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# ORIENTAL PANTHEON

*Hundreds and thousands of texts, and thousands of miniatures, are dedicated to gods who have been prayed to in the East since time immemorial. The journal **Manuscripta Orientalia** and the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences are unveiling with this publication a new section, “Oriental Pantheon”. This section is designed for publishing materials on the international project of the same name, with the ultimate goal of creating a complete encyclopaedic reference work on the personages of the traditional religions of Oriental countries, and also votive items, works of arts (primarily written monuments), customs and ritual practices connected with them.*

*The materials which we are planning to publish in this section are of the nature of works in progress, as the ultimate aim of the project “Oriental Pantheon” is to gather, analyse, and then summarise and classify all accessible information about gods, supernatural beings and items which were believed in at various times in the countries of the East — and the scale of this task is such that it may take many years. This is why we consider it necessary to start familiarising the reader with the preliminary results of our studies now, and call on all interested specialists to take part in our work.*

*Project coordinator,  
I. Alimov*

**I. Alimov**

## THE WORK BY ZHOU CHENG: “RESEARCH ON THE EASTERN SONG CAPITAL”: INFORMATION ON TEMPLES AND JOSS-HOUSES

Song joss-houses (*miao*) and temples (*ci*) located in the eastern capital of the empire (the modern Kaifeng, with the Song name Bianjing) is known to us from a number of historical works, and one of the most representative among them is the book by the Qing author Zhou Cheng 周城 “Song dong jing kao” (宋東京考 “Research on the eastern Song capital”). About Zhou Cheng himself we know extremely little: evidently, he lived in the years of the rule of Kang-xi, Yong-zheng and Qiang-long (i. e. from 1662 to 1795), his second name was Shi-pao 石匏, and he came from the province Zhejiang. His work “Song dong jing kao” (20 *juans*) consists of over 500 fragments, united into 42 thematic sections (門 *men*). It contains various information about Kaifeng over 170 years, while this city was the eastern capital of Song China; in working on the book, Zhou Cheng employed over 300 diverse written sources, a part of which have not survived; the authenticity of the information he gives is in no doubt: according to Wang Mei (王湄 first half of the 18th century), the author of one of the forewords to “Song dong jing kao” (dated 1731):

“Zhou Shi-pao visited Kaifeng three times, and he went everywhere in his searches. [He], if he found something in books, immediately wanted to see it with his own eyes; if it was not possible to see it, then he made visits to old residents to hear confirmation [of what he had read] from them. When he could neither see nor hear he went to the so-called unofficial history of the Baiguan officials, and checked their information too...” [1].

The value of the work by Zhou Cheng, writes contemporary researcher and textologist Dan Yuan-mu, is also that there are very few books devoted to the eastern Song capital: we know that in North Song one Song Min-qiu 宋敏求 wrote “Dong jing ji” (東京記 “Notes on the Eastern Capital”), but this book has not survived; the work of Southern Song Meng Yuan-lao 孟元老 “Dong jing meng hua lu” (東京夢華錄 “Notes of Vivid Dreams of the Eastern Capital”), for all its uniqueness, is too fictionalised to give a full and objective idea of the Song Kaifeng [2].

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The religious life of Chinese society was long distinguished by its diversity, which increased especially in the period of the Song Dynasty (960—1279), when, besides Buddhism and Daoism, numerous minor local popular cults blossomed. Interacting with the main religious and philosophical teachings (Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism), adapting to them and partially changing them, local cults became the foundation of what it is customary to call Chinese religious syncretism. Beliefs in diverse spirits brought numerous temples into being, and temples began to appear everywhere. In the Southern Song city Jiankang there were simultaneously 28 Dao sanctuaries (觀 *guan*), 33 Buddhist temple complexes (寺 *si*) and 42 temples and joss-houses of minor divinities of the folk pantheon (廟 *miao* and 祠 *ci*). In some places the popular temples were particularly numerous — for example, in the south, in Fuzhou, where “in every district there were up to several hundred of them” [3]. A number of temples and joss-houses not approved by the authorities began to go on the register of “indecent cults” (淫 *yin*) and were centrally destroyed: for example, in the first year of the rule of Zheng-he (1111) in the eastern capital of the Song empire, Kaifeng, alone, 1,038 such temples were destroyed. The distribution of popular cults took on such forms that in several areas a certain local spirit was prayed to in literally every house.

Modern Chinese researcher Cheng Ming-sheng singles out several types of popular *ci* and *miao* temples which were widespread under the Song dynasty:

(i) joss-houses of mountain spirits (岳廟 *yuemiao*). Above all they are the spirits of the five sacred mountains of China: Taishan, Huashan, Hengshan, Changshan and Songshan. Among these Taishan stood out particularly, and if the spirits of other mountains could be brought offerings and read prayers in the same temple, for the spirit Taishan special joss-houses were built — Dongyuemiao, and in the Song dynasty praying to this spirit reached its zenith. By special decrees, the court gave the spirits of all five mountains imperial titles (帝 *di*), and these cults thus gained official status [4]. The joss-houses built in honour of the spirits of sacred mountains were under official supervision, and special officials made inspection trips to examine their state and reported on necessary repairs which were made at government expense;

(ii) joss-houses of water spirits (瀆廟 *dumiao*). These are above all the “four streams”: the river of Changjiang (Yangzi), Huanghe, Huaihe and Jihe. Prefer-

ence among them was given to the spirit of Changjiang, and during drought the emperor appealed (in writing) to this spirit with a request for rain. The joss-houses of these spirits enjoyed special respect among the inhabitants of riverside villages and towns, fishermen, traders and everyone who was connected to the river by their line of work or way of life;

(iii) the joss-houses of the patron spirits of cities (城隍廟 *chenghuangmiao*). The first joss-houses of this kind appeared under the rule of the Western Han dynasty (206 BC—23 AD), and until the Song dynasty there were very few of them. In the Song dynasty, as cities developed, the cult of *chenghuangs* did too. Joss-houses of patron spirits of districts (縣隍 *xianhuang*) also began to appear. *Chenghuang* joss-houses had the patronage of the authorities: spirits were often given honorary titles (not higher than *wang*), supervision was held over the buildings, etc. Frequently, renowned officials and scholars became local *chenghuang* spirits, whose work or service was connected with the place;

(iv) joss-spirits of patron spirits of a region (土地神 *tudishen*). Patron spirits of a region were objects of prayer, mainly by village residents, and were frequently very close to cults of patron spirits of cities. At the same time, cults of patron spirits existed completely independently from all other cult buildings and spirits which were prayed to in the region; to this day, on the territory of a Buddhist or Dao temple one can see a small joss-house of a local spirit, who protects the region, and thus the temple on this territory;

(v) temples of historical figures (人物祠 *renwuci*). These temples were built in honour of historical figures — from emperors and rulers to ordinary officials; those who looked after the people; those who did not spare their lives for the task they served; those who strengthened the state by their work; those who showed loyalty to their duty and devotion to their lord; those who mastered natural disasters and illnesses. Many Song officials had such temples built for them soon after their deaths;

(vi) “indecent” temples (淫祠 *yinci*). The construction of these buildings was carried out by local inhabitants at their own initiative and without any permission from the authorities, and the cults of the spirits of these temples did not get on to official registers and were not officially recognised. Frequently, these temples were connected with long-standing primitive beliefs in these areas, beliefs in evil spirits and werewolves [5]. Some of these spirits were brought bloody human sacrifices [6].

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In Zhou Cheng's book which was mentioned at the beginning, the section “Ci” contains information about 11 temples, while the section “Miao” contains information about 24 joss-houses (15th and 16th *juans*). After the name of each temple or joss-house, Zhou Cheng provides general information about it and its location; this is followed by a selection of fragments by Zhou Cheng from different works relating to each temple.

Below the reader will find a translation of general information reported by Zhou Cheng about all these joss-houses and temples and also necessary notes by me (the additional information quoted by Zhou Cheng from other sources is given selectively). There is no numeration of fragments in the original.

## Zhou Cheng “Song Dong Jing Kao” J. 15—16: Sections *Ci* (“Temples”) and *Miao* (“Joss-Houses”)

### (1) Gui xiang ci (桂香祠 Temple of the Brown Aroma)

On the territory [of the school] of Taixue. [Here] offerings were made to the spirit Wenchang silu hongren dijun 文昌司祿宏仁帝君, to the right and left [of his statue] — two spirits of officials who announced exam results and made appointments to positions. Later, when [the school of] Taixue moved, and the temple remained, it was renamed Zitongmiao. Students who pass exams make prayers here — and the [prayers] do not go unanswered.

**Note.** Taixue School — an institute of higher education in the capital. The school was founded under the Han emperor Wu-di (r. from 140 to 87 BC). In the Song era, in 1044, it was restored by order of emperor Ren-zong. Up to 200 young men were taught at Taixue every year: both children of noble families and talented children of humble birth. Under Shen-zong (r. 1067 to 1085) and later, study was divided into three stages (舍 *she*), and the number of pupils reached 4,000. After the fall of North Song, Taixue was abolished; it was once more restored in 1143.

Two spirits of officials. In later traditions these are the spirits Kui-xing 魁星 and Zhu-yi 朱衣. The latter was in charge of awarding degrees and was depicted as an old man in red clothing (*zhu yi*) [7].

This section is about Wengchang, the patron spirit of scholars and those receiving positions, and he was also prayed to for good salaries; according to legends recorded in the Song era in the Daoist work (“Qing he nei zhuan” 清河內傳, 73rd chapter of “Dao zang”), this divinity appeared on earth at the beginning of the Zhou era (1066—221 BC) and was later reincarnated 73 times, until he was finally reborn as the ruler of Western Qin (265—316) in Qiqiushan village in Zitongxian region (Sichuan province) as one Zhang Ya-zi (惡子 E-zi).

