CHINESE TEMPLES IN SINGAPORE

LEON COMBER

EASTERN UNIVERSITIES PRESS

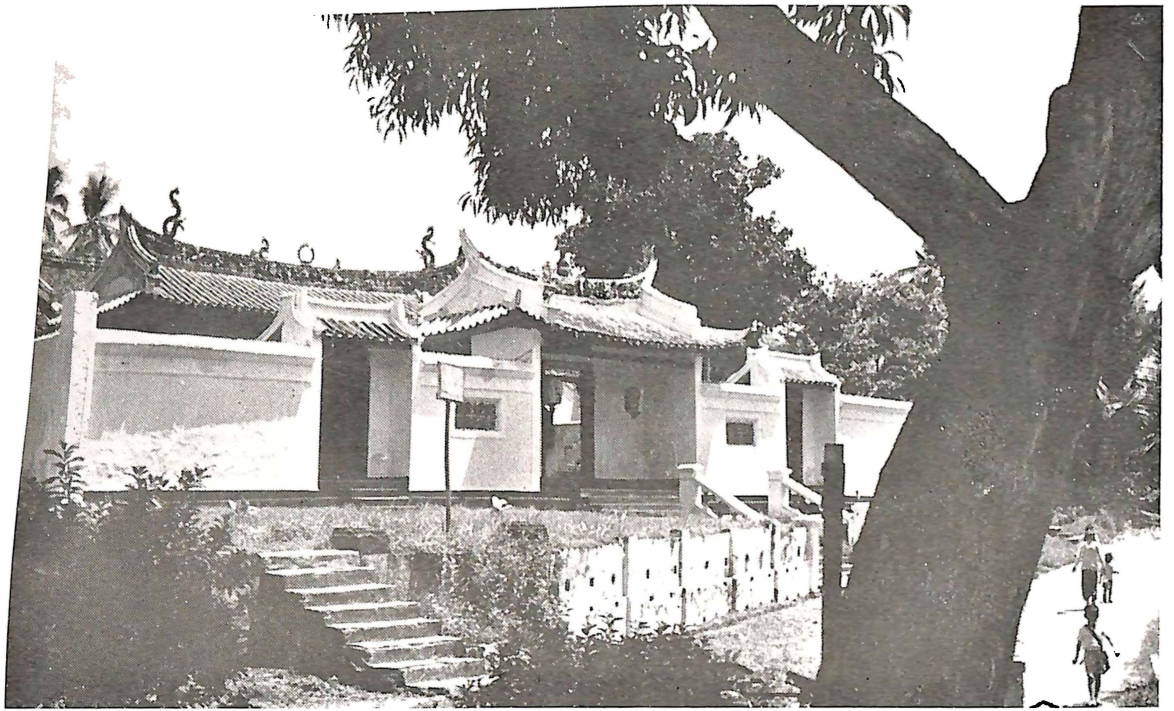
Readers who are familiar with Leon Comber's books on various aspects of Chinese life in Malaya will welcome this addition to a popular series. The author has made a representative selection from the several hundred Chinese temples in Singapore and provides a wealth of interesting detail about each one, as well as over forty photographic illustrations. Both residents and visitors to Singapore will find this book of value and interest.

CHINESE TEMPLES IN SINGAPORE

'es in Singapore

CORRIGENDA

'ate 20 read *frontispiece*, and from pp.66—87
for Plate 21 read Plate 20
for Plate 22 read Plate 21
for Plate 23 read Plate 22
for Plate 24 read Plate 23, etc.



Shun T'in Kung (Obedient to Heaven Temple), Bukit Purmei

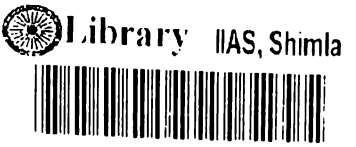
CHINESE TEMPLES IN SINGAPORE

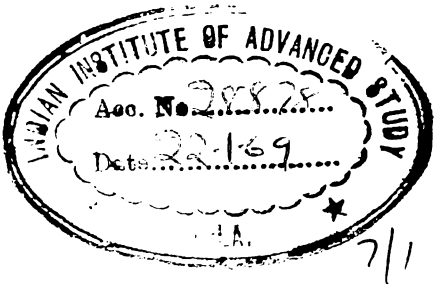
LEON COMBER

SINGAPORE

EASTERN UNIVERSITIES PRESS

FIRST PUBLISHED 1958





PRODUCED BY EASTERN UNIVERSITIES PRESS SINGAPORE
PRINTED IN SINGAPORE BY MALAYA PUBLISHING HOUSE LTD.

