because their cry is supposed to frighten away demons.

Pieces of amber are worn as charms. The facts that amber when rubbed will pick up pieces of paper, that it sparkles, and that it sometimes has particles of grass or leaves or even insects in it, would naturally tend to set it aside as having unusual power.

Charms of jade are used, especially in the burial of the dead. In the ancient tombs of Szechuan are found jade cicadas that were placed on the tongues of the dead. In northeastern China they are also found in tombs of the same period.

Swords made of old Chinese coins are used as charms in the homes. They have power to keep away evil spirits. Ordinary swords are sometimes used for the same purpose. One old sword of this kind

that the writer had in his possession (it is now in the U. S. National Museum) has the seven stars of the great dipper on its blade.

Nearly every Tibetan has a charm-box that he wears suspended on his chest. In these charm-boxes teeth, hair, nailfilings, pieces of clothing, and even the excretions of the lamas are placed. It is thought that anything from a lama possesses wonderful power.

The incantations, charms, and amulets that have been described are illustrations of one of the methods of the natives of Szechuan for procuring happiness, good fortune, and the securities of life. Through them a strange, supernatural power is used to exorcise or keep away demons, who cause diseases and misfortunes.

## VI. PUBLIC CEREMONIES AND RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

### I. IMPORTANT PUBLIC CEREMONIES

Through certain ceremonies, the social group seeks to secure the primary needs of life. A few will be described by way of illustration.

As would naturally be expected among a people depending primarily on agriculture, the coming of spring is exceedingly important.

It is a well-known fact that before the Chinese Republic, the Emperor of China, at Peking, took part in a ceremony to bring back or welcome spring, and that as a part of that ceremony he ploughed the first furrows. It is not so well-known that the magistrates observe this custom in other parts of China.

The following is a description by Mr. Grainger of this custom as it is practiced in Chengtu:

The solar period known as the Beginning of Spring commences about Feb. 5. On the first day preparation is made for the ceremony. Very early next morning a large paper effigy of an ox drawing a plough is exhibited on the Ox-beating Ground somewhere outside the city. The magistrate attends in person accompanied by actors representing the Star of Literature and his monkey Sen. After some mountebank performances with the monkey the Star of Literature exclaims:—

“May the land and the people be peaceful:  
May the wind and the rain be propitious:  
May the fruits of the earth be abundant.”

The magistrate thereupon rises, puts his hand to the plough, and waves the ox-goad. This is the signal for a general assault on the ox, which is torn to pieces, and the little ox effigies with which it had been filled are scrambled for by the crowd. Those who are fortunate enough to secure them take them to well-to-do farmers who give presents of money in return for them. These little oxen are supposed to bring luck to the farm for the ensuing year.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grainger, Adam, *Studies in Chinese Life*, 1921, p. 49.

In 1925 this ceremony was performed in Suifu on the twenty-first and twenty-second days of the twelfth moon. In the magistrate's yamen a large paper water-buffalo, and also a paper boy called a *ngao mer* had been previously prepared. Over one hundred small water-buffalo made of clay had been placed inside the paper water-buffalo.

On the morning of the twenty-first, the magistrate first worshipped the two paper images in the court of his yamen to the accompaniment of horns that sound a little like Scotch bagpipes. Then the magistrate joined in a procession going out of the North Gate to a special plot of ground where a plow and a live water-buffalo were waiting. In the procession the paper images were carried in front of the magistrate. On reaching the plot of ground, the magistrate again worshipped the two paper images, which had been brought along in the procession, then ploughed three furrows with the plow and the live water-buffalo. The magistrate and other dignitaries drank tea together, after which the procession returned to the yamen through the East Gate. This day's ceremony is called welcoming spring.

The next day the two paper images were again taken in the procession to the plot of ground, which is called the Yin Ch'uen Ba, or the flat where spring is welcomed. The magistrate again did obeisance to the two paper images. There were about 20 officers called the *ch'uen kuan* or spring officials. After the magistrate had worshipped or kowtowed to the two paper images, the 20 spring officials fell upon the paper images with clubs and beat them to pieces. At this point the onlookers rushed up and tried to secure one of the mud images of the water-buffalo. Those who were not successful snatched pieces of the paper images. I was told that these relics were taken by the lucky ones to their homes where they were supposed to protect the inmates from evil spirits. The second day's ceremony is called *da che'uen*, or beat spring. The main object of the two days' ceremony is to induce spring to come so that the crops may grow and prosper.

Rain and fair weather are of great importance. When rain does not fall for a long time, and the hot sun dries up the soil, then the people begin to fear a failure of crops and famine. The price of rice begins to soar, and the people become anxious, if not panic-stricken.

Many go to the temples and pray to the dragon god, for it is his duty to give rain. The south gate of the city is closed. Wet weather comes from the north, and the opposite influences from the south. Usually a fast is proclaimed, which means that animals must not be slain or eaten.

In case rain is not forthcoming, the people try a new strategy. They take the dragon god and the water god out of the temple and leave

them in the open to roast in the hot sun. Their own sufferings will cause them to exert their powers and cause rain.

Sometimes there are processions in which a straw image of the dragon is carried. Water is thrown on the straw image, on the participants, and on others who may come within reach.

In the summer of 1923 the writer witnessed a procession of this kind, in which there were more than 20 men and boys. They wore only shoes, trousers, and a wreath or cap made of green willow twigs with the green leaves still on the twigs. Near the center of the procession were a long straw dragon and a water-buffalo on which a boy was riding. Those who were on foot had dippers and were throwing water on each other, on the straw dragon, on the water-buffalo, on the houses, and on anyone who happened to pass by. At the end of the procession they were to pay their respects to one of the gods in a local temple.<sup>1</sup>

There is a ceremony called the *yang miao hwei*, which is performed in some districts by Taoist priests at the time of rice-planting. Classics are read or chanted, and there is a procession. The priest pronounces incantations, and papers are hung up on sticks in the rice paddies. When these are finished Ti Kong or Earth Prince and Ti Mu or Earth Mother are worshipped. This ceremony is to encourage the rice to grow.

A picturesque rite is practiced to drive insects away from the fields. After the young vegetables come out of the ground, destructive insects begin to appear. After dark lanterns are carried through the field, and gongs are beaten. This ceremony is supposed to lessen the danger to the crops from insects.

In the spring when the weather grows warm, pestilences are apt to appear. In almost every city or village are held ceremonies to clear the streets of the evil spirits which cause disease.

## 2. THE GREAT FESTIVALS

Throughout the year there are many calendar festivals, most of which escape the notice of foreigners. Dore has given a calendar for

<sup>1</sup> The following paragraph is taken from the *Herald-Examiner*, Chicago, Ill., August 10, 1926.—

*"Japs Drench Yank as Part of a Prayer. Tokio, Aug. 18.*—The secretary of the American embassy, motoring through Hachioji, near Tokio, on Sunday, was suddenly drenched with water by a crowd before a wayside shrine. Believing an insult was intended, the secretary reported the incident to the foreign office. Investigation reveals that the crowd was performing a ceremony, praying for rain, this ceremony including throwing water on the first passerby."

It seems that such ceremonies to pray for rain are widespread throughout Asia.

the entire year in which every day is either a festival, a birthday of a god, or a lucky or an unlucky day.<sup>1</sup> Grainger enumerates 16 calendar fetes.<sup>2</sup> A writer in the *West China Missionary News* of November, 1926, describes seven, and states that on all of them there are family reunions and ancestral worship.<sup>3</sup> In the following list of calendar festivals, only those that seem of greatest importance are included. In all of them the ancestral ceremonies have a prominent part.

On New Year's Day all business is discontinued, the best clothing is worn, social calls are made, and in the homes there is feasting and worship of the housegods. The ancestors are commemorated. Some go to the temples and worship the deities there.

The Feast of Lanterns is on the fifteenth of the first moon. At night there are many lights and illuminations. In the homes there are feasts and ceremonies.

Between the tenth and the twentieth of the third lunar month is the Ch'in Min festival, when people visit the graves and remember their dead. Paper money is burnt, food is offered to the dead, the graves are repaired, and the living do obeisance to the spirits of the departed ancestors.

On the fifth day of the fifth moon is Tuan Yang, often called the Dragon Boat Festival. This day commemorates Ch'ioh Uen, an ancient hero who drowned himself because the emperor would not heed his good advice. The festival has practically become a great social holiday when many thousands gather on the banks of the rivers to watch groups of men in dragon-boats chase ducks that have been released in the water by the spectators.

The fifteenth day of the seventh moon might be called the festival of the orphan spirits. Much paper money is burnt to the dead ancestors. The spirits who have no filial descendants have been released from hades. Much spirit money is burnt for their use, after which floating lights are placed on the streams to entice the spirits away.

The Mid-autumn or Chong Ch'iu Festival is on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon. Probably in some parts of China this is the harvest festival, but in Szechuan there are crops all the year, so that at least in some parts of China this seems to be little more than a day to have a good time.

In the eleventh moon there is the feast of the winter solstice, with special offerings to the dead.

<sup>1</sup> Dore, Henry S. D., *Chinese Superstitions, 1915-1922*, Vol. V, pp. 565-616.

<sup>2</sup> Grainger, Adam, *Studies in Chinese Life, 1921*, pp. 49-56.

<sup>3</sup> *West China Missionary News*, November, 1926, pp. 5-12.



On the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month the Kitchen God ascends to heaven and reports to the Pearly Emperor the conduct of the family during the year. During the appropriate ceremonies for the Kitchen God, there are burnt for him paper money, a chariot for his conveyance, and a letter requesting him to forget the evil deeds of the family and to graciously make a good report to the Pearly Emperor.

In the following words Sven Hedin describes a religious festival in Tibet:

The jugglery we had witnessed was in every respect brilliant, gorgeous, and splendid, and it is easy to imagine the feelings of humility such a performance must inspire in the mind of the simple pilgrim from the desolate mountains or the peaceful valleys. While the original significance of these dramatic masquerades and their mystic plays is the exorcising and expelling of inimical demons, they are in the hands of the clergy a means of retaining the credulous masses in the net of the church, and this is a condition of the existence both of the church and of the priests. Nothing imposes on ignorance so thoroughly as fearful scenes from the demon world, and therefore devils and monsters play a prominent part in the public masquerades of the monasteries. With their help and by representatives of the King of Death, Yama, and the restless wandering souls vainly seeking new forms of existence in the sequence of transmigrations, the monks terrify the multitude and render them meek and subservient, and show many a poor sinner what obstacles and what trials await him on the rough road to Nirvana through the valley of the shadow of death.<sup>1</sup>

H. B. M. Consul Ogden, who witnessed at Tatsienlu one of the great Tibetan festivals called by foreigners the Devil Dance, said that the dramatization of the religious history of Lamaism, the inculcation of religious instruction and the arousing of feelings of religious devotion and awe in minds that would otherwise find it difficult to receive such instruction, are primary elements in the "Devil Dance." He said that at times the simple Tibetans were so overcome with awe that they would fall upon their faces in worship.

In Szechuan some of the greatest religious festivals are on the birthdays of leading deities, and center about the temples. I have witnessed several, and they are very awe-inspiring. There are processions in which there are often more than 20 deities who are carried in gayly-decorated sedan chairs or on platforms covered by beautiful pavilions. The god in whose honor the festival is held of course has the chief place in the procession. Sometimes soldiers carrying guns are asked to join in the parade; many flags and silk banners are in evidence, and sometimes large lanterns; actors dressed to represent certain deities ride in beautiful sedan chairs, impersonating the deities:

<sup>1</sup> Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya, 1909-1913*, Vol. 1, p. 315.

high officials ride on horses, and there are musicians playing on native instruments. The streets, homes, and shops are packed with spectators. As the great procession moves slowly along, people in the homes and shops burn incense, candles, and paper money in worship of the deities, and bow reverently to the gods and sometimes even to the actors who impersonate the gods.

Elaborate feasts are held in the temples for those who have helped or contributed. A company of actors may be engaged, who for several days give free theatricals for the hundreds or thousands who flock to see and hear them. The expenses of the feasts and theatricals are borne by the temples, many of which are highly endowed.

There is a prominent social element in these festivals which should not be overlooked. These are great occasions when one can meet his friends and acquaintances, when he is released from the everyday humdrum duties of life, and derives thrill, pleasure, and amusement from the feasts, the procession and the theatricals. In other words, there is the element of play. This is even more evident in the Tibetan festivals which often include horseracing and other contests.

The religious importance of these festivals is also great. They arouse a sense of awe and admiration, so that the simple people feel that there is nothing so grand as their own religion and their own gods. The festival takes advantage of crowd psychology, often teaches religious history or religious ideals through the drama, and ties the affections of the people firmly to the religion and to its gods, its priests, and its temples.

## VII. DIVINATION, LUCKY DAYS, VOWS, PRAYER, RELIGIOUS OFFERINGS, AND WORSHIP

### I. DIVINATION

Divination is frequently resorted to in Szechuan, and the ways of divining are numerous.

One method is simply to consult a Buddhist or a Taoist priest. In 1925 there was civil war in the province between the numerous war-lords. Before entering the war one of the generals consulted a Taoist priest, while another obtained the opinion of an old Buddhist priest who is considered an authority in occult matters.

A way of divination commonly used in the temples is the *yinyang kua*. A bamboo root is split into two halves in such a way that each half has a flat side and a round side. These two pieces are the *yinyang kua*. In divining, both pieces are thrown on the floor. If two round sides turn up, it is unlucky. If both flat pieces turn up, it is lucky or

favorable. If one round and one flat side turn up, it is neutral, and may be considered tolerably good.

In many of the temples are also what look like chopsticks in a round tube. In all there are one hundred of these sticks. After bowing to the god, the person interested shakes the tube containing the sticks until one of the sticks falls out. These sticks are numbered from one to one hundred. Nearby in a convenient place are also one hundred sheets of paper with numbers from one to one hundred. After the stick has fallen out of the tube, the paper with the corresponding number is found. The inscription on this paper tells the fortune of the enquirer.

Sometimes a Taoist priest goes into a trance and while apparently unconscious utters incoherent words. They are supposed to be communications from the spirit world. Others interpret his words.

## 2. LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS

Lucky and unlucky days are of primary importance, and can easily be determined. It would be disastrous to have weddings or funerals, to make sales or purchases, or to begin an important journey or other undertaking on an unlucky day.

There are two ways of explaining lucky or unlucky days. One is described by Mr. Grainger:

There are minor deities that rule the sixty years of the cycle, the months of the year, the days of the year, and the twelve Chinese hours of the day. Certain gods are credited with being better rulers than others, and when one of these gods is in office the occasion is auspicious for commencing any undertaking, such as starting on a journey, beginning to build a house, burying the dead, opening a new shop, or going to school. These lucky days are all fixed by the compilers of the National Almanac, a copy of which is to be found in almost every house. The days are classed according to the cycle and the five elements, and what works may be done, and what may not be done are fully indicated.

Fortune-tellers are often asked to select specially fortunate days for weddings, and geomancers choose good days for funerals, and for commencing building operations.<sup>1</sup>

The explanation that has been given the present writer by both the Chinese and the Chuan Miao aborigines is that there are 12 creatures, the rat, the water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the sheep, the monkey, the chicken, the dog, the horse and the pig that in turn dominate the days. Certain creatures are lucky and others are unlucky. The days dominated by the unlucky animals are unpropitious.

<sup>1</sup> Grainger, Adam, *Studies in Chinese Life*, 1921, p. 76.

and vice versa. Lucky and unlucky days are clearly indicated in the Chinese almanac, which is sometimes used as a charm, and which is possessed by nearly every family.

### 3. OATHS

Oaths are generally made to and in the names of deities, and there are few of the unsophisticated who will break such an oath. The following is an example. The writer was crossing a pass west of Yachow. He had stopped to rest in an inn, for the day was hot and the road was steep. The carriers had drunk some tea and eaten some food purchased in the inn. When they were settling their accounts, the wife of the innkeeper, who had been waiting on them, asserted that one of the coolies had paid for less than he had eaten. The coolie declared that this was untrue. A lively dispute ensued. The head coolie finally took up the matter. To the wife of the innkeeper he said, "Are you telling the truth?" She declared that she was. "Then," he asked, "Will you swear by a certain god, and agree that if it is not true the god may burn down this house?" "No," she said, "I will not swear that oath." The coolie did not pay the extra money demanded, and all were convinced that the woman had been telling a lie.

### 4. VOWS

Vows are almost inseparable from prayers, expressed or implied, so they will be briefly treated under the discussion of prayer.

### 5. PRAYERS

The simplest kind of prayer possible is illustrated by that of the magistrate of Chengtu in the ceremony to cause the coming of spring, which has been given on another page. A simple wish is expressed, and no deity is addressed or mentioned. The prayers of many worshippers go just a step beyond this. They burn incense, respectfully bow or kowtow, name or call upon the deity, and express the wish.

The writer was in a rowboat, being ferried across the Min River. A woman was holding a little girl in her lap. As they were passing a Goddess of Mercy who was in a shrine on a cliff overhanging the river, the woman looked up reverently and said, "Kuanyin P'usah, *bao fu wa wa*," or "Goddess of Mercy, protect this child."

Most vows are practically bargains with the deities. They are promises to do certain things *if* the god will grant the worshipper's desires, expressed or implied. A sick person may beseech a god to heal him, and promise if healed to make a pilgrimage to a certain

mountain and burn so many sticks of incense and so much paper money. If healed, the supplicant fulfills his vows.

In the country districts south of Suifu one often sees in the wayside shrines straw images of human hands or human feet that have been placed before the idols in fulfillment of vows. A person having a sore hand will beseech the god to heal the hand, promising that if he will the supplicant will present a hand to the god. The same course may be taken in case of sore feet.

The following is the writer's own translation of a prayer to the Kitchen God, which is sealed in an envelope like a letter and burnt on the twenty-third day of the twelfth moon, when the Kitchen God ascends to heaven. Similar letters are often sent to the deities by burning, for they consider that burning them is equivalent to delivering them to the gods:

I, So-and-So, representing the whole family, reverently and sincerely come and beseech you to hear us. You have great merit in saving the world and nourishing all people. You protect us with virtue and mercy. You control and judge the good and evil deeds of our family. In our cooking, and in our eating and drinking we depend on your mercy. Through all the year you care for us. But we are uncleanly in our habits, and think unclean thoughts, and trouble you. We write you this letter, hoping that you will forgive our sins, and not report them to the Pearly Emperor, thus causing the whole family to be grateful to you.

Date.

We have seen that the prayer often includes the vow, and is a sort of a bargain. The prayers of the people of Szechuan are very practical. They generally express desires for things considered of use in their everyday lives—food, protection, healing, or prosperity—in other words, they are expressions of the universal desire for a happy or satisfying life.

#### 6. RELIGIOUS OFFERINGS

Food and other necessities are offered to the deceased ancestors, who are supposed to need nourishment and money after death precisely as they did while living. The other world is a counterpart of this world, but more shadowy.

The deities also need food and money. Sometimes a whole pig is taken to the temple and offered to the gods. The money is generally paper cash, paper ingots of gold or silver, or paper dollars. These are burnt, and thus made available in the spirit land.

Very little of value is burnt or destroyed. After being offered to the gods, the food is consumed by the priests or by the givers themselves.