Zhang Ya-zi, whose mother brought him up in the spirit of the highest filial respect, died heroically in battle,

and was glorified, and temples began to be built in his honour. The first temple (it still exists today) was built in Zhang's home region of Zitongxian, Sichuan province. It was regionally called Yazimiao, and his spirit was considered to be one of the patrons of the region. According to legend, Zhang Ya-zi protected the Tang emperor Xuan-zong (r. 712—756) during his flight from rebels to Sichuan, for which the spirit was given the title of *Ji-shun-wang* 濟順王. The spirit was also given honours in the Yuan era, when in 1316 it was given the title of *Fuyuan kaihua wenchang silu hongren dijun* (輔元開化文昌司祿宏仁帝君 Helping the original, distributing enlightenment [gifted] with great virtue, Lord and Master from the department of appointment Wen-chang), which finally united it with the patron spirit of literature and exam-takers Wen-chang. This is incidentally where the different names of this spirit come from, including Zitongshen (梓潼神 Spirit from Zitong), after the name of his native region. In the Song era and later, there was mass praying to the spirit of Zitongshan (*Wenchang silu hongren dijun*) among the scholarly community:

“In all institutes of higher education of the Heavenly Kingdom there are temples of Wenchang, and praying [to this spirit] is considered very important” [8].

### (2) Zhen wu ci (真武祠 Temple of True Military Character)

To the southeast of Fantai. At the beginning of the reign of Kai-bao (968—975) a turtle was seen here, [entwined with] a snake, and after this the temple was built here. In the second year of the reign of Tian-xi (1018) a spring began to run next to the temple, [the water in it] had medicinal powers, and then Xiangyuanguan (祥源觀 Sanctuary of the blessed spring) was built, and the temple [Zhenwuci] also became part of it.

**Note.** In this temple prayers were made to Xuan-wu (玄武 Dark military spirit), the patron spirit of the north. One legend says that a person called Xuan-wu lived in the times of the mythical emperor Huang-di; he refused his father's throne and dedicated himself to self-improvement, for which by the order of his tutor, Dao patriarch Ziyunjun, he left for the mountain of Taiheshan (later, in honour of Xuan-wu, it was renamed Wudangshan, Hubei province) and attempted to make a potion of immortality there. After he achieved the desired results after long efforts, Xuan-wu came to know Dao and ascended to the heavens [9]. The first mention of “Xuan-wu” was recorded in “Chu ci” (楚辭 “Chu stanzas”), in the poem by Qu Yuan (屈原 340?—278? BC) “Journey Afar”. In the Jin collection “Yi Lin” (異林 “Forest of the Astonishing”), it is stated:

“In the light, the existing sculptures of Zhen-wu have everything — with turtles, [entwined with] a snake. Rumour explains [this by the fact that] the turtle was an evil shape-changer (妖 *yao*), and Zhen-wu served it, but this is not so. In ‘Wu dang zhi’ (武當志 ‘Information about Wudang’) it says that seven stars of the north part of the sky form Xuan-wu. And Xuan wu is the turtle, [entwined with] the snake. The colour of *quan* is red and black. The turtle and snake are covered in scales, and this is an image of the military spirit (武 *wu*). Zhen-wu is the spirit of the North Pole. His image resembles a turtle with a snake” [10].

Xuan-wu, who appears as a turtle with a snake or a kind of hybrid of these two animals in early legends had by the time of the Song era gained the appearance of an official, whose permanent attributes were a turtle and a snake.

“He is depicted as the spirit of the north, with hair and in black clothes, resting on a sword and with his leg on a turtle with a snake; following him are a retinue with black banners” [11].

At the end of the 10th century the spirit of Xuan-wu was canonised, and under emperor Zhen-zong, in the years of the rule of Da-zhong xian-fu (1008—1016) the spirit was given a new name Zhen-wu 真武, as the sign *xuan* became taboo because it was part of the name of a relative of the emperor. The spirit also enjoyed great authority under the Mongol dynasty of Yuan, and in 1344, by personal order of Hubilai, the Dazhaoyingong palace was built in the capital, specially in honour of Zhen-wu, and some time

later the spirit was given an imperial title, in accordance with which Zhen-wu was proclaimed the most important spirit of the North. The cult of Zhen-wu enjoyed its greatest popularity in the time of Ming, when by the order of the court his “native” mountain Taiheshan (then already Wudanshan) was given the name Dayue Taiheshan, i. e. “The Great peak of Mount Taiheshan”, and numerous temples and joss-houses were built on the mountain, after which Taiheshan quite soon became known as one of the most important mountains in the Dao table of holy places. In the capital, the special temple Zhenwumiao was built, which received the status of one of the nine most important cult buildings in the capital.

### (3) Chi di si (赤帝祠 Temple of the Red Emperor)

In the apartment of Anyefang, within the city walls. [There] offerings were made to the spirit Zhurong; it is also called Huoshenmiao (火神廟 Joss-house of the spirit of fire). Hui-zong [on the throne from 1101 to 1125 — *I. A.*] desired to build the sanctuary of Huoxingguan (火星觀 Sanctuary of the Fiery Star) next to the Taiyigong palace, but the advisor Ren Bo-yu made a reproach and stopped [the ruler]. It is unknown in what time this temple was built, and details [about it are also] unknown.

**Note.** Ren Bo-yu (任伯雨 1047—1119) — a Song court and state figure, served in the provinces and the court. In half a year in his position in the censor department he submitted 108 reports to the throne. He had a very strong knowledge of canonical works.

Zhu-rong 祝融 (Zhu-yong) — fire divinity, who is mentioned in “Shan hai jing” (山海經 “Catalogue of Mountains and Seas”):

“Zhu-rong has the body of a beast and the face of a man, he rides two dragons” (section “Hai wai nan jing”);

according to legend, he is a distant descendant of the mythical emperors Huang-di and Yan-di. In a number of sources he is an assistant of Yan-di (Fiery Emperor) [12].

### (4) Xiao long ci (小龍祠 Temple of the Little Dragon)

Outside the city walls, on the shore of Bianhe.

**Note.** The following legend is linked with this dragon, and is contained in the collection of the Song Cai Dao (蔡條 12th century) in “Tie wei shan cong tan” (鐵圍山叢談 “Collection of Talks from the Mountain of Teweishan):

“The little dragon from the region of Huanghe and Huaishui is called divine and amazing. Witnesses describe the dragon in the smallest details... In the years of Chong-ning (1102—1106) on the river of Huaishui the water suddenly rose very high, and large boats could not get out of the mouth of Bianhe. But before sunrise a dragon appeared, and settled by the stern of [a] boat. The wife of the helmsman did not realise that it was a dragon, called it a lizard and pushed it away. The dragon grabbed the oar and began to climb up it. Then the woman got angry, grabbed a torch and hit the dragon on the head. As soon as she hit it, there was a terrible thunderclap, and the boats in the mouth of Bianhe — official and private, over 700 of them — crashed into each other and broke up. Several thousand people were killed. This news was mourned at the court and orders were given to the local authorities to provide aid [to the families of the people killed].

One fine day, when the tax emissary of the province was travelling to the capital, the dragon appeared once more. The

official became extremely frightened, began to light incense and said to the dragon: ‘I want to go to the capital for a report together with you, lord, so you can appear before the Son of Heaven. May I?’ The dragon instantly looked very happy, twisted himself and vanished into the box of incense and stayed there. The emissary hurried to take him to the capital and presented him to Lu-gong [Song Minister Cai Jing 蔡京 1047—1126 — *I. A.*], so he could report to the throne.

The lord [i. e. emperor Hui-zong — *I. A.*] ordered to take [the dragon] within [the forbidden city] and prepare wine and fruit there for the ceremony of prayer. The dragon suddenly jumped out of the box, took a gold cup in his claws and drank several gulps. The Son of Heaven was amazed, and taking a glass box, put the dragon in it, and personally sealed it. [The box with the dragon] was sent to the temple Bianshui Xiaolongci (汴水小龍祠 Temple of the Dragon from Bianshui), which is outside the capital.

In the evening the box was examined. The seal was still on it, but the dragon was not there — it had vanished! The lord was happy about this. But the box and the imperial seal on it stayed in the temple for everyone to view” [13].

(5) *Jia ying hou ci* (嘉應侯祠 *Jiaying-hou Temple*)

In a southeast suburb, outside the city walls. In the years of the rule of Xi-ning (1068—1077) it was built by ordinary people who shared the cost. Tradition has it that the surname of [this] spirit was Zhang 張氏, from Huaiying [in Jiangsu — *I. A.*], became a spirit after death, and was sent to the source [steward] of the Eastern Peak, and is in charge of affairs in the world of darkness. In many regions and districts, east of the capital, there are such temples. He who is called *taiwei* Zhang is this spirit, and he is also called *sheren*. In the years of the rule of Yuan-feng (1078—1085) empress Guang-xian taihuang taihou read a prayer here and as a sign of gratitude the spirit was given the title of *Jiaying-hou*. Later [the temple] was destroyed.

**Note.** *Taiwei* — in the Song era, from 1112 this official was the head of all part-time (i. e. with a rank and salary, but without a specific position) officials in the military department.

*Sheren* — part-time secretary of the Court Ministry.

Guang-xian taihuang taihou — i. e. empress Cao (曹皇后 1016—1080), received the title of empress in 1034. After the death of her husband, emperor Ren-zong (in 1063), owing to the youth and weakness of his heir, she ruled the country for almost a year. She received the title of *taihuang taihou* under emperor Shen-zong (r. from 1067 to 1085).

