

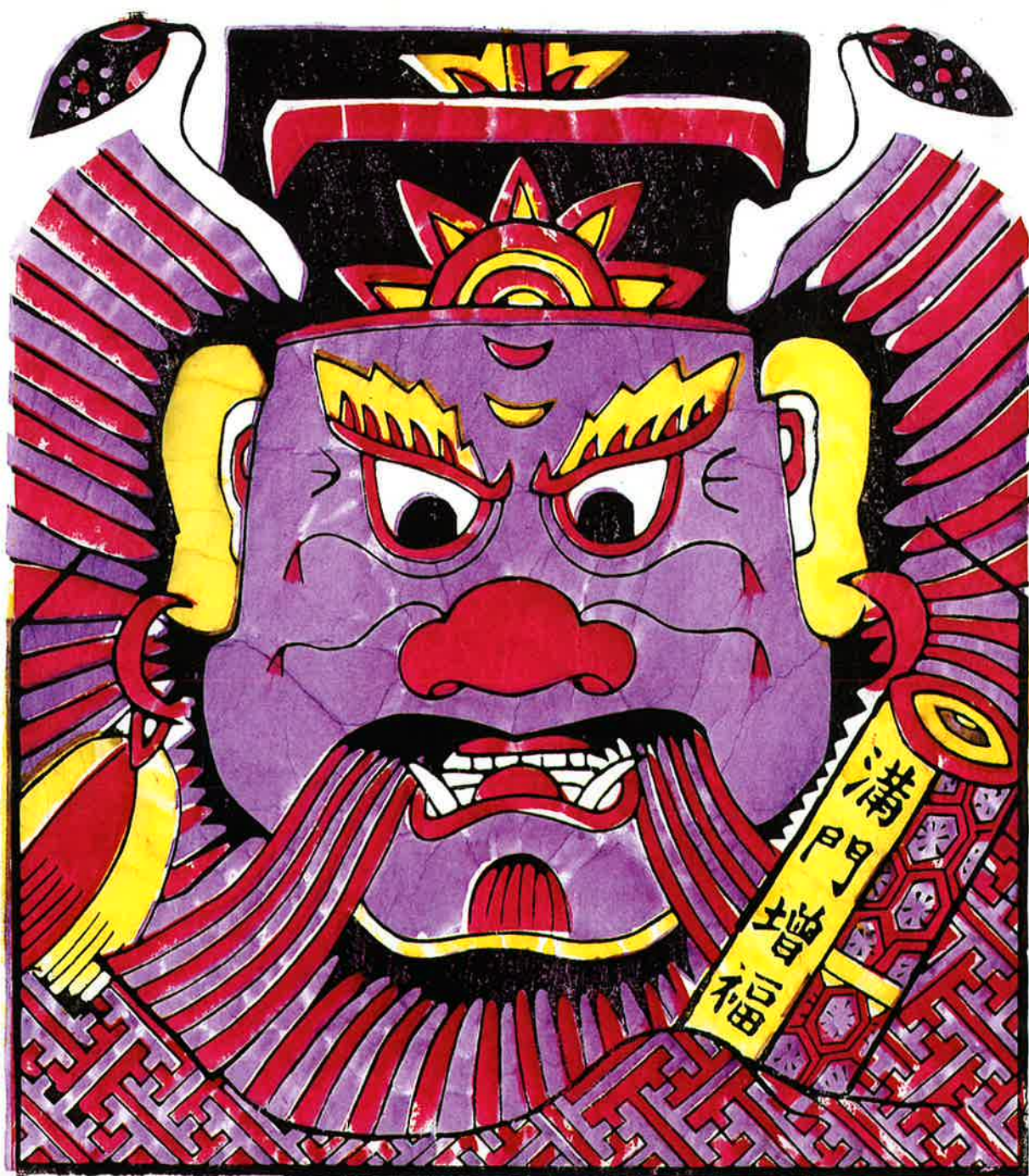
DOMESTICATED DEITIES  
AND AUSPICIOUS EMBLEMS

*The Iconography of Everyday Life in Village China*

by PO SUNG-NIEN AND DAVID JOHNSON







DOMESTICATED DEITIES AND  
AUSPICIOUS EMBLEMS

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF  
EVERYDAY LIFE IN  
VILLAGE CHINA