We do not find the idea of vicarious sacrifice for others. In what are generally called sacrifices by western writers there is the idea of providing food, money, and other necessities for the ancestors and the gods. The writer has seen idols who are supposed to be addicted to the opium habit, and to whom the worshippers are accustomed to offer opium by smearing it on their lips. Again, there is the idea that gifts will establish friendly relations with the ancestors or the gods and dispose them to deal kindly with the giver and help him in case of need. An element that should not be overlooked is the very natural tendency to sacrifice something valuable or useful to a friend or to a superior. This custom or habit is carried over into religion from the social life and customs of the Chinese.

It is the usual practice, when making social calls, to take gifts to the friends on whom one is calling—cookies, candies, eggs, nuts, a chicken, a duck, or the like. A poor Bible woman in Suifu said that she could not make calls on the church members and enquirers because it would be necessary for her to make presents to those on whom she called, which she could not afford to do. Twice I have returned from Suifu to America on furlough. Both times a large number of Chinese friends gave farewell presents. They varied from beautiful pictures, embroideries, old bronzes and vases to native candies, eggs, and pieces of sugarcane. Even when calling on magistrates on official business it is advisable and often necessary to take a gift. Presents are given at engagements, weddings, and funerals. It is natural for people with such social customs to make gifts to the ancestors and the gods. In Szechuan the killing of the victim is a non-essential part of the ceremony of worship, and the "sacrifices" are gifts rather than sacrifices. They are made to satisfy what are considered real needs of the ancestors and the gods, to establish a friendly relationship or communion, and sometimes merely in accordance with a natural tendency to contribute something valuable to an esteemed friend or to a superior.

## 7. WORSHIP

The religious acts and ceremonies that we call worship are practiced in the homes, at the graves, at the wayside shrines, and in the Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist and ancestral temples.

Sometimes there are group ceremonies at the wayside shrines, but they are essentially the same as the rites in the homes and in the temples. Often an individual will go to a shrine, light a few sticks of incense, burn some paper money as an offering, make obeisance, utter a prayer or request, and depart.

The burning of incense is to some extent a complimentary act, but incense is pleasing to the smell, and is calculated to put the ancestor or the god in a good humor. As a part of the writer's early language study he had to read with the Chinese teacher the account in the Chinese Bible of Noah's flood. After coming out of the ark, Noah offered burnt-offerings to Jehovah, "And Jehovah smelled the sweet savor"; which apparently caused Jehovah to be in a good humor and therefore more propitious, so that Jehovah determined not to curse the ground any more for man's sake, nor again ever to smite all the living.<sup>1</sup> As the writer read that passage, it came to him that this is exactly the conception that the Chinese worshipper has of what occurs when he burns incense before his ancestors or his gods.

The first and fifteenth of each month are special times for ceremonies of respect and commemoration to one's ancestors in the homes, where at dusk every day the people worship the housegods. A bell is struck to awaken the gods and to notify them of the presence of the worshipper. A few sticks of incense are burnt. Very often not a single word is uttered. The worshipper simply bows his respects and departs.

In the temples there is "worship" by individuals or by groups. Every day at daylight and at dusk a priest goes to each god, lights a stick or two of incense, strikes a bell or gong, bows to the deity, and goes on. A worshipper who is not a priest may enter a temple and worship all the idols as described above without uttering a word. His worship is merely establishing friendly relationships and expressing reverence—but of course he expects this to be beneficial to him. If there is something special on the heart of the worshipper, then he is apt to utter a prayer and perhaps burn paper money.

More elaborate worship is performed by a number of priests for the individual or for the community. Portions of scriptures are generally chanted, and musical instruments—bells, gongs, and sometimes drums and horns, are used. At times these ceremonies are beautiful. At other times they sound monotonous and discordant to the foreign ear. One of the most beautiful and impressive ceremonies that the writer has heard was that of an evening worship in the lower Wan Nien Si Temple, or the Monastery of Ten Thousand Years, on Mt. Omei. It was performed by the temple priests before the god P'ushien who rides on the bronze elephant.

In the temples there is much reading or chanting of scriptures. This is considered an act of great merit, helping the individual to secure

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<sup>1</sup> Genesis, chapter VIII, verses 20-22.

the approval and favor of the gods and prosperity. It is not at all necessary that the priest or the person for whom the scriptures are read understand. In Tibet the "prayer wheel" and the "prayer flag" have been invented so as to accommodate the masses who cannot read and write, and to enable a person to acquire a maximum amount of merit with a minimum amount of effort.<sup>1</sup> While reading, the Chinese priest beats a wooden fish with a wooden mallet, one stroke for every word. There is a legend that the Buddhist scriptures were once lost in a sea or in a river, and were swallowed by a great fish. The fish was caught, and by beating compelled to give the scriptures back. The wooden fish is therefore beaten, even by Taoist priests, when scriptures are ceremonially read.

While affection, awe, and reverence are strong motives in worship, fear also has a prominent place. Many of the gods are so made as to inspire fear.<sup>2</sup> Near Ch'anglinshien is a wayside shrine in which is a terrible-looking god. In his hand is a club, which is raised as if to strike. On the shrine these words are inscribed:

What audacity you have, that you dare  
come and look at me.  
Quickly repent. Do not go and harm people.

Children are taught to fear the idols. Mothers tell them that if they do not worship the gods they will get the stomach ache.

One day in the city of Ngan Lin Ch'iao the writer visited one of the largest temples in company with a high school student. Both the student and his parents were Christians, and the student's father was one of the leading merchants of the city. That day the temple was nearly deserted. A carpenter was working in a distant room, and occasionally he would hit a board with a loud bang. As they walked among the deities, some of which were fearful in appearance, the student was evidently frightened. He started at every loud noise, and would not let his foreign friend strike any of the gongs or bells in front of the idols. He expected the writer to be frightened, and asked, "Are you afraid?" Many of the Chinese fear the gods, and because they fear they worship. Some of the gods are purposely made terrible in appearance so as to inspire fear. This story is also of interest

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<sup>1</sup> The writer was told by Tibetans at Tatsienlu and by aborigines at Songpan that the so-called prayer wheels and prayer flags are not really for prayer, but primarily and almost entirely for reading scriptures, and to secure the help of gods and prosperity.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that terrible gods are very efficacious against demons is doubtless an important reason for their development, especially in Tibet.



because the student, who worshipped only the Christian God, considered the idols in the temples to be real gods, and was afraid of them.

In Szechuan the motives for the worship of the gods are fear, awe, reverence, affection, and the desire to secure the help of the divinities in living a happy and successful life.<sup>1</sup>

## VIII. TEMPLES AND SACRED PLACES

### I. THE RELATION OF THE TEMPLE TO THE COMMUNITY

Temples are considered more or less the property of the community. Practically everybody contributes towards their support—in fact, they must contribute. At stated or at special times the priests go from house to house, leaving at each home some evidence that the inmates have contributed. Sometimes the different temples divide a city into districts, each temple collecting in its own district. At other times one temple will collect over the whole city. In one town, if a family refuses to contribute, the priests will place an image or some other evidence before the door of the house. This is considered a great disgrace. People begin to crowd around, and finally in self-defense the family is compelled by general disapproval to make the contribution.

### 2. CONFUCIAN TEMPLES

Most Confucian temples have in them only the tablets of Confucius, his disciples, Mencius, and other noted Confucian scholars. Occa-

<sup>1</sup>The following event took place at Ch'anglinshien. There had been no rain for so long that the crops were in danger. The people and the priests had been praying for rain. The magistrate went for a visit to the P'utaogin Temple outside the city, where there are several dragon gods. He remarked that if the gods would send a heavy rain that night he would thoroughly repair the temple, a thing which was much needed. It was not stated whether or not the magistrate prayed to the gods, but it was assumed that the gods knew what he had said. Possibly the priests prayed especially to the dragon gods to send rain so that the temple might be repaired. At any rate, there was a great rain that night, and the crops were saved, and the magistrate repaired the temple.

Additional note on vows.—At K'ai Shan Ch'u Dien, on Mt. Omei, which means the first monastery opened on the mountain, I saw a farmer and his wife worshipping. They were pilgrims who were visiting the temples on the mountain. Before a famous bronze image of Mi Leh Fuh, the Buddhist Messiah, they divined by means of the *yinyang kua*. Twice they consulted, but both times the result was unlucky. The pilgrims were frightened. Then the priest said, "Quickly make a vow." I could not hear what was said, but the lips of the woman moved as she made her vow. Then the divination was repeated, and the results were "lucky" or good. They felt that because of her vow, which we may regard as a bargain with the deity, the god changed her luck from bad to good.

sionally one will see an image of Confucius, resembling the ordinary images or idols found in the Buddhist and Taoist temples. The greatest ceremony in the Confucian temples comes on the birthday of Confucius.

3. CONTENTS OF THE BUDDHIST AND TAOIST TEMPLES

The Buddhist and Taoist temples are really homes for the gods and for the priests. They also contain rooms for the entertainment

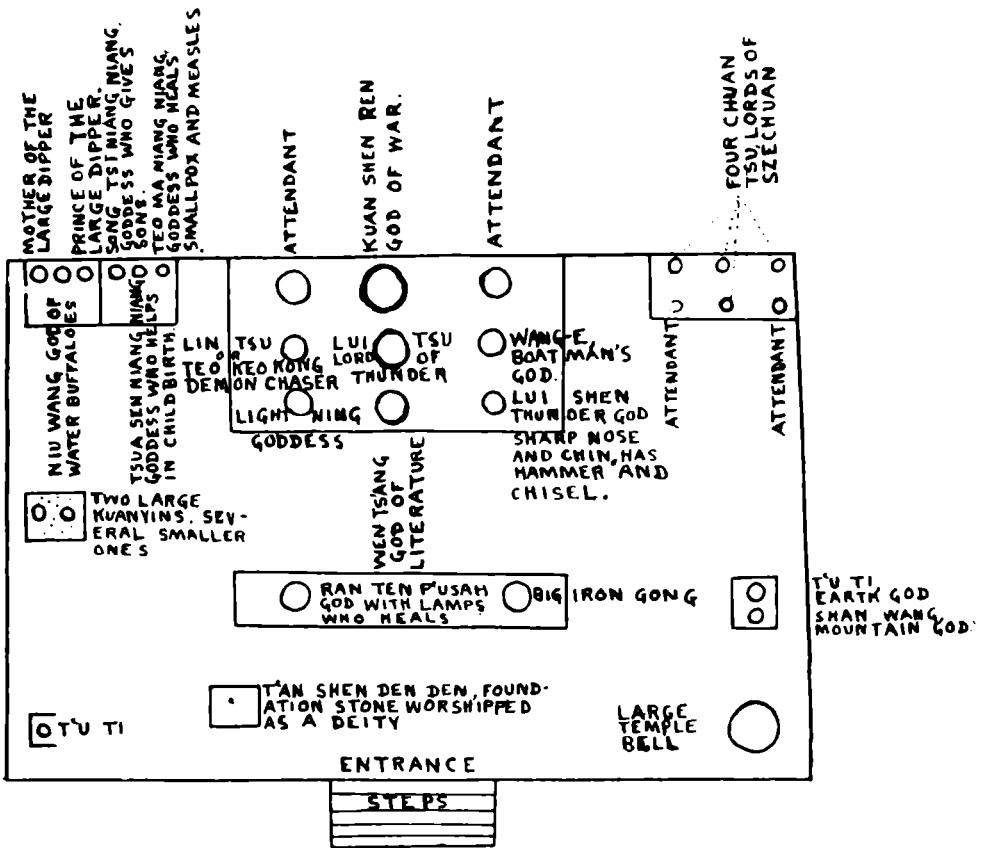


FIG. 6.—Diagram of a Buddhist temple called Ta Tsang Fu, three miles west of Suifu, Szechuan, China.

of guests, who are generally given a cup of tea, a large kitchen where feasts can be prepared, a goodly number of square dining tables, dishes, seats, and benches, besides large and small drums and bells, ceremonial robes, and scriptures and instruments of worship used by the priests.

4. SOURCES OF TEMPLE INCOMES

In addition to the collections that we have described many temples have incomes from endowments. Some are quite prosperous

because of the possession of farms or houses. Practically all temples occasionally ask for contributions. Adherents give according to their ability when the priests conduct funerals, exorcise demons, or help by reading the scriptures.

#### 5. TEMPLES AS SACRED PLACES

Temples are sacred places. Often the trees in the temple enclosures are also sacred, and must not be cut down. Occasionally sacred groves or trees are to be found near and on the grounds owned by the temples. Sometimes the temples are built in ordinary places in a city or village, or by the roadside, and the places are apparently holy for no other reason than the presence of the temples. Yet there is a very noticeable tendency to build temples, when possible, in places where the natural beauty or the strange scenery arouse the feelings of wonder and awe. Such places are apt to be sacred spots or holy mountains, though not always. Very often where there are imposing hills inside of the city walls temples will be found on their summits.

At Suifu the Taoist temple called Pan Pien Si is situated on the side of a very steep hill overlooking the Min River. The situation is so beautiful that practically every artist who comes to Suifu paints the temple and its surroundings. Across the Min River from Suifu is a large, cracked rock through which Chu K'o Liang is supposed to have marched his soldiers in order to deceive the aborigines who then were in possession of Suifu. This is also the scene of a temple.

Up the Min River from Suifu is Tao Si Kuan, a Taoist temple. It is situated on a tremendous rock that reaches half-way across the river so that it changes the direction of the stream. In this rock there is a deep natural cave that is exposed in low water, but covered in high water. The river rushes fiercely past the rock, especially in high water, and part of the year there is a strong eddy on the opposite side of the stream flowing in the opposite direction from the main current. Boats are sometimes wrecked here. The place is such a one as will naturally arouse fear, wonder, and awe.

At Shuin Gien Si or Shiong Gien Si there is a Buddhist temple in a cave half-way up a perpendicular cliff. The rock is limestone, and the cave is a natural one inside which there is dripping water which is believed to have power to heal diseases. This cave can be reached only by means of steps hewn out of the solid rock. A tree which stands very near the steps is a *fengshui* tree. The temple has several stories, the first story being on a level with the flat ground under the cliff, and the last story being in the cave itself. The stone of the cliff is

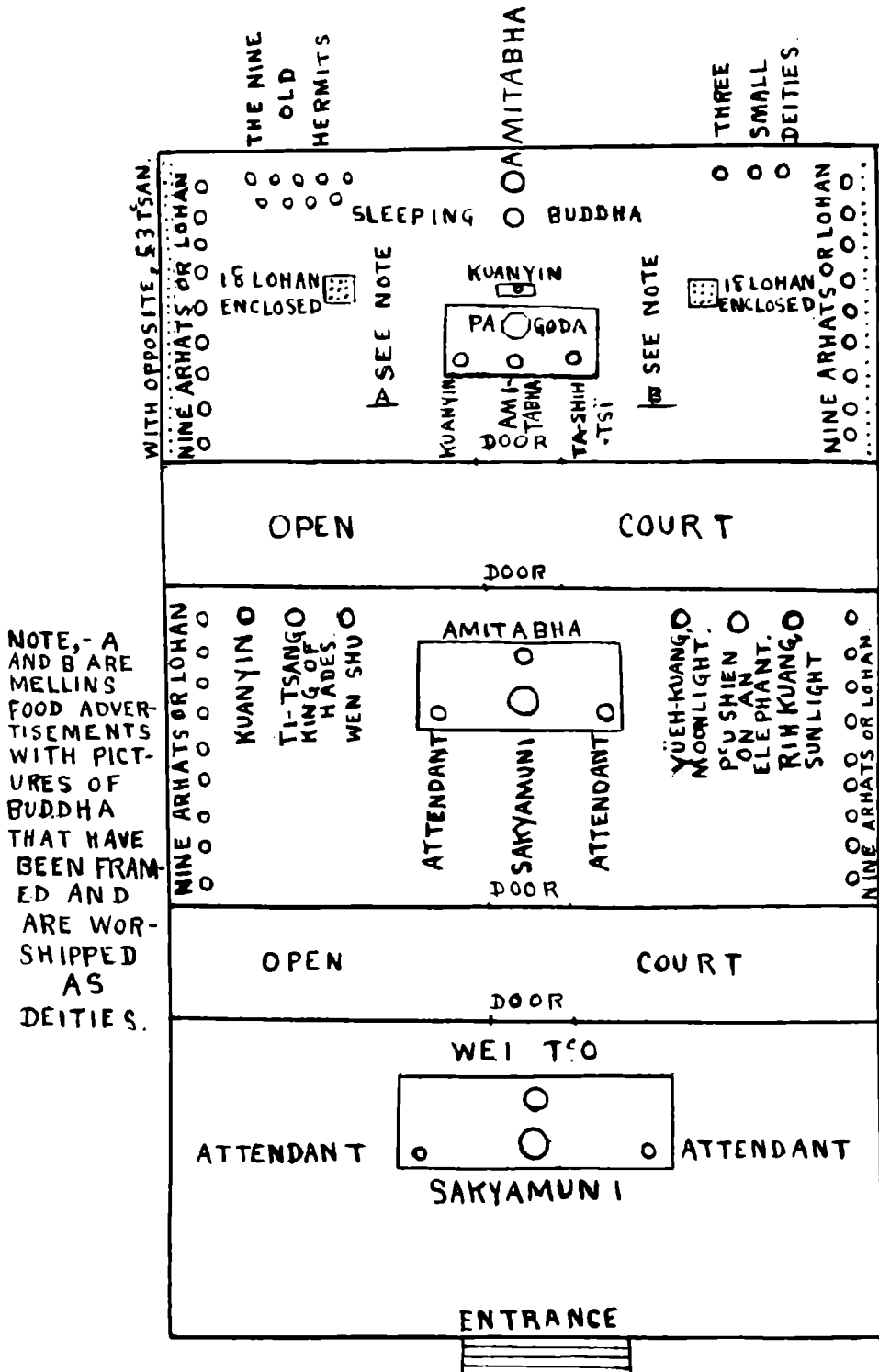


Fig. 7.—Diagram of the famous Gieu Lao Dong, or temple of the nine old hermits, Buddhist, on Mt. Omei, Szechuan, China.

slightly yellow, so that it is thought to resemble gold dust. The temple is therefore named Gin Sha Dong, or the cave of golden sands. On the top of the cliff trees of a forest can be seen, but the sides are so steep that they are bare of vegetation. Here again a place of marvellous beauty that naturally arouses feelings of wonder and awe has been chosen as the location for a temple, a holy place set aside for the worship of the gods.

At Ch'anglinshien there is a temple in which is a mineral spring. Because of the mineral in the water, groups of air-bubbles come up from the bottom which to the Chinese seem to resemble bunches of grapes. They call the temple P'utaogin, or grape well. The hill back of this temple is verdant with beautiful bushes and trees. In the temple grounds are a pond and several large trees. Across the plain from the temple high mountains rise to the sky. Here again a scene of marvellous natural beauty that arouses feelings of admiration, wonder, and awe has been chosen as the place for a temple.

Another illustration is Huang Long Si or the Yellow Dragon Gorge, which is reached from Songpan by crossing a mountain pass over 14,000 feet high. Beginning at the base of a snow mountain called Shueh Bao Din Shan, the stream flows down a canyon for about ten miles, when it joins another stream that flows at right angles to it. The water in this stream is so full of mineral that the mineral substance is deposited all the way down the canyon, forming a bright yellow stone. In many places the water trickles down into a series of terraced pools resembling rice paddies on a hillside, with the outer banks rounded into irregular shapes. Similar pools are found in the Yellowstone Park, but there are many more of them in the Yellow Dragon Gorge. The crystal-clear blue water and the bright yellow stone give these pools a beautiful appearance, which is enhanced by the surrounding forests that cover all the hillsides, and by a wonderful variety of flowers. At the head of the gorge are lofty mountain peaks that are perpetually covered with snow, and great ribs of white snow reach far down the mountainsides.