According to Chinese popular ideas, the existence of the human soul did not end after the physical death of the body, but continued in another world, where a similar secular structure of organisation existed. In written monuments, there are frequent mentions of outstanding commanders, just officials, and people known for their virtue

and wisdom taking up various important posts in the after-life and showing this to the living by various signs (in dreams, in reality, by omens etc.). Temples were built in their honour, where the dead were brought offerings, prayers were read and requests were made — temples traced by Cheng Min-sheng to *tudishenmiao*, *chenghuangmiao* or *renyumiao*. For example, there is a well-known legend connected with the name of the Tang poet and philosopher Liu Zong-yuan (柳宗元 773—810) who appeared after his death to the inhabitants of the region which he ran, and told them that in the afterlife he had been appointed to this region once more, and so a temple would have to be built in his honour [14]. This involves quite a high position which Zhang from Huaiyin occupied after his death: in the office of the very spirit of the mountain of Taishan (the Eastern peak, 東嶽 *dong yue*), one of the five (the most important) holy mountains of China.

(6) *Xü zhen jun ci* (許真君祠 *Temple of zhenjun Xü*)

Previously located on the territory of the palace of Shangqingzhuxianggong. Zhenjun lived under Jin (265—420), and held the position of head of the Jingyang district [in Hubei — *I. A.*] In the second year of the rule of Zheng-he (1112) [this spirit] was graciously granted the title of Shengong miao-ji zhenjun (神功妙濟真君 Perfect ruler holding divine services and giving treasured help). The 120 poems left after [Xü] were copied on to bamboo tablets and kept in a special box. They were pulled to determine whether there would be success or not. [This place] was called Shengxianci (神籤祠 *Temple of very wise tablets*). It was later destroyed.

**Note.** According to tradition, his mother gave birth to the “perfect ruler” (*zhenjun*) Xü Sun (許遜 239—374) five months after she saw a divine bird flying towards her from the heavens. The bird was holding a pearl in its beak, which the woman swallowed. Despite the short term of pregnancy, the boy proved to be very able and was quick to grasp everything. This is what is said about Xü Sun in the collection of Liu Fu (劉斧 11th century) “Qing suo gao yi” (青瑣高議 “High Judgements at the Palace Gates”):

“Xü's name was Sun, and his second name was Jing-zhi, he came from Runan [in Henan — *I. A.*] His grandfather and father enlightened him in Dao, and Jing-zhi in his youth also studied under the tutor Wu Meng (吳孟, the legendary Dao mage of the time of Jin (256—420), who preached the practiced the teaching of the Three Purities [three heavenly spheres where Dao immortals dwell — *I. A.*] After passing his exams, Xü was given the position of head of the Jingyang district.

Disturbances began in Jin, and Xü left his position. Together with Master Wu he went on a journey to the lands to the north of the Yangzi. Here Wang Dun raised a rebellion, and Xü and Wu made a visit to him, as if they intended to congratulate him, but in fact to stop Wang and preserve Jin.

Once they came to Wang Dun together with Guo Pu (郭僕 276—324). Dun, hiding his irritation, looked at them and said: ‘Last night I dreamt of a tree which tore the sky with its top. Does this mean that the emperor will take my throne. Please, tutors, explain this!’ ‘This is an unhappy dream’, — said Xu. ‘If the tree top tears the sky, then this gives the character *wei* 未, and this means that you, master, should not commit impulsive acts!’ — said Wu. Then Dun ordered Guo Po to tell his fortune, and the answer was: ‘The matter will not end in success’. He asked about his lifespan, and received the reply: ‘The matter has been started, and soon there will be disaster. But if you lived in Wuchang, then nothing would threaten your lifespan’. ‘Well, and how long will you live?!’ — Dun cried in anger. ‘My lifespan runs out today’, — Guo Pu replied. Then Dun ordered soldiers to seize Pu and take him away to be executed. Xü and Wu stayed with Dun to drink wine, but during the repast they disappeared imperceptibly.

When they reached the mouth of the Lujiang, they tried to hire a boat to reach Zhongling [both in Jiangxi — *I. A.*], but the boatman refused, saying that there was no one to haul the boat. ‘Then take us, and we will move the boat from its place ourselves!’ — Wu and Xü said to him. — ‘You must shut your eyes tight. When you hear the splash of water, don't

look!’ The boatman really did hear a splash, and then a sound like leaves falling from trees. He slowly opened his eyes, and saw two dragons dragging the boat the peak of Mount Jiyaofeng [the main peak of Mount Lushan, Jiangxi — *I. A.*]! The dragons felt that someone was looking at them, abandoned the boat and vanished. ‘You broke our oath and ended up here. What should we do?’ — Wu and Xū asked the boatman. And they ordered him to live on his own on this speak, and taught him to gather medicinal herbs and revealed the secrets of immortals. The remains of the boat can be seen in this place to this day.

Subsequently Xū met a young man in Yuzhang [the ancient name of Nanchang, in Jiangxi — *I. A.*] — a man of very refined manners and appearance. The man called himself Shen-lang. After talking to him, Xū realised that he was not of the human race, and as he left he said to the door-keeper:

‘This man is a dragon shape-changer. I remember the damage that the floods in Jiangxi did because of him! Unless he is destroyed, he will probably run away!’ He looked at the youth with his all seeing eye, and the youth turned into a yellow bull standing on sand. Xū called on his pupil Shi Tai-yu: ‘He is a yellow bull, I will turn into a black bull with a white scarf, and will fight him. As soon as you see this, attack him with a sword’. And a moment later the two bulls began to fight. Tai-yu struck the yellow bull’s leg with the sword, and it jumped into a well. The black bull jumped after it, but the shape-changer had already escaped. [...]

On the first day of the eight moon of the second year of the rule of Ning-kang (374) Xū and his entire family ascended to heaven in broad daylight from Mount Xishan [in Jiangxi — *I. A.*], in Hongzhou” [15].

### (7) Zhao ling fu ren ci (昭靈夫人祠 Temple of Mrs. Zhao-ling)

45 *li* to the northeast of the city. Mrs. Zhao-ling was the most august mother of Han Gao-zu. Her grave was destroyed by water from [Huang]he, and later people erected a temple on this spot.

**Note.** Han Gao-zu — temple name of Liu Bang (劉邦 256/247?—195 BC), founder of the Han dynasty. From the peasants. On the throne from 206—195 BC.

### (8) Li wei gong ci (李衛公祠 Temple of Li Wei-gong)

In [the village of] Naozhanbao to the southwest of the city. [Here] offerings are made to Tang commander Li Jing.

**Note.** Li Jing (李靖 571—649) — outstanding military leader from the beginning of the Tang dynasty. An expert on military treatises. Held a number of high positions at court, including the head of the military department. In 629, inflicted a shattering defeat on the Turkic kaganat, and

in 630 captured the *kagan* Selim himself. For his services to the throne (including his successful resistance to the tufans and kidans) he was given the title of Weiguo-gong, i. e. “Standing on guard of the country of the ruler”, here used in abbreviated form.

### (9) Wei chi gong ci (尉遲公祠 Temple of Master Weichi)

To the south of the city. [Here] offerings are made to the Tang commander Weichi Jing-de.

**Note.** Weichi Jing-de — this is Weichi Gong (尉遲公 585—658), whose second name was Jing-de 敬德, another glorious commander from the beginning of the Tang dynasty. He was especially trusted by emperors Gao-zu

and Tai-zong (ruled from 627 to 649). He actively helped the first Tang emperor to ascend the throne. In his last years he was extremely interested in Dao magic and lived as a recluse.

### (10) San xian ci (三賢祠 Temple of Three Wise Men)

In a little over three *li* to the south of the city on the terrace of Chuitai, behind the joss-house Erniangmiao 二娘廟. Previously [here] there were three niches, and in them were Bixia yuanjun plaster statues. In the Ming dynasty, in the year of *ding-chou* under the rule of Zheng-de (517), the highest representative inspector Mao Bo-wen [ordered] these statues to be replaced with [statues of] three wise men, and a note was made on this. The three wise men were Gao Shi (高適 702—765), Li Bo (李白 701—762) and Du Fu (杜甫 712—770). In the year of *xin-you* in the rule of Jia-qing (1561) the highest representative imperial emissary inspector of the capital district Cai Ru-nan (蔡汝楠 1516—1565) added Li Meng-yan and He Da-fu and renamed the temple Wuxianci (五賢祠 Temple of five wise men).

According to the Tan dynasty story, Gao Shi, Li Bo and Du Fu in the years of the rule of Tian-bao (742—755) travelled together through Liang and Song and feasted on the terrace of Chuitai, made merry and composed songs as if no one was near. Du Fu wrote these lines:

I remember the meeting with Gao and Li,  
The talk with friends over a jug of wine.  
Your refined thoughts, gentlemen,

Inspired an invigorating force in me!  
Drunk from the wine, I climbed up to Chuitai,  
And thought about ancient times. Around me was wasteland...

At that time [Li] Bo and [Du] Fu left the country, pursued by evil slander, and [Gao] Shi was appointed as head of the Fengxiuxian district.

**Note.** Bixia yuanjun — 碧霞元君, “Primordial sovereign of the Azure dawn”, a Dao saint, daughter of the lord of Mount Taishan. The Song emperor Zhen-zong gave her the title *Tianxian yuniu bixia yuanjun*, i. e. Heavenly saint, Jade maiden, Primordial sovereign of the azure [16].