*Popular Prints and Papercuts*

*from the Collection of Po Sung-nien*

PO SUNG-NIEN  
AND  
DAVID JOHNSON

PUBLICATIONS OF THE  
CHINESE POPULAR CULTURE PROJECT 2

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## PREFACE

**T**HIS BOOK BEGAN as the catalogue of an exhibition of Chinese folk art that was held at the Library of the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley in early 1991 under the auspices of the Chinese Popular Culture Project. The woodblock prints and papercuts in the exhibition were selected by Po Sung-nien (Bo Songnian) from his personal collection. Professor Po, a member of the faculty of the Central Academy of Fine Arts, Peking, and the Project's Senior Residential Fellow in 1990–91, has studied and collected Chinese folk art for nearly forty years. He has also done extensive field research in northeastern China on the production of woodblock prints and papercuts. Almost all of the descriptions of the plates, including the important information on where and when the prints and papercuts were made, were written (in Chinese) by him. David Johnson translated, edited, and in some cases supplemented those descriptions, and wrote the general introduction and some of the section introductions. The other Residential Fellows of the Project for 1990–91—Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, Martin Halá, Paul Katz, and Liu Shu-fen—also contributed in many ways to the original exhibition and to this book.

The Chinese Popular Culture Project's program of residential fellowships, which began in 1987–88, ended as scheduled in 1990–91, the year that the



CATALOGUE NUMBER 11

*Stove God and Two Wives  
with Ch'i-lin Bringing a Son*

CATALOGUE NUMBER 82

*From The Twelve Zodiacal Animals*





Project focused on popular iconography. In its early stages, the Project received crucial support from the ACLS-SSRC Joint Committee on Chinese Studies, chaired at that time by Evelyn Rawski, and from Dean Joseph Cerny and Provost Leonard Kuhi of U.C. Berkeley. The bulk of the funding has come in two generous grants, one from the Interpretive Research Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the other from the Humanities Fellowships Program of The Rockefeller Foundation. Many units at Berkeley have also given valuable institutional and financial support over the years, including the

East Asian Library, the Institute of East Asian Studies, and the Center for Chinese Studies. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the debt of the Project to these individuals and organizations.

In the preparation of the manuscript, the assistance of Michele Delattre of the Chinese Popular Culture Project was invaluable. I wish to acknowledge also the help of Qitao Guo and Dajuin Yao. Finally, my deepest gratitude to Po Sung-nien, whose enthusiasm for Chinese folk art and eagerness to share his knowledge are an inspiration to everyone who knows him.

D.J.



## INTRODUCTION

IN THE VILLAGES and towns of late imperial China, ordinary people encountered every day an enormous variety of images, from the woodblock prints that brightened their homes and the embroidery that decorated their clothes to the grand murals and intricate carvings in their local temples. Some of the objects that carried the images were made by specialized local craftsmen, others were produced in large numbers and sold all over China, while yet others were made by ordinary people for their own use. But the iconography remained remarkably uniform: gods and demigods, heroes and heroines, plump babies and bearded sages, of course, but also bats and mice, lotuses and pomegranates, silver ingots and gold coins. There can be little doubt that this imagery reflected popular ideas and values, and helped shape them as well, and that is why it deserves careful study. This book is a contribution to that study. It concentrates on woodblock prints because they were found everywhere in China and are perhaps the most representative of all the genres of popular graphic art. And it includes papercuts because, although they were not as common as woodblock prints, the purity and power of their designs are without peer.

The images in the prints and papercuts gathered here, like virtually all the images that ordinary people used to decorate their houses, furniture, and clothing, had (from the perspective of their primary audience) three characteristics. First, they were beautiful, or at least decorative. Second, they were representational, not abstract. Third, they were meaningful. This last point is particularly important, for precisely because popular prints have ritual, symbolic, or narrative content they are a valuable source for the reconstruction of popular mentalities in premodern China, a source made all the more precious because people who had little money and education were so seldom able to leave behind written evidence of their attitudes and values. The heart of this book is therefore the plates and their descriptions, which we hope will serve as a sort of primer of Chinese popular iconography.