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

This book should be written by a Chinese. However, for one reason or the other, there are few interested in doing so. Hence, I write. But I can only write from the outside, and the complete story must await the pen of a Chinese scholar.

This small book was originally planned as a simple guide to Chinese temples in Singapore, but it has grown a little in that I have added an introductory essay on modern Chinese popular religion. This has been done because it seemed desirable to tell the reader something about the religious background to Chinese temple life in Singapore, about which little has been written before.

I know now there will be many people who will point out that such-and-such a temple has not been included, but I am afraid it is not possible to include, in what is really only an introduction to a vast subject, all of the Chinese temples in Singapore. I have explained at the beginning of Chapter Four how I have selected the temples described herein.

This account is written primarily for Westerners, both tourists and Singaporeans, but I hope it will be of interest to English-speaking Chinese and others as well. There will be, I am sure, some mistakes in it because it follows new roads. But I have tried my best to make it as accurate as possible.

My thanks are due to several persons: Madam Lim Mayli, for assistance in obtaining pictures of the deities illustrated in Chapter Two and for presenting me with an image of the Third Prince; Mr. Li Yuet Chik and the Lo family, for help in clearing up several confusing points connected with the identification of the latter deity; Mrs. Sylvia Parker *née* Ngim, for her most welcome assistance in typing the manuscript; and the Straits Times Press, for permission to use the photographs reproduced in Plates 1 to 4 — the remainder are my own.

Johore Bahru,
June, 1957.

LEON COMBER.

Chapter One

THE NEW LOOK OF CHINESE TEMPLE WORSHIP IN SINGAPORE

There are estimated to be about five hundred Chinese public places of worship in Singapore. I have not visited all of them, but I have been to a few hundred, and have no reason to doubt this figure. They are known by a variety of names, depending less upon the nature of the buildings than upon the imagination of their founders. The following names are found in use in Singapore: Kung, Tz'u, T'ing, Miao, Tien, T'ang and Szu. There is no significant difference for our purposes between these exotic-sounding names. They may all be translated "temple", "shrine" or "monastery", as the context demands. They range in size from tiny roadside shrines and attap huts to imposing carved wood and stonework buildings. My survey indicates that very few of them, if any, are falling into disuse. All are well patronized on the innumerable Chinese religious festival days that occur during the year, and most of them on ordinary days as well. Chinese popular religion in Singapore, at least, has little fear of losing its hold upon the people for many years to come. This popularity is visibly indicated by the number of articles of temple equipment that are regularly donated by devotees either in expectation of, or in return for,

favours granted by the gods. These include Chinese lanterns; incense-urns; glass cases containing small altar images; carved woodwork, often inscribed with moral maxims or quotations from the holy scriptures; embroidered silk banners and scrolls for temple decoration; candlesticks; flower vases; prayer stools; silk vestments for the deities; bells, drums, cymbals; dishes for offerings of food; and so on. These items are often inscribed with the name of the temple, the deity concerned, the donor, and sometimes the date as well.

Chinese temples may be privately owned, or they may be connected with a clan or guild, or other clubs and associations. But in one respect they are all alike: they are managed by men. Some of them are run on business lines, with a Committee of Management, but I have yet to find any of them registered as such under the Registration of Business Names Ordinance in Singapore. Obviously they must have funds to exist. These are obtained in the form of subscriptions from local people living around the temple, grants from the clubs and associations I have referred to above, donations from wealthy Chinese businessmen and matrons, and other extraneous gifts. Paradoxically enough, the rites of worship are left entirely to women. Of course, Chinese men do pray, but they prefer to do so in private, or by proxy through their girl friends or wives.