This district would be very interesting to the geologist. In one place the stream has deposited so much of the mineral that a waterfall has been formed. Along the stream the mineral substance is deposited mostly near the edge where the water flows less swiftly, so that the stream constantly builds up banks for itself. There are places where the stream bed is from five to thirty feet higher than the surrounding land. The lowest spots are old, abandoned beds of the stream. Leaves, sticks, and trees that fall into the water are encased in the mineral and buried deeper and deeper.

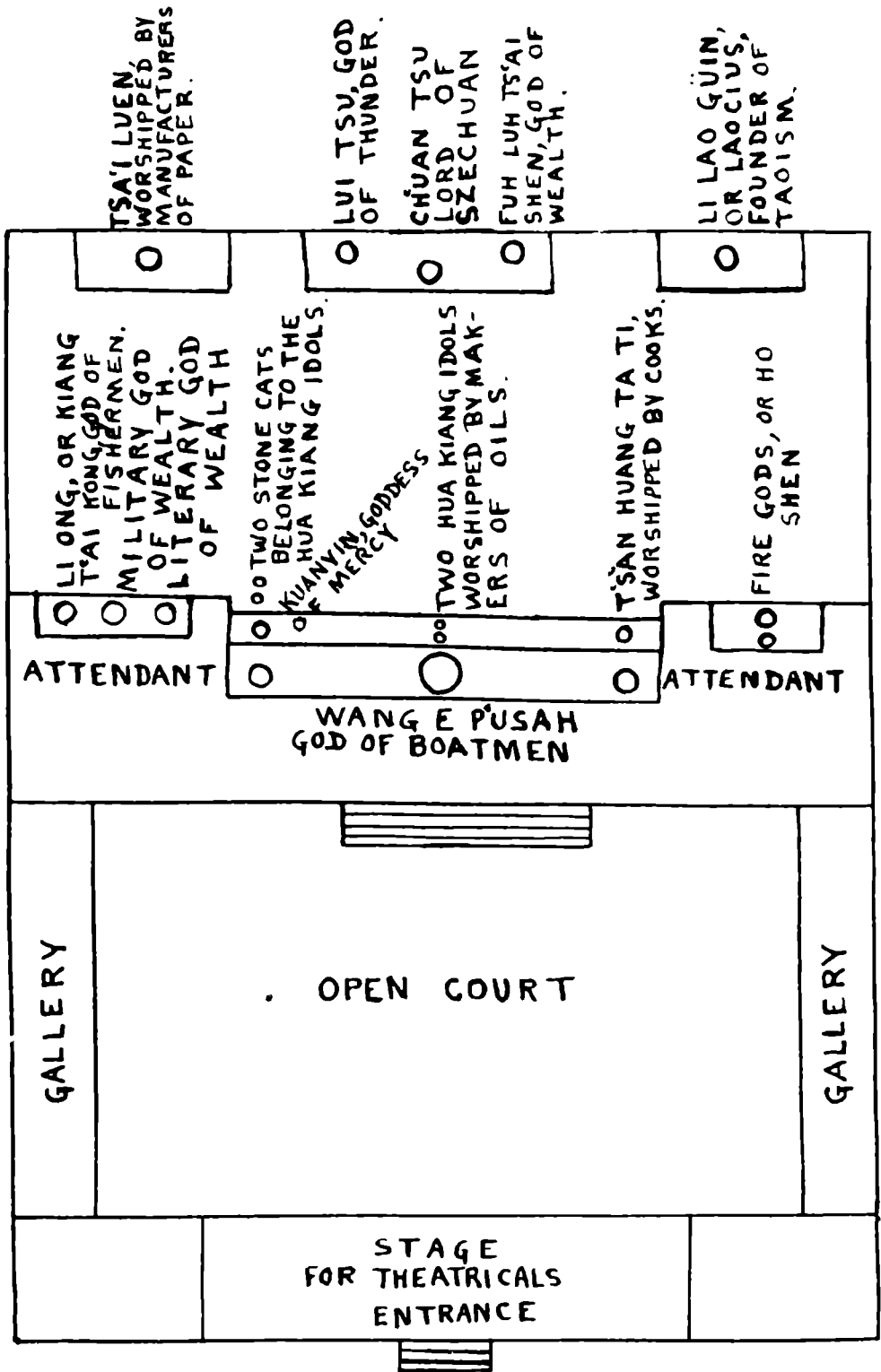


FIG. 8.—Diagram of the Wang E Miao, or temple of Wang E, the boatmen's god, at Li Chuang, Szechuan, China. This is a Taoist temple.

Several temples are situated in the Yellow Dragon Gorge, the most important being the three temples at the head of the canyon called respectively the Lower, the Middle, and the Upper Yellow Dragon Temples. In the upper temple is the Yellow Dragon God himself, called Huang Long Tsen Ren, or Yellow Dragon True Man. He is not a real dragon, but an old man with a long white beard, and with bright yellow clothing resembling in color the yellow rock of the stream bed. He is the chief god or ruler of the district. Outside the temple and in front of it is a large stone altar where the aborigines worship, using cedar twigs as incense. The Chinese do not use this altar, but worship inside the temples.

The official who was overseeing the temples when I visited them in 1924 said that the first temple was built in the time of Tao Kuang, who ruled China from 1821 to 1850. I was unable to get any information about the origin of the worship of the Yellow Dragon God at this place. The existence of the stone altar used only by the aborigines suggests the question, did the aborigines first worship the Yellow Dragon God here on an altar under a clear sky, and the Chinese come later, build temples, and unite with the aborigines in the worship of the Yellow Dragon God?

Now Chinese and aborigines alike worship at these temples. Streams of pilgrims are constantly coming and going and there is a great annual festival attended by thousands, and which lasts for three days. The Yellow Dragon Gorge, with its temples, its sacred places, and its deities, now holds as large a place in the religious life of the Songpan district as Mt. Omei does in central Szechuan. It is a place of many natural wonders that has become a holy of holies.

## 6. SACRED MOUNTAINS

From very early times the emperor of China has visited the four great sacred mountains in the four districts, and on their summits performed the official worship of heaven. Mountains have been the natural elevations on which the cult of heaven was performed.

Mt. Omei is a sacred mountain in Szechuan that is famous among both Chinese and foreigners. There are three smaller sacred mountains, and possibly others. One is south of Suifu near the Yunnan border. It is called Gien Feng Shan, or Sharp Wind Mountain. This has long been a sacred place. It stands out higher than the surrounding mountains, and is pointed. Because it is higher than the neighboring peaks, it is apt to be windy. Hence its name, sharp or pointed windy mountain. Formerly the Taoists were in possession, and had

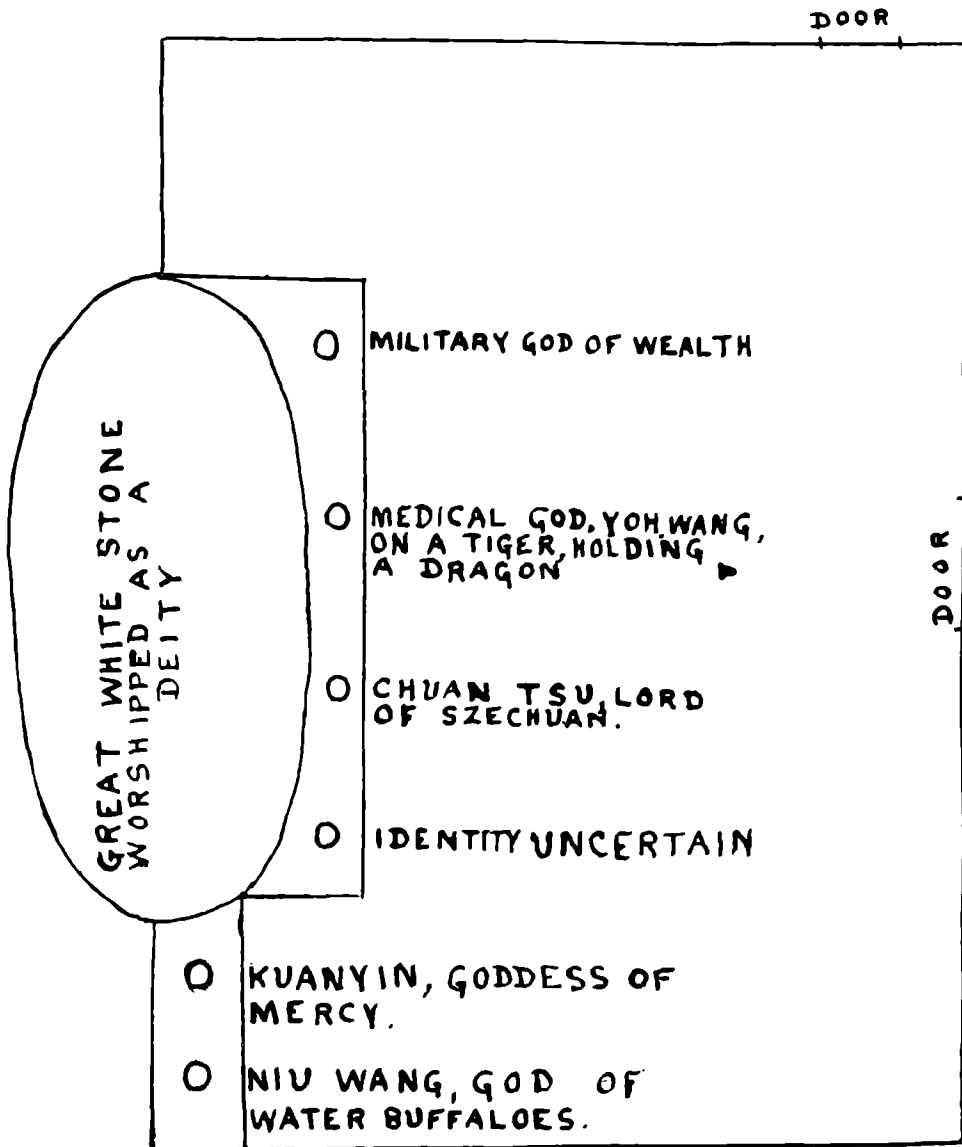


FIG. 9.—Small temple in the country near Suifu, Szechuan, China. First the white stone was worshipped as a god. Later the temple was built and other gods added.



two temples. Now the Buddhists are in control. Pilgrims from the surrounding townships go to this mountain to worship.

East of Suifu near Ngan Lin Ch'iao is Fuh Lai Shan, a Buddhist sacred mountain. Its name means the mountain to which Buddha came. A legend relates that one of the Buddhas in a temple on this mountain flew there. Large numbers of pilgrims go to Fuh Lai Shan from nearby districts. The mountain stands out conspicuously above the surrounding hills, and its top is covered with trees.

Washan, possibly the highest mountain in central Szechuan, is also a sacred mountain with many natural wonders. On every side is a sheer precipice, with only one path over an unbelievably narrow ridge by which one can ascend to the summit. Near the top one can only proceed by climbing perpendicular cliffs by means of ladders. This beautiful and majestic mountain stands out above its neighbors, and has long been a sacred mountain. In former years three temples were located on the top, but now there is only one, which is visited by pilgrims from nearby towns and farms. Mt. Omei has overshadowed Washan as a sacred mountain.

Virgil C. Hart, in "Western China," says that Mt. Omei is a center of natural wonders the like of which may not be found elsewhere on the globe. On the Chinese map of Mt. Omei prepared for pilgrims there are three short poems or verses expressing the profound feelings and emotions that stir the hearts of the worshippers because of the wonderful natural beauties of the mountain and its religious associations. Free translations are given below:

The land of the eastern dawn is near heaven.  
At the parting of the clouds P'ushien is visible.  
The picture revealed cannot be fully comprehended,  
But many glorious peaks can be seen.

To here the Kuen Luen Range extends its veins.  
A great marvel is this.  
Heaven borrows the stars to display it,  
And in all the seven layers (of the mountain) the caves open (to display wonders).

P'ushien came out of the west.  
The King of Han named this spread-light precipice.  
Uen Gioh of the T'ang Dynasty was here exalted (to divine rank).  
In the Manchu Dynasty there appeared here a living P'ushien.  
May his majesty reveal himself on this mountain-top.  
Ten thousand bright lights fly over the abyss to welcome him.

One of the earliest Europeans to travel in west China was E. Colborne Baber, whose article, *Travels and Researches in the Interior of*

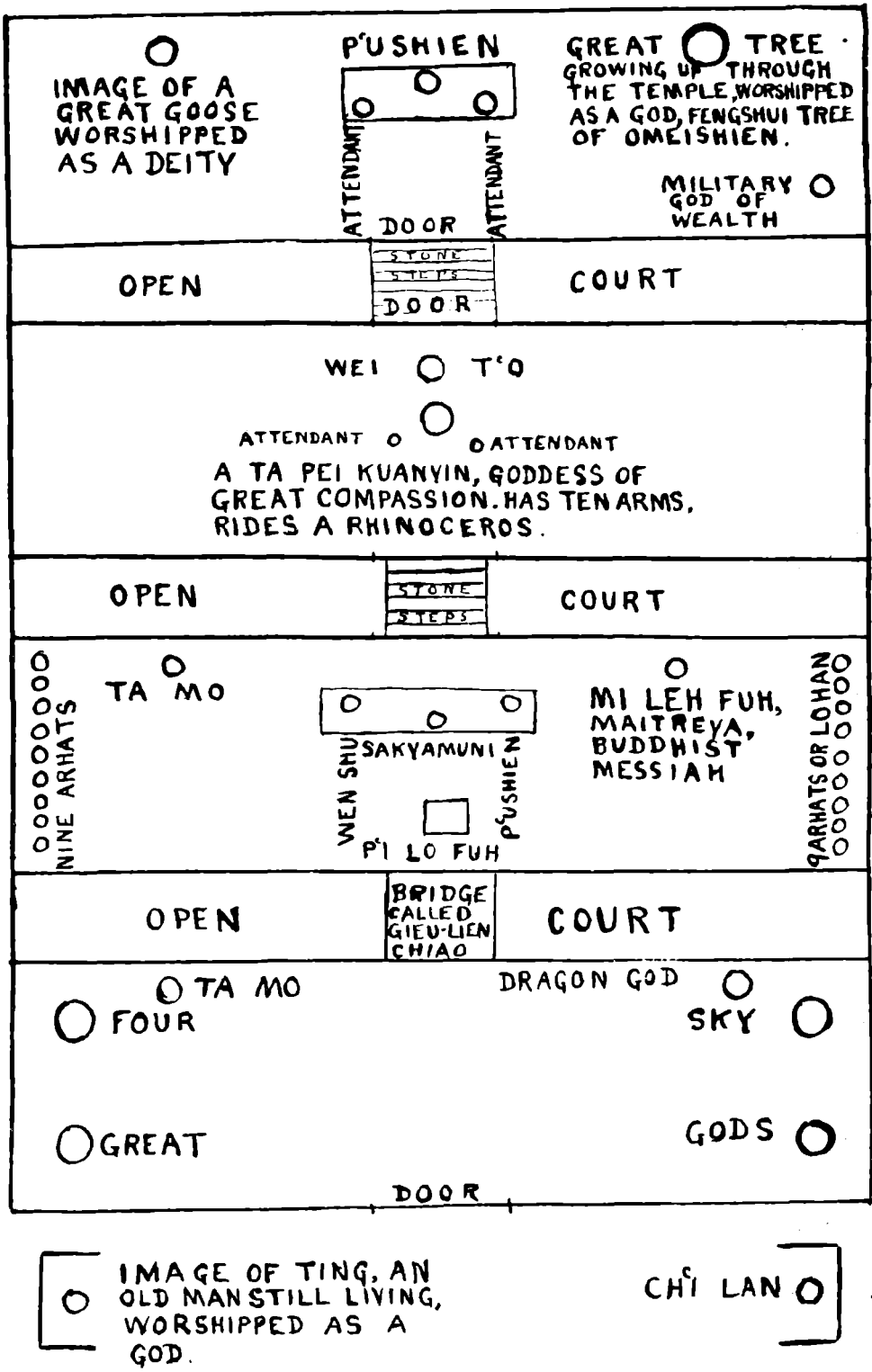


FIG. 10.—Diagram of the Ta O Si, or temple of the great goose, a Buddhist temple on Mt. Omei.

China, was published in the supplementary papers of the Royal Geographical Society in 1886. He vividly described his impressions of Mt. Omei:

The plain begins to break up into hills a few miles below Mei-chou. Some hours before reaching that point my attention had been attracted to a dim but sharp-edged object rising high above the southwestern horizon, which I took to be a cloud; but at last noticing that its profile did not change, I pointed it out to a boatman, who replied with a certain contempt. "Don't you know Mt. Omei when you see it?" From the point where I first caught sight of it, its distance was more than fifty miles. There must be something in the conditions of its position which greatly exaggerates its size, for when it is seen across the level country from the edge of which it rises, the mind at once refuses to believe that any mountain can be so high. How it looks from a nearer point of view I cannot affirm, for I have ascended it, travelled all round it, and three times passed close under it, without ever seeing it again, as it was always clothed in mist. Perhaps the mirage of the wide plain lends it an illusive majesty which is enhanced by its remarkable outline. Its undulating ridge gradually rises to the summit at the southern end, where, from its highest knoll, it is suddenly cut sheer down to the level earth—or nearly so, for the lower fourth part was hidden by clouds—forming a precipice, or, it may be, a series of precipices, which it is disagreeable to think of.<sup>1</sup>

Mt. Omei is visible on clear days from distant parts of the province. Clear mountain streams, waterfalls, rugged limestone cliffs, forests of evergreen trees, natural caves, and a precipice six thousand feet high and almost perpendicular make this mountain one of the most beautiful in the world. Little wonder that it is sacred and is the religious center of millions of people, a mecca to which pilgrims go from all over China and from Tibet.

These illustrations are sufficient to show that in Szechuan there is a tendency to erect temples and shrines in places whose natural beauty or strangeness arouse feelings of awe and wonder; that such places often become sacred, the seat of superhuman power; and that magnificent mountains which stand out prominently in the landscape and possess exceptional beauty or marvellous scenery are apt to become sacred.

#### IX. THE GODS IN SZECHUAN PROVINCE

The study of the gods in China is not a simple task. While some are primarily Buddhist and others Taoist, many of them are found in both Buddhist and Taoist Temples. Distinct, clearcut classifications are nearly impossible. One god may have several functions. Amitabha is a god of compassion who also protects from demons and gives

<sup>1</sup>Baber, E. Colborne, *Travels and Researches in the Interior of China*. Royal Geographical Society, Vol. 1, 1886, page 30.