In premodern times the New Year's celebrations began, after weeks of preparation, on the evening of the twenty-third day of the twelfth lunar month

CATALOGUE NUMBER 61

*Boy with Lotus Blossom and  
Reed Mouth Organ*



CATALOGUE NUMBER 82

*From The Twelve Zodiacal Animals*

("little New Year"), when offerings were made to the Stove God, and reached a climax on New Year's Eve and New Year's Day. The celebrations rose to another high point at the first full moon of the first month, the Lantern Festival, which marked the end of the New Year's season and the resumption of routine activities. During the holiday season people cleaned their houses and courtyards, pasted door-god prints and red-paper couplets on their gates, put up auspicious prints in their rooms, decorated their windows with papercuts, and set up printed images of gods and ancestors in the courtyard or main hall. (This is why woodblock prints are now commonly called *nien hua*—" [New] Year's pictures"—in Chinese.) On the street corners storytellers, ballad singers, puppeteers, and other kinds of entertainers performed. People made lanterns to display at the Lantern Festival, prepared special dishes, wore their best clothes, and decorated the temples and shrines. In short, the New Year's holiday was a time when all the popular arts were on display, woodblock prints prominent among them.

Woodblock prints depicting gods were sold as early as the eleventh century, but they appear to have achieved true popularity only in late Ming times (mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century). The genre became extremely rich during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), and by the early twentieth century many millions were being sold every year. Most woodblock prints were made by a simple process utilizing several blocks, one for the outline and one for each color (though there were other methods as well). A thick pile of paper was stacked in the middle of a long table, with the edge running across the center of the table pinned down so the sheets could not shift. The whole pile was folded back toward the end of the table over the fixed edge, and a printing block placed face up so that when a single sheet was peeled off the rolled-back pile and flattened out on the table, it would rest squarely on the inked block. Between the paper and the block was a large slot into which each sheet was inserted after it had received an impression. After all the sheets had been imprinted with the outline, they were lifted up through the slot and folded back over the fixed edge as before, the outline block was replaced with the first color block, and the

ICONIC PRINTS:  
THE GODS OF THE CHINESE  
PEASANT FAMILY



## THE STOVE GOD

PEOPLE IN CHINA have probably worshipped some version of the god of the stove for more than 2,000 years. According to a recent study by Robert Chard, the earliest reference to a cult of the stove is in the *Analects* of Confucius (late fifth to early fourth century B.C.).<sup>1</sup> By the fourth century A.D. at the latest, the Stove God had taken on the role of celestial informant, an agent of Heavenly authority in the heart of the home. Once each year he returned to Heaven to report to the Celestial Emperor on the good and bad deeds of the family he watched over. (It should be mentioned here that the traditional Chinese kitchen stove was a fairly large square structure usually made of mud-covered brick and built against a wall of the kitchen. It was enclosed except for a flue, a small door or doors for fuel near the bottom, and several round openings on the top, into which the large round-bottomed frying pans known to Americans as "woks" were fitted.) Thus the Stove God was both the protector of the family and also a servant of the celestial Jade Emperor. His functions were therefore analogous to those of the City God, though his position in the divine hierarchy was much lower.

Another remarkable feature of this most domestic of cults was that women were not usually allowed to take part. This custom is mentioned in a text of the latter half of the twelfth century, when virtually all of the features of the modern Stove God cult had already appeared. Just why women were not allowed to have a role in ceremonies honoring the spirit of the stove, which was an object central to their daily activities, is a question that has no simple answer, but the reason certainly has to do in part with the god's role as "master of the household." This automatically aligned him with the men of the family, the jural superiors of the women. Moreover, in the moralistic writings associated with the Stove God cult, the focus is decidedly on the behavior of women in the household. Thus excluding women from worship may have been a way of reinforcing masculine authority in the home. But

1. See the article cited in n. 4 of the Introduction, and also his Ph.D. dissertation: "Master of the Family: History and Development of the Chinese Cult to the Stove" (U.C. Berkeley, 1990). This discussion owes much to Chard's work.

this can only be part of the answer, and the problem awaits further research.