Li Meng-yang and He Da-fu — Li Meng-yang (李夢陽 1472—1529) — renowned Ming poet, together with He Da-fu (何大復 Dafu shanren 大復山人, Hermit

from Dafu, literary pseudonym of He Jing-ming 何敬明, 1483—1521) and another five poets formed a literary society, who in their work realised the idea of the Tang literary movement for the return of the simplicity of literature to the ancients (*fugu*). Cai Ru-nan, incidentally, was also a gifted poet, and also an expert on classical works, and was famous among his contemporaries.

### (11) Bao xiao su gong ci (包孝肅公祠 Temple of Master Bao Xiao-su)

The name of the master is Zheng 拯, second name Xi-ren 希仁, posthumous name Xiao-su 孝肅. He once ruled Kaifeng, and his rule was exceptional. Later inhabitants of Bianjing, remembering Bao, built a temple to the north of the city. It is unknown when construction began. Under Ming, in the years of the rule of Cheng-hua (1465—1487), the ruler of Kaifeng Sun Yu 孫瑜 moved [this temple] into the wasteland to the east of the city.

**Note.** Song official Bao Zheng (包拯 999—1062) held various posts at the court and in the province. He was known for his fairness and sagacious wisdom in conducting criminal cases. He became especially famous at the time when he ruled Kaifeng, and by his incorruptibility he was even compared with the lord of the kingdom of the dead, the master of the fates of dead souls Yanlo-wang whose gaze no one can avoid. After his death he was deified and became a high-ranking official of the afterlife for the Chinese people. For example, the work “Xu Yi-jian zhi” (續夷堅志 “Continuation of the Notes of Yi-jian”) by Yuan Hao-weng (元好問 1190—1258) contains the following fragment:

“They report that after his death, Bao Xi-ren was appointed head of the department for immediate retribution on the Eastern Peak [i. e. on Mount Taishan — *I. A.*] Ordinary people — inhabitants of the mountains and valleys — all know about this. In autumn of the year *geng-zi*, Taian Jie brought a captive woman to the south from a military campaign. He said that she was the granddaughter of Xi-ren. The woman was extremely beautiful, and her owner was offered large sums for her from brothels, but the woman did not agree, threatening to commit suicide. Then the owner, worrying about his profit, ordered her to be beaten as severely as

possible with sticks, and the woman lay down. The neighbours only sighed in sympathy, but could not help. One shaman woman lived nearby. ‘I can help this woman find a worthy husband!’ — she said. The shaman appeared to the owner of the woman, closed her eyes, began breathing heavily and writhing, showing that the spirit was leaving her. Suddenly, with closed eyes she called the owner by name and began swearing at him. The owner lit incense and fell down, begging for forgiveness and asking how he had offended the respected spirit. The shaman began swearing again. ‘I am the head of the department of immediate retribution, how could you make my granddaughter a singer?!’ the shaman yelled. ‘I give you 10 days! If you do not marry her in this time to a worthy husband, then I will destroy your entire family!’ The owner did not stop begging. Several days later he married her off” [17].

Subsequently, several episodes from the life and criminal cases investigated by Bao Zheng, which sometimes bristled with improbable details, became the basis for many works of literature: stories, novels, plays and even novels [18]. The figure of Bao Zheng was at the basis of the cult of the incorruptible judge Bao-gong, in honour of whom joss-houses and temples were built all over China.

### (12) Cang wang miao (倉王廟 Joss-House of Cang-wang)

Outside the gates Xinzhengmeng, on the shore of the River Jinshuihe. Subsequently destroyed by Jin troops.

**Note.** Cang-wang or Cang-di 倉帝 — one of the four patron spirits of the corners of the world, symbol of the east. The green dragon is associated with him (青龍 *qing long* [19]. Usually depicted as a person with a sword in

hand, with a dragon at his. Wooden sculptures of this deity in temples to his honour began to appear in the Song era [20].

### (13) Gao yao miao (皋陶廟 Gao-yao Joss-House)

In the prison institution of the Xiangfuxian district.

**Note.** In the collection of the Song scholar Fang Shao (方勺 1066—after 1144) “Bo zhai bian” (泊宅編 “Note-books of Bo-zhai”) it reads:

“Currently in the prison institutions of all regions and districts there are temples of Gao-yao, and prayers are regularly made in them. And this [custom] dates from the Han era.

When Fan Pang was in prison, he was persuaded to make a prayer to Gao-yao. ‘The all-wise Gao-yao knows that I have no guilt on me, and he will restore the truth before the Supreme Emperor. But if [the souls of the dead] have no consciousness, what is the point of praying?’ — Fan answered” [21].

The legend states that Gao-yao (Yan Gao-yao) was one of the subjects of the legendary emperor Shun, and was in charge of punishments and prisons. Later he was deified in this quality, and his name became associated with a just and unbiased judge. In the fragment given above, the East Han Fan Pang (范滂 137—169), who was captured on false slander in 166, appeals to Mo-zi: “If the dead man has no consciousness, then this will be the end of it all” [22].

(14) Wu cheng wang miao (武成王廟 Joss-House of Wu-cheng-wang)

To the southwest of the Leijiaqiao bridge; was destroyed when the city was rebuilt under the Jin.

**Note.** In “Huei shu xiang zhu (彙書詳注 “Collection of books with detailed commentary”) it states:

“In the second year of Jian-long (961) Tai-zu [Zhao Kuang-yin 趙匡胤 927—976 — *I. A.*] delighted [with his visit] the joss-house of Wu-cheng-wang and examined the depictions of all the famous military commanders painted [on the walls] in the galleries. Pointing to the statue of Bai Qi, [the lord] said: ‘But Qi committed suicide, he does not have the military spirit, how can one bring offerings to him!’ — And he ordered for the statue to be removed. Then he called Zhang Zhao, Dou Yi and Gao Xi [to him] and ordered them to present him [a list of] courtiers and military commanders of various eras worthy of remembrance, the glory of whose services did not diminish throughout their entire lives.

When in the 19th year of the rule of Kai-yuan (731) the Taigong shanfu miao (Joss-house of the Great Prince of the Honoured father) was first built, Zhang Liang, the Liu-hou, was assigned [in this temple]. Twice a year, spring and autumn, the Lord personally made offerings here. [...] Later a total of 10 renowned military commanders of antiquity were selected for this temple.

Under [the emperor] Su-zong (r. 756—761), in the first year of the rule of Shang-yuan (760), Taigong was given the title of Wu-cheng-wang, and [the statues of] Bai Ci, Han Xin, Zhuge Liang, Li Jing and Li Ji were then located on the left, and [the statues of] Zhang Liang, Tian Ji-qie, Sun Wu, Wu Qi, Yue Yi on the right. Zhang Liang remained in the list of respected ones. In the second year of the rule of Jian-zhong (1102), an order was given to the Historical Chamber to check who [else] could be put on the list of the respected ones, and [a list was determined of] all renowned military commanders of antiquity and the modern age [such as] Fan Li, of 64 people, and their drawings were made” [23].

To this it should be added that the military commander of the times of the Fighting Kingdoms Bai Qi (白起 ?—257 BC) were not just famous for their military talent, but that by his orders around 4,000 captives were executed af-

ter one battle. He committed suicide. Zhang Zhao (張昭 894—972) — was a Song official, an erudite person, an expert on literature and art, a bibliophile, who held the post of head of the Department of ranks; Dou Yi (竇儀 914—967) — a Song official and erudite person, who among other things served at the academy of Hanlinyuan (from 963) and for his breadth of knowledge was especially valued by emperor Tai-zu; Gao Xi (高錫 ?—983) — a Song official, served in the historical section. Zhang Liang (張良 ?—185 BC) — dignitary and politician of the beginning of the Han dynasty, famous because after the destruction by Qin Shi-huang of his native empire Han, where five generations of his ancestors were ministers, he and his entire family vowed to take revenge on Qin Shi-huang and in 218 BC in Bolangsha (Henan province) he made an attack on him which was unsuccessful; the traditional example of faithfulness to duty and the emperor. Han Xin (韓信 ?—196 BC) — grandee and renowned military commander from the beginning of the Han dynasty. Zhuge Liang (諸葛亮 181—234) — legendary military commander from the time of the Three Kingdoms. Li Ji (李績 594—669) — famous Tang military commander, who fought both against the northern nomads and the Koreans. Tian Ji-qie (田穰且 5th century BC) — military theorist of the times of the Fighting Kingdoms, the author of the military treatise “Sima Ji-qie bingfa”. Sun Wu (孫武 5th century BC), outstanding military commander from the times of the Fighting Kingdoms, author of the famous treatise “Sun-zi bingfa”. Wu Qi (吳起 ?—381 BC), politicians and military commander from the early period of the Fighting Kingdoms. Yue Yi 樂毅 — military commander from the time of the Fighting Kingdoms. Fan Li 范蠡 — political figure from the end of the Chunqiu period, who dedicated himself to military strategy.

Later, according to a number of Song monuments, a military institute was founded in this temple (武學 wuxue).

(15) Wu qi miao (吳起廟 Wu qi Joss-House)

Behind the government building [of the district administration]. Destroyed during the Jin dynasty.

**Note.** Wu Qi (吳起 ?—381 BC) — outstanding politician and military commander, who lived at the beginning

of the period of the Fighting Kingdoms. He wrote a treatise on military affairs which has been lost.

## (16) Er xiang miao (二相廟 Joss-House of Two Ministers)

Within city limits, [here were brought] offerings to Zi-yu and Zi-xia. Long since destroyed, no one knows where it was located.