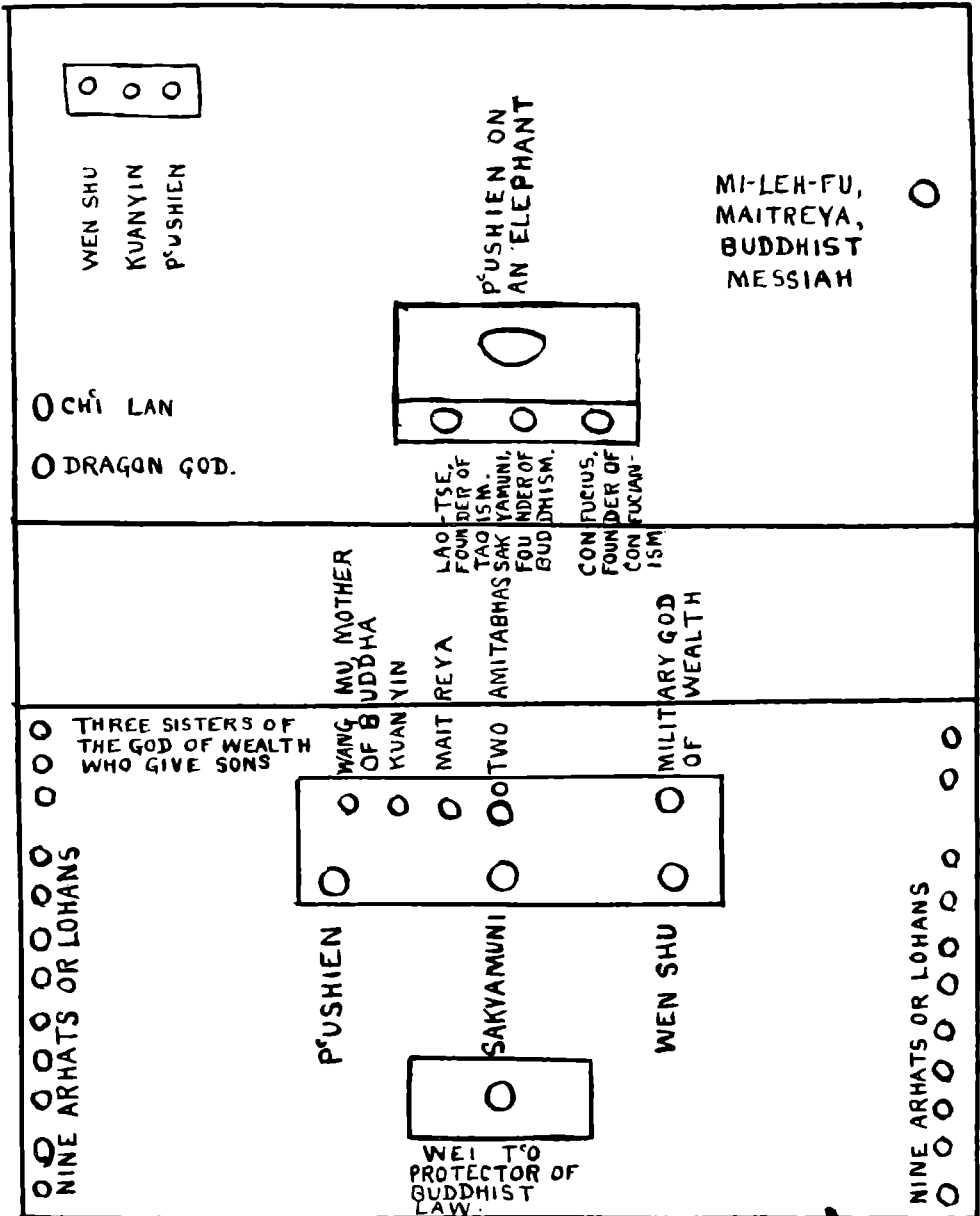


FIG. 11.—Diagram of the Üin Ngan temple, Buddhist, on the summit of Mt. Omei.

happiness. Kuanyin is in Tibet a male god, and in China generally a female known as the Goddess of Mercy. She can undergo almost any transformation that will enable her to help men. Often she is represented with a vial of magic water in her hands. The number of her arms varies from two to one thousand. Sometimes she holds a baby in her lap, and is called the Song Tsi Kuanyin, or the Goddess of Mercy who gives sons. She may even transform herself into an odd-looking demon-god who rescues the suffering souls in hades.

#### I. DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS OF THE GODS

A god may exist without any visible representation. Occasionally the images have disappeared from the shrines, but often the worship goes on just the same. T'ien Lao Yeh, or the Old One in Heaven, is a well-known god, but there seem to be no images of him.

To the Chinese worshipper it seems desirable, if not necessary, to visualize in some way the god who is worshipped. Sometimes this is accomplished by merely inscribing the name of the deity on paper, wood, or stone. The commonest housegod consists of a red scroll of paper hung on the wall in the most prominent place, on which are written in large characters *T'ien, Di, Guin, Ch'in, Si, Wei*, or the throne of Heaven, Earth, Rulers, Relatives, and Scholars. This really includes the enlarged family of superiors or elders to whom one owes filial piety or gratitude. From heaven or the sky come rain and sunshine, two things that are indispensable to life and happiness. Earth yields coal and other minerals, vegetables, fruits, grasses, and trees. *Guin* really signifies the emperor and his rulers so that it indicates the imperial government. There has therefore been a tendency in some localities to substitute the word *kueh*, or country, which is more in harmony with the new patriotism. In general, however, the use of the word *guin*, has been continued, giving it the meaning of rulers, those who are the parents and protectors of the people. The word *ch'in* means relatives or elders, and particularly one's ancestors. *Si* signifies scholars or teachers, most highly respected because of their learning and because they are the educators of the young. This is one of the most difficult gods for a Chinese to give up on becoming a Christian. It is worshipped as a god, incense is burnt to it, and people pray and make obeisance to it. Sometimes the name of a god is written on a board and set up to be worshipped.

A further stage beyond this is the drawing, painting, or printing of the image of the god. In wayside shrines round stones will some-

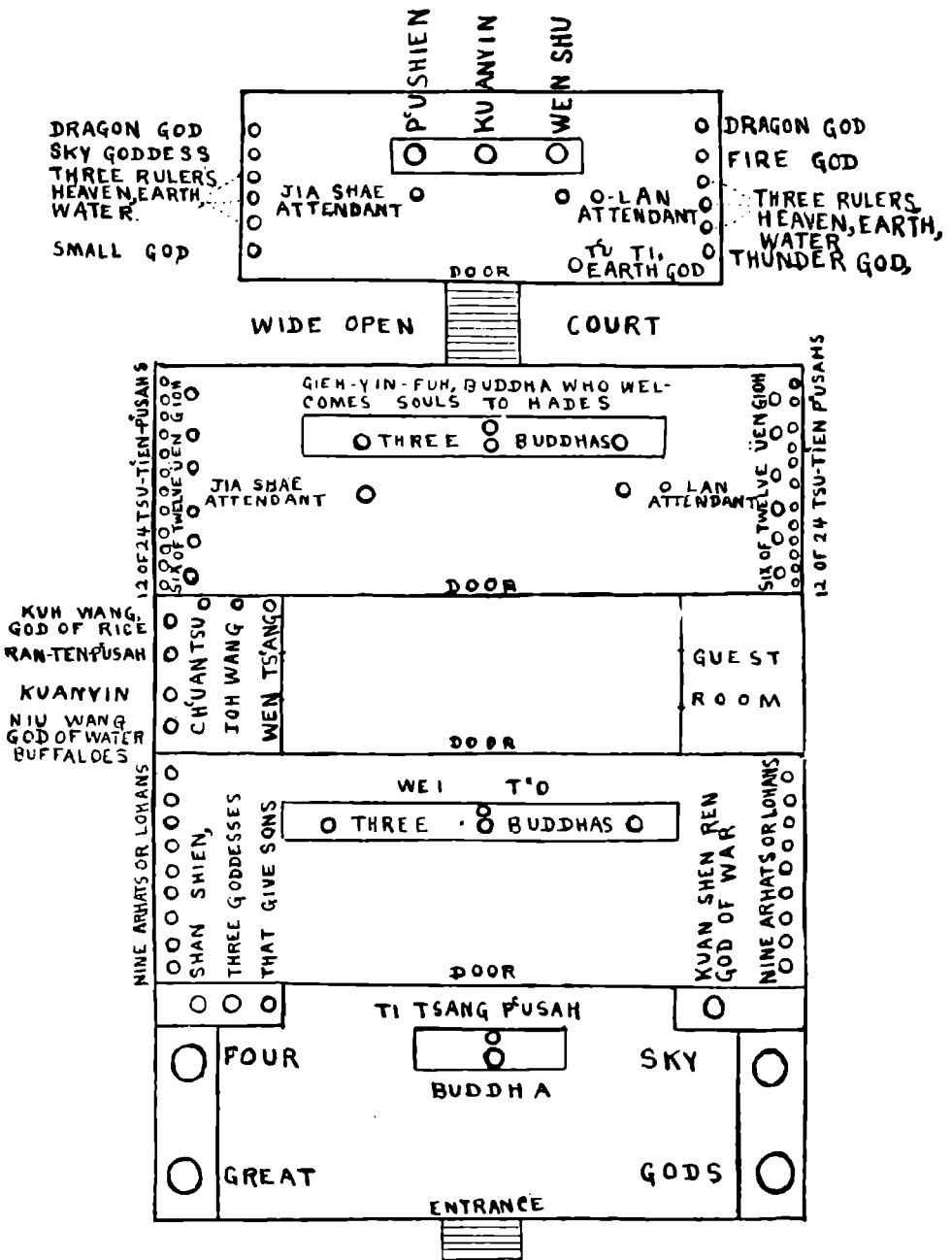


FIG. 12.—Buddhist Ti-Tsang temple east of Suifu between the villages Gi-Tien-Pa and Muh-Jia-Pin.

times be seen on which a picture of the god has been painted. They are recognized and treated as real gods. The pictures of the door gods are printed or painted on paper and pasted on the outsides of the doors. At Chengtu a number of gods are printed in bright colors on paper and distributed or sold to the people at New Year time. They are pasted up in the homes to help protect them. The image of the Kitchen God, which is found in practically every kitchen, is generally printed on paper. On Mt. Omei there are three advertisements of a prepared food that have been framed and are worshipped as gods because they have on them excellent images of Buddha. They were probably brought up from India or Burmah. A well-known biscuit company also has an advertisement on Mt. Omei that has been framed and is treated as a god.

The next step is the making of clay, wooden, stone, or metal images. Some of these are only a few inches high, but others are gigantic in size. The stone image of Buddha across the river from Kiating is probably two hundred and fifty feet high. Many of these images portray the characteristics that the god is supposed to possess. Some are like fierce warriors, but others, like Kuanyin and Amitabha, are more kindly in appearance.

Is the god really present in the image? Is the image to be regarded as the deity himself? In Szechuan Province the answer is yes. When the people or the priests pray to an idol they feel that they are praying to a real god who can understand and help them. Beyond this they do not think. They simply regard the image as the god himself. The following explanation, given by a priest on Mt. Omei, is of special interest. The god is only one and invisible, but in each temple may be an image of the god. He is in space, but he is capable of being anywhere, and when the people worship him in the presence of the image, he is there, and becomes actually embodied in the image, *so that the image is the god*. Probably the images were first made for commemoration, but they have come to be regarded as the gods themselves. The common people treat them as living and efficacious beings.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>One day the writer was sitting on a sandbank beside the Min River. He took a stick and drew in the sand a picture of the Goddess of Mercy. A farmer boy came along and looked at the picture. He was told, "This is Kuanyin P'usah. You had better worship her." He looked at the picture a moment, and then worshipped it.

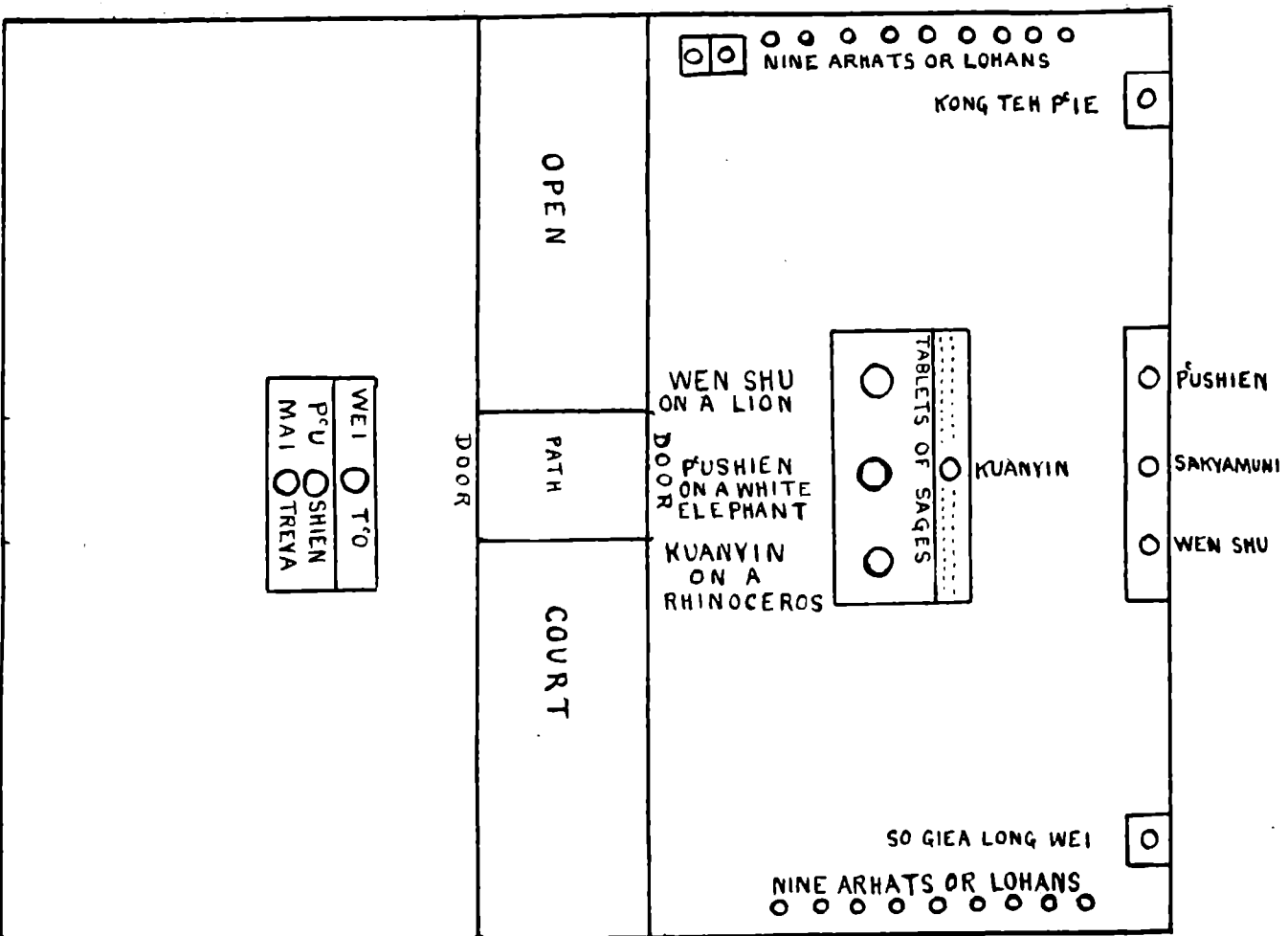


Fig. 13.—Diagram of the main floor of the Shih-W'a-Tien, or pewter tile temple, on the summit of Mt. Omei, Szechuan Province, China.



To the common people of Szechuan Province the presence of the image of a deity suggests the actual presence of the deity who is imaged.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. THE LIST OF GODS

This enumeration, which can be only a partial one, will begin with those which are distinctly Taoist or Buddhist. U Huang Shang Ti, the Pearly Emperor, and Lao Tsi or Li Lao Guin, the reputed founder of Taoism, are primarily Taoist gods, although both are sometimes found in Buddhist temples. Kuanyin P'usah, while she was brought into China and is widely used by the Buddhists, is now as commonly seen in Taoist as in Buddhist temples. The Buddhists have a medicine god, Yoh Si Fuh, while the Taoists have one called Yoh Wang or Medicine King. Both are miraculous healers, and are probably the same god with different names. Amitabha, Sakyamuni, Wei To and Jia Lan, the two protectors of Buddhist temples, Mi Leh Fuh, the Buddhist messiah, the eighteen Lohans or Arhats, and many others are seen only in Buddhist temples. With many of the gods, however, it is impossible to say whether they are primarily Buddhist or Taoist, for they are found in the temples of both religions.

Some of the gods are highly specialized; that is, they have only one or two duties to perform for the worshipper or for society. The buffalo god cares for the water-buffalo, which is the principal animal used in farming. There is a horse god who cares for horses, a sheep god, and a medicine god. The Kuh Wang, or grain god, causes the rice to grow abundantly. The Song Tsi Niang Niang is a goddess who

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<sup>1</sup>In a Doctor's thesis, *The Origin and Development of T'ien and Shangti*, Mr. Kuen Ih Tai states that the Miao and the kindred tribes of aborigines in China are ghost or demon-worshippers (p. 92). The writer has had several years of contact with the Chuan Miao and some with Hua Miao. The evidence is that the Miao, like the Chinese, fear demons as the source of diseases and calamities, and that they exorcise them, but do not worship them. The following lines from *Among the Tribes in Southwest China*, by Samuel R. Clarke, are illuminating.—

At first we were inclined to think that the Miao worshipped demons, but when again and again they denied this, and seemed unfeignedly amused at the idea of worshipping demons, we concluded that we were mistaken. The performances they go through, which seem to us like religious rites, are done to drive away or keep away the demons, and to counteract their evil influences. If a man is ill, or his cattle sick, if he has had bad luck, or any misfortune befalls him, he attributes this to demons; and a wizard or exorcist is summoned. (Pp. 67-69.)

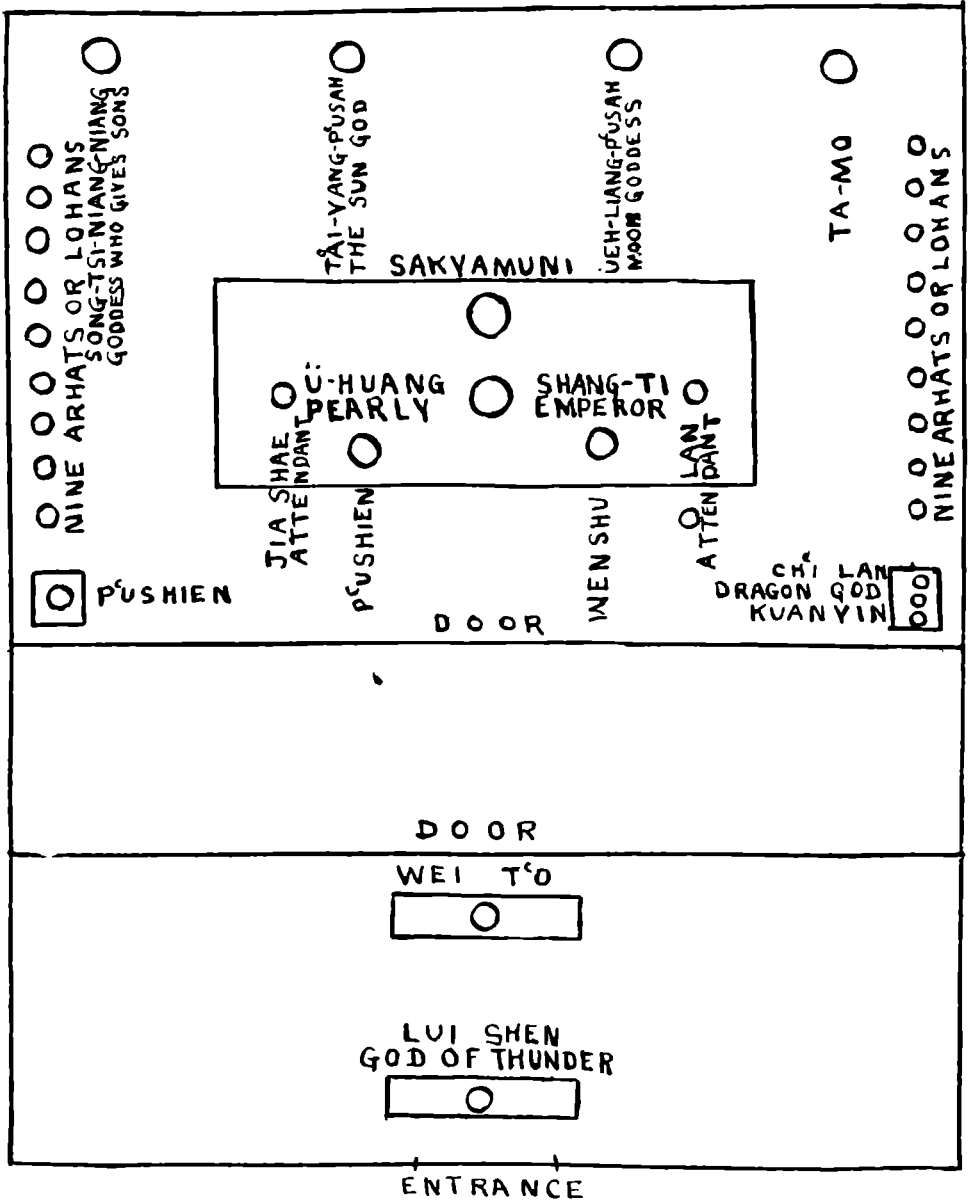


FIG. 14.—Diagram of the Buddhist temple Lui Tong Pein, or thunder cave flat, Mt. Omei, Szechuan, China. Thunder, which echoes loudly from the sides of the mountain, is thought to emanate from a nearby cave, hence the name of the temple.

does nothing else but give sons. The Deo Ma Niang Niang heals measles and smallpox. The Tsua Sen Niang Niang aids in securing a quick and safe delivery at childbirth.