The Stove God was also called "Overseer of Destiny," and there is evidence that he was a much more formidable deity in earlier times, one who bestowed good fortune and, in particular, long life. By the nineteenth century, however, he was no longer particularly awe-inspiring. Most people believed that the Stove God returned to Heaven on the evening of the twenty-third day of the twelfth lunar month. But he needed the assistance of the family to do so. After lighting candles and incense and praying to the god, the family (usually just the males, as noted above) made an offering of "sugar melons" or other sweets, and sometimes smeared the mouth of the paper image with a soft confection of some kind. Some said this was done to make the god's report "sweet," others that it was a kind of bribe, and yet others that it stuck his mouth shut. Then a woodblock print with the god's image on it, similar to those in this book, was removed from the simple shrine above the stove where it had reposed all year and dispatched to Heaven by being burned. Seven days later, on New Year's Eve (the time could vary), the god returned from Heaven and the family put up a new print, marking the occasion with suitable prayers and offerings.

There is solid evidence that printed images of the Stove God were used in the New Year's ceremonies in thirteenth-century Hangchow, and a possible reference to graphic (but not necessarily printed) representations in a passage from a lost eighth-century text preserved in the fourteenth-century anthology *Shuo fu*.<sup>2</sup> It is thus entirely possible that by late imperial times Stove God images had been used in China for a thousand years.

In some prints the Stove God appears alone, in others with two wives, but usually the god and one wife are depicted, with Heavenly officials and attendants on each side. A simple lunar-solar calendar is often found on the upper portion of the print. Although there are regional variations in style and imagery, as the prints below make clear, the common elements are more important: the Stove God reports to Heaven on the family's behavior, yet he is not menacing but on the contrary is married and surrounded by images of wealth and good fortune. Obviously he was associated in ordinary people's minds with hope, not fear, most appropriately for a deity so closely associated with the New Year's festivities.

2. Ibid., pp. 110-112, 117-118.

## STOVE GOD AND WIFE

*Modern print from original Ch'ing dynasty*

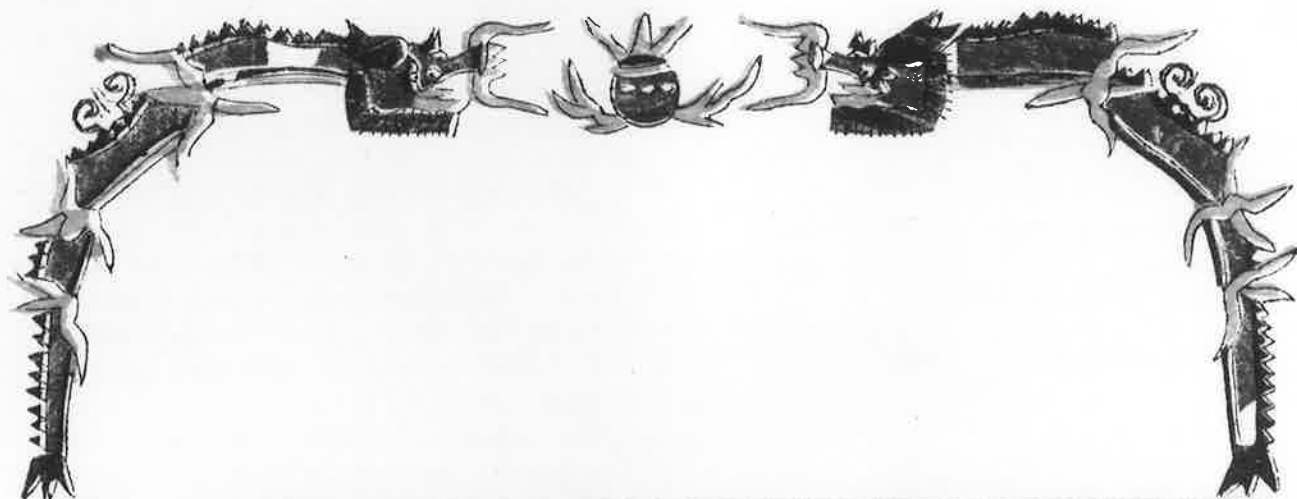
*(1644-1911) woodblocks*

*Wei county, Shantung province*

*Height: 12 inches; Width: 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches*

