
Folk Religion in Nanjing

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Introduction

This paper presents some tentative results of cooperative investigation into "Social anthropological research on the belief, life, and the family in present day Nanjing" in China, which was held from July 25th to September 25th 2010. I took part in studying "The Folk Religion in the City of Nanjing"⁷. My own intention in participating in this research project aims to make comparative considerations between folk religions on *Okinawa* and main land China. It is an obvious fact that folk religions such as deities and communal rituals are performed by local people, and worship practiced in the households of Southwestern Islands (i.e. *Amami*, *Okinawa*, *Miyako*, and *Yaeyama* etc.) are strongly influenced from China, with many aspects of them still commonly characterized even today.

Cultural connections between the Southwestern Islands and China are considered to have begun just after the establishment of international relations between independent *Ryukyu* Kingdom and the Ming Dynasty in 1372. *Ryukyu* Kingdom dispatched technical intern students and mutual exchange visitors were often recorded in the historical documents [Wakigami 1974:17-18, Watanabe 2008:331-334]. Under the closely related pre Japanese annexation in the 19th Century, cultural or religious life on the Southwestern Islands was considerably influenced by the Chinese main land. For example, it is understood that the belief towards *Mazu* (妈祖), known as "voyage goddess (*Tenpi*)" in China, was spread into daily life on the Islands. The same will be considered in the case of *Ishiganto* (石巖當)-Talismanic Stone-, or the enshrined cooking range [Kubo 1997].

Folk religions in the Nanjing area have never been systematically studied until today. I therefore try to shed light on this, to open people's eyes to studying present day city folk religions in Nanjing, in comparison to the Southwestern Inlands, since I have a decade's experience of field research there.

1. Outline of investigation

There were only about 40 days for the substantial investigation period, throughout the month's local stay in Nanjing City from July 25th to September 25th 2010. Moreover, the language was also restricted. Therefore, in order to grasp the situation of the belief in present day Nanjing and the folk customs religion, the following search procedures were taken in the investigation. A way of understanding a local belief and a religious situation in the region around a

⁷ The words "Folk Religion" used in this paper follow the definition of Watanabe [Watanabe1991:6-7].

religious related facility in the temple and other buildings, often easily becomes the object of focus for folk beliefs.

There are various religious facilities such as temples, mausoleums, and churches in Nanjing now, and Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity are believed in. It is said that many of temples in Nanjing have collapsed or disappeared during the Cultural Revolution which began in 1966. Most of the existing temples in Nanjing were gradually rebuilt after 1977, widely assumed to be the cessation of the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, still many temples have been approved by support from the government, and some of them were developed as sightseeing places. Reasons of restoration of these historically worthy buildings and their cultural significance enabled the cause of rebuilding religious type facilities such as temples and mausoleums.

On the other hand, regardless of the government, there are some temples that are rebuilt by public donations and protected even now by the hands of devoted adherents. In the investigation, we have examined *Shuiximentianhou* Temple (水西門天后宮) and *Hongjue* Temple (宏覺寺) especially. Temples such as these are religious institutions which have been rebuilt by public donations, and admission fees are never charged. Also I investigated *Jiming* Temple (鷄鳴寺), *Linggu* Temple (靈谷寺), *Pilu* Temple (毗盧寺) known as comparative sightseeing places. Next, I did a listening survey concerning the deity of the cooking range enshrined at each house. Furthermore, I have completed a participant observation of "*Zhongyuanjie* (中元節)" hungry ghost festival at temple and with an ordinary family, in order to focus on paper money. I completed an interview survey of a Taoist who is doing fortunetelling.

2. Paper Money

There is a festival tool called paper money in China. Watanabe describes that paper money is composed of gold and silver paper; gold paper is offered for the deities of the positive field including the *Yuhuangshangdi* (玉皇上帝) in principle, and silver paper represents the ghost of the shadow field including the ancestors in principle. In addition paper money is not always composed of two kinds of gold and silver paper, he reports the case, in which various kinds of paper money are used in different ways [Watanabe 1991: 112–114].