A few gods are found in almost every home. One has already been described—the red scroll that is hung up in the central and most important place in the main room. Merchants sometimes substitute for this the god of wealth, who is also represented by appropriate characters on a scroll of red paper. There are also two door gods. The main entrance of a Chinese home generally has double doors which open inward, and one god is pasted or painted on each door. They are guards of the home to keep demons from entering. Every home also has a Kitchen God. He is painted or printed on paper and pasted up near the kitchen stove where he supervises the household economy, preventing extravagance. The classic to the Kitchen God also indicates that he looks after the moral conduct of the inmates of the home. His position in the kitchen would make it very convenient for him to do so. On the twenty-third day of the twelfth moon he ascends to heaven and reports the conduct of the household to the Pearly Emperor. He returns and is formally welcomed and his image pasted up on New Year's Eve. The classic of the kitchen god, while in many respects similar to that of the bloody basin, has a higher moral tone, and more nearly represents the moral and religious ideals of the Chinese people.

There are five gods that are often found in shrines, or unprotected from the weather, at intervals along the roadsides to protect the travelers from the demons that might do harm. One is the Goddess of Mercy who is apt to be found anywhere that people are in need of her help. The second is called T'ai Shan Shih Kan Dang, or the T'ai Shan stone that dares. It is generally made of stone, and the inscription is meant to imply that the stone is from the sacred Mount T'ai Shan, and therefore surcharged with power. The image of a fierce being having four tusks and holding a dagger in his mouth is carved on the top of the stone. He is made terrible in appearance so as to inspire fear in the hearts of the demons. A third deity is Lin Kuan, or Deo K'eo Kong, the prince whose mouth is like a peck-measure. He wields a club, and in his fierce wrath opens his mouth so wide that it resembles a peck-measure. He is primarily a demon-chaser. Under one of these images the writer saw an inscription which means. "When he points with his finger the demons depart. At a glance of his eye all diseases are healed." A fourth wayside god is the Tu Di P'usah or the local god of earth. He is a minor official

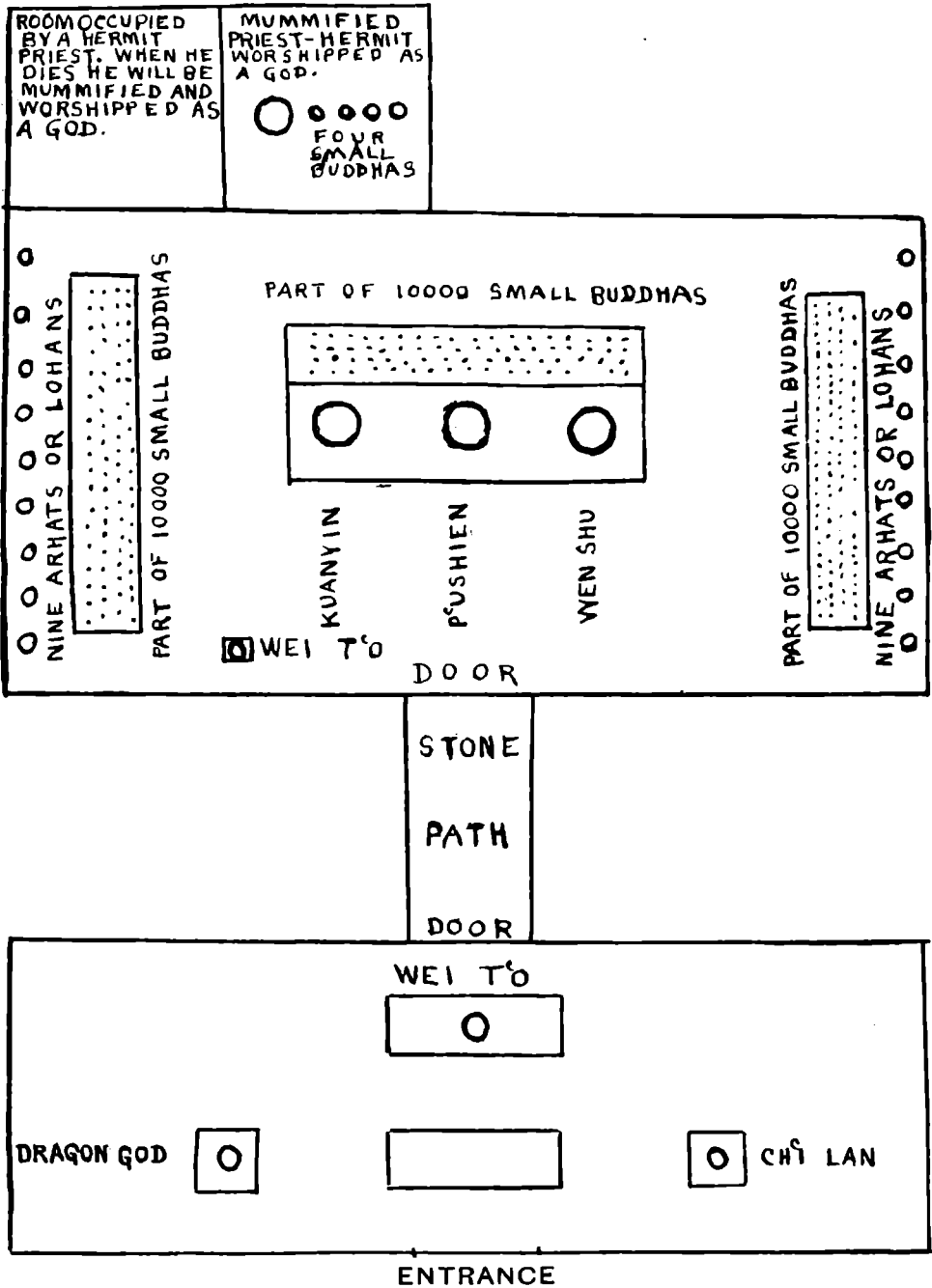


FIG. 15.—Diagram of the Buddhist temple on Mt. Omei called Wan Fuh Din, or peak of 10,000 Buddhas. The temple is supposed to contain 10,000 Buddhas.

who controls a limited territory. His spouse is generally with him. The inscription most commonly seen on his shrine is

Bao ih fang ch'in Gih,  
Yu si giai p'ing an.

This means. "He guarantees that it is lucky all about, and protects the peace in all directions." Finally, there is Amitabha, or Omeitofuh, as he is called in Szechuan. He is a kindly, loving savior of men who in his compassion will help them whenever they call on his name. His earlobes are long, indicating Indian influence. Omitofuh and T'ai Shan Shih Kan Dang often have no shrines, but stand exposed to the weather. In Szechuan Province philosophical Buddhism has practically no place. The Buddhism of Amitabha, who rules the western heavens which is a paradise for the souls of the dead, is the Buddhism that has won the hearts of the people. As the Tibetans repeat over and over "Om-mani padme-hum," so the most devout Buddhists repeat as they tell out the beads of the rosaries, "Lan u Omitofuh." On Mt. Omei the pilgrims greet each other with "Omitofuh." In the numerous places by the wayside Amitabha stands ever ready to help the traveler who is in need.

Some of the gods are apparently nature deities. All of them are propitious if revered and worshipped. Some have very definite functions. The Sun God and the Moon Goddess have doubtless come down from antiquity. There is a water god who controls rain, and a mountain god who controls mountains. There are idols representing the seven stars of the dipper, heaven, and earth. The Fire God prevents disastrous fires. There is a lightning goddess who carries a looking-glass, the thunderer who carries a hammer and chisel and whose nose and mouth hook downwards like a semi-human creature, and the Lord of Thunder, who controls the lightning goddess and the thunderer. There are also the Earth Prince and the Earth Mother, and many others. On Mt. Omei, in the temple of Gieu Lao Dong, are two gods called Sunlight and Moonlight.

A large number of the gods are deified heroes. Among these are the God of War who was a famous warrior in Szechuan; Ch'uan Chu, the Lord of Szechuan, who is given the credit for the development of the great irrigation system on the Chengtu plain; Wang E. P'usah, the god of boatmen, and Lu Ban, the god of carpenters. A very interesting trio are Fuh Shi, Shen Long, and Shuen Uen Shang Ti, who are always found together. The first two wear leaves instead of clothes. They are legendary heroes who lived before the Chinese learned to make and to wear clothing. Shuen Uen Shang Ti, who is

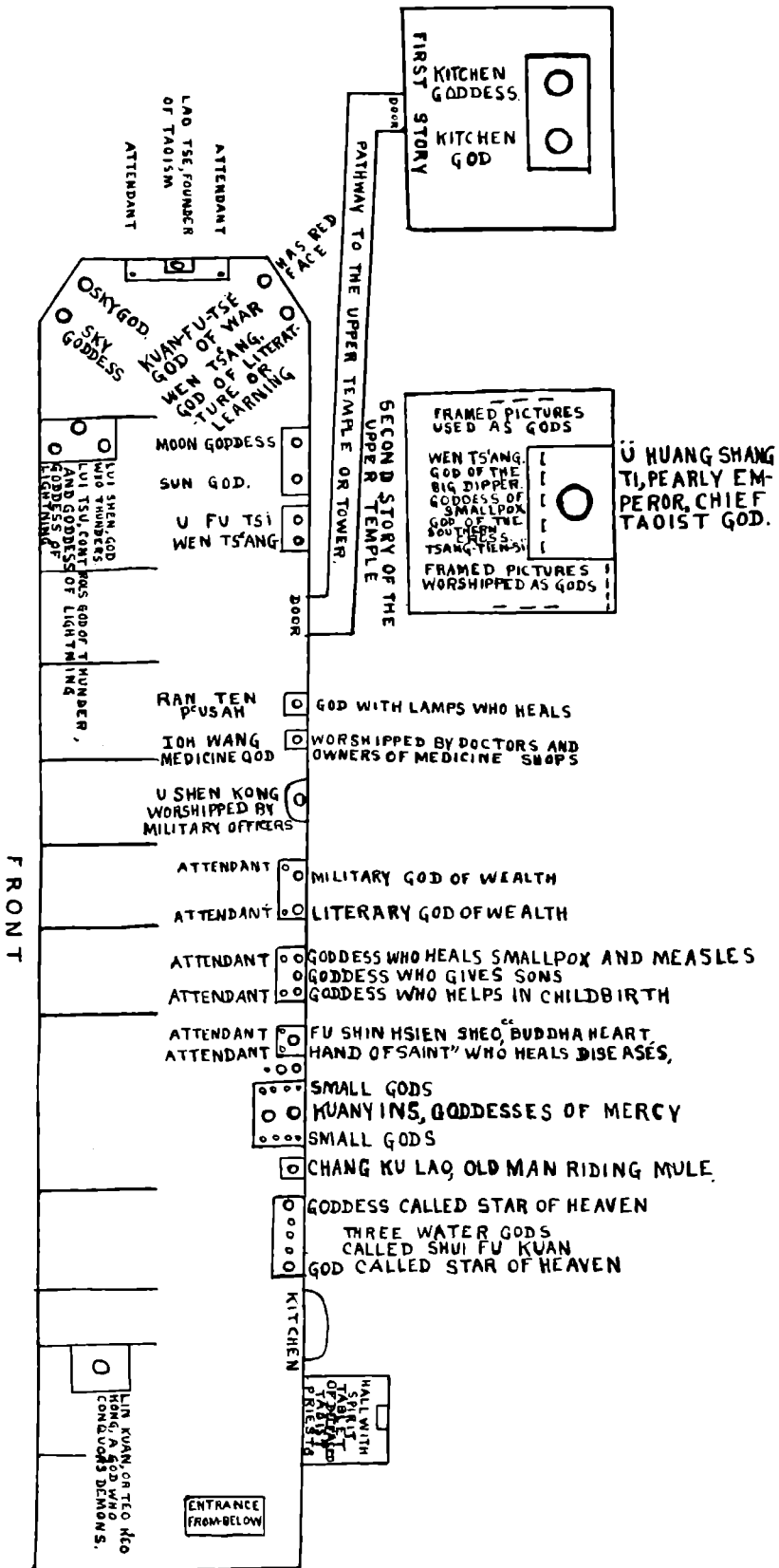


FIG. 16.—Diagram of the Pan Pien Si, a Taoist temple overlooking the Min River at Suifu, Szechuan Province, China.

very well dressed, is reputed to have taught the Chinese how to make and to wear clothing.

At the gateway of the Ta O Si temple on Mt. Omei is an idol which is the image of a man who is still living—at least, he was in the summer of 1925. He is an old man who is deeply devoted to Buddhism, and who has given much money to the Ta O Si temple. He was therefore deified while he was still alive. The writer has heard of a similar case in Yachow.

The mummified priest is a peculiar form of a deified hero. The Wan Fuh Din temple and the Ch'ien Fuh Temple on Mt. Omei each have one of these. They were priests who in their respective temples went into seclusion until they died, when they were mummified and worshipped as gods. Another god who is said to be a mummified priest is across the river from Kiating near the Great Buddha. Still another is the principal deity of the T'ai Tsi Miao, a temple near the summit of Mt. Omei. It is claimed that the last one is the mummified son of an emperor. He helps the worshippers secure the birth of sons.

In Tibet there is another form of the deified man, the Hoh Fuh or Living Buddha. He is thought to be a reincarnation of a god. Tradition says that there was once such a reincarnation of P'ushien on Mt. Omei. That is what is meant by the sentence quoted on a previous page. "In the Manchu Dynasty there appeared here a Living P'ushien."

Not a few of the gods in the Buddhist and Taoist temples are great religious leaders who in the past have rendered distinguished service to their religious organizations, and who consequently have been deified.

Every occupation has its patron deity. Scholars worship Uen Ts'ang P'usah, the God of Learning, expecting that he will assist them in acquiring knowledge. Merchants worship the God of Wealth who helps them secure financial prosperity. Lu Ban is the God of Carpenters. Rice planters worship Kuh Wang. There is a God of Brewers. No boatmen will begin a journey without first worshipping Wang E. Physicians and owners of medicine shops worship Ioh Wang, the God of Medicine. There are gods of butchers and of cooks. At Li Chuang there is a god of the coolies who carry water, and one for people who gather leaves and twigs for fuel on the river banks, on the hillsides, or in the forests. In a temple at Ngan Lin Ch'iao there are two idols who are worshipped by thieves, and who assist them in their undertakings. They themselves are said to be experts at stealing.

Near Suifu on the Yangtse River is a small temple known as the White Stone Temple. Originally there was only a large, white stone, taller and whiter than the others. People began to worship it, and ascribed to it the power of healing. Later a temple was built around it, and a few common idols were added. The stone is still worshipped, and for a few cash one can purchase a tiny bit of the rock, which will cause him to recover from illness if he will grind it to sand, soak it in water, and drink the water. Probably the process began with the natural sense of awe aroused because of the size and whiteness of the stone. This stone is not worshipped because a deity has taken up his abode in it, but because the stone itself is thought to be a god with beneficent power that is more than human.

Near the town of Shuin Gien Si, south of Suifu, there formerly lived a man who ran an oil factory. He had some large, fine bulls to run the stone rollers. He prospered, and the value of his bulls increased. Finally he burned incense to his largest bull and worshipped it as a god. His action was, in his own mind and those of his Chinese friends, the natural result of his growing sense of gratitude, wonder, admiration, and awe towards the bulls that contributed so much to his prosperity. I have heard Chinese make a similar explanation of the development of the worship of the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the Fire God, the Thunder God, and of other deities.

At Suifu, two old cypress trees are worshipped as divinities. It is not that gods dwell in them, but that the trees themselves are gods. They are said to have been planted in the Ming Dynasty, or possibly earlier. It is asserted that they once made a pilgrimage to Mt. Omei. Two men giving their names as Beh, or White, worshipped at the different shrines and temples on the great sacred mountain, and promised contributions. They said that they were brothers from Suifu. Later a priest came to Suifu to collect the money. He could not find any brothers named Beh, but when he heard of the two cypress trees, *beh sou*, he knew at once that the two pilgrims were the two cypress trees. I have been told by aged priests who were experts in such traditions that very old trees, especially cypress trees, are able, after many years, to develop into tree-deities. There is a tendency in some localities to burn incense to aged trees or to the stumps of these trees. This is especially noticeable on Mt. Omei, on Washan, and at the Yellow Dragon Gorge.

Near Kiang K'eo is a large banyon tree that is worshipped because a spirit or ghost has taken its abode in the tree. The people began to worship it about 1917. It is called a Huang Geh Giang Guin, or "General Banyon." Its leaves are used to heal all kinds of diseases.



Incense is burnt to it. If one's feet are sore, he can get well by hanging a pair of straw sandals on the tree.

In the region between Kiating and Chengtu turnips often grow to a very large size. The Chinese say that they sometimes weigh from twenty-five to a hundred pounds, requiring two men to carry them. When such a turnip is found, it is called a Turnip King, and is regarded as a god of turnips. It is placed on a table or on a platform, divine honors are paid to it, and a company of actors are engaged to give theatricals in its honor. Then there is a great feast to which the neighborhood is invited. As a result of thus honoring the Turnip King, it is thought that turnips will prosper in that locality. But the high cost of living may destroy this custom. All the expenses are borne by the farmer on whose land the Turnip King develops. Prices are rising, so that the farmers feel that they cannot afford to pay the expenses of the ceremonies and of the feast. Therefore, when a turnip develops beyond a certain size, the farmers are apt to pull it up and sell it or throw it into a ditch.

At Ngan Lin Ch'iao, near Suifu, there is an idol called a Yinyang P'usah, which is half male and half female. It represents the important *yin* and *yang* forces, the male and female principles in nature. The left side is male, the right side is female. The left eye and ear and the left side of the mouth are large, and the right small, so that the face has a lopsided appearance. The left foot is natural, and the right foot bound. The left side is dressed like a man, and the right side like a woman. On the whole, this is one of the queerest deities that the writer has seen.

