

RELIGION AND
SOCIETY IN T'ANG
AND SUNG CHINA

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CHAPTER 3

GODS ON WALLS: A CASE OF INDIAN INFLUENCE ON CHINESE LAY RELIGION?

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The parallels between earthly administrators and bureaucratic gods have struck most observers of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Chinese religion.¹ Like government officials, Chinese gods have been thought to hold office for a specified term, to respond to orders from above, and to behave with the caprice of officials everywhere. At the top of the two hierarchies are the human emperor and his divine counterpart, the Jade Emperor; at the bottom, the district magistrates and their divine equivalents, the wall-and-moat gods (*ch'eng-huang shen*), often called city gods.² Office-holding gods appear quintessentially Chinese. Who besides the Chinese would imagine a heaven peopled by godly bureaucrats?

The ancient Chinese conceived of a bureaucratically organized pantheon, but the assumption of positions as monastic guardians or as wall-and-moat gods by local deities was a relatively late phenomenon. Local gods who held office did not exist in classical times, and they certainly postdated the introduction of Buddhism in the early centuries A.D. The rise of local gods who held office reflected the influence of Indian Buddhism in general and, I will argue, the cult to one Indian god, Vaiśravaṇa, in particular. The evidence is admittedly far from conclusive, but to me it is sufficiently persuasive to set down here.

Like many other religious changes, the introduction of this type of deity took place during the T'ang and became standardized with the massive increase in title granting by the Sung government. Both Vaiśravaṇa and the wall-and-moat gods were associated with walls. The texts cited in this chapter do not always specify where exactly the temples of these gods were located, however. Sometimes, the sources say, the temples were next to gates, sometimes in watchtowers above gates (*ch'eng-lou*), or sometimes on the northwest corner of the walls.³ The temples could have been built on fortifications that did not provide entry into the city; they could as well have been in lean-to structures propped against the city walls.⁴ Wherever their exact location, they were always on or by walls. A visitor to a building with a shrine to either Vaiśravaṇa or the local wall-

and-moat god might not know the identity of the god, but the visitor would know the task of the deity was to protect the edifice or city. Local residents were more likely to know the names and even the preapothecosis biographies of the deity. The gods to be discussed in this chapter performed their task of guarding a city, monastery, or building, even when their devotees did not know their names.⁵

In the period before the T'ang, Buddhist and Taoist practitioners and their Confucian counterparts, government officials, regularly attacked indigenous deities and tried to replace them with new gods.⁶ In the next phase stories were told of itinerant monks who converted local gods to Buddhism: previously carnivorous deities acknowledged the superiority of Buddhist teachings and eschewed meat offerings. Then, sometime during the seventh and eighth centuries, Chinese began to put images of the Indian god Vaiśravaṇa (in Chinese, P'i-sha-men) on the walls or by the gate of any edifice they wanted him to protect.

In the fourth phase Vaiśravaṇa seems to have become the prototype first for monastic guardians (*ch'ieh-lan shen*) and then for wall-and-moat gods. Buddhists began to appoint local deities to positions watching over their monasteries: the stories about Kuan Yü's appointment at Yü-ch'üan monastery pin this development down to the ninth and tenth centuries. Soon Taoists and Confucian administrators constructed their own pantheons. The association of Vaiśravaṇa with walls suggests that the rise of wall-and-moat gods in the late T'ang and Sung also followed Vaiśravaṇa's lead.⁷ In the Sung the Taoist clergy began to relabel the gods. Relabeling the gods meant that the Taoist clergy could claim to rule over the gods. By assigning the gods to their positions as gods of walls and moats, the clergy made these office-holding gods subordinate to the higher gods in Taoist pantheons. So the clergy could claim, but their claims alone did not mean that the laity accepted the rankings implied by the new labels.

SUPPRESSING THE GODS

Conflict marked the pre-T'ang legacy of relations between China's three organized religions and local gods. Starting even before the unification of the empire in 221 B.C. and continuing in later periods, Confucian officials challenged indigenous gods to contests of power, tore down their temples, and encouraged the worship of former administrators in their stead. Similarly, in the early fourth century, members of the Celestial Masters sect sought to distinguish impure local gods from pure, and thus more powerful, Taoist ones. And Buddhists alerted local deities to the dangers of a meat-eating diet and occasionally even administered lay vows to them. The Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist justifications for

and means of taming local gods differed, but their ultimate goal was the same: they wanted to transform local practices into something less bloodthirsty than what had existed before.

In the predynastic period, representatives of the central government sought to control the different hazards of the wilderness, usually by expelling the wild tigers who preyed on local people or by channeling the waters that periodically flooded. At the same time they moved against local gods of whose cults they did not approve. Before Li Ping could complete his irrigation works in Szechwan, for example, he had to fight a local river god in hand-to-hand combat.⁸ The conflicts with indigenous gods that some officials provoked when they dug new irrigation systems suggest that Jean Lévi is right to equate the quelling of natural and divine forces.⁹ As the uncontrolled rivers must be channeled before an area is safe to live in, so too must the local people and their gods be conquered. These conquerors could in turn become gods; the local people eventually built a temple to Li Ping.¹⁰

Like Confucian officials, the Taoists distinguished sharply between permissible and forbidden local cults. Rolf A. Stein makes a strong case that whatever the Taoists advocated they defined as pure; whatever their rivals did for the support of the local people was impure.¹¹ The Taoists did not hesitate to tear down temples to impure gods or to build temples to pure ones. According to Ko Hung, writing in the fourth century, Ko Hsüan, the mythical founder of the Ling-pao branch of Taoism, defoliated a tree, killed birds, and burned down the temple of an insolent deity.¹² A later biography of Hsü Sun, who lived sometime in the third or fourth century, reports that Hsü erected a temple to a female deity who had appeared to him, but he had no compunctions about using wind and lightning to tear down another temple. Once he had uprooted the trees around the shrine, he told the local inhabitants; "I have already exorcised this demonic shrine. You have no need to worship there."¹³ The same account relates that the people of Ching-yang (Szechwan) so revered their prefect that they built a shrine to Hsü after he resigned and left their district.¹⁴

Like their Taoist and Confucian counterparts, Buddhists also attacked local cults. One tale, set at the end of the fourth century, concerns a Buddhist monk who visited a temple in Nan-k'ang (Kiangsi). The image burst into tears on seeing him; it turned out that the monk was an old friend of his. The image addressed the monk saying, "My crimes are great. Can you absolve me?" The monk recited sūtras and persuaded the god to show his true form. The god then manifested himself as a snake. When he listened to the sūtras, blood came out of his eyes. After seven days the snake expired, and his cult died out too—no doubt to the delight of the monk, who would have been pleased at the superior strength of Buddhism.¹⁵ Bernard Faure has argued that several similar tales about

monk-snake encounters show the superior power of Buddhist teaching, which offered a higher understanding of reality, over unruly local gods.¹⁶

When officials in later periods advocated a strategy of suppression, they often cited the example of Ti Jen-chieh (630–700), the most famous deity-buster of the T'ang. His biography in the official history claims that, repelled by local religious practices, he tore down 1700 temples in the Chiang-nan region, leaving only temples to genuine ancient heroes, the Great Yü, Wu T'ai-po, Chi Cha, and Wu Tzu-hsiü.¹⁷ In 688, Ti indignantly asked a local god: "How can you continue to receive unmerited temple offerings and indiscriminately waste livestock? I am empowered to govern this area, and, implementing an urgent request, I order your temple burnt, the platforms leveled, the grass screens eliminated, and the feather canopies reduced to smoke. You should leave quickly and cause no trouble to the people. When this order arrives, treat it as law."¹⁸ Here Ti voices the Confucian distaste for excessive meat offerings—a point on which the Confucians agreed with both Buddhists and Taoists, though on different grounds. Some analysts have suggested that Ti's ousting of Hsiang Yü's spirit, who was said to have caused the deaths of several magistrates in Hu-chou (Chekiang), showed that government officials were ultimately able to control local religious practices.¹⁹ Supporting this view is the list of temples from the first extant Hu-chou gazetteer.²⁰ Ti would no doubt have been heartened to see that the temples still standing in 1202 that claimed a T'ang founding date were to heroes, early settlers, generals, and virtuous officials—just the kinds of gods whose worship he advocated.²¹

As Ti's campaign shows, the one-time suppression of local cults was easy to effect. A righteous official or indignant monk could simply summon a group of laborers to dismantle one temple, or 1700 temples, and be done with it. But to sustain the suppression—to prevent the rebuilding of temples or to ban prayer within people's houses—demanded a level of control that neither clergy nor administrators of the premodern period commanded. Four centuries after Ti had ousted Hsiang Yü's spirit from the yamen, the cult to him was still active.²² Cults even less to Ti's liking also survived his suppression. A collection of tales from the end of the eighth century tells of a mountain temple to a Hu-chou woman named Li:

She had mastered techniques of the Way and could walk on water. Her husband grew angry and killed her. Seven hundred years have passed from her death until today, but her appearance is just as if she were alive. She majestically lies on her side. People come from far and near to pray to her. If they are sincere, then they can reach the temple. If they are not, the wind will turn their boats back and they will not reach the temple. These days, her

image is bathed and manicured once a month. Every day her body is adorned. Her appearance is soft and pliant, just like someone sleeping. It seems that she attained the Way.²³

No doubt the handling of the mummy would have repelled Ti Jen-chieh. The cult survived his suppression, however, perhaps because it was popular with local people or perhaps because it lay in the mountains. Thus, coexisting with the officially approved cults of the T'ang was another stratum of gods, whose cults rose and fell in spite of official and clerical opposition but whose existence remains largely unrecorded because of it.

CONVERTING THE GODS

Increasingly throughout the late T'ang and the Sung, local clergy of whatever stripe began to recast local gods in terms more acceptable to themselves. This shift was neither conscious nor unilateral; attacks on local cults continued as well. At first, individual monks, working on their own initiative, came up with new unsystematized labels for local gods. Much less schooled than the highly learned monks resident in the capital, these monks lived in local communities where indigenous gods were worshiped and, accordingly, had much more incentive to win the support of their devotees.

Epigraphical evidence allows a glimpse of how one such monk proceeded. Sometime during the T'ang dynasty, a monk heard that a local god in Shao-hsing (Chekiang) accepted human sacrifices. The monk went to the god's temple and began to meditate. The god took many shapes, but the monk did not respond. "Then the god realized his errors and manifested his real body with three attendants. They bowed and converted to Buddhism. They accepted the way of the five precepts [not to kill, steal, commit adultery, lie, or drink] and the three refuges [in the Buddha, dharma, and sangha]. When receiving offerings, they would not consume meat or blood."²⁴ In this contest between the local god and the Buddhist clergy, the monk's strength derived from meditation was greater than the god's own power and made it possible for him to best the god. As in other Buddhist accounts, the monk who had this vision credited the god and his attendants with a suddenly acquired awareness of their sins. We may wonder, though, whether the god's devotees also knew of his decision to accept only herbivorous offerings.

This tale suggests what in fact became the standard Buddhist approach to dealing with local gods. Often a monk had a dream or vision in which the deity accepted the supremacy of the Buddha. As a result, the god no longer posed a threat. As in the Shao-hsing text, such monks did

not concern themselves with what local devotees thought. The devotees, in turn, may well have continued to view the deity just as they had before—and probably continued to make meat offerings.

One development spanning the Six Dynasties and the T'ang was the introduction of new cults to righteous officials and to Buddhist and Taoist figures. Officials and clergy contended that they had eliminated unclean local cults, and that lay people worshiped only beneficent, vegetarian gods. Once Buddhist proselytizers had eliminated local gods (or at least torn down their temples), they often offered purer alternatives for worship by introducing deities like Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara), the bodhisattva of compassion, and circulating miracle tales about them.²⁵ Unlike other popular gods, Kuan-yin was not identified with or worshiped in just one place. As a bodhisattva Kuan-yin could appear anywhere. Dedicatory colophons from Tun-huang manuscripts indicate that the worship of Kuan-yin, Ti-tsang (Kṣitigarbha), and the god of Mount T'ai had become common by the ninth and tenth centuries.²⁶

THE CULT TO VAIŚRAVAṆA

The centuries that witnessed the rise of the Kuan-yin cult also saw the assumption of office by local gods. The best way to trace this change through the scant sources is first to examine the history of the cult to Vaiśravaṇa, an originally Indian god introduced to China from Khotan, where he served as a guardian deity for the Khotanese royal family and kingdom. Indeed, it seems that Vaiśravaṇa forms a missing link between the early indigenous Chinese gods and the later office-holding ones. Like the deified humans of earlier periods, such as Li Ping and Hsü Sun, he retained his own identity and was always referred to by a transliteration of his Sanskrit name, P'i-sha-men. Unlike local gods, his temples came to be located all over China (and Japan as well). If one installed a statue of Vaiśravaṇa in the northern watchtower of a city or in the main gate of a monastery, then he watched over the designated city or monastery. The history of his cult suggests that the idea of a office-holding deity, specifically a monastic guardian, may have originated in India and entered China via Central Asia.²⁷

Because it is impossible to map precisely the history of any cult that entered China before the twelfth century when the first extant gazetteers were written, the initial stages of the history of Vaiśravaṇa's cult in China can only be partially reconstructed. Vaiśravaṇa was the patronymic of the Indian god of wealth, Kubera, and the god was called by either name.²⁸ Vaiśravaṇa was one of four Buddhist Heavenly Kings from India who presided over the directions (*ssu-t'ien-uang*; *catur mahārāja*); he watched over the north of Mount Sumeru. He is often pictured carrying a

halberd, money bag, or mongoose; sometimes an attendant carries one of these items for him.²⁹ The first surviving depiction of him as one of four guardians appears on a railing in Bharhut, India, and dates to the second century B.C.³⁰

From India the cult moved to Central Asia, specifically to Khotan,³¹ where the god was called Vaiśravāna, Vaiśramāna, and, more popularly, Vriśāmaṃ.³² Given Khotan's position to the north of India, it made eminent sense that the guardian of the north should watch over it. Chinese and Tibetan texts tell of the Buddha delegating to Vaiśravāna the task of protecting the Central Asian kingdom of Khotan.³³ A third-to-fourth-century Khotanese monastery at Rawak, excavated by Sir Aurel Stein, contained a pair of statues who stood by the sides of one gate. Between each statue's legs were the head and buxom chest of a small woman.³⁴

This depiction of Vaiśravāna is a visual reference to the legendary founding of Khotan; the kings of Khotan all claimed descent from Vaiśravāna. As Hsüan-tsang recounts in his *Record of a Journey to the West (Ta T'ang hsi-yü chi)* (completed in 646), the founder of the kingdom had no son.