2.1. Golden Ingot Paper Money in *Hongjue* Temple

Firstly, I describe about the paper money composed of an ingot of gold in *Hongjue* temple. *Hongjue* temple is a Buddhism temple built in 503, located at *Niushoushan* (牛首山), *Jiangning* (江宁区) in Nanjing. The golden ingot paper money is the particular paper money used only in this *Hongjue* temple. It takes about two hours to travel from Nanjing University to *Niushoushan* where *Hongjue* temple is located. First, we took a subway train, then a bus that looked almost broken on the road with a cloud of dust, and walked for nearly an hour from the bus stop in the heat wave. A woman who had travelled on the same bus spoke to us, saying, "did you come here to meet a Buddhist temple priest?". According to her, "this priest guesses everyone's fate at first glance". He is very busy coming and going to the United States and India. She said that

there are some people those who cannot meet him even if he or she has been going to *Hongjue* temple for ten years. She also has never seen him yet herself.

After arriving, I listened the story about the features of *Hongjue* temple from the woman who lived here. According to her there is a custom of not making any charge for admission into *Hongjue* temple although many other Nanjing temples charge for admission. Moreover, the temple has not received any help from the Government, and manages most of the construction of the building in the temple, preservation, maintenance, and management, etc. covered by the believers' contributions. Priests in the temple voluntarily cultivate the field and vegetables, and follow a self sufficient life. She says that the priests here are “the priests in the true sense.” who follow a self sufficient life, in this age of the car and the cellular phone, whilst priests in many other temples receive their salary. Women perform various jobs in the temple, for instance, many sales of incense sticks, cooking, cleaning and so on. Many women work whilst living here or coming and going to *Hongjue* temple. In order to live in the temple, people have to contribute about eight *yuan* (元) a day. Moreover, the people who work at the temple are called, "people related by fate", and they believe that they can atone for their karma by working in the temple. Therefore, people come and go from everywhere to this temple, and those from Mongolia, Hong Kong, and South Korea also work here.

By the way, the Buddhist temple priest previously described is Mr. HongCheng (宏成) who is currently a high priest. He was born on August 23, 1908, and saw his 102nd birthday come around in 2010. He was trained in the mountain of *Anwei* ministry (安徽省) and then took up the current post. As the woman who travelled together with us on the bus said, people believe that the priest does not only have the ability to talk with the deities, but also the ability to guess the marriage, birth, and all fates to longevity at the mere sight of people's faces. The golden ingot paper money unique to *Hongjue* temple, was invented by the miraculous efficacy of this *HongCheng*.

One day in 2003, *HongCheng* had a mysterious dream. He dreamt that he was pulling a long, long ingot of gold, “*Jintiao* (金条)”. He accepts that this dream is a suggestion of the deity, which means "Give people a lot of money". He interpreted that *Jintiao*, which did not break, even if it was pulled and pulled, was not money of this world, but of the other world. Money of the other world has to be dedicated naturally for the people of the other world. He has been worried about the fact that many people died during the war between China and Japan, when Nanjing experienced massacre, and also when the major earthquake hit *Sichuan* (四川) recently. Some of these people had been left alone as decades passed without any understanding of even their name or gathering their bones. When thinking how he should help intervene to heal these people's sadness and pain even a little, *HongCheng* had this dream. Then, he realized that he should dedicate *Jintiao* to such people. Since then, he prepared, and when holding a memorial service, used the paper money that imitates folded *Jintiao*, as seen in his dream (photograph 1).

Jintiao is made by first laying down a stick, wrapping paper around it, making the

stick's length, stripping it off, and rolling the stick cylindrically to remove its four corners. *Jintiao* is used at mass by burning it three times a year, such as the Hungry Ghost Festival, February 19 (觀音菩薩聖誕) and July 30 (地藏王菩薩聖誕). However, this is not solely dedicated to all the dying people but is offered only to the perishing people who suffer in time of wars, disasters and other human suffering. For instance everybody thinks that when a mother and her child both die within pregnancy, their suffering is commemorated by the bereaved family purchasing *Jintiao* and the combustion of this, because they died in serious suffering. Still all buying expenses are contributed to the temple.