One god that is worshipped in Szechuan is called the T'an Shen Den Den. It is really a foundation-stone such as is used under the wooden pillars of houses and temples. The climate is very damp, especially in the summer, and wood decays easily. It is therefore customary to put foundation-stones under the wooden pillars to keep them from rotting and to protect them from the ravages of white ants. For some reason these are occasionally worshipped as deities, set in places of honor, and regarded as very efficacious. Wealthy people spend much money in their worship, and in return it is thought that they will cause one's family to prosper. However, the poor people believe that they have bad tempers, and that if worshipped too economically they will become spiteful and do injury in the homes where they are kept. Some poor families that cannot afford to worship with elaborate ceremonies simply throw the idols away, but the majority carry them to a temple where priests and pilgrims can accord the worship that their majesties demand. Foundation-stones hold up tre-

mendous weights, and seem to exhibit a peculiar power to preserve the wooden pillars from decay and from the attack of white ants. It is not strange, therefore, that the untutored have marvelled at the qualities displayed, and have come to treat the foundation-stones as beings with superhuman power.<sup>1</sup>

The gods of Szechuan present a wonderful variety in form and character. They vary from the invisible T'ien Lao Yeh to written characters representing the gods, pictures painted or pasted on wood or paper and images of all kinds in the homes and in the temples. They are thought to have marvellous intelligence and superhuman power which they use to help the faithful against demons and in their struggle for a full and satisfying life. The practical nature of the religion of Szechuan is shown by the fact that every occupation has a patron deity and every god has some task or tasks that are beneficial to men. In Szechuan Province the gods are means or agencies for securing the satisfactions of men's fundamental needs, his helpers in the quest for a happy, safe, and satisfying life.

#### X. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the study of the popular religion in Szechuan Province, the *mana* concept, that of a strange and mysterious potency permeating all striking, powerful, strange, and mysterious things is a primary key for the understanding and interpreting of that religion. In the popular reaction this mysterious potency is connected with an emotional response to the unknown, danger-filled or helpful environment. When men philosophize about it, it is differentiated into the *yin* and the *yang*, which are included in the *t'ai gih* or great extreme.

Demons also play a large part in the lives of the people of Szechuan. They are disgruntled spirits of the dead who must be appeased and exorcised. They are the causes of all diseases and all other calamities. Many of the gods and most of the charms are to furnish protection from demons.

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<sup>1</sup> There is evidence that in earlier Chinese history it was customary for the Chinese to bury human beings or animals under foundation-stones. In some countries such practices have given an awed attitude and a sense of holiness to the corner-stone. In some old Chinese legends *kuei* are associated with foundations. This may have given the T'an Shen Den Den its spiteful and dangerous character. In Szechuan the foundation-stone is sometimes worshipped as a god, but the writer has so far been unable to trace any connection between the old custom of burying people under foundations and the present worship of foundation-stones as deities. Not all foundation-stones are worshipped, but some are.

The element of luck, which is greater in primitive life, does much to maintain if not to create the belief in a mysterious potency, lucky days, and various customs generally classed together as superstitions. One day everything goes well: game is killed, and all have plenty. At other times the boats get wrecked, no game is found, people become ill, and all goes wrong. To the more primitive mind, unable to give scientific explanations, and lacking scientific methods and means of controlling nature about him, the things that we have been describing seem perfectly natural.

The emotions of awe and wonder, and the emotional thrill, allied to the *mana* reaction, are elements that are exceedingly important, and which lie near the heart of the primitive religions. The organized religions of Szechuan, perhaps more or less unconsciously, have become past-masters in arousing these emotions. In large temples, located on hills that are seen far and wide or on spots noted for the wonders of their natural phenomena, great deities, wearing the clothing of temporal rulers and often wearing crowns and covered with gold-leaf, priests with beautiful official robes and masters of the rites, incantations, and ceremonies, and great festivals that are the crowning religious and social events of the year—all these arouse wonder, admiration, and awe, and result in the loyalty of the common people to their religious organizations.

The social customs, ideals, and conceptions are clearly reflected in those of religion. The attitudes, customs, and practices that have to do with priests and gods are duplications of those of the Manchu Dynasty. The customs of this world are carried over into the world of the departed spirits, so much so that the souls of the dead must be given food and money. China is now being swept from end to end by democratic ideals, so that anything that even smacks of monarchy is taboo, but there has so far been almost no effect on religious ideals, rites, and ceremonies.

Under Tsang Tao Lin and other leaders Taoism, many centuries ago, gained the adherence of the masses in China by identifying itself with the popular religion that has come down among the lower classes of the Chinese from ancient times. Buddhism came to China from India, a high, philosophical religion, but for centuries was unable to win the masses until it, like Taoism, identified itself with the religion of the common people. Today it is a rival of Taoism as a popular religion of Szechuan. The Chinese love life in this world, and nirvana has no appeal to them, but the religion of Amitabha, the merciful ruler of western heaven, with Kuanyin, the merciful goddess, has won the hearts of the people. Many of the indigenous gods of China are

found both in the Buddhist and in the Taoist temples. There has been a great deal of mutual borrowing. Even the Pearly Emperor is found in the Buddhist temples, and in Taoist temples can be found pictures or images representing the transmigration of souls, a conception which the Buddhists brought with them from India, and scenes representing the judgments and punishments of hades, which were originally Buddhist.

Religion in Szechuan is exceedingly practical. Every phase of it, every rite and ceremony, every god or temple, has to do with the satisfying of some human need that is felt to be important. They are the techniques that have been worked out and used during the past centuries by the masses of untutored people as a means of securing satisfaction of the primary needs of man—food, sex, protection from enemies, from the forces of nature, and from disease, and play. To these people in their environment, such techniques have seemed and still seem most natural and reasonable. They are facing many difficulties and perplexities, but they are as capable as any other race of people on earth, and the writer ventures to hope and to believe that in the centuries to come they will make educational, social, moral, and religious contributions that will enrich the civilization of the whole world.

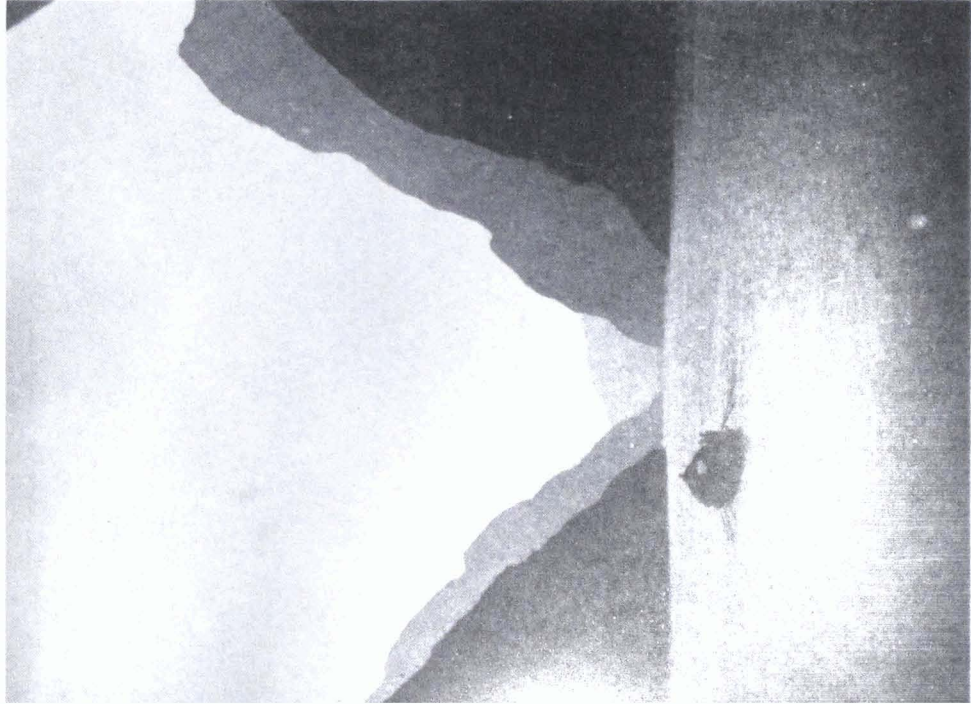
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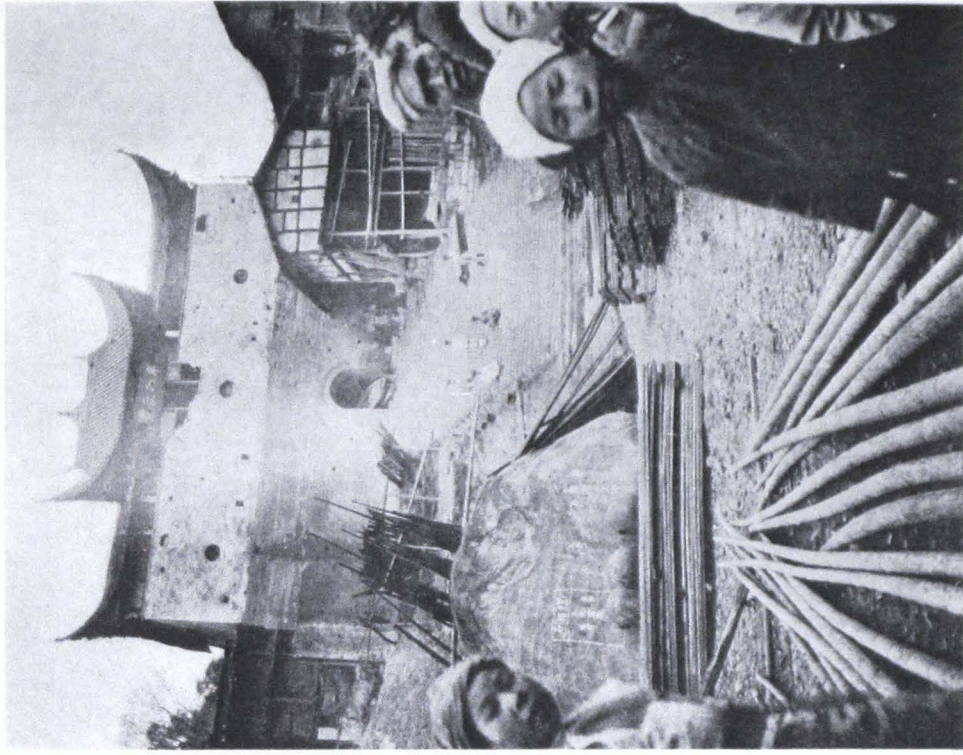
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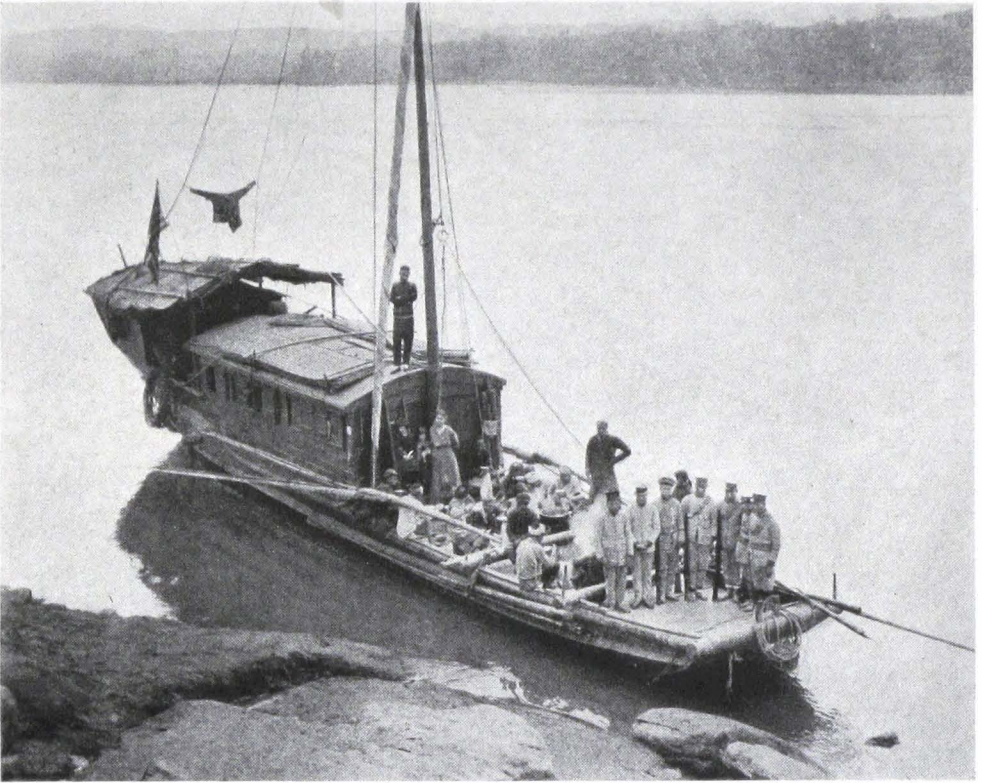


1. View of the Yangtse Gorges above Ichang, China.



2. The main gateway to a city on the Yangtse River above Chungking, China. This important and imposing gateway has been sealed because it is believed that its *fengshui* is not good, and therefore if the gateway were used the city would suffer calamities of some kind.





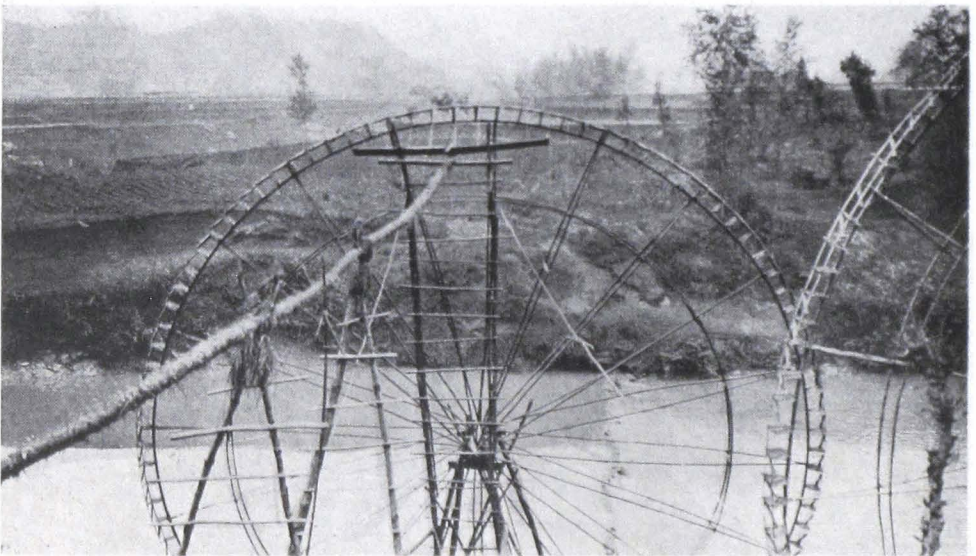
1. A houseboat on the Yangtse River. Mrs. Graham and two children are standing near the mast. The soldiers who are escorting the boat are in the front.



2. The city of Nan Kuang near Suifu, Szechuan, China.



1. Terraced rice fields in Szechuan Province.



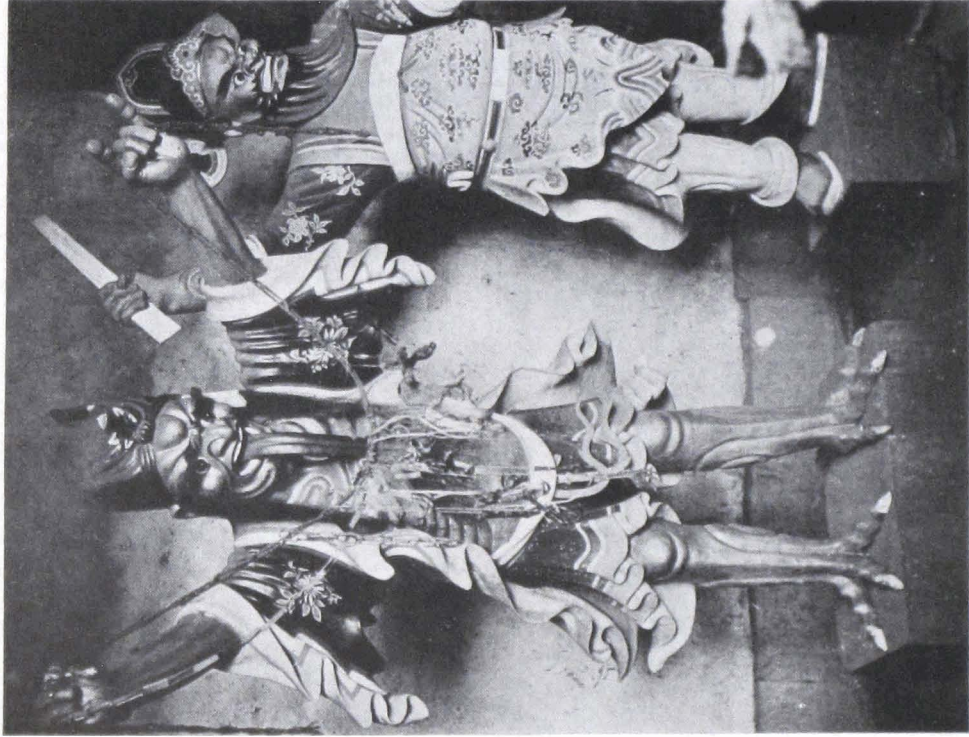
2. A large waterwheel made of bamboo and used for irrigation in Szechuan. The wheel is propelled by the force of the stream.



1. A Suifu Taoist priest in his ceremonial dress, with two instruments with which he performs wonderful deeds and exorcises demons.



2. A Chinese god, U ER E, and his two wives. They are opium eaters, and opium can be seen smeared on his lips. This picture was taken in the Dong Yoh Miao, a Taoist temple at Li Chuang, near Suifu, Szechuan Province, China.



1. The "Chicken-footed God," who leads the souls of the dead to judgment. It is considered good luck to hang a chicken foot on the chain suspended from the hands of the god.



2. One of two aged cypress trees at Suifu that are regarded as gods. The belief is not that deities have taken up their abode in the trees, but that the trees have become gods. There is a legend that these trees once made a pilgrimage to Mt. Omei.



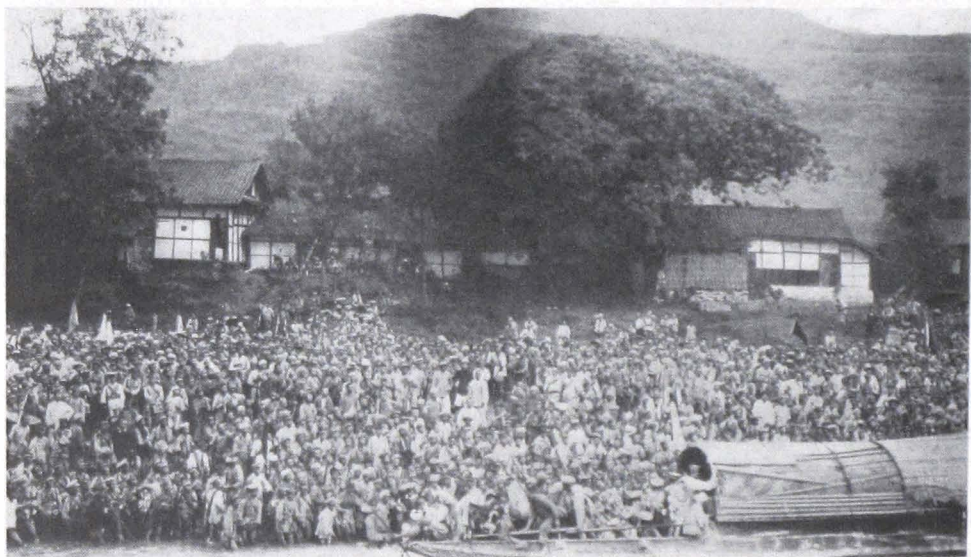
1. A god with four eyes found in the P'utaogin temple at Ch'angshien, south of Suifu. The third and fourth eyes enable a god to see demons, and virtue and guilt.