The Stove God and his wife are seated in their hall, each holding a jade tablet of the type used by nobles in ancient China (*kui*). Their headdresses and haloes betoken their divinity. Behind them is the horse that the Stove God rides on his annual journey to Heaven, together with its groom. On the decorative band above them are the words "Ruler of the Family." The vertical lines of characters on each side say: "Ascend to Heaven and speak of good things [right]; Send blessings down to the world below." In front of them is an offering table like that found in any shrine or temple before the images of the gods, with candles, flowers, and an incense burner. At the ends of the table are immortal lads carrying jars, the one on the right labelled "good," the other "evil." Into these jars are put counters for every good and bad deed, which are tallied up at year's end. In front of the immortals are two Heavenly officials holding rolls of documents, no doubt containing written records of family members' behavior. (It seems fairly clear which official is in charge of the records of evil deeds!) In front of the offering table are two Urns of All Treasures (these words are written on the foot of each urn) filled with symbols of wealth, including pearls (whose radiance is indicated by vertical bladelike protrusions), jade leaves, a large coin, and a silver ingot, all gleaming brilliantly. Between the urns is written the name of the shop that produced the print. Beside the urns are a dog and a rooster, symbols of (rural) domesticity. At the top of the design a blank space has been left for a calendar. It is enclosed by two dragons with a gleaming pearl between them. Many of these elements can be found in the other Stove God prints, and will not be pointed out every time they appear.





## THE GODS OF WEALTH

IT WAS CUSTOMARY during the first week of the new year for families to "welcome" the God of Wealth with ceremonies at the domestic shrine. His identity varied from place to place. Pi Kan (a legendary figure from late Shang times), Chao Kung-ming (who himself had several identities), and Kuan Ti (see below, nos. 21-22) all were said to be gods of wealth. In two of the prints below we find the label "God of Wealth Who Increases Blessings" (*Tseng-fu ts'ai-shen*) and in another (no. 19B) the "Blue Dragon God of Wealth." Maspero states that the first title was popular in Peking,<sup>1</sup> while *Chung-kuo min-chien chu shen* says the latter appellation was most common in Shantung and Chekiang.<sup>2</sup> Why there should have been so many different gods of wealth is a question well worth investigating.

1. J. Hackin, ed., *Asiatic Mythology* (New York: Crescent Books, 1963; first published 1928), p. 299.

2. See p. 625. For full citation see p. 105, n. 1.

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### GOD OF WEALTH WHO INCREASES BLESSINGS

*Modern print from original Ch'ing dynasty woodblocks*

*Kao-mi county, Shantung province*

*Height: 18½ inches; Width: 11¼ inches*

The god, in the costume of a high official, sits holding a *ju-i* scepter. In front of him is an Urn of All Treasures, with ingots of silver on the ground on each side of it. Three boy immortals hold scrolls, which identify the three divinities portrayed: the God of Wealth Who Increases Blessings (center), the Wealth-Summoning Lad (right), shown holding an ingot and looking distinctly un-lad-like, and the Immortal Official of Profitable Trade (left), holding a pearl in his left hand. (The Wealth-Summoning Lad is more commonly known as Wealth-Summoning Treasure-Bringer [*Chao ts'ai chin pao*], or just Wealth-Summoner [*Chao ts'ai*].) Above the god's head is the single large character *fu*, "Blessings," and above it the words "The God of Wealth Comes in the Door." At the top are four large characters: "The God of Wealth Who Increases Blessings."