**Note.** This joss-house was dedicated to two pupils of Confucius — Bu Shang (卜商 507 BC — ?), also known as Zi-xia 子夏, and Yan Yan (言偃 506 BC — ?), also known as Zi-yu 子游. The above-mentioned Wu Qi, incidentally, was one of the pupils of Bu Shang. In “Yan yi yi mou lu” (燕翼詒謀錄 “Notes of Advice Made for Descendants and Care for Them”) by Song Wang Yang (王樾 12th century), it states:

“[First] those, who are sitting capital exams in the class ‘Liji’ made a prayer [for success] in the joss-house Erxiangmiao — Two Ministers. These two ministers are Zi-yu and Zi-xia. Zi-yu was the first minister under Wu-cheng 武成, and Zi-xia served in several states, and what he is called a minister for is unknown” [24].

## (17) Pi chang gong miao (皮場公廟 Joss-House of Pichang-gong)

In the northeast city quarter.

**Note.** In “Yan yi yi mou lu”:

“Now those who go to the capital to take exams on ‘Li Ci’ pray at the joss-house of Pichangmiao. Pichang is a place where animals are skinned. They say that the patron spirit of the knacker’s yard (皮場土地 Pichang tudi) is in charge of diseases which cannot be cured. Under [emperor] Wei-zong, in the sixth moon of the first year of the rule of Jian-zhong jing-guo (1101) a decree was issued to give [this spirit] the title of Lingkuang-hou (靈睨侯 Master providing miraculous aid). After this it was given the title Minglingzhaohuei-wang (明靈昭惠王 Wise prince illuminated with miraculous light). Now the joss-house is located in the pavilion of Zhaohuaguan in Wanshouguang, and this pavilion is next to the examination courtyard. It is not known when scholars began to pray [to this spirit], and why the temple was founded in this pavilion” [25].

And this is what the Song collection “Bian jing yi ji zhi” (汴京遺蹟志 “Records of Information About Bianjing”):

“They say that Pichang tudi is in charge of diseases which cannot be cured. They also say that Pichang-gong is a dignitary from Zheng [a principality of the era of Chunqiu, Henan — *I. A.*] by the name of Zi Pi 子皮. He took the post of Shangqing [senior chancellor of the local prince — *I. A.*] from his father, Zi Zhan 子展, and took the reins of government. But in Zheng there was a famine, poor harvest and disease. Then Zi Pi by order of his father began to give grain to the people, grain which was entitled to officials. The people in Zheng were inspired with Pi’s good deeds and began to build a temple in his honour. And as it is not far from Biancheng [Kaifeng — *I. A.*] to Zheng, there is a temple of this kind there. Here are two versions — which one is to be believed?” [26].

## (18) Er lang miao (二郎廟 Joss-House of Er-lang)

Just over one *li* from the gates of Nanxunmen. [Dedicated] to the spirit of Guankou Er-lang. When it was built is unknown. Every year on the 24th of the six lunar month the birthday of Er-lang is celebrated very lavishly. The joss-house was given the name Shenbaoguan (神保觀 Hermitage of Divine Aid). [...] According to “Chengdu jin gu ji” (成都今古記 “Notes on Ancient and Modern Chengdu”) the Qin wang appointed Li Bing to rule the district of Shu, and [he] put a channel through the Lidui, liquidated the Veishui floods, [as they say], rich fields stretched for a thousand *li*, and [these places] began to be called a fertile valley. Remembering the wisdom [of Li], the people built the joss-house on Mount Guankoushan.

**Note.** This concerns the spirit Er-lang (also known as Er-lang-shen 二郎神, Guankou-shen 灌口神). The legend states that this spirit was the son of the Sichuan ruler Li Bing (李冰 3rd century BC). Li Bing was sent to rule Shu (Sichuan), and while in this office, did a great deal of good for Shu, together with his son. Legends are linked with the name Li Bing and his son Er-lang, which have many variants: how Er-lang, while hunting, killed a fierce tiger which was attacking the local population; how, making use of his father’s advice, Er-lang (or Li Bing himself?) called to order and restrained the dragon (spirit) of the Yangzi River, which was causing havoc and gathering a tribute of beautiful girls, but unfortunately all these legends have only survived in late records [27]. The cult of the spirit of Er-lang was developed at the beginning of the Song era,

during the rule of emperor Huei-zong (r. 1101—1125) the spirit was given the title of *zhenjun* (although not for long: appearing in a dream to a person close to the emperor, Er-lang complained that before he became a *zhenjun*, and had the title of *wang*, he received an offering of meat, which he was happy with, but now he receives only fasting food. Er-lang asked for his former title to be returned and this was done). Temples in his honour were built all along the Yangzi and in some other places, and his spirit began to have the widest range of magic qualities attributed to it, which not everyone believed in, however — in the collection by Song Zhu Yu (朱彧 13th century) “Ping zhou ke tan” (萍洲可談 “From Talks in Pingzhou”) there is a curious fragment:

“Fuma duwei Li Duan-yuan [李端愿 ?—1091, the emperor's son-in-law — *I. A.*] lived together with the other emperor's relatives. Above all, he respected attention and respect, and when he lost his sight, he began to be more attentive and cautious in talking with noble offspring. So to the end of his days he lived without sorrow. At one time the miracle-working water from the Er-lang joss-house, in the east part of Chuazhou [in the Henan province — *I. A.*] was in demand in the capital. This water cured illnesses. Li did not believe in the souls of the dead or in spirits. When his grandson fell ill, the people of the house secretly sent for the water of Er-lang. When Li found out about this, he got very angry, beat his son with his stick and said to him: ‘If your son really is destined to die, then how can Er-lang help him and bring him back to life?! And if it cannot do this, then why do you need the water?!’ [28].

An interesting episode is contained in “Wen xian tong kao” (文獻通考 “Combined Study of Written Monuments”) by Ma Duan-lin (馬端臨 1250?—1325):

“In the seventh year of the rule of Zheng-he a decree came to repair the hermitage of Shenbaoguan, which is popularly known as the [joss-house] of the spirit of Er-lang. Residents of the capital, in their simplicity [thinking that nothing would remain of the temple], began in spring — both men and women — to drag earth to the temple, as a kind of gift [to the deity]. In the piles of earth they stuck signs reading ‘This earth is presented by so-and-so’, and headdresses also appeared in the forms of devils, which showed that [their owners] had made a contribution of earth. Someone reported to Cai Jing; ‘To give earth, to make a contribution of earth — what vulgar expression!’ Several days later a decree was issued forbidding this” [29].

### (19) Zhao wang miao (趙王廟 Joss-House of Zhao-wang)

In Musibao, to the northeast of the city. Here the Han Zhao-wang Zhang Er was prayed to. Destroyed.

**Note.** Zhang Er (張耳 ?—202 BC) — governing prince, military commander and political figure, received

the title of Zhao-wang from the founder of the Han dynasty Liu Bang, who joined him.

### (20) Jian ke miao (劍客廟 Joss-House of the Fencer)

To the west of Zhuanlongwan, outside the gates of Xinzhenmen. Destroyed.

### (21) Fan hou miao (樊侯廟 Joss-House of Fan-hou)

Outside the gates of Wangchunmen. Here people pray to the Han Fan Kuai. Burned down.

**Note.** Fan Kuai (樊噲 ?—189 BC) — military commander of the beginning of the Han dynasty. In his youth he worked as a cattle slaughterer, and then joined Liu

Wang's troops and proved himself as a skilful military leader. For service to the throne he was given the title of Wuyang-hou.

### (22) Dan jiang jun miao (單將軍廟 Joss-House of Military Commander Dan)

In the northwest outskirts, outside the gates of Wangchunmen. Here the Tang military commander Dan Xiong-xin 單雄信 is prayed to. Destroyed.

### (23) Qi du miao (旗纛廟 Joss-House of Banners and Standards)

Within the city limits. Destroyed.

**Note.** The origin and purpose of this joss-house is explained by a fragment from “Tang bai guan zhi” (唐百官志 “Notes on Official Under Tang”), which states:

“When the *jiedushi* [military governor-general — *I. A.*] left [for his place of duty], he was given two banners (旗 *qi*) and two staffs (節 *jie*). On the journey [before the *zedushi*] the staff was carried, and at stops six standards (纛 *du*) were established. [When the *zedushi*] entered the borders [of his domain], his rooms were put in order and he was met with the beat of drums. In the [Tang] dynasty six standards were preserved; banners, staffs of gate banners — two each, and those

who were given it kept in the personal rooms of the residence, for which a special hall was set aside, called ‘The Hall of Staffs’ (節堂 *jietang*). In this hall prayers were made on the first and 15th day of each month, on the full moon, and this was called ‘the ceremony in the work place’ (衙禮 *ya li*). For if there are banners and staffs, then there should also be ceremonies, [directed to] spirits. In central cities nowadays, governors-general take these joss-houses very seriously, but ‘halls of staffs’ and ‘ceremonies of work places’ have long been forgotten!” [30].

## (24) De an gong miao (德安公廟 Joss-House of Dean-gong)

Outside the gates of Baokangmen, the joss-house of the spirit of Mount Imenshan [to the northeast of Kaifeng — *I. A.*] In the fourth year of the reign of Jing-de (1007) [the spirit of the mountain] was given the title Dean-gong, a decree was issued to repair the joss-house and an order was given to the Kaifeng administration to give offerings there in spring and autumn. Later destroyed.

## (25) Cui fu jun miao (崔府君廟 Joss-House of the Head of Cui Administration)

To the north of the city. They say that Cui Jue, who served in the Tang dynasty as the head of Fuyang [in the Hebei province — *I. A.*], became a spirit after he died and began to manage the affairs of the other world. [His] temple [is located] in Cizhou [Hebei — *I. A.*]. At the beginning of the years under the rule of Chun-hua (990—994) people also built him a joss-house here. The festival [of this spirit] is on the sixth day of the sixth month, and there were lots of people celebrating. Then a decree was issued to rebuilt the joss-house, and it given the name Hugomiao (獲國廟 Joss-house of the Protector of the state), and utensils and clothes were sent for worshippers. In the first year of the reign of Jing-de (1004) the joss-house was fundamentally renovated. In spring and autumn each year, the Kaifeng administration sent officials here to give offerings. Later [the spirit] was given the title of Hugo Xianying-gong (獲國顯應公 Master protecting the state and showing the sign). Destroyed.