2. A *yingyang p'usah*, a god that is half male and half female, found at Nganlinchiao, near Suifu, Szechuan Province, China. The left side is supposed to be male, and the right side female. This god represents the *yin* and the *yang*, the male and female principles of Chinese philosophy combined in one individual.



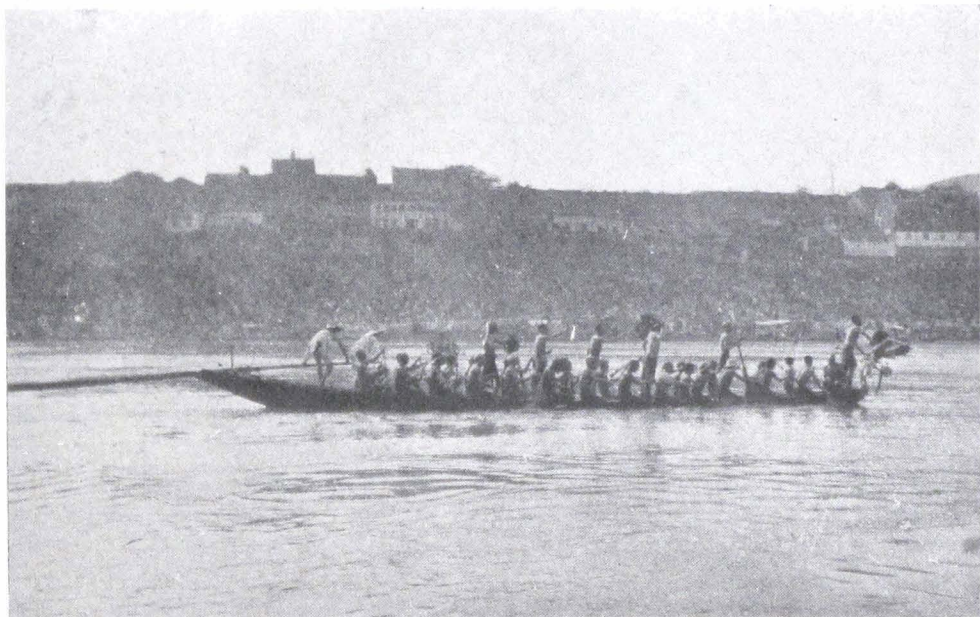
1. A large white stone near Suifu that is worshipped as a god. The idea is not that a deity or a spirit has taken up its abode in the rock, but that the stone is a god. A temple has been built around the stone, and other idols have been added.



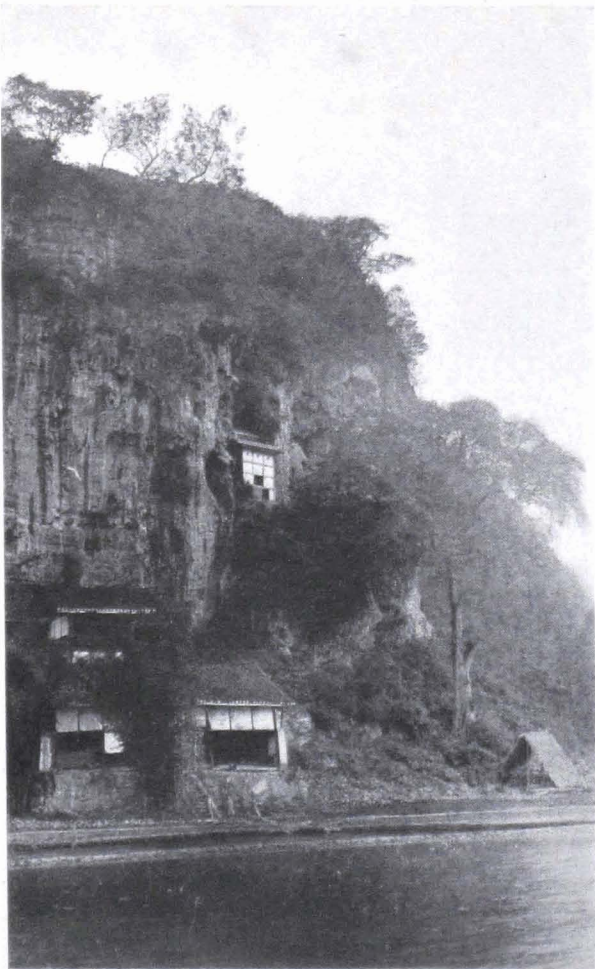
2. Part of a great retreating army trying to cross the Min River at Kien Wei, Szechuan, China, in 1925.



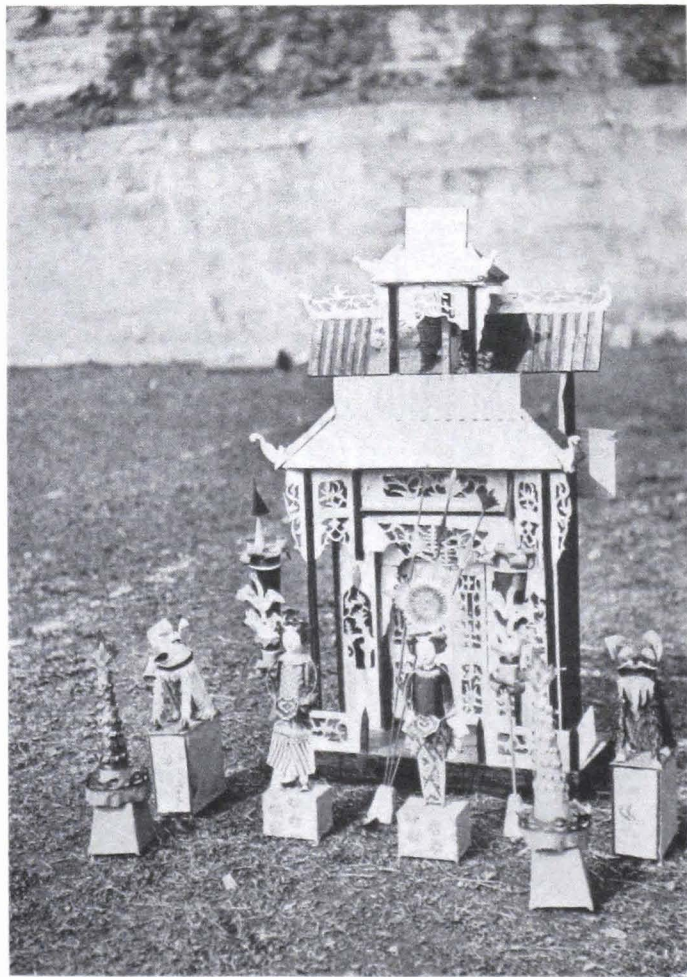
1. A poor widow and her son carrying coal at Nan Kuang, near Suifu, Szechuan Province, China.



2. Chinese dragon boat at the annual dragon-boat festival. A dragon's head is on the front of the boat. These boats pursue and capture ducks that have been released by the spectators.

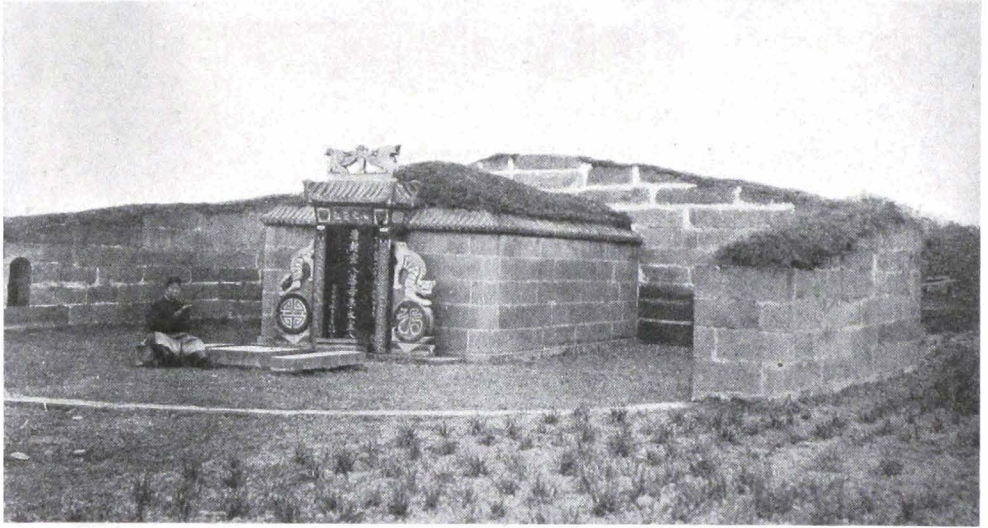


1. The Golden Sand Cave Monastery at Shiung Gien Ssu, south of Suifu. There are several sections or stories, the last one being in a natural limestone cave on the side of the cliff. The tree is a *fengshui*.

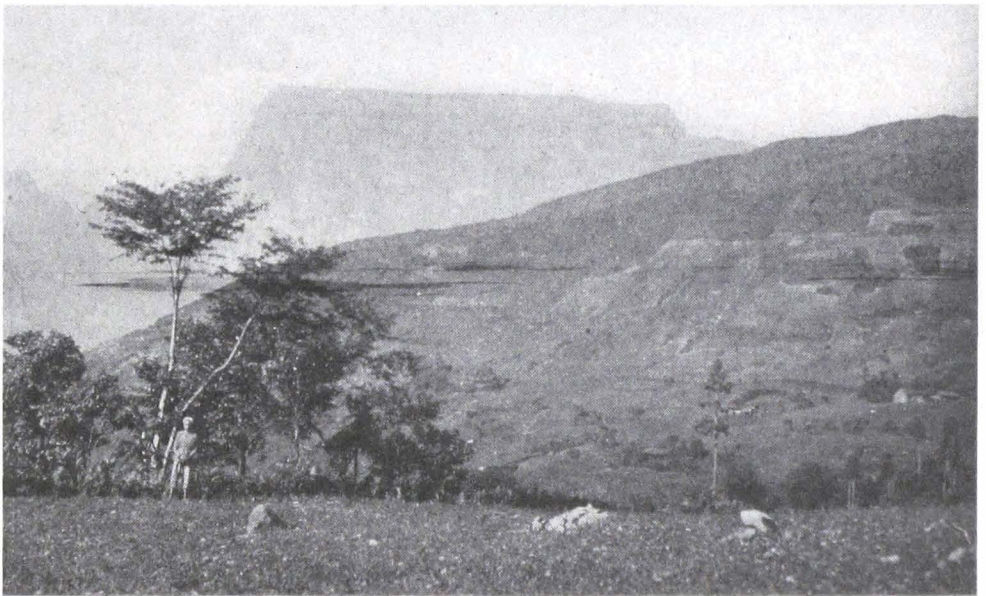


2. Articles that are burnt at funerals for the benefit of the departed souls. They are a house, a manservant and a maidservant, a lion and an elephant for ornament, and a gold hill and a silver hill to supply the soul with wealth. These are made of paper and wood. In addition quantities of "paper money" are usually burnt. By burning they are thought to be transformed into things for use of the departed souls in hades.





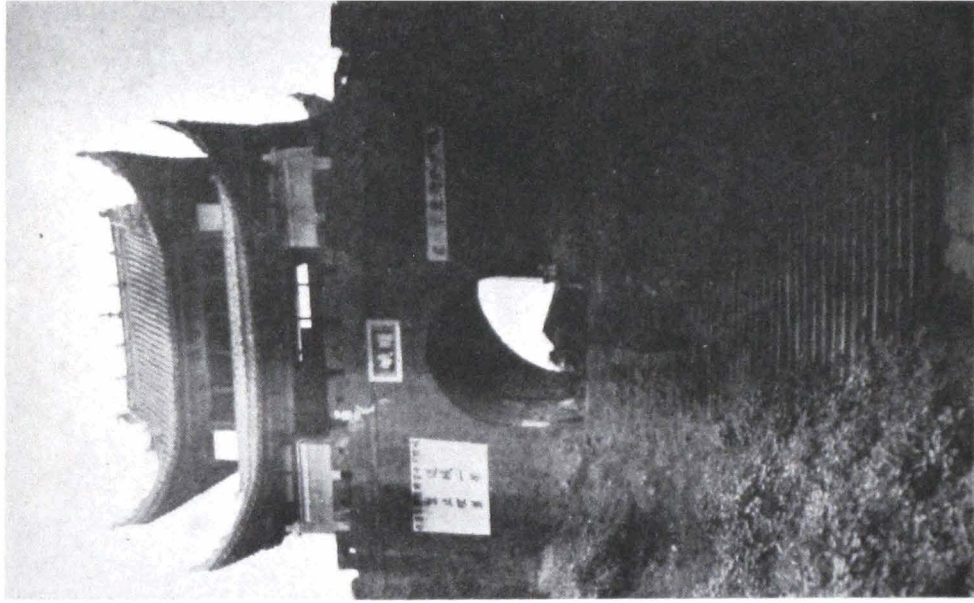
1. A grave at Suifu, Szechuan, China, erected by a student for his deceased grandmother. A house and lot were sold to pay the cost of this tomb.



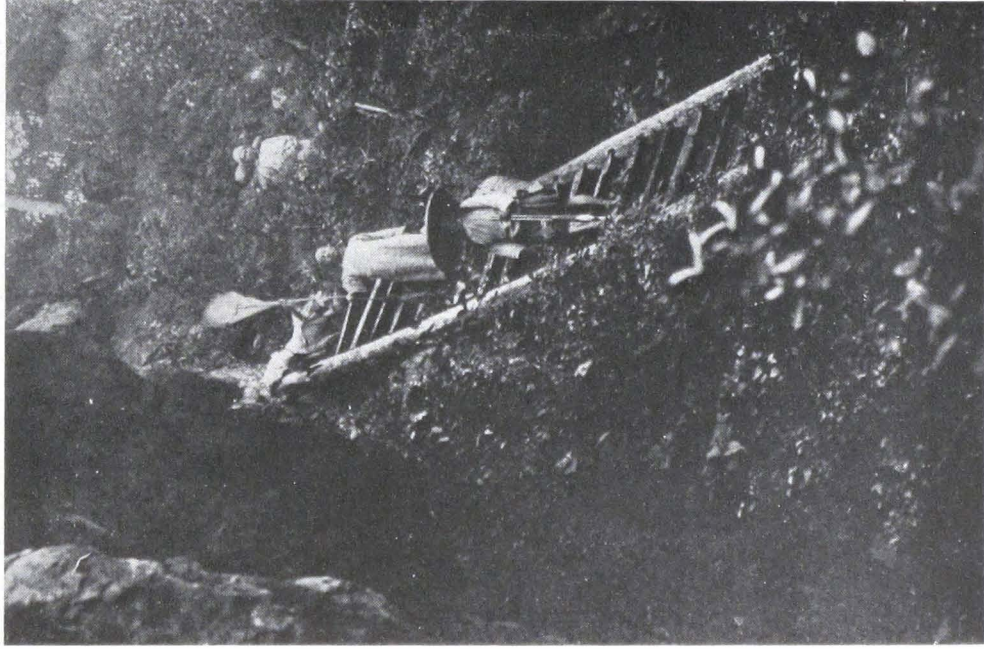
2. A view of Washan or Tile Mountain, a sacred mountain in Szechuan Province. The top of the mountain is flat, and on every side is a sheer precipice several thousand feet high. The only path leading up the mountain is over the narrow ledge on the right.



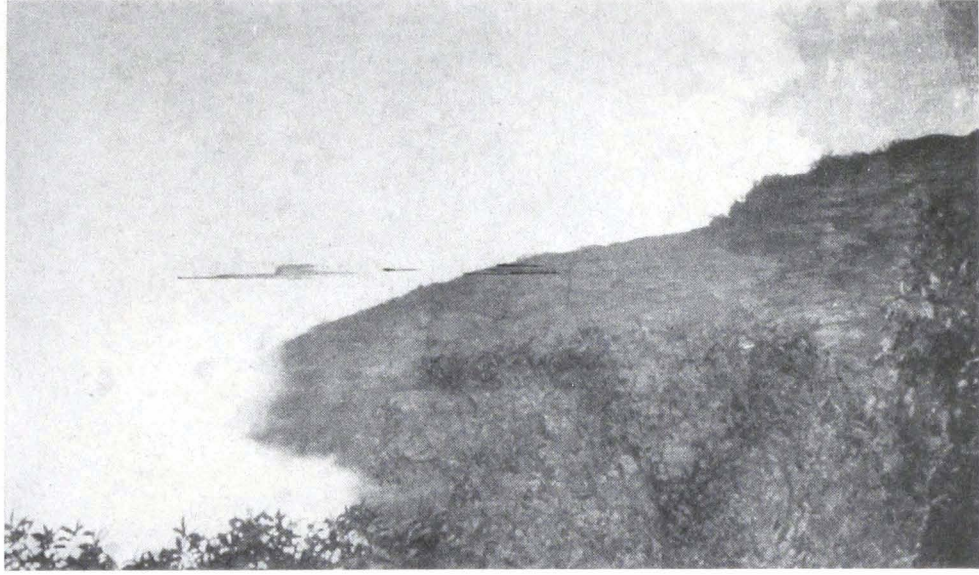
1. A Chuan Miao aborigine farmer from Szechuan Province, near Suifu.



2. The West Gate of Kiating, Szechuan, China, through which many thousands of pilgrims go each year on pilgrimages to Mt. Omei.



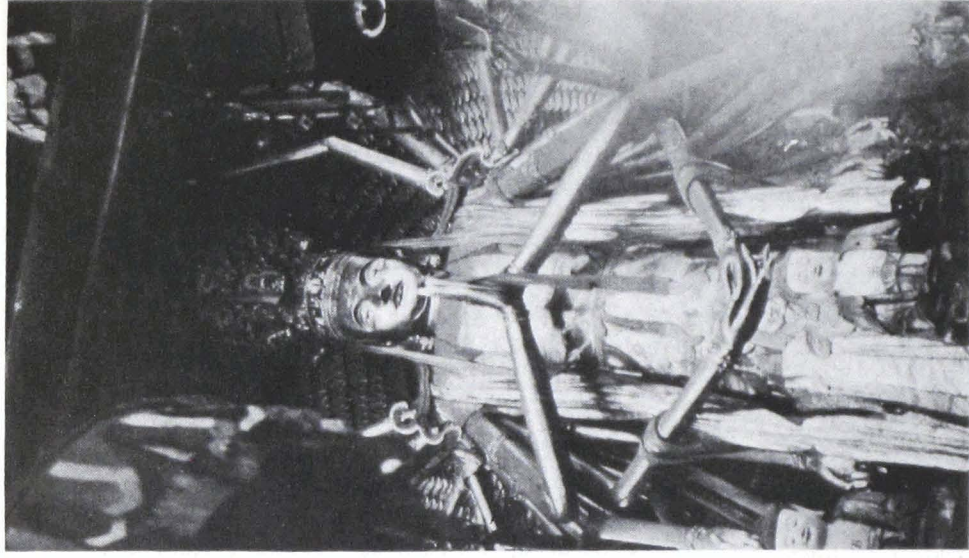
1. One of the four ladders by which rocks are surmounted on the path to the top of Washan. This is one of the shortest and least perpendicular of the four ladders.