Photograph 1: The Golden Ingot Paper Money in Hongjue Temple

2.2. Hungry Ghost Festival Rituals

Next, I will discuss the Hungry Ghost Festival as an example that the paper money is actually used. The Hungry Ghost Festival is a ceremony for holding a memorial service on July 15th of agricultural calendar, and it also called *Guijie* (鬼節) [Zhang 2004:151-152]. This festival believe that the gates of hell are opened, releasing hungry ghosts to wander this world [Uematsu 1980:60]. In this paper, I will describe about the case with The Hungry Ghost Festival held in the ordinary family and *Tianhou* temple.

2.2.1. Case of Tianhou Temple

We investigated concerning The Hungry Ghost Festival that had been held on August 24th, 2010 (agricultural calendar July 15th) in *Tianhou* temple. *Tianhou* temple is a base of Taoism located in *Baixia* (白下区), and two or more deities including *Mazu* as Celestial Holy Mother are enshrined. It was built by the merchant in Fujian near *Yangpixiang* (羊皮巷) which is located close to the present *Xinjiekou* (新街口) in 1758. It was transferred to a present *Shuiximen* (水西門) district as a place near the station of the ship in 1812 by losing the contract, though government handouts had been received at that time. It has been rebuilt, and it stands now

although it collapsed temporarily during the Cultural Revolution period. There are four Taoists aged between 20 to 40 years as of September 2010.

In Nanjing city, there is *Tianfei* (天妃) Temple to which the same *Mazu* is enshrined in Nanjing, and it is very famous as a sightseeing spot. In contrast, *Tianhou* temple is not known to most people, and so is not developing as a sightseeing area. *Tianhou* temple is located in "Laochengnan (老城南)" district in the south side where old streets still remain in Nanjing shown in the preface. The annual event is held 29 times a year in *Tianhou* temple (Table 1). Most of the annual events are held in order to celebrate the birth of the Taoist deities and also charms, prayers, and Taoist consultations are done. Most visitors live in the neighborhood.

天后宫上仙圣诞 会期一览表

正月初一日	元始天尊圣诞	六月十五日	王灵官圣诞
正月初五日	五路财神真君圣诞	六月十九日	慈航观音圣诞
正月初九日	玉皇大帝圣诞	七月十五日	中元地官圣诞
正月十五日	上元天官圣诞	七月十九日	值年太岁星君圣诞
正月十九日	邱祖长春真人圣诞	八月十五日	太阴朝元
二月初二日	福德正神圣诞 (龙头头)	九月初九日	斗母元君圣诞 九皇星君圣诞
二月初三日	文昌帝君圣诞		重阳祖师圣诞 玄天上帝飞升日
二月十五日	太上老君圣诞	九月十九日	慈航观音圣诞
二月十九日	慈航观音圣诞	十月初八日	天下放生日
三月初三日	王母娘娘圣诞 真武大帝圣诞	十月十五日	下元水官圣诞
三月十五日	财神赵公元帅圣诞	十月二十三日	黄大仙圣诞
三月二十三日	天上圣母妈祖圣诞	冬月十一日	太乙救苦天尊圣诞
四月十四日	吕祖洞宾圣诞	腊月初八日	腊八节 (普施腊八粥)
四月十八日	神医华陀先师诞	腊月二十五日	迎玉皇大帝下界
五月十三日	关帝君圣诞 财神日	腊月三十日	万仙下界日

Table 1: Annual Event of *Tianhou* Temple

The people in the neighborhood gather at around 9:00 am on the day of the Hungry Ghost Festival. People prepare a red paper bag called *hongbao* (紅包) and pack the paper money inside, and bring these either on the day or before. These paper money bags, the ones sold from 5 to about 20 *yuan* in *Tianhou* temple, or those folded by Taoists might be used. *Hongbao* offered from people are piled up ahead of the deities. The names of the dying people are written on the surface of the *hongbao*. From 10:00 am to about 12:30, Taoists offer the paper money folded also with gold paper to the alter where they offer songs and prayers in front of the deities (photograph 2). The prayer takes about 30 minutes, and the paper money offerings are burned in the courtyard when the prayer ends. Still visitors to *Tianhou* temple offer incense sticks, lighting these, and then afterwards praying to the deities in general, they burn paper money brought together in the

courtyard (photograph 3). They burn yellow paper as it is, and gold paper after folding it into the shape of *yuenbao* (元宝). Occasionally they burn paper houses, paper cars, paper clothes and so on at the same time. When the Taoist prayers end, they have a vegetarian meal cooked by Taoists altogether, contribute and go home.