Fearing lest his house should become extinct, he repaired to the temple of Vaiśravāna and prayed to him to grant his desire. Forthwith the head of the image opened at the top, and there came forth a young child. Taking it, he returned to his palace. The whole country addressed congratulations to him, but as the child would not drink milk, he feared he would not live. He then returned to the temple and again asked [the god] for means to nourish him. The earth in front of the divinity then suddenly opened and offered an appearance like a breast. The divine child drank from it eagerly.³⁵

Why show a buxom woman at Rawak and not a breast emerging from the ground? Alexander Soper offers this ingenious explanation: "The outer gate guardians at Rawak in the Khotan vicinity, who were found standing each with the well-developed bust of a diminutive woman rising from the pedestal between his feet, represent an artist's re-interpretation of this story. A shape like a breast, rising alone out of the earth, would have been a startling sight and one not easy to comprehend; how much better to convey the same idea by showing a traditional mother-figure, like an earth goddess."³⁶

The story of the breast enjoyed wide circulation in eighth-century China. Under the entry for Khotan (Yü-t'ien) in his dictionary, Hui-lin (750–820) summarized Hsüan-tsang's version and then added his own comment: "Today this realm actually is one of four cities in the An-hsi (Kucha) region. Within its walls there is a seven-storied wooden temple to Vaiśravāna. The deity resides in the upper story of the tower and is

very efficacious."³⁷ Although Hui-lin indicates that Vaiśravaṇa's image was in a tower on the Khotanese city walls, other depictions from eighth-century Khotan show him flush with the wall, next to a gate. A sculpture from the late-eighth-century shrine at another Khotanese site, Dandān-Uliq, shows Vaiśravaṇa standing on top of a demon by a doorway.³⁸ His head is missing, but he carries his characteristic money bag in his right hand. On the lower left is a fresco of a woman with a small boy at her side who appears to want milk, another variation, perhaps, on the earth-breast miracle. In eighth-century Khotan, Vaiśravaṇa was depicted sometimes as a relief figure embedded in a wall by gates, sometimes in watch-towers on city walls.

Vaiśravaṇa—Pi-sha-men, as he was called in Chinese—continued to be associated with walls and gates in China. By the tenth and eleventh centuries, legends circulated in China that suggested the worship of the god had been introduced to China from Khotan and explained why Pi-sha-men's statue always appeared on wall towers, often in the northwest corner of city walls. The ninth-century *Ritual Regulations of Pi-sha-men (Pi-sha-men i-kuei)*,³⁹ the late tenth-century *Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Sung (Sung kao-seng chuan)*⁴⁰ and *Synoptic History of the Sangha Compiled in the Great Sung (Ta Sung seng-shih lieh)*,⁴¹ the early twelfth-century *Collectanea of the Patriarchal Hall (Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan)*,⁴² and the thirteenth-century *General History of the Buddhas and Patriarchs (Fo-tsu t'ung-chi)*⁴³ all contain different versions of the same legend concerning Pi-sha-men's introduction into China by the famous tantric monk Amoghavajra (Pu-k'ung; var. Ta-kuang-chih) (705–774). Here, in full, is the ninth-century version, entitled "The Heavenly King of the North, the Great Pi-sha-men":

In 742, the five nations of the 'Abāssid Caliphate⁴⁴ and Samarkand surrounded the city of An-hsi [Kucha]. On the eleventh day of the second month came a request for troops to save them. The emperor told the Ch'an teacher I-hsing: "Reverend sir, An-hsi has been surrounded by the 'Abāssid Caliphate and Samarkand."⁴⁵ . . . There is a request for troops. An-hsi is twelve thousand li [four thousand miles] from the capital [now Sian]. The troops will travel eight months before they get to An-hsi. Thus I have no way to help them."

I-hsing said, "Why doesn't your majesty ask the troops of the the Heavenly King of the North, Pi-sha-men, to send help."

The emperor said, "How can I obtain help?"

I-hsing said, "Call the barbarian⁴⁶ monk Amoghavajra and you can obtain help."

An edict was issued summoning Amoghavajra to the court. The emperor called the monk for no other reason than that the city of An-hsi had been surrounded by enemy troops of the five nations. . . .

Amoghavajra said, "Your majesty should carry an incense burner to the

place where I will conduct the ritual. And your majesty should pray to the Heavenly King of the North to send divine troops to save them."

The emperor quickly entered the ritual area and prayed. Before [Amoghavajra] had recited the secret words twice seven times, the emperor suddenly saw two to three hundred divine beings wearing armor and standing in front of the ritual area. The emperor asked the monk, "Who are these people?"

Amoghavajra said, "This is Tu-chien, the second son of Pi-sha-men, the Heavenly King of the North. He will lead the heavenly soldiers to save An-hsi and accordingly has come to take his leave."

The emperor provided food offerings and sent them off.

Then, in the fourth month of that year, a memorial came from An-hsi, which said that at midday on the eleventh day of the second month [the same day the emperor and Amoghavajra had prayed] thirty li [ten miles] to the northeast of the city dark clouds and fog had appeared. In the fog were beings whose bodies were one *chang* [ten feet] tall. About three to five hundred beings all wore gold armor. After dusk came the sound of drums and loud cries. The sound reverberated three hundred li [one hundred miles]. The trembling of the earth and the shaking of the hills stopped after three days. The frightened troops of the five nations all retreated. The soldiers appeared inside the barracks. Moreover, golden rats chewed the strings of their bows and crossbows and destroyed their other weapons so that none could be used.

There were some old men unable to flee. The troops I was in charge of wanted to hurt them. From the sky came a voice that said, "Let them go. Killing is not allowed." After a moment we looked back and saw a great bright light above the northern gate tower of the city. Pi-sha-men, the Heavenly King, had manifested himself above the tower. He looked liked the portraits of the Heavenly King.⁴⁷

This is a dramatically compelling story. In a time when it would have taken troops eight months to get to An-hsi and it took two months for a memorial to arrive, only Pi-sha-men's troops could arrive quickly enough to save the surrounded city. The drama is heightened by the two months' lapse between the emperor's vision of Pi-sha-men and the confirmation of his appearance in An-hsi. Once again, a monk plays the decisive role in introducing the worship of a new god; Amoghavajra's identification of the figure who appears as Pi-sha-men's son is crucial to the story. His rats infiltrate the ramparts around the enemy camp, and he himself chooses to appear above the northern(!) gate tower of the city.

In fact, the tale is too exciting to be true. Matsumoto Bunzaburō provides five reasons why the events of this tale could not have happened in 742. The most damning among them are that Amoghavajra was not in China between 741 and 746 and that I-hsing (b. 683) died in 727.⁴⁸ Other legends linking the introduction of the cult to Pi-sha-men with Khotan also circulated in the Sung. One eleventh-century catalogue of

paintings reports that an emissary to Khotan, sent to the T'ang emperor Hsüan-tsung to copy a portrait of Vaiśravaṇa, painted it in 725 for the temple in K'ai-feng.⁴⁹

Do these Sung legends contain any elements of truth? Although the episode of P'i-sha-men's manifestation above the gate tower could not have taken place in 742, his cult did exist in China at the time. The god figures prominently in *The Golden Light Sūtra* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*), which Dharmarakṣa first translated into Chinese at the beginning of the fifth century. P'i-sha-men was worshiped in his own right by around 600. Two of the guardian kings at fifth-century Yün-kang cave 8 who grasp lances in one hand and possibly purses in the other might be P'i-sha-men. The remains of what may have been stone breasts lie at their feet.⁵⁰ The first certain depiction of P'i-sha-men in China dates to the early T'ang (or slightly before) and is at Lung-hsing monastery, Chiung-hsia, Szechwan, suggesting that the cult came first to northwest China from Central Asia. As at Rawak, a small female figure stands between P'i-sha-men's legs.⁵¹ And the first textual evidence outside the Buddhist canon is from the official histories: the nickname of Chien-ch'eng, a son of the founder of the T'ang, emperor Kao-tsu (r. 618–626), was P'i-sha-men.⁵² The official histories do not explain why he had this nickname, but it is possible that the T'ang emperors looked to P'i-sha-men to protect their ruling house in the same way he was thought to protect the Khotanese.⁵³ Whatever the reason, Chien-ch'eng's nickname testifies to the importance of the deity P'i-sha-men in the early seventh century.

The linking of Amoghavajra and the cult to P'i-sha-men in the legend is significant. Amoghavajra did translate the *Heavenly King P'i-sha-men Sūtra* (*P'i-sha-men t'ien-wang ching*), a shortened version of *The Golden Light Sūtra*.⁵⁴ Amoghavajra played a real role in the religious exchanges between Khotan and China, actively propagating the worship of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Raoul Birnbaum calls Amoghavajra "one of the most extraordinary figures in the history of Chinese Buddhism: charismatic speaker and passionate teacher, tireless translator and effective writer, ritual master and magician, advisor and preceptor to three emperors, builder of major temples, transmitter and consolidator of tantric teachings in China."⁵⁵ Linguistic evidence testifies that the cult came into China from Khotan. The T'ang pronunciation of P'i-sha-men, Bhi-sha-man, represented the Chinese transcription of the Khotanese popular form, Vṛṣāman.⁵⁶

The cult continued to spread in the succeeding century. A time of frequent contact with Khotan, the eighth century—with its fighting, epidemics, and chaos—prompted a sense that the end of a cosmic era was imminent, and both the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (*Yüeh-tsang ching*) and the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* (*Jih-tsang ching*) argued that Khotan was the one place where the law would be protected.⁵⁷ As Khotan acquired a reputa-

tion as a center for Buddhist studies, many Chinese flocked there. On their return journeys, they brought back texts prophesying the end of the kalpa, such as Fa-ch'eng's (ca. 780–860) 851 translation of *Sakyamuni Buddha's Record of the Total Destruction of the Counterfeit Dharma Era* (*Shih-chia-mou-ni ju-lai hsiang-fa mieh-chin chih-chi*), in which P'i-sha-men leads a group of monks to a safe haven.⁵⁸

Epigraphical evidence from the ninth century reveals that, as P'i-sha-men entered China, his iconography changed. In India he carried a lance, money bag, or mongoose. In China he holds a spear or trident in his right hand and a stūpa in his left. An 839 inscription from a temple to P'i-sha-men in Flourishing T'ang (Hsing-t'ang) monastery begins by saying, "He who is P'i-sha-men, the Heavenly King, is the emissary of the Buddha. He grasps a crooked spear (*wu-kou*) in his right hand, and his left hand holds up a stūpa."⁵⁹ A fragmentary 882 text from Kung-hsien, Honan, quotes a sūtra as saying; "The north has a god called P'i-sha-men. He obtained salvation in Khotan. His body is that of a king. The god's achievements [gap in text]. . . . [His left hand] grasps a gold spear; the right holds a stūpa." The text continues; "[The devotees] reverently erected his image to the left of the three gates. Above he protects the dharma (*fo-fa*) and brings peace to the empire (*k'uo-t'u*)."⁶⁰ As in Khotan, P'i-sha-men's function was not only to serve as guardian of the dharma but more generally to serve as guardian of the empire as well. Similarly, *The Golden Light Sūtra* had promised his protection for those who patronized Buddhist teaching.