Normally, the birthday of the main deity worshipped in the temple is celebrated on a lavish scale, with all of the colour and excitement that appeal to popular taste. The celebrations may last two or three days and nights, and generally attract crowds of wor-

shippers. Not only the regular devotees of the temple come to pay their respects, but also others from elsewhere who have heard good of the name of the deity and wish to honour him on his birthday. Their numbers may easily run into thousands. Needless to say, the temple funds are swelled on these occasions by gifts, purchases of talismans, and other monies ostensibly given for the purchase of candles, incense and lamp oil. A Chinese theatrical company may also be hired to perform in connection with the festivities, and sometimes a Chinese orchestra as well.

All available space in the vicinity of the temple is taken up with hawkers' stalls, and there may be games of chance, such as pinball, roulette, and so on, for those who wish to try their luck. No expense is spared to make the occasion a success. The hiring of the Chinese opera company alone may cost the temple promoters about $M2,100 for three days on the basis of two performances a day: one in the afternoon and another in the evening. The Teochiu *wayang* is said to be the best, and, of course, the most expensive, with Cantonese next. With all of this bustle and activity, there is opportunity for the various Chinese secret society gangs that are prevalent nowadays in Singapore to take some "pickings" in collection money and "squeeze". Indeed, there may be a connection between these secret societies and various aspects of local Chinese religion. I have expanded on this theme in Chapter Three.

According to the latest published population figures (Singapore Annual Report, 1955), there are about 1,210,000 people of all races living on this tiny island of Singapore. Over three-quarters of them are

Chinese: that is about 926,000 men, women, and children. We can pursue further this breakdown of the Chinese population into its tribal divisions. The largest group is Hokkien, accounting for 40 per cent of the whole. Next come Teochius and Cantonese, each accounting for 20 per cent. And then, Hainanese and Hakka, accounting for 7 and 6 per cent respectively. From this mass of figures we can make some obvious deductions. On a *pro rata* basis, we can expect that the Hokkiens will predominate in Chinese temple life, that is to say, in both the management of temples and in the number of worshippers. They will be followed by the Teochius and Cantonese. I am always suspicious of figures and what they can be made to prove, but, in this case, our deductions are proved correct in practice. One finds, in dealing with Chinese religious life at "ground level", the most active participants are those we have indicated above, and in that order.

What is the religion of the Chinese mentioned above who constitute over three-quarters of the population of Singapore? The 1955 Annual Report tells us that 3 per cent are Christian. What about the rest? We have all heard of the three traditional religions of China: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. But do the Singapore Chinese still profess these faiths? The Annual Report is rather vague on this point. The question may perhaps best be answered in the form of the following tale. I claim no originality for it. Its source, however, is unknown to me.

Three sages in traditional Chinese garb were seen walking towards Merdeka Bridge. One was clearly recognizable as the Chinese sage, Confucius; the other was Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism; and the third

was Amitabha, the Buddha presiding over the Western Paradise. As they passed on their way, they could be heard arguing about the respective merits of their religions. Confucius said that his order of the universe was the remedy for the ills of society; Lao Tzu thought the problem insoluble and advocated anarchism instead; Amitabha Buddha chastised them for being too worldly and advised them to prepare themselves for Nirvana. As they crossed the bridge, they were lost to sight in a heavy rainstorm. When the rain lifted, strangely enough, only one figure could be seen in the distance heading out of town. There was no sign of the other two. They had just disappeared into thin air.

The moral of this tale is simple. It is no longer possible in Singapore to distinguish between the three traditional religions of China. They have merged into one. It is a pity, for these divisions were very convenient for Westerners in the past, and they provided something tangible which they could easily grasp and understand. They have been replaced, however, by the "religion of the masses". "The religion of the masses" is a mixture of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and the worship of any other gods or spirits of the Otherworld who may be expected to interest themselves in the affairs of this world. When the ordinary Singapore Chinese visits one of the five hundred Chinese temples on the island, he does not do so as a Confucianist, Buddhist or Taoist, but as a worshipper of the religion of the masses. It is this religion of the masses which is the national religion of the Chinese in Singapore today, and nothing else.