Photograph 2: The Prayer



Photograph 3: Burning Paper Money

2.2.2. Case of Ordinary Homes

Next, I will describe the Hungry Ghost Festival in ordinary homes. About 5 days before, the paper money used for The Hungry Ghost Festival starts to be sold in shops and stalls where water and cigarettes are usually sold. Various kinds of paper money such as *yuanbao*, silver paper, gold paper, and yellow paper are mainly sold (photograph 4). In some shops, the storekeeper themselves folds the paper money and sell it at times. They are priced from roughly 5 to about 35 *yuan* though the prices differ depending on the shops.

In the home which we surveyed this time, they fold paper money and prepare to pack it in *hongbao* and more on the night of the 23rd. Still, with spectacles such as burning of paper money and the Hungry Ghost Festival, it is assumed that people should not witness generally. Therefore, when I took pictures of paper money, I received advice, saying, “you should not take pictures because they are unlucky things” from many people. Also, I had advice from the woman in the house where I investigated this time, who said “buy and offer some apples if something bad happens in the investigation.” Everybody bought eight pieces each, and offered four to the ghost, and I took home four for myself.

Paper money has been burnt in this house at 12 o'clock noon from generation to generation, though mostly paper money is assumed to burn from 10 pm to about 2 o'clock after midnight in front of the house. Moreover, offerings to ancestors have to be silver paper; they use gold paper and silver paper properly. The paper money is burnt outside and just inside the house

gate. It is burnt similarly at the outside entrance to the house and inside the house in the condominium. Besides, it is burnt everywhere such as the roadside, the alley and all around. Initially a first circle is drawn on the ground with a stick before paper money is burnt, and paper money burnt in the circle is common. This circle represents the other side, literally, the other world. A circle of about 40 centimeters is roughly drawn although it is not closed completely. It becomes the entrance for dead souls through the opening of between three and five centimeters. In essence, the other world is temporarily created in our world by drawing a circle, and the door of the other world is thus opened so that the dead souls can enter. It began to rain in the evening on the 24th when the Hungry Ghost Festival was held. However, the spectacle of burning paper money was witnessed by people holding umbrellas in the rain (photograph 5).



Photograph 4: Selling Paper Money



Photograph 5: Burning Paper Money

3. Deity of the Cooking Range

In China from long ago, the deity of the kitchen is a main divinity in Taoism along with other deities [Ikeda1981:807]. Takigawa calls the deity enshrined in such home sites generically “house of deities”, and reports the case of the village of *Hebei* (河北) in China. According to *Takigawa*, *Zaoshen* (灶神) meaning deity of the kitchen is the most widespread deity enshrined in the house in China [Takigawa2003: 64–70] .

In this investigation, the listening survey for people aged between 20-70 years, concerns such etiquettes and house of deities. I had an interview to discover whether they enshrine *Zaoshen* and whether there were other deities enshrined.

3.1. Ordinary family in Nanjing

In this investigation I interviewed 10 people who are aged between 20 - 70 years, living in Nanjing as to whether they enshrine *Zaoshen* (Table 2). It is clear to understand through

checking Table 2, that *Zaoshen* were not enshrined in most houses. I visited three places; namely a newly wed couple's new house who are born in Nanjing and living in Nanjing city, a house of a married couple in their fifties and a house of a married couple in their seventies. This sign was shown in Table 2 to represent these people.

First of all, the deities were not enshrined in the new house of a newly wed couple in their twenties who lived in the *Qixia* (栖霞) district. They said that although they knew the existence of *Zaoshen*, however they did not think to enshrine the deity when they built their new house, and "our generation don't have the concept of enshrining the gods at home". Next, there was no enshrining *Zaoshen* and the deities especially at home in the house of a married couple in their fifties either, who lived in the *Xuanwu* (玄武) district.

Moreover, I heard the story that "If they are elderly people, they are likely to enshrine even in Nanjing." In my interview investigation, therefore I had a look at the house of a married couple in their seventies who live in *Gulou* (鼓楼) district. However they don't enshrine *Zaoshen* either. As a tendency though they knew the existence of *Zaoshen* it seemed that they don't dare to enshrine it.