**Note.** There is a story about the Tang official Cui Jue (崔珪 8th century) that when he was the head of Fuyang, he strictly punished a fierce tiger which ate a local young man who was distinguished by his great filial piety. Cui was deified after his death. The special reverence for this spirit during the Song dynasty can perhaps also be ex-

plained by the fact that when the future Song emperor Gao-zong went to the outer limits of Cizhou, Cui's spirit gave his divine protection. Under the Song dynasty, in all the provinces joss-houses and temples were built in honour of the divine protector [31].

## (26) Dong yue miao (東嶽廟 Joss-House of the Eastern Peak)

Within the city walls, in the northeast outskirts. Here the spirit of Mount Taishan is prayed to, and the other name [of the joss-house] is Taishanmiao (泰山廟 Taishan joss-house). In the tenth moon of the first year of the rule of Da-zhong xian-fu (1008) a decree was issued to give [the spirit of Taishan] the title of Dongyue tianqi rensheng-wang (東嶽天齊仁聖王 Sacred, philanthropic and wise prince of the Eastern peak). In the fifth moon of the fourth year (1011) it was given the imperial title (帝 *di*).

**Note.** According to Chinese beliefs, the spirit of this mountain ruled the souls of dead people:

“Everything living has its origin in the eastern side, so [the lord of Taishan] knows the length of [human] lives” [32].

The spirit of Taishan had the title of *Taishan fujun* 泰山府君, i. e. The Rule of the Administration of Mount Taishan, this title was widely used in China, from the first century AD [33]. One of the first mentions of the spirit of Mount Taishan with the title of Taishan Fujun in *xiaoshuo* prose is contained in the famous work by Gan Bao (干寶 3rd—4th century AD) “Sou shen ji” [34]. In the collection

“Feng su tong yi” (風俗通義 “Sincere Meaning of Morals and Customs”) Ying Shao (應劭 ?—202) there is mention of a golden casket with jade plates, on which the lifespan of people is written — this casket is also located on Taishan [35]. Mount Taishan was an object of worship from ancient times: all the Chinese emperors made an ascent to the mountain for offerings to Heaven, including all 72 rulers of Chinese antiquity [36]. The 28th day of the third lunar month marked the birth of the spirit of Taishan. As mentioned above, in honour of this spirit and its subordinates, temples were built everywhere [37].

## (27) Xuan di miao (玄帝廟 Joss-House of the Dark Emperor)

In the southwest outskirts, behind the administration building. Also known as Yushengguan (佑聖觀 Hermitage of the wise [giving] aid), later renamed Dadaogong (大道公 Palace of the Great Path). Here the spirit of the North Xuan-wu was prayed to.

## (28) Feng bo miao (風伯廟 Joss-House of Feng-bo)

To the northeast of the city, here the spirit of the wind was prayed to. Built in the years of Da-zhong xian-fu (1008—1016). Every year, on the second day (the day of the bull) after the Spring festival, people came here to say prayers.

**Note.** The god of wind Feng-bo (also called Feng-shi) is mentioned in “Shan hai jing” (section “Da huang bei

jing”) and described as a being with the body of a deer, the head of a sparrow, horns, and the tail of a snake [38].

## (29) Yu huang miao (玉皇廟 Joss-House of the Jade Emperor)

Outside the gates of Nanxunmen, to the west of the state highway. It is said that in this spot there was once the place of Yuqingzhaoyingong (玉清昭應宮 Palace of the revealed banner of Jade purity). In the sixth summer month of the seventh year in the reign of Tian-sheng (1029) this palace was destroyed in a fire, and only two halls survived — Changshengdian (長生殿 Hall of Eternal Life) and Chongshoudian (崇壽殿 Hall of prolonging the years of life). A decree was issued not to restore [the burned palace], but to rename this place Wanshouguan (萬壽觀 Hermitage of longevity). Then the Chongshoudian hall was renamed Taixiaodian (太霄殿 Hall of Great Heaven) and a bronze statue of the Jade emperor was put here. Later [the hall] was destroyed by Jin troops. Under the Ming dynasty, in the year of *ding-hai* in the rule of Cheng-hua (1467), daoist Dong Dao-jing 董道靜 raised funds to build the joss-house of Yuhuangmiao in this place and from the [former] hermitage Wuyueguan (五嶽觀 Hermitage of Five mountain peaks) moved statues here of [the rulers of] five mountain peaks and four rivers. Wuyueguan was situated to the west of the examination courtyard, in close proximity to this place. In the year of *yi-yu* in the rule of Hong-wu (1369) the hermitage was struck by lightning, and only these statues remained. So Dong Dao-jing moved them to the joss-house [of Yuhuangmiao].

**Note.** The Jade emperor (*yuhuang* 玉皇 or *yudi* 玉帝, *yuhuang shangdi* 玉皇上帝) — is one of the higher gods of the Dao pantheon. The name *yu huang*, the Jade emperor, was first recorded in Dao works of the 6th century, such as works by the renowned Dao thinker, doctor and man of letters Tao Hong-jing (陶弘景 456—536), and also in the work “Yu huang jing” (玉皇經 “Canon of the Jade Emperor”), from the Song period. According to the legend given in this work, the Jade emperor was the son of the wife of a ruler of a state of ancient China with the name of Jingdeguo. The woman did not have any children for a long time, which greatly depressed her, and her husband, and she prayed to the gods for mercy. One night she had a dream: Taishang Daojun came down to her from the heavens on a five-coloured dragon. He was holding a child in his arms. The happy wife of the ruler asked Daojun to give the child to her. When she

awoke, she discovered that she was pregnant. A year later a very clever boy was born. When he became an adult, he took his father's throne, and covered his name with glory, but later he left for the mountains, became a hermit and attained immortality. It was he who later became the Jade emperor. The cult of the Jade emperor was developed during the rule of the Tang dynasty, with the flourishing of Daoist teachings; the title of *yu huang* and *yu di* began to be used in poetry as well. In the Song dynasty, the cult developed further. In 1012, emperor Zhen-zong had a dream about the Heavenly emperor, and under the influence of this dream he gave the spirit several honorary titles. The cult of the Jade emperor became universally recognised, and joss-houses and temples began to be built in his honour, and statues of this spirit began to appear in various other temples.

## (30) Wu long miao (五龍廟 Joss-House of Five Dragons)

In the eastern part of the city. In the Tang dynasty, in the years of the rule of Kai-yuan (713—741), an altar was built in the palace of Xingqinggong, where prayers were read in the middle of spring — this is the very place. The Song dynasty inherited Tang rituals. In the first year of the rule of Da-zhong xian-fu (1008) a decree was issued to decorate the joss-house building.

**Note.** Zhou Cheng gives a quote from “Wen xian tong kao”:

“In the fourth year of the rule of Da-guan (1110), a decree was issued to give the titles of prince (*wang*) to the spirits of the five dragons of the Heavenly Kingdom: the title of Guangren-wang (廣仁王 Prince of vast humanity) to the blue

dragon; the title of Jiaze-wang (嘉澤王 Prince of miraculous mercy) to the red dragon; Fuying-wang (孚應王 Prince of permanent good deeds) to the yellow dragon; Yiji-wang (義濟王 Prince of just aid) to the white dragon; and Lingze-wang (靈澤王 Prince of heavenly mercy) to the black dragon” [39].

## (31) San guan miao (三官廟 Joss-House of Three Officials)

In the city and outside the walls there were several such joss-houses, but when they were built is unknown. The most famous of them was a little over two *li* from the gates of Yiqiumen.

**Note.** The three officials (*sanguan*) are the spirits of three elements: the official of the sky (天官 *tianguan*), the official of the earth (地官 *diguang*) and the official of water (水官 *shuiguang*). According to traditional Chinese beliefs, these spirits gave happiness (the responsibility of *tianguan*), forgiveness (*diguang*) and provide rescue from troubles (*shuiguang*). One of the legends links the *sanguan* to the three courtiers of the Zhou ruler, Yu-wang Tang Hong, Ge Yong and Zhou Wu, who are also called the Three commanders of the Gates of Heaven. After their

deaths they became the spirits of three elements. According to another version, the three officials were the sons of one Cheng Lang, who married them to the three daughters of the prince of dragons. They possessed divine powers and strength, and were given the titles of heavenly officials [40]. The name *sanguan* comes from the renowned Dao thinker Zhang Ling (張陵, Dao-Ling 道陵 34—156) and the teaching of *wudoumidao* (五斗米道 “Dao-Path of five measures of rice”, also *tianshidao* 天師道 “School of heavenly tutors” [41]. Healing illnesses and saving peo-

ple from witchcraft and evil spirits, Zhang Ling and his followers wrote amulets with appeals for aid to the spirit of the sky, earth and water:

“...we put together messages to the three — one was offered to the sky, and left in the mountains; one was buried in the ground, and one was thrown in the water. This was called *sanguan*” [42].

### (32) San shi miao (三尸廟 Joss-House of Three [Spirits] of the Body)

Outside the gates of Baokangmen. Here the three [spirits] of the body were prayed to. When [the joss-house] was built is unknown. Later destroyed. According to Dao teaching, there are three spirits in a person's body, and on the day of *geng-shen*, when the person sleeps, [they] report on his sins and actions to the supreme emperor, and can reduce the length of his life. The main spirit is called Peng Ju 彭踞, the middle spirits is Peng Zhi 彭躡, and the youngest in Peng Qiao 彭蹻. On the day of *geng-shen* [people] stay up all night, so the three spirits cannot submit their report.