According to popular belief, as there are good and

bad people in this world, so there are good and bad spirits in the Otherworld. The bad are to be propitiated as well as the good, for they are notoriously spiteful and vindictive and are quite likely to strike poor, unsuspecting mortals out of the blue with sickness, calamity and death. Both can be kept "sweet", it is true, by prayer and a subtle form of bribery, namely, the offering of " joss " money, incense, candles, and tasty titbits of food, at their altars. There are also temple-keepers and Buddhist and Taoist priests who can help in this respect. The Buddhist priests seem to be regarded with a mixed feeling of contempt and respect. Contempt, because they live a celibate life, and therefore offend one of the cardinal principles of Confucianism in not marrying and founding a family (" Three things are unfilial, and of these the worst is to have no offspring," Book of Mencius) ; respect, because of their supposed influence over the gods and spirits of the Otherworld. The Taoist priest, on the other hand, is merely regarded with awe. He lives among the people, and only assumes his mantle of office when he is required to perform some rite or the other.

Then there are the temple "hangers-on", who earn a living out of the business of worship. They include shops selling the paraphernalia of worship — candles, incense, " joss " money, images, charm papers, and so on; and professional wizards, necromancers, sorcerers, fortune-tellers, professors of geomancy and spirit mediums.

Of these, the most important in modern Singapore are the last. They are popularly believed to be brought into a state of trance through the worship of deities (or

demons), in which they are possessed by their guardian spirits. In this condition, they become, in effect, the reincarnation of the god concerned, and their very words and actions are vital. Fortunately, they are quite approachable, and questions may be put to them concerning a variety of matters. They are a " brains-trust " *par excellence*. They are most frequently consulted on problems which trouble and perplex people all over the world. Sickness, misfortune, and family troubles quite naturally loom large. These consultations take place in private within the temple.

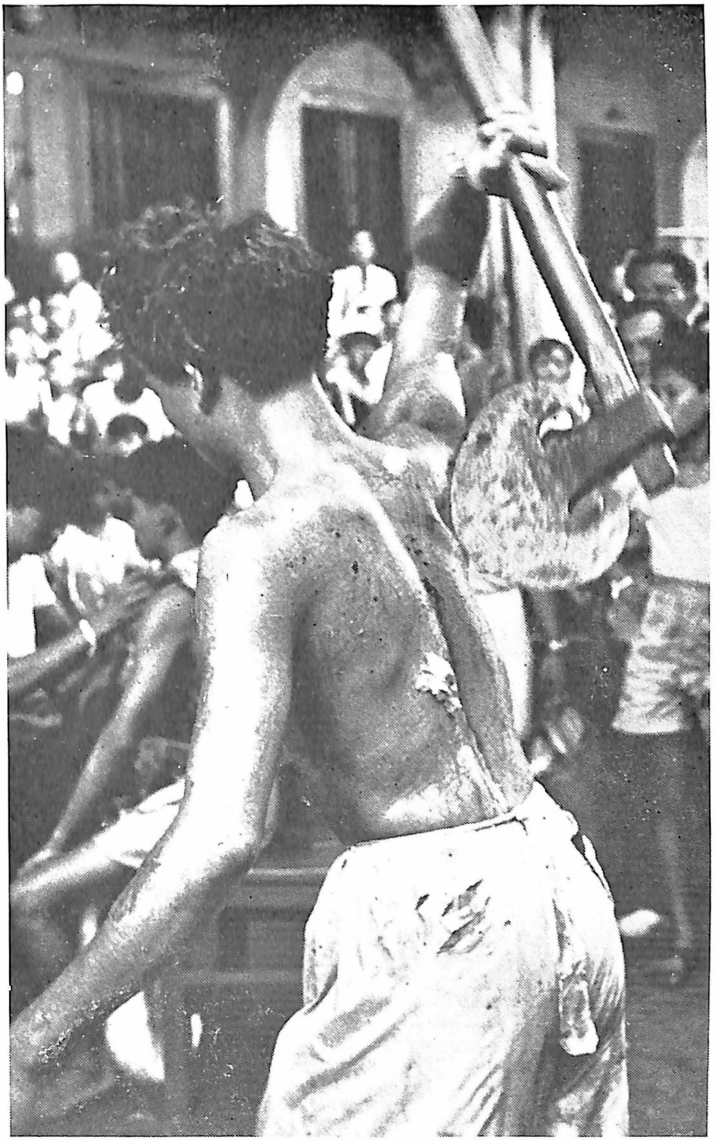
It is true that the other professional wizards, or some of them at least, offer intercession on behalf of suppliants with the Otherworld. But their services are unsatisfactory in that they are indirect. The suppliant is not brought into direct, first-hand contact with gods and spirits. Only the medium can do this. Buddhist and Taoist priests, for instance, do not have the powers of mediumship. The best they can do is to chase evil spirits away. Although their aims as exorcists are identical, their methods are different. The Buddhist priest will reason with demons and try to persuade them not to cause trouble. His approach may be described as the pacifist one. The Taoist priest, however, generally more skilled in black magic, will use his occult knowledge to fight them and put them to flight. His approach may be described as the militant one.