Of course, all realities of *the Zaoshen* in Nanjing cannot be clarified by such a limited investigation. Therefore, I plan to continue the investigation over a very wide area from now on as well.

Area	Generation	Sex	Birth place	Marriage	<i>Zaoshen</i>
● <i>Gulou</i>	70s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	50s	M	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	40s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	40s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	30s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	20s	F	<i>Jilin</i> (吉林省) <i>Tonghua</i> (通化) city	Single	Enshrining by Mother in the parents' family
● <i>Xuanwu</i>	50s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Jiangyu</i>	40s	M	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Jiangyu</i>	30s	M	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
● <i>Qixia</i>	20s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining

Table 2. the Deity of the Cooking Range

3.2. Temple of Nanjing city

On the other hand, I investigated whether they enshrine *Zaoshen* in *Tianhou* temple and *Hongjue* temple. The reason why I paid attention to *Tianhou* temple and *Hongjue* temple is that according to these, there is a custom for them to serve meals to visitors in these temples, and a special kitchen is set up for this in the temple.

Firstly in *Tianhou* temple, a meal is prepared in a special kitchen and they treat visitors to it in the room next to the kitchen, in case that neighborhood people visit at lunchtime (11 o'clock to 12 o'clock), including days when the holy birthdays (indicated in the annual event table

previously shown) are celebrated. Though *Tianhou* temple usually shuts the gate around 5 o'clock, sometimes supper is served when visitors rarely visit just before shutting the gate. The content of the meal is mainly vegetarian, composing 4 - 5 pieces of fried food, soup, rice and so on. For instance, they have fried potatoes, red pepper, green beans, dry bean *tofu* and soup with egg and seaweed. In addition, an increase of two or three meals are added when there is the Hungry Ghost Festival and other big events. Visitors to a shrine contribute to the meal. Taoist in their forties are mainly taking charge of all meals which are served to visitors and Taoists who live in the temple. In the courtyard they breed chickens that lay the eggs used for cooking, and dry vegetable in the sun.

In *Tianhou* Temple, the deities are enshrined in the room where they eat and this kitchen respectively. First in the kitchen, a red paper is pasted on two kitchen ranges, and the censers are put on. On the red paper, is drawn a picture of *Zaowangye* (灶王爷) and “上天呈好事” -it means please say only good things to supreme deity of the heaven- and “下界保平安”- which means please keep peace in our world” . This is placed on the water next to the incense burner. Next to the incense burner is a cup of water. This deity is *Zaoshen* (photograph 6). A Taoist who cooks every meal every day in the temple, adds some water and incense every morning. According to him “women are not allowed in the kitchen and *Zaoshen* is always enshrined by men”. Also the room where people and Taoists eat is an enshrined deity of the kitchen “*Xiangchuchaogongtianzun* (香厨炒供天尊)” (photograph 7). Usually it is called *Chushen* (厨神).

Next, in *Hongjue* temple a meal is prepared in a special kitchen and visitors are treated to it in the room next to the kitchen, too. The meal is mainly a vegetarian meal, with food including two types of fried beans or seaweed, and rice in the rice bowl. As I said earlier a lot of women work and live in *Hongjue* temple. Therefore, they are cooking there too. As I confirmed, there are two kitchens and enshrined *Zaoshen* respectively. They are enshrined by women and there are an incense burner, two candles, apples, pears, oranges, peaches, peanuts, confectionery and a watermelon.



Photograph 6: *Zaoshen*



Photograph 7: *Zaoshen*

3. 3. Case of *Kaixiangong* village, *Wujiang* city

As I mentioned before, nine people who live in Nanjing and who have not enshrined *Zaoshen*, answered with the reason that “Nanjing is an urban area”, “since the Cultural Revolution happened, such beliefs have disappeared.” Indeed, one woman who responded about enshrining *Zaoshen* was from her birth area of *Tonghua* city, *Jilin*.

For that reason, in order to research the actual practice of *Zaoshen* in other areas, in this investigation I have done so in *Kaixiangong* (开弦弓) village, too. Next, to put it briefly. *Kaixiangong* village is a famous area on account of the research of FEI Xiaotong (费孝通) who is follower of Malinowski and a considerable number of studies have been conducted [Fei 1986] .