Many depictions of P'i-sha-men found at Tun-huang confirm the standardization of his iconography by the tenth century. A few woodblock prints from Tun-huang suggest that P'i-sha-men was worshiped both as one of the four guardian kings and as a deity in his own right. Four unbound paintings of the guardian kings were found at Tun-huang along with four pages from the *Heart Sūtra* and a simple cover. A dedicatory colophon is dated 890. The guardian kings of the east, south, and west carry weapons in both hands, but P'i-sha-men, the guardian of the north, has a trident-shaped staff in one hand and a stūpa in the other.⁶¹ So, even when depicted with the other three kings, he stands out as specifically charged with protecting the dharma. A 947 text accompanying a woodblock print of P'i-sha-men from Tun-huang claims: "The northern ruler governs all the bad ghosts and deities of the empire. If one can expel his own faults and pray sincerely, then one may happily receive full protection and good fortune."⁶² Having so described his purpose, the military governor, Ts'ao Yüan-chung, ordered the carving and printing of the text and accompanying illustration.⁶³ Reproduced in fig. 3.1, this print contains many of the standard iconographic features associated with Vaiśravaṇa. He is depicted standing on the hands of the earth goddess; his left hand holds a stūpa while his right hand holds a halberd. The

lower figure to his left holds a mongoose (linking him with Kubera), and the upper figure to his left holds an infant (recalling the legendary founding of Khotan). His daughter, Śrī Devī, stands to his right.

The legend of 742 bears another look, not because it was true, but because the commentaries to it reveal so much about the history of the cult in the Sung. Tsan-ning (919–1002) added to his version in his *Sung Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Sung*: “As a result the emperor ordered an image of this heavenly king to be placed in the watchtowers (*ch'eng-lou*) of the cities throughout the various circuits.”⁶⁴ In another work, *Synoptic History of the Sangha*, Tsan-ning repeated the story under the heading “Heavenly King of Watchtowers” (*Ch'eng-tu t'ien-wang*):

The emperor accordingly ordered the military governors of the different circuits to each put up and make offerings to an image of the Guardian King and his retinue on the northwest corner of the city walls. He also ordered Buddhist monasteries to place an image in their outer buildings.

Even today, on the first day of each month, the prefectures all present incense, offerings of food, songs, and dancing. They call it making the Heavenly King happy.⁶⁵

At the beginning of the eleventh century Mu-an Shan-ch'ing wrote: “Today the images are placed on the walls around the prefectural government offices or in monasteries or barracks because of this [miracle].”⁶⁶ And Chih-p'an added in the mid-thirteenth century: “Today [images of] P'i-sha-men are installed in buildings, in watchtowers, and on barracks because of this [miracle].”⁶⁷

The story of Amoghavajra and Vaiśravaṇa, like so many other legends, is a just-so tale told to explain a real phenomena: the appearance of Vaiśravaṇa's images in cities, barracks, and monasteries all over China. Southern Sung (1127–1276) gazetteers bear out these commentators' descriptions: those from Yen-chou (Chin-te county, Chekiang), Hang-chow (Chekiang), T'ai-chou (Chekiang), and Fu-chou (Fukien) all list temples to the god in government offices and monasteries. Those in Yen-chou and T'ai-chou were built on the northwestern city walls.⁶⁸ The discussion above of P'i-sha-men's purported appearance to the emperor in 742 should make us leery of Sung accounts of events taking place in the T'ang and Five Dynasties, but I list them separately because they testify to the geographical spread of the cult to Szechwan, Shansi, and Hopei by Sung times (see table 3.1). So, by the end of the Sung, P'i-sha-men, who had begun his career as a foreign guardian king of the north, had come to serve as a guardian figure all over China.

What was P'i-sha-men doing on the walls or in the gate towers of cities and monasteries? Exactly what an increasing number of wall-and-

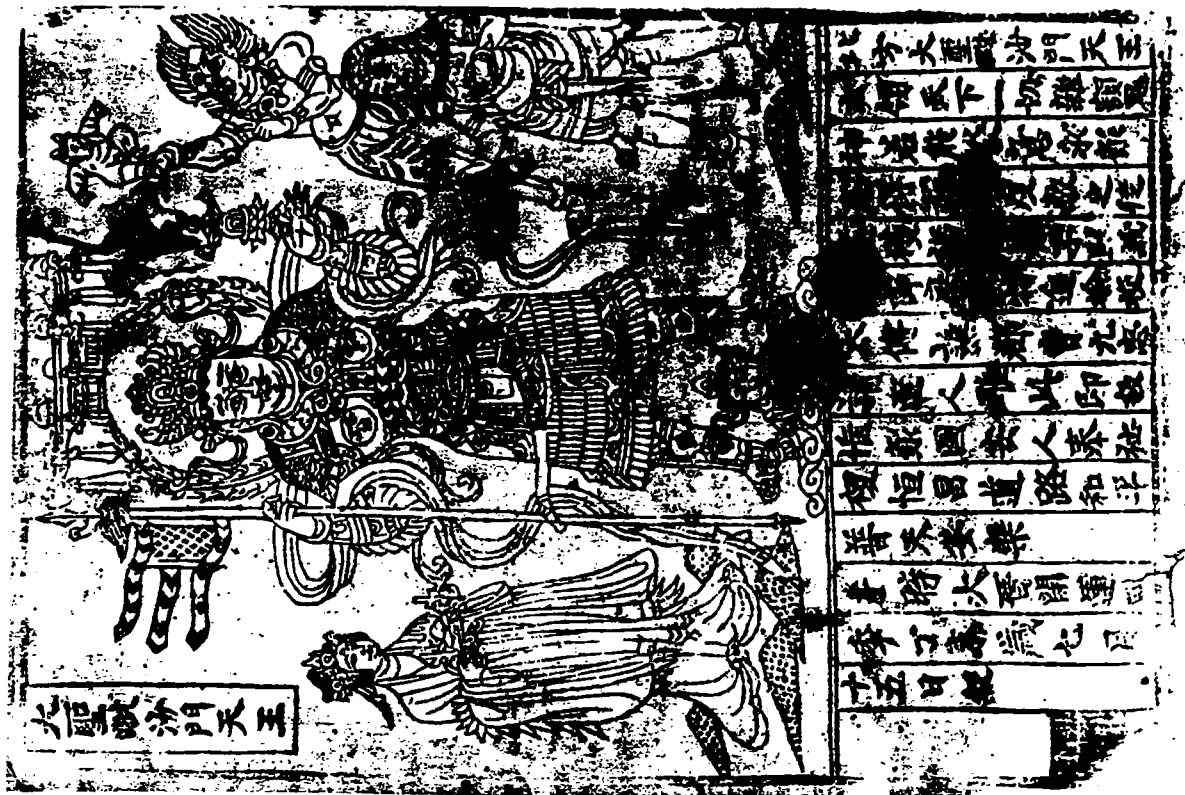


Figure 3.1. P'i-sha-men with attendants. Tun-huang cave 17, Five Dynasties, dated 947. (Stein Collection, British Museum)

Table 3.1 Pi-sha-men's Miracles According to Sung Sources

YEAR	PLACE	EVENT	SOURCE
627-649	Ch'ang-an, Shansi	Pi-sha-men's son, Na-t'uo, appears	SKSC, T 50.791a
761	Ta-t'ung, Shansi	rebels hide in Pi-sha-men's temple	Ssu-ma Kuang, <i>Tzu-chih t'ung-chien</i> (Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1956), 222.7109
795	P'ing-shan, Hopei	Pi-sha-men appears	SKSC, T 50.874a
860-873	Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan	Pi-sha-men appears and frightens away rebel troops	SKSC, T 50.882a
870	Shuo county, Shansi	Pi-sha-men appears to descendant of T'ang ruling house	<i>Chiu Wu-tai shih</i> (Peking: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1975), 25.332-333
934	T'ai-yüan, Shansi	Pi-sha-men appears on wall	<i>Chiu Wu-tai shih</i> 75.988
935	Ta-ming, Hopei	armor named for Pi-sha-men	<i>Chiu Wu-tai shih</i> 47.643

moat gods and monastic guardians began to do: protecting these places. There are striking similarities among these different gods. People called Pi-sha-men both by his name or by his position, guardian king. The cult to Pi-sha-men grew before the assumption of office by local gods in the ninth and tenth centuries, when woodblock printing came into widespread use. Accordingly, sources are much richer for the end of the T'ang than for the beginning, and thus any chronology must be tentative and any assertion of causation provisional. Nevertheless, the evidence that we do have suggests that the widespread popularity of the Indian god Vaiśravaṇa encouraged the spread of monastic guardians and then wall-and-moat gods.

KUAN YÜ: FROM POPULAR GOD TO MONASTIC GUARDIAN

Kuan Yü provides a good example of a god who began as a local god and became a monastic guardian only in the ninth century, after many local gods had taken up office.⁶⁹ A hero of the Three Kingdoms period, Kuan Yü died in 219 and was awarded a posthumous title in 260. He does not

appear in the earliest accounts of the founding of Yü-ch'üan monastery by the famous monk Chih-i (538-597), the founder of the T'ien-t'ai school of Buddhism. Chih-i's disciple and biographer Kuan-ting (561-632) says of the site of the monastery that it was formerly desolate and mountainous. The gods, wild beasts, and snakes were ferocious, but Chih-i decided to found a monastery there. A drought occurred that summer, and the local people thought the gods were angry. Chih-i went to the source of the stream and pronounced a spell. Rain followed.⁷⁰

What a nice demonstration of the Buddhists' superior strength! Reminiscent of earlier tales about the suppression of indigenous cults, this anecdote highlights the civilizing qualities of Buddhism. Once the monastery had been established, neither animals nor gods posed a threat to the inhabitants. Kuan Yü does not appear in either an early seventh-century inscription nor in one dated 722, which features the Ch'an teacher Shen-hsiu (606-706) rather than Chih-i.⁷¹

Given the strength of the Chinese oral tradition, it is always dangerous to assume that the written record provides the only version of a legend, but these early texts indicate that, in the period before local gods took office, Chih-i was perfectly capable of founding the monastery without Kuan Yü's assistance. Kuan Yü makes his debut in a text dated 820, which says that a temple to him is located to the northwest of the monastery. It tells of his appearance to Chih-i, his offer to donate land for the construction of the monastery, and his request that Chih-i leave the site. The same night there was a terrible storm. In the morning a pile of high-quality, neatly stacked lumber appeared, presumably to be used in building the monastery. The minister of works to the military governor of Ching-nan, Yin P'ei-chün, claimed in a text to commemorate a renovation of the temple that Kuan Yü determined "whether the district flourishes or declines, whether the annual harvest is plentiful or barren." As a final proof of Kuan Yü's power, Yin reported that a white snake appeared on the building day and that the monks of the monastery all thought it miraculous.⁷² This enthusiastic language, so characteristic of inscriptions to popular deities, suggests why Kuan Yü came to be linked to Chih-i's sixth-century founding of the monastery only in the ninth century. He had in the meantime become simply too powerful a local deity for the Buddhists to ignore or to try to suppress.

An inscription from a Soochow monastery tells of another god who, like Kuan Yü, appeared in a vision to donate land to a monastery; the title of this text specifically refers to the deity Ku Yeh-wang as a *ch'ieh-lan shen*, or monastic guardian. In 944, on the night that a monastery was completed, the spirit of a Six Dynasties official, Ku Yeh-wang, accompanied by two attendants, showed himself to a dreaming carpenter and said: "This is my former residence. It has already fallen into ruins. Today you built a monastery on top of my house. I am very pleased

about this Buddhist monastery. Please put up my image, and I will protect this monastery." The next day the carpenter told two monks what he had dreamt, but they remained skeptical. That night he dreamt again of Ku Yeh-wang, who said: "How can you not believe me? You need only to look where the foundation of the former monastery borders on the water. There is an old stele that will serve as proof." The next day the monks found the stone, were convinced, and put up images of Ku and his attendants.⁷³ In a 1046 version of the same events, the carpenter has dropped out, and the deity appears to the two monks directly,⁷⁴ suggesting that the *ch'ieh-lan* deities began with the support of local people and the monks gradually overcame their own resistance to them. A quid pro quo is at work in both versions. Because the monastery does not displace the temple, the god's original devotees are pleased. And because the local deity agrees to serve the Buddha as protector, the Buddhists can (and do) claim a superior position.

Accounts about Kuan Yü did not include a similar dialogue between god and monk until the eleventh century, when Chang Shang-ying (1043-1122), a famous lay practitioner of Ch'an Buddhism, wrote a highly embellished version of Kuan Yü's investiture as guardian deity.⁷⁵ Kuan Yü assumed various shapes and appeared to Chih-i: "Tigers and leopards howled and paused. Snakes and pythons coiled up and stared. Ghosts and sprites cackled and screamed. With bloody lips and sharp teeth, hair in disarray, spirit soldiers were fierce and angry. Of ghostly aspect and hideous substance, one by one, they rapidly assumed a thousand different shapes."⁷⁶ The unimintimidated monk angrily asked them to identify themselves. Kuan Yü gave a brief account of his life and then said: "I preside over this mountain. I am fond of only what has been killed, and I eat only raw meat." Then he admitted to the monk that his strength had been spent in the contest, offered to donate his hill to him, and, with his son, promised to protect the dharma forever.⁷⁷

Thus it was only in the Sung that Kuan Yü acquired the full biological accoutrements of monastic guardian and that the conception of the monastic guardian's role had taken shape—so that Kuan Yü in Hupei and Ku Yeh-wang in Kiangsu could bear the same label of *ch'ieh-lan shen*. The Buddhist guardian deities resembled the wall-and-moat gods in that both were conceived of as slots to be filled by local gods, who sometimes were called by name and sometimes by label.