**Note.** In the Dao work “Taishang sanshi zhongjing” (太上三尸中經 “Middle Canon of the Three [Spirits] of the Body of the Supreme One”) it is written:

“In the stomach of each person there are three [spirits] of the body and nine worms (蟲 *chong*), and they do enormous harm to the person. Each time, on the day of *geng-shen* they go to the Heavenly emperor with a report; they record all the acts of the person and they report on everything in detail, wishing for the person no longer to be on the lists of the living, so that the length of his life is reduced, wishing for the person to die soon. And after the death [of the person], when his soul *hun* 魂 ascends to the sky, and his soul *po* 魄 goes into the earth, only the third [spirit] of the body remains, and it is called *gui* (鬼 soul of the dead) [43]. They are brought offerings and prayers are made to them all year round on all festive days, but if this is not done thoroughly, there will be trouble. The three spirits are present everywhere in the person, and they are the punishment for his sins. The eldest spirit

The three officials were very popular with the people, and their temples and joss-houses were built everywhere, and in Song Kaifeng, as is clear from the fragment given above from “Song dong jing kao”, there were even several such joss-houses.

is called Peng Ju, he lives in the head and makes the vision cloud over and the hair fall out, [he causes] diseases of the mouth, face and teeth; the middle spirit is called Peng Zhi, he lives in the stomach and torments the five internal organs [heart, liver, spleen, lungs and kidneys — I. A.], reduces the amount of life energy and makes the person do evil; the youngest spirit is called Peng Qiao, he lives in the legs and troubles all the lower organs of the people, and stirs up the five senses [disposition, anger, sorrow, spite, joy — I. A.] and removes bans from vices. These spirits resemble small children, and sometimes [they take on] the appearance of horses covered in hair two *cun* long. After the death of the person [the spirits of the body] go free and become *gui* — the soul of the dead, in appearance the same as the person was in life, dressed in ordinary clothes. [...] On the day of *geng-shen* no one closes their eyes all night, watching out for [the spirits of the body], and even ill people try to pretend that they are not sleeping at all, and then these spirits cannot make a report to the Heavenly emperor” [44].

### (33) Cheng huang miao (城隍廟 Joss-House of the Guardian Spirit of the City)

Within the city wall, in the northwest suburb.

**Note.** The earliest reports on the construction of the *chenghuang* joss-house (guardian spirit of the city) date from 239. In the 6th—7th centuries, the cult of *chenghuang* was widely distributed in China; temples and joss-houses of this kind began to be built everywhere; from 934 *chenghuangs* were given the title of prince (*wang*) [45]. *Chenghuangs* were thought of as officials from another world (with quite a large staff of subordinates), posted to guard and protect the area from any sort of misfortunes and disasters: from natural disasters to unrest from evil spirits. The *chenghuangs* were in charge of all the living creatures, spirits and people of the area, and also of the lifespans. One of the first tales featuring a *chenghuang* is from the Tang era and contained in the collection “Bao ying lu” (報應錄 “Notes on Retribution”) by Wang Gu (王穀 8th century):

“Wang Jian-yi, living in the Tang era, the assistant of the head of the province from Hongzhou, once fell seriously ill: it was as though an enormous lump had appeared in his stomach, which moved back and forth as he breathed. Quite bro-

ken down by the illness, Wang was confined to his bed for over a month when suddenly this lump rose to his heart and seized it — as if the soul had flown away!.. Some time later Wang woke up and told his family the following: ‘I saw a messenger from the other world called Ding Ying. He was holding a paper in his hands which proclaimed: ‘A decree has been received from the *chenghuang* spirit to get Wang Jian-yi’. I followed the messenger. After 10 *li* we reached the *chenghuang* joss-house. The porter said: ‘But Mr. Wang, you are still among the living, your good deeds are widely known, it is not your time yet to leave your body, how did you get here?’ I demanded to be admitted to the *chenghuang*. ‘If my lifespan is not over yet, allow me to return [to the world of the living]’, I said. The *chenghuang* ordered his retinue to bring him a list of the living, checked it and replied: ‘Yes, you have another five years to live’. — And let me go [...]” [46].

As mentioned above, the roles of *chenghuangs* were usually played by historical figures who had done something

for the area, were famed for their service in it etc. In the Song era, the cult was further developed [47]. I will give some very interesting fragments from the quite extensive notes from the *biji* collection of the Song Zhao Yu-shi (趙與時 1175—1231) “Bin tui lu” (賓退錄 “Notes of a Deceased Person”):

“No one knows when *chenghuang* temples began to appear in districts and provinces. [...] The *chenghuang* temple in Wuhu was built in the second year of the Wu rule under Chi-wu (239), the Qi Gongrong Yan and the Liang Wuling-wang give prayers in the *chenghuang* temples [i. e. they pray to them as *chenghuangs* — I. A.], and there are notes in historical works about all of this. Thus, [the cult of *chenghuangs*] did not only exist in the Tang era! [...] Now there are *chenghuang* temples all over the Heavenly kingdom and the ruling family either gives offerings to the joss-houses or gives [the spirits] titles. [Spirits] without titles are either given the same one as the [*chenghuang*] in the neighbouring area, or one that is attributed to them. This happens in different ways. As for names and surnames, the spirit is given them arbitrarily, and each time from a specific person. And how can the spirit object! In districts where there are cities, it can often happens that there are several [such] temples: for example, in the province of Pengzhou there is a *chenghuang* joss-house and a joss-house of the spirit of the city Locheng, and the joss-house of the *xianhuang* (guardian spirit of the district), which is quite unheard of!” [48].

#### (34) Er gu miao (二姑廟 Joss-House of Er-gu)

On the terrace of Chuitai, just over three *li* to the southwest of the city. Previously [the terrace] was called Ergutai 二姑臺, and capital residents built a joss-house here, in order to pray to the spirit of Erxiangu (二仙姑 Second Holy maiden). During the Ming dynasty, in the years of the rule of Hong-zhi (1488—1505), the joss-house was renamed Bixiaoyuanjunci (Joss-house of the primordial sovereign of the azure dawn), but those versed in the affairs of dead people were unanimously opposed to this, and adherents of morals and customs broke the statue — and prayers began to be made to Yu here, and the joss-house was called Yumiao (Joss-house of Yu), and also Yuwangtai (Terrace of Prince Yu). Another two closed galleries were built. Here respect was made to those who in ancient times and later were famed for their success in calming the waters [...] — a total of 19 people, who withstood the disasters [caused by Huang]he.

**Note.** Yu was a legendary ruler who by the order of another ruler, Shun, calmed the flood, and the flood began under the predecessor of the latter, emperor Yao, and continued, according to historical chronicles, for 22 years. The flood was regularly fought against, but only Yu was able to tame the elements: unlike his predecessors, he not only built dams, but also dug channels, i. e. he became the first Chinese irrigator. In “Meng-zi” it reads:

“In the era of Yao (2,357 BC), when the universe was not yet organised, the flood poured all over the face of the Earth, plants were extremely lavish, there were masses of beasts and birds, bread was not made, beasts and birds crowded out people, and tracks were made across China by the hooves of the former and the traces of the latter — only Yao, grieving over this, put forward Shun, who began to establish order [...] Yu cleaned nine rivers and the rivers Ji and Ta, directing them to

In time, the cult of *chenghuangs* became a state matter. In 1369, the founder of the Ming dynasty Zhu Yuan-zhang (朱元璋 1328—1398, ruled 1368—1398) issued a series of decrees on the *chenghuangs*. The *chenghuangs* of six large cities received special princely titles; the heads of local administration of the country were obliged to personally read prayers in their temples; the *chenghuangs* of provinces received the *gong* title of nobility and were put on the same level as heads of departments; district *chenghuangs* received the title *bo* and the position of assistants of heads of departments. By the order of Zhu Yuan-zhang, the temple of the capital *chenghuang* was rebuilt; a wooden statue was also made of this god, which was painted and lacquered. In the temples of *chenghuangs* there were usually two statues of the spirit: one made of clay and the other of wood, and the latter was brought from the temple on a chair three times a year (spring, autumn and winter) with special ceremony, so that the *chenghuang* made an inspection of the territory in his control, pacified unruly evil spirits and helped the souls of dead relatives to return to a new life. Differences in the position of *chenghuangs* also were reflected in this ceremony: for example the *chenghuang* of a province was carried on a chair by 16 people, while the *chenghuang* of a district was only carried by eight people. “Inspection trips” by the *chenghuang* soon turned into lavish ceremonies involving many people.

the sea; he set up barriers on the rivers of Ru and Han, and also on the rivers of Huai and Si, directing them to Yangzijiang. After this China was able to feed itself” [49].

Irrigation in China was long given importance, especially on the Huanghe river, famed for its capriciousness, and officials, who achieved considerable success in this field were often deified — as in this case, when Zhou Cheng lists 19 people who became objects of prayer in Yumiao (this list is very detailed and does not just include names, but full positions, and also the areas that the officials came from; in the format of the current work I omit all of this). The area with the name of “Yuwangtai” (or “Chuitai”, which is mentioned in fragment No. 10) is located in the southeast suburb of modern Kaifeng.

## (35) Shi ling gong miao (石靈公廟 Joss-house of the Divine Stone Master)

On the south bank of Bianhe, west of the Xiangguociqiao bridge. It is said that to the south of Bianjing there was once the grave of Zhou Ling-gong, and before the grave there was a very frightening stone statue. Residents of the capital built the joss-house to pray to it, and called the joss-house Shilingongmiao.