The population of *Kaixiangong* village consists of 816 men and 829 women, a total of 1645 people (as of 2008). They are mostly farmers and engaged in spinning. In *Kaixiangong* village where there are 5 temples, people living in this village go there every first and fifth day every month.

From the result of this investigation, it was found that most people living in this village enshrined *Zaoshen* in the kitchen of their own houses with an incense burner. Also, *Zaoshen* is enshrined by the wives of the house owners and they offer incense sticks every morning to pray for healing of their family. On the other hand, Christians do not enshrine *Zaoshen*. However, from September 2010, there were 35 Christian people. Therefore, there are 1,610 people enshrining *Zaoshen* (photograph 8).



Photograph 8: *Zaoshen*

4. Fortunetelling

4.1. Altar

Next I will describe the case of a man named Mr. *Y*, who is in his sixties living in Nanjing, *Liuhe* (六合) district. He is a Taoist whose profession is fortune telling. Since acquiring the fortune telling skill from a Taoist who became his master when he was young, he belongs to a fortune telling society and is working.

Fortune telling is principally known as *Suanming* (算命) and *Shengchenbazi* (生辰八字) in China. Mr. *Y* foretells the technique for deriving the fate based on *Yin-Yang* (陰陽) and the five elements, four pillars of astrology and so forth, for the birth year, month, date and time when the client was born. He corresponds to all the consultations concerning the work of the client, their marriage, any pregnancy, and health. It is usual to pay about 300 *yuan* from 200 *yuan*, although the fortune telling charge is different depending on the content of each request. The clients are both women and men, and also the age is broad enough from twenties to eighties. They often ask Mr. *Y* mostly by introduction and hearing rumours. When people request fortune telling, they contact by phone in advance and visit his house. When the clients visit his home, they are allowed into his workroom.

In this room there is an enshrined altar. The altar is assembled on a big desk in such a shape that the dividing shelf splits into two steps like the stairs. It is a shape of putting two or more deities such as *Wenchang Dijun* (文昌帝君) -deity of education, *Caishen* (財神) -deity of wealth-, *Guanyu* (關羽) and more widely seen in Taoism, where the wooden board on which is written *Tai SangLaoJun* (太上老君) is put on the centre in the uppermost part of steps and enclosing wooden board surroundings. One incense burner is put on the steps under the board, and apples and pears are offered to both sides. Bags of pink color (*Fenhongbao*) are piled in front of the incense burner, and pink talismans are put around the modesty panel of the desk. Mr. *Y* makes all these *Fenhongbao* and the talismans.

By the way, such a so-called fortuneteller's existence is known comparatively widely in Nanjing City. For instance, it is often seen that the fortunetellers wait for the people visiting the temple around *Jimini* temple and *Pilu* temple and call, "can I read your character through your face?" and "what about taking a look your palm?". Sometimes they grip the tourist's arm, and call, "you'd better take a look, because some bad luck has been seen on your face" etc. Such fortunetellers chiefly foretell, that is by reading facial features, the lines on palms, the name oromancy, four-pillar astrology and *Fengshui* (風水). Fortune tellers wait for people who visit and call them while the temple is open, then they return to their home at the same time as the temple is closing. That is, most fortunetellers in the temple do not have their own shops, and never foretell at home. Of course, some of them have their own shops to foretell, and some of them foretell at home like Mr. *Y* as well. However, when thinking whether all fortune tellers enshrine the altar at home, it might be able to be said that Mr. *Y* is a little peculiar case. Next, we should think about the reason why he enshrines his altar.

4. 2. Ability to do *Huajie*

Then, I need to mention about handmade bags and talismans of Mr. *Y* whom I previously described. In fact he is known as a special fortuneteller who not merely tells fortunes, but can actually do "*Huajie* (化解)". *Huajie* is a Chinese term used to mean dissolving, or releasing in Chinese. However, this *Huajie* is explained for him and the client as his special power. In order to describe *Huajie*, it is necessary to describe about his work further.