WALL-AND-MOAT GODS: THE EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT RECOGNITION

The earliest sources, from the sixth and seventh centuries, refer to wall-and-moat gods only as a type of god similar to a mountain or stream

deity.⁷⁸ They are simply nameless gods who watch over city walls. Later on, in the ninth and tenth centuries, after many local gods took office, devotees began to think of individual deities as holding the position of wall-and-moat god. They called them either by position (wall-and-moat god of a given place) or by name.

One of the earliest texts to mention the wall-and-moat gods is the official history of the Northern Ch'i dynasty, which describes a battle in 555 for Ying-ch'eng (now Wu-ch'ang, Hupei), where enemy troops blockaded the city: "Everyone had given up hope. The prefect agonized alone, and the people were frightened. Mu-jung Yen led with loyalty and righteousness. Moreover he was pleased to soothe them. Within the city walls, there was one temple, commonly called the wall-and-moat god. Prayer took place there on both official and private occasions. Thus, following the desires of both officers and soldiers, [Mu-jung] led everyone to pray there. They hoped to obtain divine protection."⁷⁹ And so they did: a wind came up, and the troops dispersed, although Mu-jung and his troops were finally defeated. Even though the wall-and-moat god was an indigenous deity, he was thought to perform the same type of miracles Vaisravana was credited with centuries later. And, like Vaisravana, his temples were associated with walls. Notice that, because the term *ch'eng-huang* had not yet come into wide use, this author has to explain who the wall-and-moat god is.

The wall-and-moat god in this tale appears to be a god who presided over the city walls just as other gods presided over mountains and rivers. Even before China was unified in 221 B. C., devotees had made offerings to the walls around cities.⁸⁰ The ritual codes of the T'ang suggest the practice continued. Following the 726 controversy in the T'ang court about the advisability of reordering the classical text of *The Book of Rites (Li-chi)*, Chang Yüeh (667-730) was appointed to draft a new code with the help of four scholars. In 732, two years after Chang's death, *The Ritual Code of the Kai-yüan (713-741) Period in the Great T'ang (Ta T'ang Kai-yüan li)* was issued.⁸¹ Included among its provisions were rituals to be conducted on the local level in the case of too much rain: prayers were to be offered to the gates of the city walls (*ch'eng-men*) in both prefectures and counties.⁸² *The Compendium of Administrative Law of the Six Divisions of the T'ang Bureaucracy (Ta T'ang liu-tien;* issued in 738) also specifies: "If there is too much rain, [officials of] the capital should honor the several gates. [The ceremony to] each gate should be separated by three days. Each day honor one. If the rain does not stop, then pray to the hills and streams, marchmounts, seas, and rivers. If, after three days, the rain has still not stopped, then pray to the altar of grain (*she-chi*) and the ancestral temples."⁸³ The inclusion of the city-gate gods in this list suggests that they were just like the gods of the hills and rivers. The term "wall-and-moat" (*ch'eng-huang*) appears in nei-

ther of these compilations, but Chang Yüeh, the compiler of the K'ai-yüan Code, does use the term in a prayer dated 717 to the wall-and-moat god of Ching-chou (Hupei): "The [gods of] hills and swamps circulate life force (*chi*) to derive their efficacy. The wall-and-moat [gods] use accumulated yin as power (*te*)."⁸⁴ Chang explains why the god was thought to be able to bring an end to rain: because the power of wall-and-moat gods is based on yin forces and excessive rain is also caused by yin, they can make the rain stop. The wall-and-moat god of Ching-chou is analogous to the god of any hill or swamp; as mountain or swamp deities guard specific mountains and swamps, wall-and-moat gods preside over a city's walls. Chang does not refer to the wall-and-moat god as a position held by a given deity.

Even in the late eighth or early ninth century, an anonymous author of a Taoist text still felt the need to explain the origins of the wall-and-moat god. The text purports to be Li Ch'un-feng's (602-670) commentary on a revelation given to the Taoist patriarch Chang Tao-ling at the end of the second century.⁸⁵ The author appends the following gloss on the term "wall-and-moat" (*ch'eng-huang*):

The text above formerly just said earth shrines (*she-miao*). There was no wall-and-moat god.

The wall-and-moat deity originated from the tomb of King Jui of Wu in the middle of the Wu kingdom [the region just north of the Yangtze]. Subsequently in the time of the Chin [265-419], the wall around the capital of Wu that the prefect Liu Wen-ching was building reached the tomb. That night the walls all collapsed, and the earth was completely removed by shadow spirit troops. On the next day the wall could not be seen, and the earth could not be obtained. The situation continued like this for seven or eight more times.

The prefect then ordered his men at night to catch the offenders. During the night, one prince came out from the earth and was followed by several tens of thousands of soldiers. Still, the man whom the masses had grabbed cursed them saying: "I am King Jui of Wu. My tomb is two *chang* [twenty feet] underneath the earth. How can your lordship cruelly build over my tomb? Every night I have people make the walls collapse and have the earth removed. There is no other evil being.

"If your lordship could move the wall and make it curve one hundred paces away from my tomb, I would protect the wall and the lives of the people and animals, and bring peace for generations."

The prefect accordingly left the tomb intact, moved the wall, and built a temple. Thus originated the wall-and-moat divine officers.⁸⁶

In this account the wall-and-moat god is not just a nameless god who watches over the city walls. He has gained an identity. He is King Jui of Wu, the *ch'eng-huang* god of this city. Like the legend of Vaisravana's

742 appearance, this is a just-so story that seeks to explain a real phenomenon: the appearance of wall-and-moat gods all over China by the eighth and ninth centuries. Lack of supporting documentation makes it difficult to accept the author's claim that King Jui of Wu was the first wall-and-moat god.

Sometime between the eighth and tenth centuries, the wall-and-moat god began to be thought of as a position different gods could hold in the underworld bureaucracy. In a commentary to instructions on how to petition to expel evil gods and ghosts, the anonymous author of the King Jui of Wu tale equates the relationship of wall-and-moat gods with earth shrines (*she-miao*) to that of prefectures with counties: "Just as first prefectures and then counties follow each other in eliminating evil-doers, so too do the wall-and-moat and earth-shrine [gods] send these documents to each other in order to apprehend demons."⁸⁷

Itinerant Taoists, like the unschooled Buddhists who told of gods converting to Buddhism, probably encouraged the worship of wall-and-moat gods as they were propagating their own version of hell.⁸⁸ The parallel divine and bureaucratic hierarchies of later Taoism were not fully worked out in the eighth century, but some Taoists seem to have glimpsed the potential usefulness of city gods in their struggle to mark themselves off from local cults. A given local god could be designated a god of walls and moats and so be subsumed into a Taoist pantheon without alienating any original devotees. Never shy about (though always loath to admit) borrowing from their Buddhist colleagues, these Taoists may have seen the city gods as a counterpart to monastic guardians.

Other T'ang sources indicate that the bureaucratic conception of the wall-and-moat god was not limited to Taoists. One late-eighth-century tale suggests the links between hell and the rise of the cult to the god of walls and moats. A finance official from Hsüan-chou (Hsüan-ch'eng, Anhwei) is prematurely summoned to the underworld, where the presiding officer decides to send him back. The officer turns out to be a god of walls and moats, who had himself served as the prefect of Hsüan-chou before his death.⁸⁹ A ninth-century account of a visit to hell, contained in a Buddhist anthology, recounts that the wall-and-moat god who presided over hell granted the narrator five more years of life.⁹⁰ Finally, one tale from the late ninth or early tenth century shows just how close the heavenly and earthly bureaucracies had become. As a Szechwanese merchant was praying at the White Horse (Pai-ma) temple after his return from a trip, he heard the god say: "You and I have known each other for many years now. I am about to leave this area. Accordingly I say goodbye to you." The surprised guest asked, "Where are you going?" He replied, "I have been appointed to be a wall-and-moat god of Hunan. The emperor has promoted me because of the slight virtue I showed to the people of San-hsia."⁹¹ The bureaucratic analogy is complete. The god is not just

an individual who happens to be the wall-and-moat god of San-hsia. He actually has a term in office. As in the earthly bureaucracy, the wall-and-moat god serves at the pleasure of the emperor. And, as in the earthly bureaucracy, he is promoted on the basis of virtuous service.

If the wall-and-moat god served in a heavenly bureaucracy modeled on the earthly bureaucracy, what, then, did the earthly bureaucrats make of the wall-and-moat gods? Every indication is that before 900 T'ang bureaucrats paid little heed to them.

Li Yang-ping begins a 759 inscription from Chin-yün (Chekiang) by observing: "The wall-and-moat god is not in the register of sacrifices (*ssu-tien*). His temples are located all over Wu-Yüeh [the Lower Yangtze valley]."⁹² Li's observations mesh with what little is known about the circumscribed nature of the T'ang register of sacrifices. The register was a list of all local gods at whose temples officials were authorized to make offerings, usually in the fall and spring. By the Sung, being listed in the register also implied eligibility to receive government funds for temple repairs;⁹³ it is not clear whether or not it meant this during the T'ang.

The evidence about granting titles to deities during the T'ang is sparse. The administrative code of the T'ang lists titles given to mountains and rivers, starting with the promotion of the god of the Lo River to marquis (*hou*) in 688.⁹⁴ In 746 the marchmounts were given titles.⁹⁵ In 747, the emperor explained: "Since the five marchmounts have already been enfeoffed as kings, the four rivers should be promoted to the rank of lord (*kung*)."⁹⁶ The T'ang emperors saw themselves as innovators. The 748 edict promoting the Northern Peak (Heng Mountain in Shansi) claims: "The former emperors did not make kings of the five peaks nor lords of the four rivers."⁹⁷ For the most part, the T'ang rulers seem to have limited themselves to giving nature gods titles, but other gods received titles as well, as Terry Kleeman shows in this volume.

The wall-and-moat gods may not have received titles, but they were worshiped all over the empire. Surviving prayers of T'ang officials indicate a wide geographic scope for the cult to the wall-and-moat god, encompassing temples in Chekiang, Hupei, and Kwangsi.⁹⁸ At the end of the T'ang, Li Shang-yin's prayers show that the wall-and-moat gods continued to be associated with protecting cities. He wrote: "I reverently make offerings to the god of walls and moats who dredges moats and upholds the walls—the means to secure our borders."⁹⁹

In the years before 900 the cult to the wall-and-moat gods seems to have survived without active government support. The situation began to change, possibly in the late T'ang, with a title grant in 898 to a wall-and-moat god in Hua-chou (Shensi),¹⁰⁰ and certainly in the Five Dynasties period.¹⁰¹ In 908 the Latter Liang awarded the title of marquis to the wall-and-moat god of Yüeh-chou (Shao-hsing), who happened to be the former magistrate.¹⁰² In 934 the Latter T'ang promoted the wall-and-moat gods of Hangchow, Hu-chou, and Yüeh-chou.¹⁰³ And, in 950, the

wall-and-moat god of Meng-chou (Kwangsi) was rewarded for protecting his city from an attack by enemy troops.¹⁰⁴ The awarding of titles fostered the continued growth of the cult in the early Sung. Ou-yang Hsiu included Li Yang-ping's 759 comment about the register of sacrifices in his epigraphical catalogue and appended a note: "But now [in the mid-eleventh century], [temples to the wall-and-moat god] are not just in the Wu-Yüeh region. They are all over the empire, but there are few in counties [as opposed to prefectures]."¹⁰⁵ The title granting of the Five Dynasties probably encouraged the cult, but through the first hundred years of Sung rule (960–1060), the designation of local gods as wall-and-moat gods remained on a largely ad hoc basis.

One tightly compressed inscription from the early eleventh century tells of a mother-son pair of gods with multiple identities, only one being that of wall-and-moat god. The mother became a vegetarian, Buddha-fearing dragon, her son, a god of walls and moats. The text begins by describing a mountain on which an official lived during the Three Kingdoms period. Following his death, his wife met and slept with an unidentified old man; their son was transformed into a dragon. In 589, the dragon-mother met a monk, asked to receive the precepts, and said she wanted to hear the dharma. So far the narrative follows the standard pattern for converting local gods. A monastery, containing a dragon hall, was founded on the site. In 619 the name of the prefecture was changed to T'ai-chou, and the ancient residence of the official was made into the new yamen. Everyone agreed that the dragon-mother's son was the wall-and-moat god.¹⁰⁶

The mention of the wall-and-moat god comes out of nowhere. The author's awkward attempt to make sense of the two gods' changing roles highlights the fluid nature of divinity in the T'ang and the Sung. The career paths of the dragon god and his mother embody all the changes in the pantheon taking place before the eleventh century: the conversion of local gods to Buddhism as well as their assumption of positions as city gods.