One authority, Dr. Alan Elliott, has made a most challenging statement about Chinese spirit mediums in his book *Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore* which has not had the publicity it deserves. He said: " Spirit mediumship is the dominant religious belief of

the Southern Chinese who immigrated to South-East Asia in the nineteenth century," and later, "at least half the Chinese in Singapore have had something to do with them (mediums) at some time or the other during their life." I doubt very much whether the majority of the non-Chinese quarter of Singapore's population has ever heard of them, yet it is true that they have played a greater part in the shaping of the "new look" of Chinese temple worship in Singapore than anything else. They may be either male or female. Normally, those who perform at public rites, and sometimes carry out the most sensational feats, are the former. Male mediums are usually callow youths in their early twenties, although there are middle-aged exceptions. Female mediums are generally middle-aged or elderly widows. They are meant to live blameless lives, and, in preparation for their exertions, they are not supposed to drink alcohol or eat meat. There are inevitably lapses from these standards — it is rumoured that some of them are opium addicts — but, generally speaking, they try to abide by them. It may be appropriate to note here that the ancestry of our Singapore mediums is ancient and dates back to before the Christian era. The earliest ancestors of male mediums were most likely the shamans of the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.). The first ancestors of the female mediums were probably the *wu*, or witches, also dating from ancient feudal times in China.

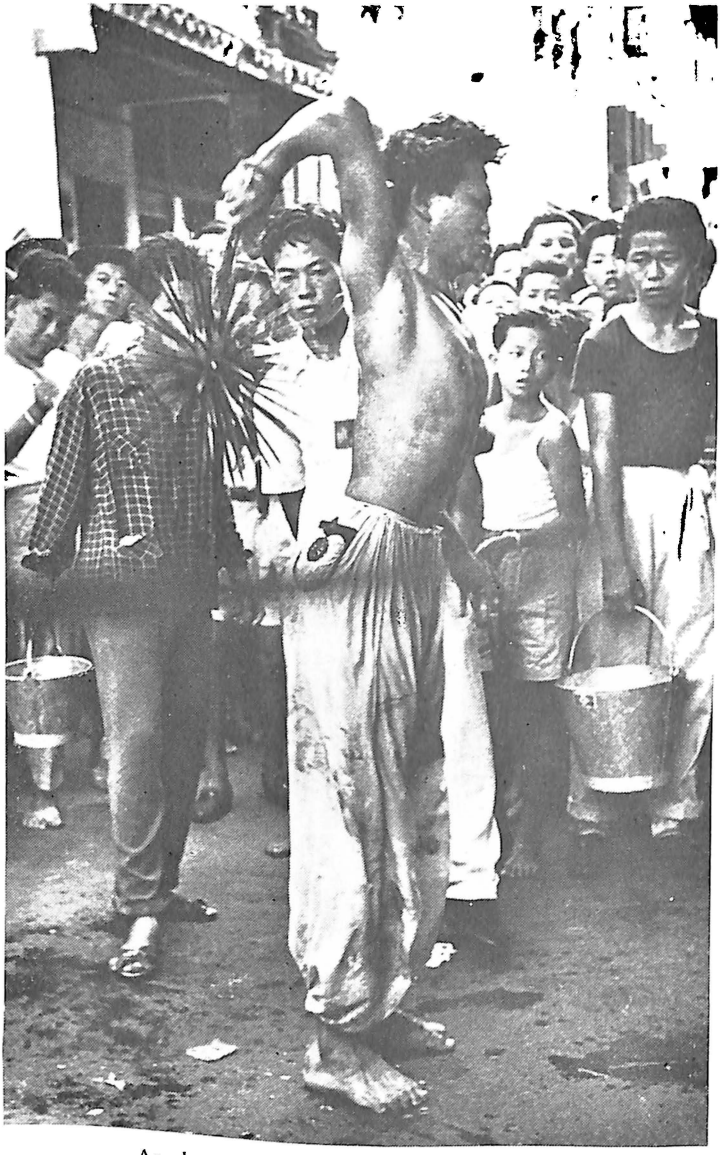
I will record their Chinese names. In Hokkien, they are known as *tang ki*. In Cantonese, they are called *lok t'ung*, *kong t'ung*, or *san t'ung*. These names may be used for men and women alike. Inci-