2. A view of one of the perpendicular sides of Washan or Tile Mountain.



1. A Buddha in meditation. This picture was taken at the Ta Fuh Ssu temple near Omeishien, Szechuan Province, China.



2. The great thousand-armed Goddess of Mercy at the Ta Fuh Ssu temple, near Omeishien, Szechuan Province, China. This goddess actually has one thousand hands and arms with which to perform deeds of mercy. The hands may be seen in rows above the head of the goddess. The figure is covered with gold, and including the arms and hands is nearly 100 feet high.



1. A deity with tusks at the Ta Fuh Ssu, or Great Buddha Monastery, at Omeishien, Szechuan, China.



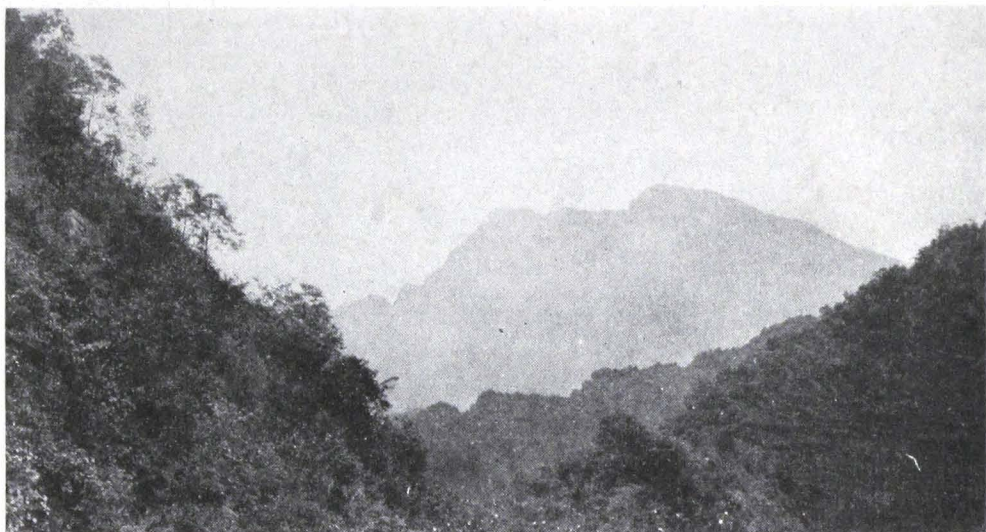
2. Buddhist priest at the Lower Wan N'en Ssu temple, Mt. Omei, Szechuan Province, China. In his hands is what is thought to be Buddha's tooth, but which is a fossil mammoth tooth.



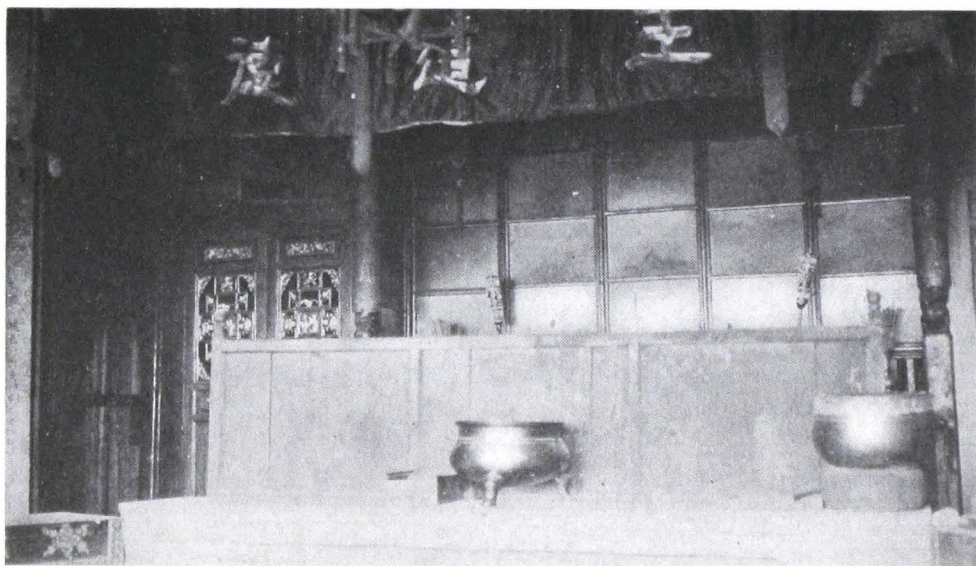
1. The Buddhist abbot at Hua Lien Ssu, or Lottus Flower Monastery, on Mt. Omei. The stone is thought to be a petrified lotus flower.



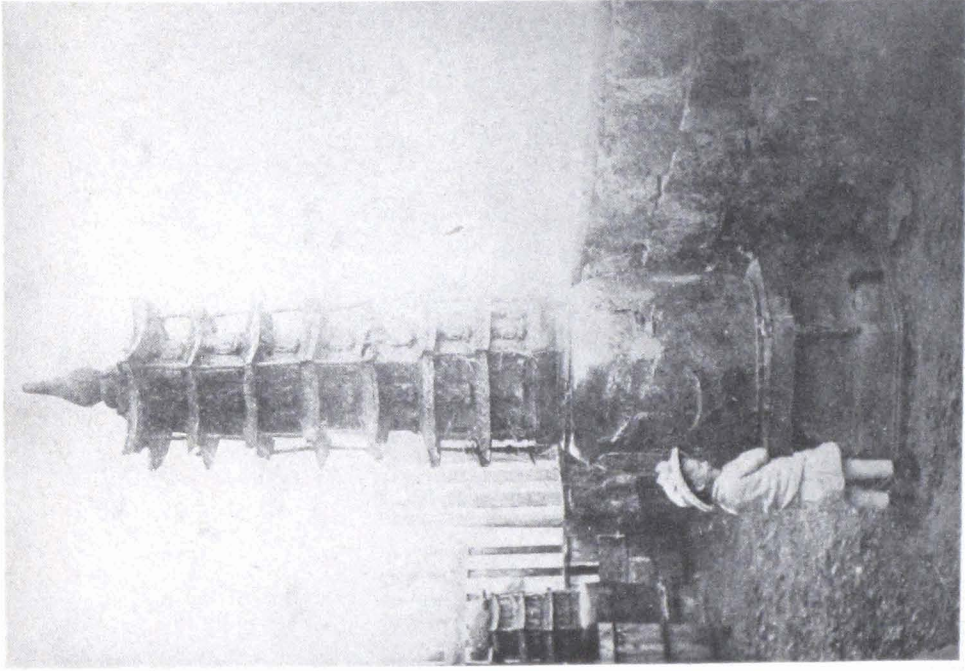
2. An image of a tiger in a shrine by the roadside near the summit of Mt. Omei. It is worshipped as a god.



1. View of Mt. Omei from Shin Kai Si. Mt. Omei is one of the four great sacred mountains of China and has many Buddhist temples and monasteries. There is a sheer precipice of 6,000 feet from the "Golden Summit."



2. The most sacred shrine on Mt. Omei, that of P'ushien, the patron deity of this mountain. P'ushien's image is back of the glass windows and is invisible.



1. A bronze pagoda on the summit of Mt. Omei which was erected in the Ming Dynasty. Coins that have been rubbed on this pagoda are thought to be potent as charms to protect the owner from demons.



2. D. C. Graham looking down at the great precipice from the summit of Mt. Omei. This precipice of 6,000 feet is supposed by some to be the highest in the world.





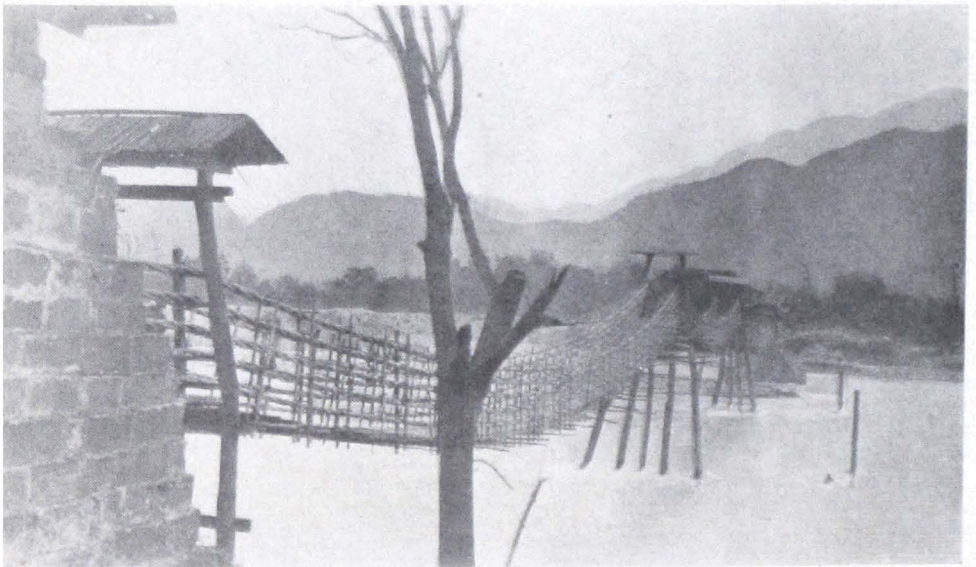
1. A view of Tatsienlu from the compound of the China Inland Mission. The Catholic cathedral can be seen in the foreground.



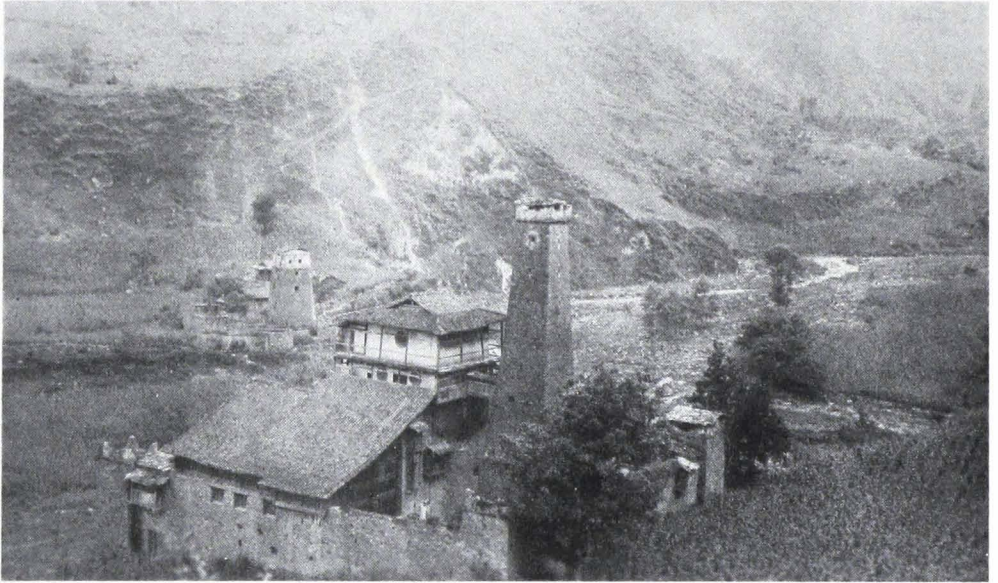
2. One of the greatest of living Tibetans, a "living Buddha," who is worshipped as a god. He is the head of one of the three great religious sects in Tibet, and is thought to be the ninth reincarnation of the chief disciple of the founder of lamaism in Tibet.



1. A Tibetan lama performing a religious dance. Beyond the lama a large trumpet 15 feet long may be seen.



2. A great bridge made of large bamboo ropes or cables at Kuanshien, Szechuan, China.



1. Aborigine stone buildings at Kuan Tsae, or Ts'ao P'o, near Wenchuan-shien, Szechuan, China. The building in the foreground has been used as a magistrate's yamen, a lamasery or temple, and a fortress.



2. Shifan aborigine pilgrims at the Yellow Dragon Gorge, near Songpan, Szechuan Province, China.



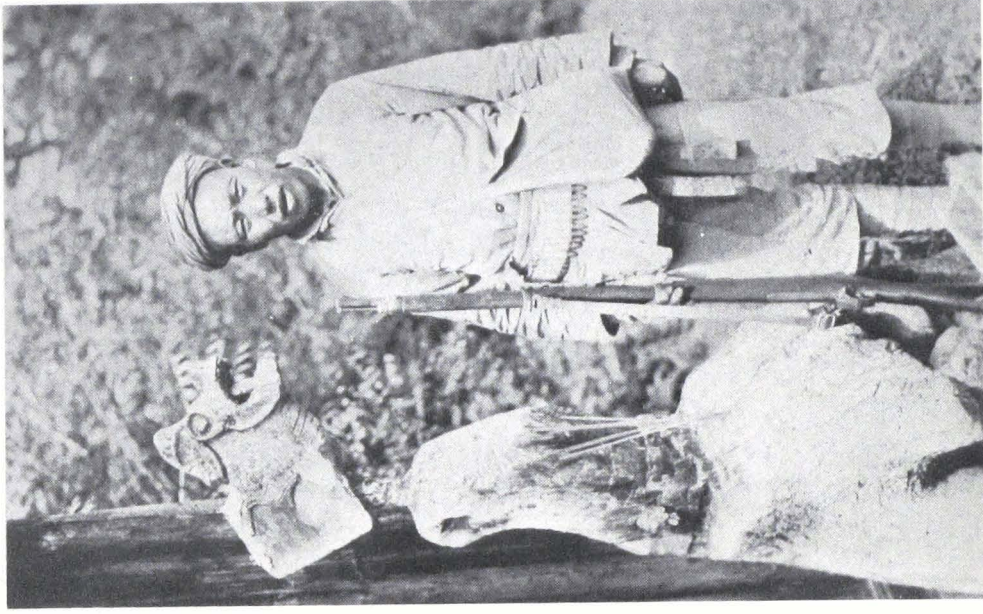
1. A typical aborigine at Songpan, Szechuan, China.



2. A Shifan lama with his instruments of worship, the handdrum and the bell. A silver charmbox is suspended from his neck.



1. Shifan aborigine pilgrims at the Yellow Dragon Gorge, near Songpan, Szechuan, China.



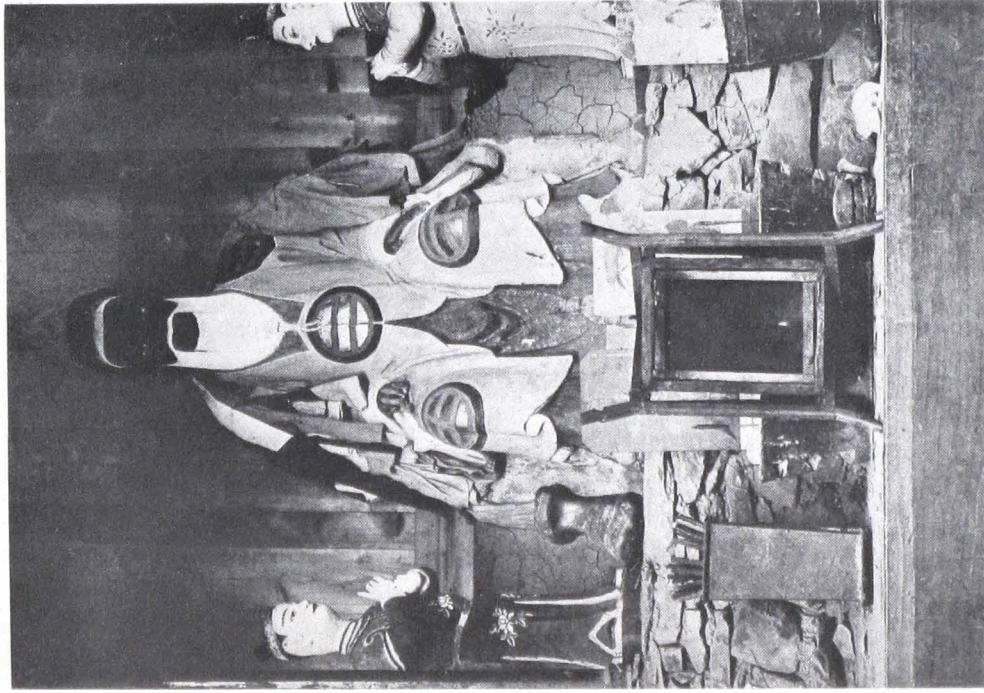
2. A Mohammedan soldier and a dragon god at a shrine in the Yellow Dragon Gorge. The head of the dragon is made of lime and clay. The body is a stump of a tree.



1. Four Wasi aborigine hunters from Kyan Tsae, near Wenchuanshien, Szechuan, China.



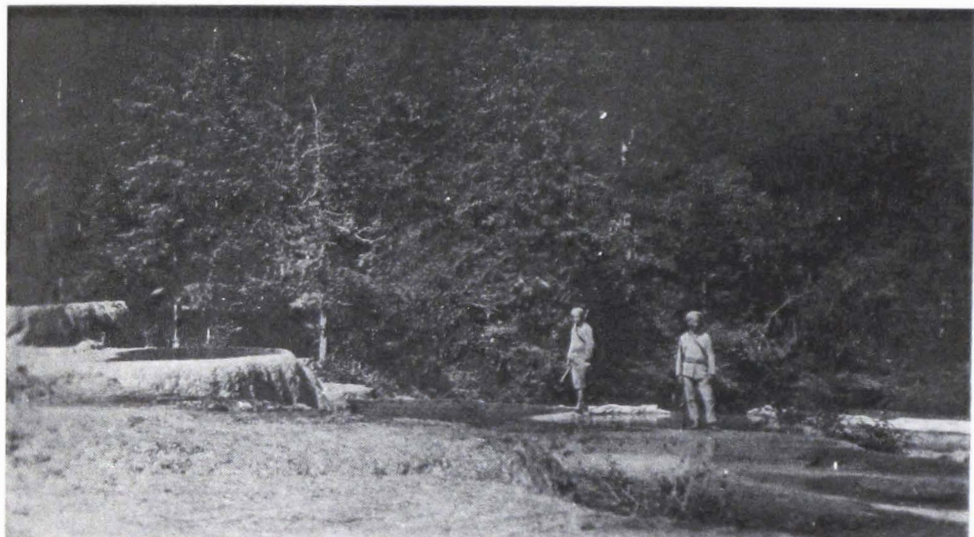
2. Aborigine women of the Ch'iang tribe, at Wenchuanshien, near Mowchow, Szechuan, China.



1. The Yellow Dragon God, the chief deity of the Yellow Dragon Gorge. His robes are the same color as the yellow rock in the stream bed.



2. A stone altar outside the Upper Yellow Dragon Temple, Yellow Dragon Gorge, near Songpan, Szechuan, China. The Chinese worship inside the temple. Prayer flags may be seen in the rear. The man in the foreground is a Chinese militia officer.



1. Natural terraces in the Yellow Dragon Gorge made by the deposit of mineral substances in the water. There are hundreds of these terraces, which are very beautiful.



2. The Smithsonian collecting expedition leaving the Yellow Dragon Gorge for Songpan in 1924. On the extreme left is Yang Fong Tsang, a Chuan Miao aborigine hunter. Near the center is D. C. Graham. Other members of the party are an escort of six soldiers, one netter, two taxidermists, and coolies who have charge of the pack animals.