The strong links between the monastery and the mother-son pair suggest that the resident Buddhists may have had something to do with the son's appointment as god of walls and moats. It was yet another way to enhance the god's following among the people of T'ai-chou. Not just the guardian of a monastery, the dragon son (like Vaisravana) guarded other structures as well. By protecting the yamen, he became the god of walls and moats for the entire prefecture (and was thereby eligible for government funds). Might the idea of the god of walls and moats as a position to be held by a given deity—the dragon in this case—have been a transmutation of Vaisravana and the monastic guardians?

Why would the T'ai-chou Buddhists label the dragon son a wall-and-moat god? Designation as a *ch'eng-huang* and placement in the government register of sacrifices offered real benefits. The dragon son was

awarded his first title during the Wu-Yüeh reign, received a plaque (the first stage of official recognition) in the Cheng-ho (1111–1117) reign, and was promoted in 1129, 1138, 1168, 1196, 1198, 1200, and 1204.¹⁰⁷ A group of supporters must have been continuously petitioning local officials on his behalf. Other gods were being honored at the same time. Kuan Yü, the monastic guardian at Yü-ch'üan monastery, received his first title in 1069.¹⁰⁸

Starting in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the government sharply increased its investment in local pantheons, as a comparison of the administrative law codes of the T'ang, Five Dynasties, and Sung shows. These codes, incomplete as they are, suggest the scope of government activity in the pre-Sung period; neither compilation lists more than twenty titles for the duration of the T'ang or Five Dynasties period.¹⁰⁹

The incomplete lists of titles granted to deities in the Sung administrative law code total over two hundred pages, and they show that the number of titles granted in one year shot up in 1075 to thirty-seven and remained at a high level from then on.¹¹⁰ Local people petitioned for titles, and the government sent inspectors from neighboring prefectures to check the god's claim to have performed miracles. Once they had confirmed the veracity of the miracles, they recommended the god's promotion. Independent evidence confirms the expansion of the government's role: the turn-around time between the appearance of a new god and the government's award of a title shrank to a decade or two by the twelfth century. The Sung central government, pressed on its northern borders by Jurchen and then Mongol invaders and financially strapped as well, found the awarding of titles a good way to maintain a presence in local society. The express desire of the central government was to harness the gods' power.

The increase in title-granting activity in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries was so sudden that one astute observer, Chao Yü-shih (1175–1231), wrote about the resulting variations in titles given to wall-and-moat gods: "Local wall-and-moat gods differ and are not of one type. Now these temples verge on being everywhere in the empire. Some have received name plaques from the central government, and some, noble ranks. Of those who have not yet received official titles, some have assumed the name of the god from neighboring prefectures, and some have taken a legendary appellation. Those in the prefectures differ, and those in the counties are not the same."¹¹¹ Chao hints at the ingenuity of the devotees of untitled gods: we may infer that the people whose gods did not have official titles would create a claim for their local god in the hope that he would eventually receive government recognition. There follows a long list of wall-and-moat gods with their inconsistent titles. Some had four-character titles, some two. Some were marquises, some

kings. In the period between 1075 and the 1130s, officials at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (T'ai-ch'ang ssu) who were in charge of issuing titles could hardly keep up with all the requests flooding their office. It was impossible for them to award the same kinds of titles to wall-and-moat gods, especially since their long and uneven development meant there were many different types: "P'eng-chou (Szechwan) not only has a *ch'eng-huang* temple, it also has a temple to the outer wall of the city (*lo-ch'eng*). Fen-i county of Yüan-chou (Kiangsi) not only has a *ch'eng-huang* temple, it also has a temple to the moat around the county government offices (*hsien-huang*). These are without precedent."¹¹² No wonder the Sung bureaucrats awarded these different wall-and-moat gods different titles!

Like bureaucrats everywhere, the Sung officials in the title-granting branch of the government thought in specific categories. Two later compilations suggest that the category of wall-and-moat god took shape at the time of the expansion of the title-granting system at the end of the eleventh century. The Sung administrative code gives twenty-one different examples of temple plaques given to wall-and-moat gods in the period from 1102 to 1170. This list is incomplete, but the grouping together of the wall-and-moat gods testifies to the existence of a bureaucratic category. It is followed by lists of earth gods (*t'u-ti*), dragon temples, hill gods, and water gods.¹¹³ The official history of the Sung confirms the existence of these categories, saying that "marchmount and river gods, wall-and-moat gods, immortals and Buddhas, mountain gods, dragon gods, stream and river gods, as well as [the gods of] other small temples in counties and prefectures" who could respond with miracles to prayer all received titles.¹¹⁴

The twelfth century was a time of great government activity and correspondingly high awareness on the part of devotees. Only a few years after the increase in government grants, devotees dreamt of gods who asked them for government titles.¹¹⁵ In making their petitions to the government, a given god's followers indicated a thorough, even competitive, knowledge of the titles neighboring gods had. In 1270, when the people of South Bank (Nan-hsün) township in Hu-chou, Chekiang, petitioned the government to include two local gods in the register of sacrifices, they said: "For example, the local god of New Market (Hsin-shih) township, in Te-ch'ing county, is also administered by this prefecture. The local god of that township has already been granted a temple plaque. Only South Bank has not yet carried out the procedures to get the earth god into the register of sacrifices. It really is a gap in the register of sacrifices."¹¹⁶

Because a god who fit into a preexisting category had a much better chance of being given a title, devotees realized that labeling a local god a wall-and-moat god might help to get him (or her) a title.

THE WALL-AND-MOAT GODS AND TAOIST PANTHEONS

The devotees of popular gods were not alone in their desire to play the government title-granting system. The government's system was so influential that Taoist Celestial Heart (T'ien-hsin) masters decided to use it to differentiate between legitimate and illicit gods rather than confining themselves to strictly Taoist standards. Permissible or legitimate gods (*cheng-shen*) were those in the government's register of sacrifices, impermissible gods, those outside it.¹¹⁷ The author of the first T'ien-hsin ritual compendium (preface dated 1116), Yüan Miao-tsung (fl. 1086–1116), had been an itinerant Taoist.¹¹⁸ Like the earlier Buddhist monks who found it easier to convert local deities than to tear down their temples, Yüan proposed a simple approach: wholesale adoption of the government's register of sacrifices.

Other T'ien-hsin compilations accepted Yüan's standard.¹¹⁹ A spirit code that applies penal law to the gods says: "Any spirit whom the nation does not record in the register of sacrifices, who wildly brings spiritual retribution or deceives the people and makes unauthorized good or ill fortune, shall be exiled to a distance of three thousand *li* [one thousand miles]."¹²⁰ Here, of course, is the classic Taoist stance: the practitioner, who ranks above popular deities, is therefore entitled to issue orders to them and to punish them. One text in the late Yüan compilation *Tao-fa hui-yüan* (A corpus of Taoist ritual) is addressed to the "legitimate (*cheng*) deities who hold official appointment and are entitled to receive bloody offerings from a district."¹²¹ By the Sung, Taoists, having reconciled themselves to the fact that most popular gods ate meat, incorporated these gods into their pantheons, although far below Taoist immortals and purer deities.

A biography written in 1274 of Marshal Wen Ch'ung (b. 702) expresses one Taoist attitude toward popular deities perfectly. In 961 a drought occurred in Wen-chou (Chekiang), Marshal Wen's hometown. People prayed to the God of the Eastern Peak, but a cloud appeared with Marshal Wen's name written on it. Then it rained, and the local people wanted to build a temple to him. Marshal Wen possessed a commoner and said: "I do not value temple offerings and official titles. If you want to reward my merit, please don't petition the [earthly] court." He feared that the emperor would grant him a title. This is the final twist in the Taoists' attempt to coexist with the government register of sacrifices. Marshal's Wen's refusal to become a popular god—to enjoy food offerings, receive a government title, or have a temple—came to the attention of his superiors, and he enjoyed a successful career in the Taoist bureaucracy.¹²² In fact, his promotion within the Taoist hierarchy hinged on his very refusal to accept the trappings of popular worship.

Given the craze for government titles and recognition sweeping early-twelfth-century China, it made no sense for Taoists to try to impose their own standard of orthodoxy. They lacked the financial and human resources to carry out canonization procedures on the scale that the government did, and there was no guarantee that anyone would value their rankings anyway. Hung Mai's *Record of the Listener* (*I-chien chih*), which allows glimpses of popular understanding that sources in the Taoist canon rarely do, tells of one god who valued his government title more highly than a Taoist title. In 1130, Erh-lang, who had a temple in Lang-chou county, Szechwan, appeared in a dream to an official and said: "I formerly received the rank of king. I descended to deal with worldly things; accordingly, my post was to govern everything, good and bad fortune, winning and losing. In 1110 the emperor [Hui-tsung] changed my title to immortal. Although the name was pure and reverent, my power was dissipated. No one has come to ask me about the myriad affairs of humans."¹²³ Once the god's original title was restored to him, his powers returned as well. The populace did not necessarily share the Taoist view that the higher up in the Taoist order, the better.

The wall-and-moat god happened to hold a position in Taoist pantheons and to be a lay deity as well. Taoist sources from the Sung testify to the existence of complex pantheons with the God of the Eastern Peak (or the Jade Emperor) at the top, then the wall-and-moat god, and then the earth gods. The T'ien-hsin practitioners even used the correct bureaucratic verbs to petition (*tsou*) the divine emperor, make requests to (*shen*) the God of the Eastern Peak, and inform (*tieh*) the city gods.¹²⁴

This Taoist pantheon was thought to work with a fine precision. The practitioner had only to identify the official who presided over the particular problem he confronted and petition him with the appropriate forms, and the god would respond.¹²⁵ It was a nice scheme, but the people of the Sung did not necessarily accept it. In 1195, Hung Mai states, a malaria victim secretly spent the night at a temple to the wall-and-moat god in the hope that his illness would be cured. He dreamt that he saw the wall-and-moat god addressing seven or eight yellow-robed subordinates: "I have received the emperor's edict to spread plague in this area. You are each the earth god of one district. How dare you delay?" Only one earth god protested, saying the people in his district were virtuous and should not be punished. The wall-and-moat god responded: "This is a celestial command. You are a lowly functionary. You must carry out this order." He then granted the earth god's request that he fill his quota only with young children. When the plague broke out, people of all ages were struck in other districts, but only the children in that particular district fell sick. On their recovery, the local people collected money to build a temple to the earth god.¹²⁶

Because Hung Mai identified the narrator, Chou Weng, only as a

Soochow resident, he must not have been a Taoist practitioner. He clearly viewed the earth gods as subordinate to the god of walls and moats, and the latter in turn as subordinate to the emperor. On first reading, this tale confirms the acceptance of Taoist rankings of the gods in the popular mind. Certainly the god of walls and moats seems to outrank earth gods and to be able to issue orders to them. But, on reflection, it turns out that actual performance of the god is more important than purported rank. In the Soochow plague it was a lowly earth god who protected his devotees from the officious wall-and-moat god and the blood-thirsty emperor. After the plague abated, everyone raised money to build a temple to thank the earth god—not the god of walls and moats and not the emperor—for his kindness. The narrator did not care where a given god ranked in Taoist pantheons. His main concern, like that of laypersons throughout the T'ang and the Sung, was performance. The god who could respond to prayer, who could prevent (or at least minimize) the plague, was the god who deserved to be rewarded. And if that god happened to rank lower than another in Taoist pantheons, so be it.

CONCLUSION

It is common knowledge that the introduction of Buddhism marked a new era in Chinese history. The influence of Indian culture was felt not just in religion but in Chinese painting, sculpture, music, and literature—in all of the high arts. Less commonly acknowledged are the effects of Indian and Central Asian culture on Chinese mass culture.

In the pre-Buddhist period, laypersons worshiped a variety of gods, of whom nature deities and former humans were the most important. Throughout the T'ang, the Five Dynasties, and the Sung, members of the Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian establishments struggled to come to terms with these indigenous gods. Early on they tore down temples to unclean gods and tried to replace them with gods more to their liking. Later, monks had visions in which these gods renounced a meat diet and accepted Buddhist precepts. Laypersons began to worship bodhisattvas like Kuan-yin and Mañjuśrī.

Buddhist monks also introduced the cult of the guardian of the north, Vaiśravaṇa, an originally Indian deity who was very popular in Khotan. In China, this same god, P'i-sha-men, often held a stūpa in his right hand, indicating his role as the guardian of the dharma, and his shrines were located next to the gates of monasteries. He also protected cities, and his temples were often built in the watchtowers on the northwest corner of city walls.

In the pre-Buddhist period, the Chinese had prayed to unnamed deities of city gates. Following the introduction of the cult to P'i-sha-men,

and the proliferation of monastic guardians, wall-and-moat gods gained in popularity. Low-level monks, Taoist practitioners, and Confucian officials—possibly following the lead of P'i-sha-men—also assigned local gods positions in different hierarchies. Some gods like Kuan Yü assumed posts as monastic guardians, some like the dragon son of T'ai-chou, as wall-and-moat gods. Like P'i-sha-men, the wall-and-moat gods were associated with city walls. Like P'i-sha-men, they guarded cities. And also like P'i-sha-men, they had specific identities, often related to their preapotheosis lives. By the early tenth century, the wall-and-moat god had become the bureaucratic god with which we are so familiar today. He served a given term as wall-and-moat god and was promoted within the divine hierarchy on the basis of his performance.