First of all, Mr. *Y* writes down his client's name, date of birth, arising time, and the content of the consultation in notes relating to the client's visit directly, and through the telephone. When he attains a result, he calls the client or he will foretell it by the time the client visits later. Visiting his house, the client is seated on the chair in Mr. *Y*'s workroom. He first tells the client a good part based on the result of the fortune telling written on paper in advance, and, next, tells a bad part. As for him, questions, worries, and the consultation are further to that. The time might take roughly between 30 minutes up to 1 hour and last 2 or 3 hours at times though there is individual variation. If the client's worry is solved by this first fortune telling result, it is unquestionable. However, sometimes that might not be resolved only by fortune telling, and further treatment may be needed. At this time, he does *Huajie*.

Mr. *Y* says that he has judged 500 people or more so far. The times when he does *Huajie*, for instance, are when clients want him to help a family member who is near death getting leukemia, when the clients worry because of infertility, and want to get pregnant from an age problem by all means for years by the end of this year, and moreover when they want to obtain contracts earlier than rival companies. He said that *Huajie* mainly enables even "moving time" as not only with regard to disease treatment but also bringing forward time of marriage, pregnancy, business contract and so on. He also said that *Huajie* prolongs life at times, and there is actually an example of prolonging a dying 87 year-old's fate life up to 97 years old as well. Besides, he says that he can change the fate by doing *Huajie* towards a bad star that was voluntarily born and had

being clarified by four-pillar astrology.

Enumerating one example of the bad star assuming that you should do *Huajie* is if they are *yangren* (羊刃), *guluān* (孤鸾), *shangjiecai* (伤劫财) or *caijieshang* (财劫伤), etc. For instance, according to Mr. *Y*'s explanation *yangren* is thought to be the star which not only brings his wife's fortune, if it is a man, and if it is a woman, his bad fortune, but also carries bad luck to make a body be sick. Moreover, Luan of *guluān* means the ptarmigan of the legend, and because there is a meaning of living alone and solitarily, it suggests that married life doesn't go well. And, it is said that *jieshangcai* is the star which makes things go wrongly for people, such as getting sick and preventing them from marrying. To do *Huajie*, the name of the client and the star are written in pink talismans as previously described and put on the desk in the altar. And also, the paper that is inscribed with the client's name and so on used when he judges is put in *Fenhongbao*, and written in this bag as well as the talismans. *Huajie* needs to pray another prayer four times. He basically prays alone. To do spending seven days at a time, it takes 28 days in total. He said that he keeps on praying singlemindedly burning incense sticks for 28 days, although the detailed content of the prayer was not clarified because he said that it was a secret ceremony. Moreover, *Fenhongbao*, the offerings from the clients, the gratitude goods, etc. were burned without opening the seal. In the rooftop in his house, the prayer place is set up and three big incense burners and three medium incense burners are set up. He prays a comparatively "heavy" prayer to a big incense burner, and when it seems that it is lighter than it, he prays with a small incense burner. Offering the incense sticks to the incense burner completes the prayer. However it all depends on his judgment whether the content of the prayer is heavy or is light, for instance, he says at times that he will use a big incense burner when he treats for sicknesses such as fatal disease and cancer, etc. which people do not recover easily from.

Thus, to do *Huajie*, a large amount of incense sticks are needed. The incense sticks are sold from 15 to about 20 *yuan* in the Buddhist altar fittings shop around the temple. Because an incense stick of about 400 *yuan* is used for one prayer, the clients who request *Huajie* pay the incense sticks fee of 1600 *yuan* at least and, in addition, pay the prayer fee separately. The price of the prayer fee is, like everything, decided by the client's feelings. I heard that some of them paid 5000 *yuan* as well. The clients whose worries were safely solved by *Huajie* visit him again, and show their gratitude to the deities of the altar. They offer the altar fruits such as apples and grapes, and offer the incense burner three incense sticks. They return after giving a reward until the incense sticks burn out. He said that there are some people who never come to give a reward either though they ask for *Huajie* or the worries have been resolved.

There was a single woman in her forties. She worried about the fact that she couldn't marry for years. One day she heard the rumor of Mr. *Y* from a man who lived in Nanjing, whom she visited and foretold her fortune. The fact that she does not have the husband's star was clarified which means that is, her destiny is that she cannot marry. However, she asked her acquaintance to introduce someone and held a wedding at once, because if she strongly wanted to

marry, it would be fatally better for her to get married within the year. She said that married life did not go well probably because they didn't understand each other's character well. He heard of this story by chance saying that he thinks, "the married life doesn't go well because they don't give a reward though the god did *Huajie*".