# 增福財神





MIMETIC PRINTS AND  
PAPERCUTS

## DOOR GODS AND DOOR PRINTS

PICTURES OF PROTECTIVE deities were placed on the doors of houses to defend against demonic influences from very early times. A passage from the *Shan hai ching* (late fourth to early second century B.C.) preserved in *Lun heng* (late first century A.D.) recounts the legend of the gods Shen-shu and Yü-lü, guardians of the gate, located under a giant peach tree on Mount Tu-shuo in the midst of the Azure Sea, through which the myriad ghosts entered and left the Underworld. Any evil demons who passed they seized, bound with reed ropes, and fed to their tigers. According to the *Shan hai ching* passage, the Yellow Emperor created an exorcistic ritual that echoed this. He set up large peachwood figures of Shen-shu and Yü-lü, hung up reed ropes, and painted images of the two gods and tigers on his gate. This "ritual" of the legendary Yellow Emperor probably reflects a contemporary practice of painting protective images on doors, but note that it is not associated with any particular time of the year in the *Shan hai ching* account. The earliest evidence that images of Shen-shu and Yü-lü were painted on the doors of houses at New Year's is found in *Tu tuan*, a work of the late second century A.D. This is also the earliest evidence of what can be properly called New Year's pictures.<sup>1</sup>

There is abundant evidence in Sung dynasty literary sources (especially from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) of the sale of printed door-god images during the New Year's holiday. We can even see a depiction of a gate with a door-god image on it in the painting "New Year's Day" by the famous painter of scenes from everyday life, Li Sung (fl. early thirteenth century). It clearly shows a large image of a martial figure on the right-hand leaf of a double door in a pose somewhat reminiscent of that of Shen-shu in no. 39B. The fact that the image is facing right (the viewer's left) makes it highly likely that there was a matching figure on the left-hand door (which is not visible in the

1. See *Chung-kuo shen-hua ch'uan-shuo tz'u-tien*, Yuan K'o, ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai tz'u-shu ch'u-pan-shê, 1985), p. 302; *Chung-kuo min-chien chu shen*, Tsung Li and Liu Ch'ün, eds. (Shih-chia-chuang: Ho-pei jen-min ch'u-pan-shê, 1986), p. 229.

painting). The general impression is remarkably similar to some figures that are still in use today.<sup>2</sup>

Shen-shu and Yü-lü were the earliest supernatural guardians of the main gate, but there were other early ones as well, the best-known of which were the tiger and the rooster. As time passed, other figures began to appear. There was the demon-killer Chung K'uei, who first was used as a door god in T'ang times (seventh to ninth century), and there were the T'ang generals Ch'in Ch'ung (also known as Ch'in Shu-pao) and Yü-ch'ih Kung (also known as Yü-ch'ih Ching-te and Hu Ching-te), who probably began to be regarded as door gods in the fourteenth century.

Door gods were originally demon-fighters, but as time passed blessing-bestowers appeared among them as well. Depictions of figures such as the celestial official who brings good fortune and long life began to be used as early as Sung times, and became increasingly popular after the late sixteenth century. In Ming times immortals (*hsien*), depicted either as beautiful maidens or as children, began to appear. By the late seventeenth century representations of characters from opera had become increasingly common, a reflection of the spread of opera throughout village China. At that time pleasant images and auspicious motifs from everyday life, such as elegant women and plump infants, also became popular. Thus in some cases door prints served as auspicious decorations rather than as talismans against demons.

Door gods and door prints vary in style from region to region. Included in this section are representative prints from the provinces of Hopei, Shantung, Kiangsu, Honan, Shensi, Szechwan, Hunan, Fukien, and Kwangtung. The variation in iconography among them probably reflects the fact that door gods were not the objects of a cult.

2. Reproduced as plate 1 in Wang Shu-ts'un, *Ancient Chinese Woodblock New Year Prints* (see Select Bibliography).



# 鍾馗



鍾馗貼家中執劍  
斬妖打鎮宅能  
除邪合家  
享太平

## CHUNG K'UEI

THERE IS EVIDENCE that some T'ang and Sung emperors bestowed paintings of Chung K'uei on court officials, and by the eleventh century people painted pictures of Chung K'uei on their gates and bought prints of Chung K'uei in the streets at New Year's.<sup>1</sup> Although in Ch'ing times Chung K'uei came to be associated more and more with the exorcistic festival of the fifth day of the fifth month, until recently many families still followed the thousand-year-old custom of putting up a new image of the god on New Year's Eve to keep evil spirits at bay.