Because the massive expansion of title granting in the eleventh century presented devotees with an opportunity to further honor their gods, many seized the chance to present local gods as wall-and-moat gods. Relabeling local gods proved to be a far more successful strategy than suppressing them; offering them tangible benefits was even more successful. As a result, local gods assumed office in pantheons all over China by the end of the thirteenth century and retained them in the centuries to follow.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank all the participants in the Hsi-lai Temple conference for their comments. I am especially grateful to Judith Boltz for her rigorous critique when we met in Los Angeles, Victor Mair for providing a wealth of references that made it possible to push back the date of Vaiśravaṇa's cult in China, and Peter Gregory and Pat Ebrey for their thorough editing. Professor Zhang Guangda provided me with many references during the spring of 1989, and his wife, Xu Tingyun, graciously allowed me to use his library during July and August that same year. Cynthia Brokaw, Daniel Getz, James B. Stepanek, Kojima Tsuyoshi, Nathan Sivin, Barend ter Haar, and Judith Zeitlin all read and criticized earlier drafts of this chapter. The Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China and the U. S. Information Agency funded my stay in China.

2. For the clearest description, see Arthur P. Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," in idem, ed., *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 131–182. Not all gods fit into the bureaucratic scheme. Wolf notes two categories of gods: officials (*shih*), such as wall and moat gods, and sages (*fu*), such as Ma-tsu (p. 140). Other scholars further specify that neither goddesses, such as Ma-tsu, nor Buddhist deities, such as Kuan-yin, are considered to be divine officials; see, for example, P. Steven Sangren, "Female Gender in Chinese Religious Symbols: Kuan Yin, Ma Tsu, and the 'Eternal Mother,'" *Signs* 9.1 (1983): 4–25, and Robert P. Weller, *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987).

3. Wu Hung, personal communication, April 30, 1990.
4. Nancy Steinhardt, personal communication, April 29, 1990.
5. Office-holding gods were by no means the only gods worshiped in medieval China. The first extant lists of divinities from Southern Sung (1127–1276) gazetteers show that most of the gods worshiped did not hold office of any type. They were local deities who had temples in just one place. Some were the spirits of a given mountain, stream, tree, or house. Others were formerly human. During their lifetimes they had established some tie, however tenuous, to the place where they were subsequently worshiped. Having been born in a village, died there, served as an official there, or even just visited there once, they answered (or were thought to) the prayers of local people for rain, good health, safety, and progeny. These gods had just one identity. If human, they were called by the name they had had before their deaths and subsequent apotheoses; if nature gods, they were called the god of a particular mountain or stream.
6. Classifying government officials as members of the clergy poses some problems. See Jean Lévi's "Les fonctionnaires et le divin: luttes de pouvoirs entre divinités et administrateurs dans les contes des Six Dynasties et des Tang," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2 (1986): 102; and "Les fonctions religieuses de la bureaucratie céleste," *L'homme* 101 (1987): 35–57. Lévi makes a compelling argument that local administrators formed a Confucian clergy. Here I modify his usage slightly according to my own definitions of lay and clergy: "Because, in sharp contrast to the eclectic laity, the clergy viewed different religious traditions as mutually exclusive technologies for tapping into the powers of the universe, they chose to limit themselves to ritual techniques associated with just one doctrinal tradition. A layman could consult any god or practitioner to his liking, but the clergyman could not" (Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990], p. 41). When acting in an official capacity, such as conducting ceremonies or tearing down banned temples, bureaucrats did behave as a kind of clergy. But, as Judith Boltz shows in her chapter in this volume, when they consulted other religious specialists in attempts to cure illness or solve other problems, then they acted like laypersons.
7. Teng Su-yü suggested that Vaiśravaṇa and the *ch'eng-huang* gods might be linked in his "Ch'eng-huang k'ao," *Shih-hsüeh nien-pao* 2.2 (1935): 269–270.
8. Li Fang (925–996), ed., *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), 882.5a–5b.
9. Lévi, "Les fonctions religieuses de la bureaucratie céleste," pp. 45–46.
10. TPKC 313.2477, citing *Lu-i-chi* (tenth century).
11. "Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the Second to the Seventh Centuries," in Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 53–81.
12. Ko Hung, *Shen-hsien chuan* (Kuang Han Wei ts'ung-shu edition) 7.8b–9a; Lévi, "Les fonctionnaires et le divin," p. 102.
13. Pai Yü-ch'an, *Ching-yang Hsü chen-chün chuan* 33.4b–5a, in his *Hsü-chen shih-shu* (HY 263); Lévi, "Les fonctionnaires et le divin," p. 102; K. M. Schipper's "Taoist Ritual and Local Cults of the T'ang Dynasty," a study of the hagiographies of Hsü, dates this text to the early thirteenth century, in Michel

Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, vol. 3: *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 22 (1985): 825.

14. Pai Yü-ch'an, *Ching-yang Hsü chen-chün chuan* 33.5a in his *Hsü-chen shih-shu* (HY 263).

15. TPKC 295.2346, citing *Yu-ming lu* (fifth century).
16. Bernard Faure, "Space and Place in Chinese Religious Traditions," *History of Religions* 26.4 (1987): 337–356.
17. CTS 89.2887.
18. TPKC 315.2495–2496, citing *Wu-hsing chang-ku chi* (as only this one anecdote is taken from this book, the source cannot be dated), translated into French in Lévi, "Les fonctionnaires et le divin," p. 89. See also Lévi's "Les fonctions religieuses de la bureaucratie céleste," p. 53.
19. Miyakawa Hisayuki, "Kō U shin no kenkyū," in *Rikuchōshi kenkyū: shūkyōhen* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1964), pp. 391–414; David Johnson, "The City-God Cults of T'ang and Sung China," *HJAS* 45.2 (1985): 428–431; TPKC 295.2349, citing *I-yüan* (fifth century)
20. *Chia-i'ai Wu-hsing chih* (Sung-Yüan ti-fang chih ts'ung-shu edition), 13.9a–20b.
21. It is only possible to compile a partial list of temples in any given area after the appearance of the first gazetteers. For a list of deities from Hu-chou that I have reconstructed from different sources, please see Appendix 3 of my *Changing Gods*, pp. 179–195.
22. *Chia-i'ai Wu-hsing chih* (Sung-Yüan ti-fang chih ts'ung-shu edition), 13.12a–13a, 13.14a.
23. TPKC 293.2333, citing *Chi-i-en* (last quarter of the eighth century).
24. This inscription was recarved in 1233 on the basis of a rubbing circulating in the area, which purportedly dated to the T'ang (*Yüeh-chung chin-shih chih* [Shih-k'o shih-liao hsün-pien edition], 5.20b).
25. Makita Tairyō, *Rikuchō koitsu Kansein okenki no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1970).
26. Kanaoka Shōkō, "Tonkō bunken ni mirareru shoshin shobosatsu shinkō no ichi yōsō," in *Yoshioka hakase kanrei kinen dōkyō kenkyū ronshū—dōkyō no shisō to bunka* (Tokyo: Kokushokan gyōkai, 1977), pp. 429–456.
27. See the entry under "Bishamon" in Paul Demiéville, ed., *Hōbōgirin*, 1st fascicle: A–Bombai (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1929); Matsumoto Bunzaburō's "Tobatsu Bishamon kō," in his *Bukkyōshi zakkō* (Osaka: Sōbunsha, 1944; originally 1939), pp. 273–313; Miyazaki Ichisada's study of this god, "Bishamonten shinkō no tozen ni tsuite," in his *Ajiashi kenkyū*, vol. 2 (Kyoto: Toyōshi-kenkyū-kai, 1959; originally 1941), pp. 304–335; Phyllis Granoff, "Tobatsu Bishamon: Three Japanese Statues in the United States and an Outline of the Rise of this Cult in East Asia," *East and West* 20 (1970): 144–167; and Yoritomo Motohiro, *Chūgoku mikkyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1979), pp. 147–181.
28. See Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism: Their History, Iconography and Progressive Evolution Through the Northern Buddhist Countries* (New York: Dover, 1988; originally 1928), p. 156, for a discussion of the god's names in different languages.

29. *Ibid.*, 156–162.
30. Alexander Coburn Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1959), p. 232.
31. Hsüan-tsang mentions that he was also worshiped in Balkh, on the Oxus River. See *Ta T'ang hsi-yü chi* 1, in T 51.872c10–13; Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World: Translated from the Chinese of Hsüan Tsiang* (A.D. 629) (London: Trübner & Co., 1884), vol. 1, pp. 43–45.
32. Harold W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1982), p. 8.
33. *Ta-fang-teng-ta-chi-ching* 55, in T 13.368a17–18; F. W. Thomas (ed. and trans.), *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part I: *Literary Texts* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935), p. 90.
34. M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1907), pp. 494–495, fig. 67, plates 14c, 14d.
35. *Ta T'ang hsi-yü chi* 12, in T 51.943b16–20. Translation by Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. 2, p. 311, slightly modified. Tibetan sources vary slightly. The late-seventh-century *Prophecy of Gośrīga* tells of a breast arising from the earth to feed the founding king of Khotan, who was the son of Aśoka. *The Annals of the Li Country* (from the ninth or tenth centuries) report that, when Aśoka visited Khotan with a concubine, she had a vision of Vaiśravaṇa and then became pregnant. Because fortune-tellers predicted the son would succeed Aśoka before he died, both Aśoka and his consort abandoned the child. “In the sequel a breast arose from the earth, and, sucking thereat, he did not die: later he received the name Earth-breast.” F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935), pp. 17, 99.
36. Soper, *Literary Evidence*, p. 240.
37. *I-ch'ieh ching yin-i* 11, in T 54.375c16. Discussed in Yoritomo, *Mikkyō*, p. 155. Hui-lin compiled the book in 788, and its final version dates to 806–807 (John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Chan Buddhism* [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986], p. 325, n. 159).
38. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 252–253, figs. 30 and 31, plate 2. Chinese-language documents from this site date to 781–790 (p. 267).
39. *Pi-sha-men i-kuei*, T no. 1249, is falsely attributed to Pu-k'ung. The text is not mentioned by his biographers nor does it appear in eighth-century catalogues of his work. Yoritomo Motohiro notes that Annen lists this book as having been brought back to Japan by the pilgrim Shūei after his trip to China in 862–865 (*Shō ajari Shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 2, in T 55.1127b14). Yoritomo dates the text to the ninth century (*Mikkyō*, p. 152).
40. Tsan-ning, SKSC 1, in T 50.714a1–11. Chou Yi-liang provides a full translation of this version on pp. 305–306 of his “Tantrism in China,” *HJAS* 8 (1944–1945): 241–332.
41. Tsan-ning, *Ta Sung seng-shih lieh* 2, in T 54.254a22–254b16.
42. Mu-an Shan-ch'ing, *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan* (postface dated 1108), 6, in HTC 113.78a9–78b5.
43. Chih-p'an (1220–1275), *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 40, in T 49.375b4–13.
44. Emending *ta-shih* (big stone) to *ta-shih* (big eat), the strongest of the western countries and so the 'Abāssid Caliphate. Michael T. Dalby, “Court Politics in Late Tang Times,” in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3: *Sui and Tang China, 589–906, Part 1* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 609.
45. A six-character gap follows. Presumably it gave the names of the other three countries surrounding An-hsi.
46. Pu-k'ung, born in Central Asia, was the child of an Indian father and a Sogdian mother (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987], p. 56).
47. *Pi-sha-men i-kuei*, in T 21.228b6–228c1. Thanks to Marston Anderson for his help with the translation. Herodotus tells a similar story about Hephaestus, who sent mice to help an Egyptian priest in a battle with an Arabian army: “But when their [the Egyptians'] enemies came, there spread out against them [the Arabs], at nightfall, field mice, which gnawed their quivers through, and through, too, the bows themselves and the handles of their shields, so that on the next day they fled, defenseless, and many of them fell” (Herodotus, *The History*, trans. by David Greene [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987], p. 193).
48. Matsumoto, *Bukkyōshi zakkō*, pp. 287–290. Chou Yi-liang summarizes the reasons in “Tantrism in China” p. 305, n. 103. Weinstein also rejects the veracity of the tale on the grounds that the early biographies of Amoghavajra do not mention the event (*Buddhism under the Tang*, p. 170, n. 41).
49. Kuo Jo-hsü (fl. 1074), *T'u-hua chien-wen chih* (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan-she, 1963), edited by Huang Miao-tzu, 5.121. Translated in Alexander Coburn Soper, *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting (T'u-hua chien-wen chih): An Eleventh Century History of Chinese Painting Together with the Chinese Text in Facsimile* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951), p. 79. See also Chou, “Tantrism in China,” p. 305, n. 103.
50. Granoff, “Tobatsu Bishamon,” p. 155, fig. 11; Soper, *Literary Evidence*, p. 234, n. 39.
51. Granoff, “Tobatsu Bishamon,” p. 155, fig. 12.
52. HTS 79.3540.
53. Alternatively, his father may have feared being overthrown by him (as the fortune-tellers had prophesied the breast-milk drinking child would overthrow his father before he died). Ironically, it was Chien-ch'eng's brother, Shih-min, who forced Kao-tsu to abdicate in his favor, after killing Chien-ch'eng and another brother at Hsüan-wu gate. See Howard J. Wechsler, “The Founding of the Tang Dynasty: Kao-tsu (r. 618–26),” in Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China* 3.182–187.
54. Granoff, “Tobatsu Bishamon,” p. 152. Pu-k'ung's disciple Yüan-chao listed his works in his biography, *Tai-tsung ch'ao tseng ssu-k'ung ta-pien-cheng Kuang-chih san-tsang ho-shang piao chih chi*, in T 52.839c4. Of the many works with the word Pi-sha-men in the title that are attributed to him (*Pei-fang Pi-sha-men t'ien-wang sui-chün hu-fa i-kuei*, T no. 1247; *Pei-fang Pi-sha-men t'ien-wang sui-chün hu-fa chen-yen*, T no. 1248; *Pi-sha-men i-kuei*, T no. 1249; and *Pei-fang Pi-sha-men Tuo-wen-pao-tsang t'ien-wang-shen miao-t'o-lo-ni pieh-hsing i-kuei*, T no. 1250), only the *Pi-sha-men t'ien-wang ching* is listed in this catalogue.
55. In his *Studies on the Mysteries of Marījūtrī: A Group of East Asian Man-*

dalas and Their Traditional Symbolism, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions Monograph 2 (1983), p. 25.