He prays to the deities offering incense sticks to the incense burner of the rooftop at about 11 pm every day, except when he does *Huajie*. Sometimes he might be taught from the deities about answering worries from the client, and he occasionally calls the client even if it is midnight. For instance, one Japanese man in his thirties who worked at Nanjing was taught by his acquaintance, "there was one interesting person." and visited Mr. *Y*. First he was a mere curiosity, but was foretold various things that occurred in his life, after that he requested Mr. *Y* to do *Huajie*. He visited Mr. *Y* to consult concerning work in around December 2009. In the judgment of Mr. *Y*, he says that this man doesn't have a star called *guiren* (貴人) in his destiny. According to Mr. *Y* this *guiren* shows the thing of existence that helps in life crisis. Therefore, Mr. *Y* advised this man that he should search out the person who corresponded to *guiren* in his human relations, which means that he needs to find someone who helps him. However, Mr. *Y* offered incense sticks to the incense burner of the rooftop, and asked the deities, though *guiren* could not be derived easily by the sexagenary cycle and compatibility, etc. Around one o'clock after midnight, the man was called by Mr. *Y*, and told, "the woman whom you met three days ago is noble *guiren*". The man says that he employed her as a secretary in the company afterwards because there was a woman who just got acquainted three days ago. He said that this man visits Mr. *Y* about four times a year, and consults him concerning his work.

Moreover, Mr. *Y* installed a small altar in his living room and enshrined the deities therein. The deities such as *Budai* (布袋) -deity of contentment and happiness-, *SangLaoJun* and others, are put on the altar. Incense was put in front of the idols, and apples, bananas, and other fruit were offered. Incense sticks are offered every day.

As mentioned above, the deities of the Taoism are enshrined in two places of his workroom and living room in his house, in addition, the altar where the incense burner was offered is set up in the rooftop. The reason why Mr. *Y* enshrines the deities to the house; first there would be one point that he foretells by the way the client visits his house. Next, he is able to enumerate the point that he needs the power of the deities in order to perform the special method called *Huajie*. Also it can be said that he offers a place to pray even for the clients to pray to the deities, or to give a reward. Of course, it will be necessary to advance the investigation about the relationship between the fortuneteller and the altar in the future.

5. Conclusion

This paper attempted to examine the contemporary folk religion in Nanjing such as 'paper money', deity of the cooking range and fortunetelling. I investigated 'Zaoshen' listening to ten people who currently live in Nanjing city. I found that *Zaoshen* were not enshrined in most houses except for a woman who was born in *Jinlin*. On the other hand, *Tianhou* temples and

Hongjue temples have enshrined *Zaoshen* in the kitchen annexed to the temple. In *Tianhou* temples, *Zaoshen* are enshrined by Taoist male followers who are allowed to enter the kitchen. In contrast, in *Hongjue* temples, *Zaoshen* are enshrined by women who work and live there. Local people explained the reason that they did not have enshrined *Zaoshen* is due to the modernization or urbanization of Nanjing city. In fact in the case of *Wujiang* city three hours from Nanjing city by highway express bus, most people enshrined their kitchen in the same year except those who follow Christianity.

Takigawa reports on the case of a farm village in *Hebei*. She wrote, “in general, now it is not enshrined in the houses of young married people who establish a family branch, even though still enshrined in many of houses where the old people live” [Takigawa 2003:81] . In the case of the *Hebei*, a more modest tolerant policy towards religions has commenced since 1980, and the mausoleum where the deities in the village are enshrined was rebuilt, with traditional events revived, Takigawa indicates that the deities are based on these passage [Takigawa 2003:64].

As reported in this paper, many temples were once collapsed during the Cultural Revolution, but they have been newly rebuilt. However, most people did not dare to enshrine the deity of the cooking range in Nanjing, unlike the rural area in *Hebei*.

Future direction

As mentioned above, I have considered the realities of religious folk customs in present day Nanjing in this report. Just because it is not immediately easy to compare and discuss the case of Nanjing and Southwestern Islands, it can be said that this investigation is sure to indicate the basic data when in future the culture and historical background of the Islands are considered. Using this result of the survey as a key to inform my future work, I will then search for the direction of the comparison research.

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