## Notes

1. Zhou Cheng, *Song dong jing kao*, Dan Yuan-mu dianjiao (Research on the Eastern Song Capital, critical text by Dan Yuan-mu) (Beijing, 1988), p. 2. This publication was made from a unique manuscript printed from board in 1762 and held at the Beijing University library. The following translation is made according to this publication.

2. Dan Yuan-mu, “Translator's foreword”, *Song dong jing kao*, pp. 3—4.

3. See: Cheng Min-sheng, “Shenyuan yu songdai shehuai: luelun cimiao” (“The Power of spirits and Song society: on popular temples of the Song era”), *Songshi yanjiu lunwen ji* (Shijiazhuang, 1989) p. 401.

4. An interesting fragment connected with giving the mountain spirits titles is contained in the *bizi* collection “Dong-po zhi lin” (“Forrest of Writings of Dong-po”) by the great Song writer Su Shi (蘇軾, 1037—1101):

“When I served in Fufeng — long ago — there was a terrible drought one year, and I asked one old man where I could pray on the borders of the region. ‘The Taibaishan mountain is very miraculous, since antiquity there has not been a single prayer that went unanswered’, he replied. ‘But recently Xiang Chuan-shi was appointed to rule the region, and he gave the spirit of the mountain the title of Jimin-hou. Since then the prayers have been unanswered, and no one knows why’. I thought this over. I began to read ‘Tang huei yao’, and found written there: ‘In the 14th year of the rule of Tian-bao, a magician submitted a [report] to an important person, saying that in the cave of Jinxingdong in Taibaishan, there are valuable amulets and magic potions, and officials were sent there who found [all of this], and gave the spirit of the mountain the title of Lingyin-gong’. After this, I realised what had caused the spirit's anger. I reported to the head of the region: officials should be sent to pray, and if the spirit agrees, then the title of gong should be restored, and then water will appear in the region again, as though from an uncorked bottle. Before they had managed to do anything, a mighty wind rose up — the banners and curtains fluttered in the breeze, as if Buddha had appeared to the people! And then heavy rains began — for three days without stopping, and that year there was a rich harvest. And I prepared bamboo tablets, where I described this story in detail and gave the [spirit of the mountain] the title of Mingying-gong. Then I copied it on to paper, and burnt the paper in the joss-house [of the spirit of the mountain]. On the day of making offerings a white mouse appeared over one *chi* long and ran to the wine and fruit on the altar, squeaked but did not touch anything. ‘It's a dragon!’ said a knowledgeable old man. And this was the seventh year in the reign of Jia-yu” (Su Shi, *Dong-po zhi lin* (Beijing, 2004), p. 145).

The problem is that in old China there were five ranks of nobility (*gong* 公, *hou* 侯, *bo* 伯, *zi* 子 and *nan* 男, in descending order), and when the mountain spirit, after he was already given the rank of *gong* a long time ago, in the Tang era, the shortsighted and evidently not very erudite Xiang Chuan-shi (向傳師 11th century) suddenly gave it the lower rank of *hou*, the spirit had every reason to be offended for the undeserved lowering in rank.

5. As early as the Tang dynasty (618—907) the cult of the fox became particularly widespread:

“Starting in the first years of the rule of the Tang Dynasty, many people began to pray to the fox fairy, and make offerings to it in their homes, to receive obsecration. They brought it human food and drink [...] There was a saying: ‘Where there is no fox, you cannot found a village’” (*Tai-ping guang ji* (Extensive Notes of the Years of the Rule of Tai-ting) (Beijing, 1959), v, p. 3658).

On the cult of the fox in China, see the monograph by Y. Monschein, *Der Zauber der Fuchsfée* (Frankfurt/Main, 1988), and also my work: “Kitaïskii kul't lisy i ‘Udivitel'naia vstrecha v Zapadnom Shu’ Li Syan'-minia” (“The cult of the fox in China and ‘The Marvellous Encounter at the Western Shu’ by Li Xian-min”), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie* III (St. Petersburg, 1993), pp. 228—51.

6. Cheng Min-sheng, *op. cit.*, pp. 402—5.

7. For more detail see: *Mify narodov mira* (Myths of the Peoples of the World) (Moscow, 1991), i, p. 257.

8. Quoted from: Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 266

9. For more detail see: *Mify narodov mira*, ii, p. 481; contemporary researcher Ma Shu-tian gives eight different versions of the origin of this divinity, including mythological ones. See: Ma Shu-tian, *Huaxia zhushen* (All the Spirits of the Heavenly Kingdom) (Beijing, 1990), pp. 64—6.

10. Quoted from: Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

11. Zhao Yan-wei, *Yun lu man chao* (Unhurried Writings to Yunlu) (Shanghai, 1957), p. 121.

12. *Katalog gor i morei* (Catalogue of Mountains and Seas) (Moscow, 1977), p. 185. For more details, see: Yuan Ke, Zhou Ming, *Zhongguo shenhua ziliao cuipian* (Selection of Materials on Chinese Mythology) (Chengdu, 1985), pp. 39—40; Mori Yasutaro, *Zhongguo gudai shenhua yanjiu* (Studies on Ancient Chinese Myths) (Taibei, 1974), pp. 1—10.

13. Quoted from: Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

14. For more details see: Liu Fu, *Qing suo gao yi* (“High Judgements at the Palace Gates”) (Shanghai, 1983), p. 10

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 16—7.

16. For more details see: *Mify narodov mira*, i, pp. 172—3.

17. I. A. Alimov, E. A. Serebriakov, *Vsled za kist'iu* (Following the Brush), ii (St. Petersburg, 2004), p. 388.
18. For example: Shi Yu-Kun, *Three Brave Men and Five Just Men*, Russian translation (Moscow, 1974); see also the foreword by B. L. Riftin to this book: "The story-teller Shi Yu-Kun and his story on the wise judge Bao and the brave defenders of justice", pp. 5—18; see also *Mify narodov mira*, I, p. 162.
19. For more details here: *ibid.*, ii, p. 545.
20. Ma Shu-tian, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
21. Quoted from: Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
22. "Mo-zi", *Er shi er zi* (Shanghai, 1990), p. 248.
23. Quoted from: Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, pp. 270—1.
24. Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 272.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Quoted from *ibid.*, pp. 272—3.
27. For more detail see Yuan Ke, *Zhongguo shenhua chuansho jidian* (Dictionary of Chinese Myths and Legends) (Shanghai, 1985), p. 5; idem, *Mify drevnego Kitaia* (Myths of Ancient China) (Moscow, 1987), pp. 188—91, and commentary by B. L. Riftin, containing quotes from different written monuments: pp. 329—30.
28. Zhu Yu, "Pingzhou ketan" ("From Talks in Pingzhou"), *Chen Shi-dao. Hou-shan tancong. Zhu Yu. Pingzhou ketan* (Shanghai, 1989), p. 49.
29. Quoted from: Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
30. Quoted from: *ibid.*, p. 274.
31. See: Zhu Rui-xi, "Sungdaide jieri" ("Song holidays"), *Shanghai shifan daxue xuebao* III (1987), p. 80.
32. "Hou han shu" ("History of the Late Han Dynasty"), *Ershiwushi* (Shanghai, 1987), ii, p. 302.
33. Yu Ying-Shih, "O Soul, Come Back! A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China", *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* XLVII (1982), p. 370.
34. *Sou shen ji* (搜神記 Records of Spirits) (St. Petersburg, 1994), p. 109.
35. Ying Shao, "Feng su tong yi" ("Sincere Meaning of Morals and Customs"), *Sibu beiyao* (Shanghai, 1936), c, p. 15.
36. Sima Qian, *Historical Notes*, translated from the Chinese by R. V. Viatkin (Moscow, 1984), iv, pp. 153—7.
37. For more detail see: Okamoto Saburo, "Taizang fukong-no yurai-ni cuite kenkyu" ("Research on the origin of the spirit Taishan fujun"), *Toyogaku kenkyu* 1 (1943), pp. 63—98; Yu Ying-shi, "Zhongguo gudai sihou shi jie guande yanbian" ("Evolution of Ancient Chinese ideas about the world of the dead"), *Yanyuan lunxue ji* (Beijing, 1984), pp. 177—96.
38. Yuan Ke, *Mify drevnego Kitaia*, p. 289.
39. Quoted from: Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
40. For more detail see: Ma Shu-tian, *op. cit.*, pp. 60—1.
41. For more detail see *Zhonggou dao jiao shi* (History of Daoism in China) (Shanghai, 1990), pp. 31—41; E. A. Torchinov, *Daotsism. Opyt istoriko-religioveshcheskogo opisaniia* (Daoism. Attempt at a Historical-Religious Description) (St. Petersburg, 1993), pp. 161—72.
42. Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
43. For more detail see: J. J. de Groot, *The Religious System of China* (Leiden, 1901), iv/2, Pt. 1; Yu Ying-Shih, "O Soul, Come Back!"; idem, "Zhonggou gudai sihou shize guande yanbian".
44. Quoted from: Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, pp. 279—80.
45. Ma Shu-tian, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
46. *Tai-ping guang ji* (Extensive Notes of the Years of Tai-ping) (Beijing, 1959), ii, p. 873.
47. On the *chenghuang* cult see the detailed work by D. Johnson, "The city-god cults of T'ang and Sung China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XLV/1 (1985), pp. 363—457.
48. Zhao Yu-shi, *Bing tui lu* (Notes of a Deceased Persons) (Shanghai, 1983), p. 103.
49. *Meng-zi*, iii, A, 4, from the Russian translation by P. S. Popov.