56. Harold W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1982), p. 6. I am grateful to Victor Mair for the suggestion to check the Khotanese pronunciation and for this reference, and to Hugh Stimson and Stanley Insler for establishing the T'ang pronunciation and its Khotanese origins.

57. Joanna Williams, "The Iconography of Khotanese Painting," *East and West* n.s. 23.1-2 (1973): 114; Chang Kuang-ta (Zhang Guangda) and Jung Hsin-chiang, "Tun-huang 'ju-hsiang chi, ju-hsiang t'u chi ch'i fan-ying te Yü-t'ien," in Ho Tuan-t'ien, ed., *Tun-huang T'u-lu-fan yen-chiu lun-wen-chi*, vol. 3 (Peking: Pei-ching ta-hsieh ch'u-pan-she, 1986), pp. 123-125. The *Candragarbha-sūtra* and the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* were translated into Chinese in 566 and recast in Khotanese in the eighth century (Jan Nattier, "The *Candragarbha-Sūtra* in Central and East Asia: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline" [Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1988], pp. 57-59). Śākyamuni charges Vaiśravaṇa with protecting his scriptures, relics, and images in the beginning of this sātra (ibid., pp. 197, 239). Nattier summarizes the contents of three later Khotanese adaptations (now preserved only in Tibetan) of the decline and ultimate disappearance of the dharma. Vaiśravaṇa and another goddess, Śrī-Mahādevī, guide a group of monks and nuns from Khotan to Tibet in all three (pp. 77-97).

58. *Shih-chia-mou-ni-ju-lai hsiang-fa mieh-chin chih-chi*, in T 51.996c 1-15; Wu Chi-yü (trans. Fukui Fumimasa and Higuchi Masaru), "Daihan koku daitoku—Sanzō hōshi—hōsei den kō" in Makita Taiyō and Fukui Fumimasa, eds., *Kōza Tonkō: Tonkō to Chūgoku bukkyō* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1984), pp. 383-414. *Hsiang-fa* was the second of the three periods of decline of the dharma: *cheng-fa* (the age of the genuine teachings), *hsiang-fa* (the age of the counterfeit teachings, in which understanding of spiritual matters became blurred), and *mo-fa* (the dissolution of the teachings). See Raoul Birnbaum, "Sound and Music in the Experience of T'ang Buddhist Visionaries: A Preliminary Consideration," forthcoming in Yip Ming Mei, ed., *Selected Essays in Chinese Buddhist Music* (Hong Kong).

59. P'eng Shu-hsia, ed., *Wen-yüan ying-hua* (Taipei: Hua-lien ch'u-pan-she, 1965), 819.6a-b.

60. *Pa-ch'ung shih chin-shih pu-cheng* (Shih-k'o shih-liao hsin-pien edition), 77.21b-23a.

61. Chienfoting xviii: 002 (Stein's transcription and numbering of the Thousand Buddha Caves [Ch'ien-fo-tung] at Tun-huang as found in his *Serindia* and still used by the Delhi Museum). Photo-reproduction given in plate 90, vol. 4, and textual description page 1016, vol. 2, of Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1921). Now in the Delhi Museum. For more depictions of Vaiśravaṇa, see color plate 65 and black-and-white plates 109, 110, 111, in Roderick Whitfield's *Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, vol. 1: (New York: Kodansha International, 1982). By the Ming, if not earlier, musical instruments had replaced the kings' weapons. Most of the China International Travel Service-sponsored guardian kings one sees in China today carry lutes, not weapons. I am very grateful to Chhaya Haesner, keeper of the

Central Asian art collection in the Delhi Museum, for discussing the iconography of the different Tun-huang prints with me.

62. Chienfoting xxxvi: 002. Photo-reproduction given in plate 100, vol. 4, and textual description page 969, vol. 2, of Stein's *Serindia*. Now in the Delhi Museum. Due to gaps in the text and mistaken characters, this translation is tentative.

63. This woodblock is now in the Stein collection in the British Museum (registration no. 1919.1-1.0245). Max Loehr discusses this and three other prints cut at the same time in his *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts from an Imperial Commentary to the Tenth-Century Printed Edition of the Buddhist Canon* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1969), pp. 7-8. See also Arthur Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein* (London: British Museum, 1931), no. 245; Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982-1985), vol. 2, fig. 153; and Roderick Whitfield and Anne Farrer, *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* (New York: George Braziller, 1990), p. 104, fig. 85, and p. 106.

64. Tsan-ning. SKSC 1, in T 50.714a10; Chou, "Tantrism in China," p. 306.

65. *Ta Sung seng-shih lüeh* 2, in T 54.254b9-13.

66. Shan-ch'ing, *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan* 6, in HTCC 113.78b4-5.

67. *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 40, in T 49.375b13.

68. *Hsing-ting Yen-chou hsü chih* 4.5b (Sung-Yüan ti-fang chih ts'ung-shu edition); *Chien-ch'ün Lin-an chih* 73.4b (Sung-Yüan ti-fang chih ts'ung-shu edition); *San-shan chih* 33-38 (Sung-Yüan ti-fang chih ts'ung-shu edition); *Chiating ch'ih-ch'eng chih* (Sung-Yüan ti-fang chih ts'ung-shu edition), 31.4a. Miya-zaki has drawn on these chapters to compile a list of seventeen temples and the dates they received name plaques from the central government ("Bishamon-ten," p. 322).

69. For more about Kuan Yü's cult, please consult Inoue Ishii, "Kan U shibyō no yūrai narabi ni hensin," *Shirin* 26 (1941): 41-51, 242-283; Masami Harada, "Kan U shinkō no ni san no yōso," *Tōhō shūkyō* 8-9 (1955): 29-40; Gunter Diesinger, *Vom General zum Gott: Kuan Yü (gest. 220 n. Chr.) und seine "posthume Karriere"* (Frankfurt: Haag & Herchen, 1984); Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *JAS* 47.4 (1988): 778-795. Because of the dubious reliability of anecdotes told in later periods about Kuan Yü and the Sung, I have restricted my discussion to those tales about Kuan Yü that were recorded between 750 and 1300.

70. Kuan-ting, *Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che ta-shih pieh-chuan*, in T 50.195a26-b3. The account in Tao-hsüan's HKSC (T 50.566c7-10) is clearly based on Kuan-ting's account. See also Inoue, "Kan U shibyō," p. 47. I am indebted to Peter Gregory for suggesting and providing me with copies of these references.

71. *Kuo-ching pai-lu*, in T 46.819b9-820c11; Inoue, "Kan U shibyō," p. 47; Tung Kao et al., eds., *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983), 231.1a-4b.

72. *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* 684.14b; Inoue, "Kan U shibyō," p. 47.

73. *Chiang-su chin-shih chih* (Shih-k'o shih-liao ts'ung-shu edition), 7.43a-44b.

74. *Ibid.*, 8.50b–52a.
75. Faure recounts a similar story about Kuan Yü and Shen-hsiu from the eighteenth-century compendium *Shen-hsien t'ung-chien* 14, part 4, p. 2a ("Space and Place," p. 351).
76. *Shan-yü shih-k'o ts'ung-pien* (Shih-k'o shih-liao ts'ung-shu edition), 21.7a–8b; Inoue, "Kan U shibyō," p. 49.
77. *Shan-yü shih-k'o ts'ung-pien* (Shih-k'o shih-liao ts'ung-shu edition), 21.7a–8b; Inoue, "Kan U shibyō," p. 49.
78. The secondary literature concerning the wall-and-moat gods is extensive. My debt to David Johnson's path-breaking study of the *ch'eng-huang* god ("The City-God Cults of T'ang and Sung China") should be obvious in the pages that follow. I have found two other more recent articles very helpful as well: Hayata Mitsuhiro, "Jokoshin shinkō no hensen ni tsuite," *Tōyō no shisō to shakuyō* 5 (1988): 39–56; and Kojima Tsuyoshi, "Jokōbyō seido no kakuritsu," *Shisō* 6 (1990).
79. Li Pai-yao (565–648) and Li Te-lin (530–590), *Pei-ch'i shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1972), 20.281.
80. The term *ssu-yong* refers to the city walls. *Ch'ün-ch'iu tso-chuan cheng-i* 30.1941a (ninth year, Hsiang reign) and 48.2086a (eighteenth year, Chao reign), in Juan Yüan, ed., *Shih-san ching chu-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1980).
81. David McMullen, "Bureaucrats and Cosmology: The Ritual Code of T'ang China," in David Carradine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 181–236.
82. Hsiao Sung (664–749) et al., *Ta T'ang Kai-yüan li*, Ikeda On, ed., photolithographic reprint of 1886 edition (Tokyo: Tōkyō kenkyūkai, 1972), 70.6b–7a, 73.6b–7a.
83. Chang Chiu-ling, *Ta T'ang liu-tien* (SKCS edition), 4.23a.
84. *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* 233.9a–b.
85. I am grateful to Timothy Barrett for his help with this text and for allowing me to read his manuscripts, "Towards a Date for the *Chin-so liu-chu yin*" and "Buddhism, Taoism, and the Rise of the City Gods." On the basis of internal evidence about a Tibetan attack, he tentatively assigns the text to the reign of T'ai-tung (762–779) but adds the following caveat: "For the time being, however, assigning it more vaguely to the 'late eighth or early ninth centuries' is about as far as it is possible to go" ("Towards a Date for the *Chin-so liu-chu yin*," p. 4).
- Judith M. Boltz thinks the text may date to the Sung (*A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* [Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1987], p. 262, n. 42).
86. *Chin-so liu-chu yin* (HY 1009), 25.7a–b.
87. Slightly altering David Johnson's translation of this passage from *Chin-so liu-chu yin* (HY 1009), 25.13a–b ("City-God Cults," p. 436). See also 25.7a–b for an instance in which the author adds the *ch'eng-huang* god to the commentary following the *she-chi* shrines in the main text.
88. David Johnson argues that a mercantile class was behind the spread of the cult to the city god. Although my understanding of the mechanism for the dispersion of the cult differs from his, I am indebted to him for much of the data I cite here. I disagree with him primarily in his reading of the term "*ch'i-liao*" ("elders"): "They were commoners, but must have enjoyed considerable prestige; and they were wealthy, or could raise money from the community thanks to their standing. I submit, therefore, that they were representatives of the mercantile or commercial elite of Chin-yün [the site of the city god temple in question]" (pp. 419–420). The term *ch'i-liao* constantly occurs in temple inscriptions as a way to characterize devotees who do not hold office. It is better strictly glossed as elders; it is still used in Hong Kong for all those villagers over sixty years old. In itself, it carries no commercial connotations. I have found Barand ter Haar's comments most suggestive: "This notion has been elaborated on most recently by David Johnson in his study of the city god. He assumes that merchants were responsible for the spread of the cult, and not officials or ordinary people. As he himself states, this assumption is extremely hard to prove. He bases his argument on the striking distribution of the city god cult along trade routes. Such a pattern can be demonstrated for many cults, but, in our opinion, is not, in itself, sufficient to prove that merchants were the main group responsible for the spread of the city god cult. Many other traveling groups, such as monks and priests, doctors and quacks, seasonal and permanent migrants, also moved along these trade routes" ("The Genesis and Spread of Temple Cults in Fukien," in E. B. Vermeer, ed., *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries* [New York: E. J. Brill, 1990], p. 354). This is an admittedly difficult question, given the almost total lack of direct evidence. It seems to me, however, just as likely that the itinerant clergy were involved with the propagation of the cult.
89. *TPKC* 303.2399–2400, citing the lost work *Chi-wen*. Johnson dates this tale to the third quarter of the eighth century and translates part of it ("City-God Cults," p. 393, n. 113, 436).
90. *TPKC* 124. 873–874, citing *Pao-ying lu* (ninth century), translated in Johnson, "City-God Cults," p. 446.
91. *TPKC* 312.2469, citing *Nan-ch'ü hsin-wen* (late ninth or early tenth century), translated in Johnson, "City-God Cults," p. 437.
92. *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* (Shih-k'o shih-liao ts'ung-shu edition), 91.21a–b. Li's comments about the geographical distribution of the temple match those in the hell tale cited above: "The custom of Wu is to fear ghosts. Every prefecture and county definitely has a wall-and-moat god" (*TPKC* 303.2399).
93. *SHY*, *Li* 20.1a, 4a–b (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan-she, 1962); Hansen, *Changing Gods*, p. 84.
94. Wang P'u, *T'ang hui-yao* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1955), 47.833.
95. *CTS* 9.219.
96. *CTS* 9.221.
97. *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* 88.4a.
98. *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* 568.22a, 23a (Han Yü); 293:12a–b (Chang Chiu-ling); 781:2a–6a (Li Shang-yin).
99. *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* 781.4b–5a.
100. *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* 156.8b–11b. As the editor notes, this inscription contains enough errors to cast doubt on its authenticity.
101. Wang P'u, *Wu-tai hui-yao* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937), 11.192.
102. *Liang-che chin-shih chih* (Shih-k'o shih-liao ts'ung-shu edition), 4.1a–3a; *Yieh-chung chin-shih chih* (Shih-k'o shih-liao ts'ung-shu), 1.65a–66b.