1. See Chia Chi Jason Wang, "The Iconography of Zhong Kui in Chinese Painting" (M.A. thesis, Asian Studies, U.C. Berkeley, 1991), pp. 1-12; and J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol. 6, book 2 (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1910), p. 1177.

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### CHUNG K'UEI

*Modern recutting of Ch'ing dynasty original*

*Feng-hsiang county, Shensi province*

*Height: 13¼ inches; Width: 7¼ inches*

Here Chung K'uei assumes a pose taken from martial arts or the stage (or both) that is frequently seen in depictions of him. In his right hand is his tablet of office, in his left a sword. A bat can be seen in the lower left corner, and a coin is floating just above his left sleeve. (Bats are frequently shown with Chung K'uei. They are considered auspicious because, as mentioned earlier, the word for "bat" is exactly homophonous with a different character meaning "blessings.") At the top are two large characters, "Chung K'uei." The characters in the seal read: "Protect the Home, Expel Evil." The characters in the lower right are a brief verse: "Chung K'uei is pasted up in the house, grasping his sword and slashing evil spirits. / He protects the house and expels evil, bringing tranquillity to the whole family." This image is printed in red to simulate the traditional practice of printing with cinnabar to make the image a more potent demonifuge.

*Color reproduction on page 107.*

## AUSPICIOUS PRINTS

NOT ALL POPULAR prints and other images were religious, but none was merely decorative. No matter if it was embroidery, papercuts, temple carvings, or woodblock prints—all were composed of elements that had at least some narrative or symbolic weight. A representative sampling is included in this section.

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### WEALTH COMES IN FROM FIVE DIRECTIONS

*Modern recutting of Ch'ing dynasty original in the collection of  
the Wu-ch'iang Museum of New Year's Prints  
(One of a pair.)*

*Wu-ch'iang county, Hopei province*

*Height: 9½ inches; Width: 16 inches*

In the center is a treasure urn holding a coin tree and jade mountain, flanked by silver ingots and glowing pearls. To the left of the table is Chao Kung-ming, the Military God of Wealth, holding his iron staff and accompanied by an attendant carrying a glowing pearl and a coral branch, over whose shoulder peers the Treasure Horse. On the right is the Civil God of Wealth, holding a *ju-i* scepter and accompanied by the Immortal Official of Profitable Trade holding a gigantic coin, behind whom is the Money Dragon. In front of the table are two figures, possibly the Wealth-Summoner and the Treasure-Bringer, pushing barrows loaded with ingots, jade leaves, coins, and pearls. Between them are the two immortals, Ho and Ho, one carrying a string of coins, the other a box. This design is unusual because it portrays gods in a "mimetic" manner. Compare the various "iconic" representations of the God of Wealth, above.

財 進 路 五





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- Wang Shu-ts'un 王樹村. *Hsi-ch'u nien-hua* 戲齣年畫. 2 volumes. (Han-sheng min-chien i-shu hsi-lieh 漢聲民間藝術系列.) Taipei: Ying-wen Han-sheng ch'u-pan yu-hsien kung-ssu 台北: 英文漢聲出版有限公司, 1991. A large book on opera prints, with many good color illustrations of rare *nien-hua* and informative text (in Chinese).
- Wang Shu-ts'un 王樹村. *Min-chien nien-hua* 民間年畫. (*Chung-kuo mei-shu ch'üan-chi* 中國美術全集, Hui-hua pien 繪畫編, vol. 21.) Peking: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan-shê 北京: 人民美術出版社, 1985. Excellent color plates of 221 prints together with good descriptions (in Chinese). Almost all the prints in this and the preceding title have secular subjects.