103. Wang Ch'in-jo, *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960, 1982), 34.12b-13a.
104. *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 34.15b.
105. *Chi-ku-lu pa-wei* (Shih-k'o shih-liao hsin-pien edition), 7.2b-3a.
106. *T'ai-chou chin-shih-lu* (Shih-k'o shih-liao hsin-pien edition), 2.14a-16b. David Johnson provides analysis and translation of selected passages of this text in "City-God Cults," pp. 379-388.
107. *Chia-ting ch'ih-ch'eng chih* 31.1b; *Ch'ih-ch'eng-chi* 11.6a (SKCS edition).
108. *Hu-pei sheng t'ung-chih* 18, as cited in Inoue, "Kan U shibyō," part 2, p. 52.
109. *T'ang hui-yao* 47.833-835; *Wu-tai hui-yao* 11.192-193.
110. Figure 1, "Titles Granted to Popular Deities Year by Year," in Hansen, *Changing Gods*, p. 80. My remarks in this section summarize chapter 4, "The Granting of Titles," and the citations to original sources are all there.
111. Chao Yü-shih, *Pin-t'ui lu* (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1983), 8.103-105.
112. *Ibid.*
113. SHY, *Li* 20.17b-19a (wall-and-moat gods), 19a-20b (earth gods), 65a-82b (dragon gods), 84a-110b (mountain gods), 111a-131a (water gods), 114. SS 105.2562.
115. ICC, *T'ing* 10:622, *Ping* 1:371; Hansen, *Changing Gods*, pp. 93-94.
116. *Wu-hsing chin-shih-chi* (Shih-k'o shih-liao hsin-pien edition), 12.22a; Hansen, *Changing Gods*, p. 124.
117. *T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao* (Secret essentials on assembling the perfected of the most high for the relief of the state and the deliverance of the people) (HY 1217), 1.6a.
118. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*, p. 33.
119. Robert Hymes (in an unpublished paper, "Way and Byway: Taoist Saints' Cults and Exorcist Masters in Sung and Yuan China") disagrees with Boltz about the dating of the *Shang-ch'ing T'ien-hsin cheng-fa* (Correct rites of the Celestial Heart of Shang-ch'ing; HY 566) and *Shang-ch'ing ku-sui ling-uen kuei-i* (Ordinances governing the specters, a numinous text from the marrow of Shang-ch'ing; HY 461). Hymes thinks both are late Northern Sung texts, Boltz, both late Southern Sung. In either case, both see the T'ien-hsin school as forming a consistent tradition in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
120. *Shang-ch'ing ku-sui ling-uen kuei-i* (HY 461), 1.9a; *T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao* (HY 1217), 6.9a; translated in Hymes, "Way and Byway," p. 22.
121. *Tao-fa hui-yüan* (HY 1210), 251.16b.
122. *Ti-ch'i shang-chiang Wen t'ai-pao chuan* (The biography of Grand Guardian Wen, commander-in-chief of the earth spirits; HY 779), 1.3b. John Lagerwey paraphrases this text in *Taoist Ritual and Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), p. 243. See also Boltz, *Survey of Taoist Literature*, pp. 97-99.
123. ICC, *Ping* 17:508-509.
124. ICC, *Ping* 8:430; *Shang-ch'ing t'ien-hsin cheng-fa* (HY 566), 4.8a.
125. See Robert Hymes' discussion of what happened when incompletely trained Taoists tried to carry out these rituals in "Way and Byway."
126. ICC, *Chih-ching* 6:927-928.

GLOSSARY

An-hsi	安西	Hsiang Yü	項羽
chang	丈	Hsiao Sung	蕭嵩
Chang Chiu-ling	張九齡	hsien-huang	鮮黃
Chang Shang-ying	張商英	Hsin-shih	新市
Chang Tao-ling	張道陵	Hsing-T'ang	興唐
Chang Yüeh	張說	<i>Hsiu-chen shih-shu</i>	修真十書
Chao Yü-shih	趙頌時	Hsü Sun	許遜
cheng-fa	正法	Hsüan-tsang	玄奘
cheng-shen	正神	Hsüan-tsung	玄宗
ch'eng-huang (shen)	城隍(神)	hu-fa shen	護法神
ch'eng-lou	城樓	<i>Hu-pei sheng t'ung chih</i>	湖北省通志
ch'eng-men	城門	Hui-lin	慧林
Ch'eng-tu t'ien-wang	城隍天王	I-ching	義淨
Chi Cha	季札	<i>I-ch'ieh ching yin-i</i>	一切經音義
<i>Chi-ku-lu pa-wei</i>	集古錄跋尾	<i>I-chien chih</i>	夷堅志
chi	氣	I-hsing	一行
<i>Chia-t'ai Wu-hsing chih</i>	嘉泰吳興志	<i>I-yüan</i>	異苑
<i>Chia-ting Ch'ih-ch'eng chih</i>	嘉定赤城志	<i>Jih-tsang ching</i>	日藏經
ch'ieh	滅	Juan Yüan	阮元
<i>Chiang-su chin-shih chih</i>	江蘇金石志	Jui	芮
ch'ieh-lan shen	伽藍神	jui-hsiang	瑞像
Chien-ch'eng	建成	jung	榮
Chih-i	智顛	Kao-tsu	高祖
Chih-p'an	志磐	Ko Hsüan	葛玄
<i>Ch'ih-ch'eng-chi</i>	赤城集	Ko Hung	葛洪
Chin	晉	Ku Yeh-wang	顧野王
<i>Chin-shih ts'ui-pien</i>	金石萃編	Kuan-ting	灌頂
<i>Chin-so liu-chu yin</i>	金類流珠引	Kuan-yin	觀音
Chin-yün	結業	Kuan Yü	闍羽
<i>Ch'in-ting ch'üan T'ang-uen</i>	欽定全唐文	kung	公
<i>Ching-ting Yen-chou hsü chih</i>	景定嚴州續志	<i>Kuo-ch'ing pai-lu</i>	國清百錄
<i>Ching-yang Hsü chen-chün chuan</i>	旌陽許真君傳	Kuo Jo-hsü	郭若虛
<i>Chiu Wu-tai shih</i>	祈五代史	kuo-t'u	國土
Chou Weng	周翁	li	里
<i>Ch'un-ch'iu tso-chuan cheng-i</i>	春秋左傳正義	Li Ch'un-feng	李淳風
Erh-lang	二郎	Li Fang	李昉
Fa-ch'eng	法成	Li Pai-yao	李百藥
fo-fa	佛法	Li Ping	李冰
<i>Fo-tsu t'ung-chi</i>	佛祖統紀	Li Shang-yin	李商隱
Han Yü	韓愈	Li Te-lin	李德林
hou	侯	Li Yang-ping	李陽冰
hsiang-fa	像法	<i>Liang-che chin-shih chih</i>	兩浙金石志
		Ling-pao	靈寶
		Liu Wen-ching	劉文景
		lo-ch'eng	羅城
		<i>Lu-i chi</i>	錄異記
		Ma-tsu	媽祖

- mo-fa 末法
 Mu-an Shan-ch'ing 陸庵善卿
 Mu-jung Yen 慕容儀
 Nam-ch'ü hsin-wen 南楚新聞
 Nan-hsün 南齊
 Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修
 Pa-ch'üang shih chin-shih pu-cheng 八瓊室金石補正
 Pai-ma 白馬
 Pai Yü-ch'an 白玉齋
 Pao-ying lu 報應錄
 Pei-ch'i shu 北齊書
 Pei-fang Pi-sha-men t'ien-wang sui-chün hu-fa i-kuei 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法真言
 Pei-fang Pi-sha-men t'ien-wang sui-chün hu-fa i-kuei 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法儀軌
 Pei-fang Pi-sha-men To-wen-pao-tsang t'ien-wang-shen miao-t'o-lo-ni pieh-hsing i-kuei 北方毘沙門多聞寶藏天王神妙陀羅尼別行儀軌
 P'eng Shu-hsia 彭叔夏
 Pi-sha-men 毘沙門
 Pi-sha-men i-kuei 毘沙門儀軌
 Pi-sha-men t'ien-wang ching 毘沙門天王經
 Pin-t'ü lu 賓退錄
 Pu-k'ung 不空
 San-shan chih 三山志
 Shan-yü shih-k'o ts'ung-pien 刻藏編
 Shang-ch'ing ku-sui ling-wen kwei-lü 上清骨體靈文鬼律
 Shang-ch'ing T'ien-hsin cheng-fa 上清天心正法
 she-chi 社稷
 she-miao 社廟
 shen (god, deity) 神
 shen (make requests to) 申
 Shen-hsien chuan 神仙傳
 Shen-hsien t'ung-chien 神仙通鑑
 Shen-hsiu 神秀
 Shih-chia-mou-ni ju-lai hsiang-fa mieh-chin chih chi 釋迦牟尼如來像法滅盡之記
 Shih-min 世民
 Shih-san ching chu-shu 十三經注疏
- ssu-tien 祀典
 ssu-t'ien-wang 四天王
 ssu-yung 四壙, 四鄺
 Sui T'ien-t'ai chih-che ta-shih pieh-chuan 隋天台智者大師別傳
 Sung kao-seng chuan 宋高僧傳
 Ta-fang-teng-ta-chi-ching 大方等大集經
 Ta-kuang-chih 大廣智
 Ta Sung seng-shih lieh 大宋僧史略
 Ta Tang hsi-yü chi 大唐西域記
 Ta Tang k'xi-yüan li 大唐開元禮
 Ta Tang liu-tien 大唐六典
 Tai-tsung ch'ao tseng ssu-k'ung ta-pien-cheng Kuang-chih San-tsang ho-shang piao chih chi 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集
 T'ai 秦
 T'ai-ch'ang ssu 太常司
 T'ai-chou chin-shih-lu 台州金石錄
 T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 太平御覽
 T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao 太上助國救民總真秘要
 Tang hui-yao 唐會要
 Tao-fa hui-yüan 道法會元
 Tao-hsüan 道宣
 te 德
 Ti-ch'i shang-chiang Wen T'ai-pao chuan 地祇上將溫太保傳
 Ti Jen-chieh 狄仁傑
 Ti-tsang 地藏
 tieh 牒
 T'ien-hsin 天心
 T'ien-t'ai 天台
 Tsan-ning 贊寧
 Ts'ao Yüan-chung 曹元忠
 Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei 冊府元龜
 tsou 奏
 Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan 祖庭事苑
 Tu-chien 獨健
 Tu-hua chien-wen chih 圖畫見聞誌
 t'ü-ti 土地
 Tung Kao 董誥
 Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑
 Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若
 Wang P'u 王溥
 Wen Ch'üang 溫瓊

- Wen-yüan ying-hua 文苑英華
 Wu 吳
 Wu-hsing chang-ku chi 吳興掌故集
 Wu-hsing chin-shih chi 吳興金石記
 wu-kou 吳鉤
 Wu-tai hui-yao 五代會要
 Wu T'ai-po 吳太伯
 Wu Tzu-hsü 伍子胥
 Wu-Yüeh 吳越
 yin 陰
 Yin P'ei-chün 尹裴均
- Ying-ch'eng 郢城
 Yu-ming lu 幽明錄
 Yü 禹
 Yü-ch'üan 玉泉
 Yü-t'ien 于闐
 Yüan-chao 圓照
 Yüan Miao-tsung 元妙宗
 Yüeh-chung chin-shih chih 越中金石志
 Yüeh-tsang ching 月藏經