# GLOSSARY

A-mi-t'o-fo	阿彌陀佛	
A-nan	阿難	
A-tou	阿斗	
An Ching-ssu	安敬思	
Chang (surname)	張	
Chang chou	漳州	
Chang Kuo-lao	張果老	
Ch'ang-pan	長坂	
Chao Kung-ming	趙公明	
Chao ts'ai	招財	
Chao ts'ai chin pao	招財進寶	
Chao Yun	趙雲	
Chen-wu	真武	
Ch'i-lin	麒麟	
Chia	加	
Chia kuan ("put on the cap [of office]")	加冠	
Chia kuan ("advancement in office")	加官	
Ch'iang	強	
Ch'ien-niu	牽牛	
Chih-ma	紙馬	
Chih-nü	織女	
Ch'in Ch'ung	秦瓊	
Chin lu ("progress in salary")	進祿	
Ch'in Shu-pao	秦叔寶 / 保	
Ching chou	荊州	
Ching-t'u	淨土	
Ch'ing (stone chime)	磬	
Chou Ts'ang	周倉	
Chu-hsien-chen	朱仙鎮	
Chu Pa-chieh	豬八戒	
Chuang-yuan	狀元	
Chung K'uei	鐘馗	
Earthly Ts'ao	地曹	
Erh-lang	二郎	
Fan t'ieh men shen	反貼門神	
Fan Tso-hsin (papercutter)	範祚信	
Feng-hsiang (county)	鳳翔	
Feng-shen yen-i	封神演義	
Fo-shan (in Kwangtung)	佛山	
Fu (bat)	蝠	
Fu (blessing)	福	
Fu-hsi	伏羲	
Han Chung-li	漢鐘離	
Han Hsiang-tzu	韓湘子	
Han-hsüeh yen-chiu	漢學研究	
Han-shan	寒山	
Heavenly Ts'ao	天曹	
Ho and Ho (two immortals)	和合	
Ho Hsien-ku	何仙姑	
Hou-t'u	后土	
Hsiang Hsing Ch'ang	祥興昌	
Hsiang shan	香山	
Hsien	仙	
Hsien-sheng	先生	
Hsüan-wu	玄武	
Hu Ching-te	胡敬德	
Ju-i	如意	
Kaifeng	開封	
Kao La-mei of T'an-t'ou	灘頭高臘梅	
Kao-mi (county)	高密	
Kou-ch'en	勾陳	
Kuan P'ing	關平	
Kuan Ti	關帝	
Kuan Yü	關羽	
Kuan-yin	觀音	
Kuang Yi Chen	廣益振	
Kui	圭	
Kung-pi hua	工筆畫	
Lan Ts'ai-ho	藍采和	
Lao-tzu	老子	
Lei kung	雷公	
Lei shen	雷神	
Li K'o-yung	李克用	
Li Sung	李嵩	
Li T'ieh-kuai	李鐵拐	
Lien ("in succession")	連	
Lien ("lotus")	蓮	
Lien nien	連年	
Lien nien yu yü	連年有餘	
Lien sheng (lotus; reed mouth organ)	蓮笙	
Lien sheng ("born one after another")	連生	
Lien sheng kuei tzu	連生貴子	
Lin-fen (county)	臨汾	
Liu Hai	劉海	
Liu ho t'ung ch'un	六合同春	
Liu Pei	劉備	
Lu ho t'ung ch'un	鹿鶴同春	
Lu Hsün	魯迅	

The Chinese Popular Culture Project was organized to encourage research on non-elite attitudes and values in China before the age of mass communications. It was founded on the assumption that neither the course of Chinese history nor the nature of Chinese society can be properly understood without close study of what ordinary people thought, felt, and believed. The Project has been particularly concerned with three subject areas that offer exceptional opportunities to advance our understanding of these matters: regional opera and other popular performing arts; the ritual life of the community and popular religious writings; and popular iconography. These phenomena are closely related, not only in actual social practice and in content, but also in their fusion of verbal and nonverbal elements and in their intimate connection with the performative side of Chinese culture.

FRONT COVER: Catalogue Number 57. *Lion Holding a Sword in Its Mouth.*

BACK COVER: Catalogue Number 26. *The Insect King.*