PLATE 1



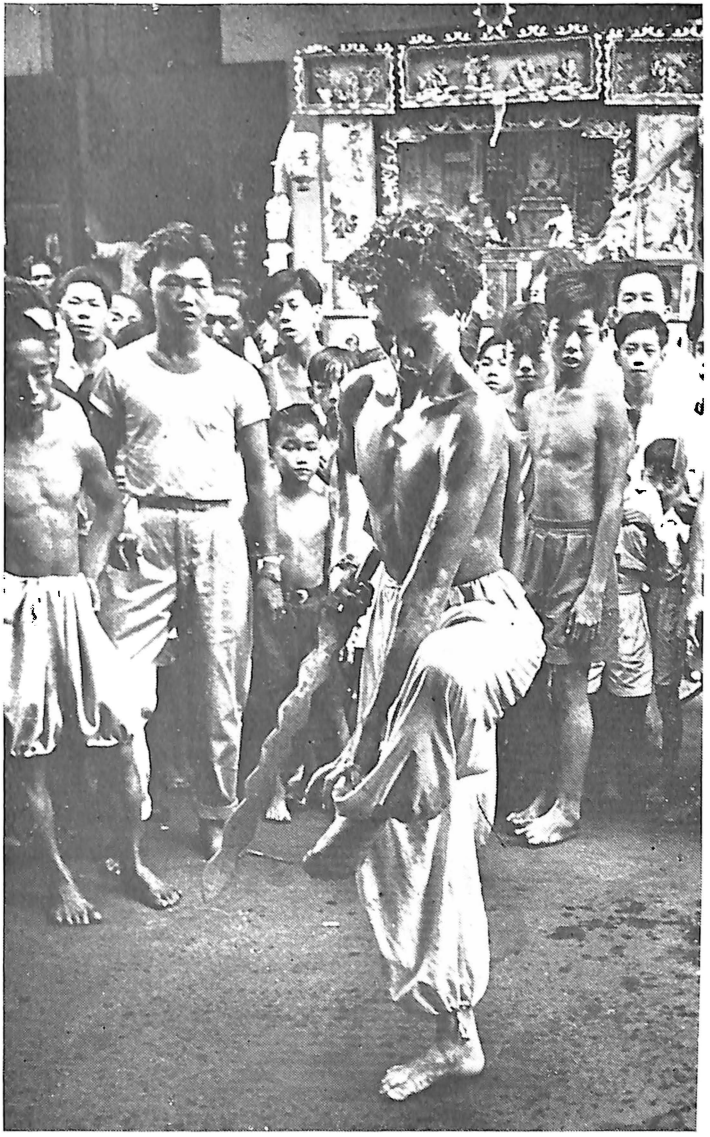
A medium swings an axe over his shoulders and lacerates his back

PLATE 2



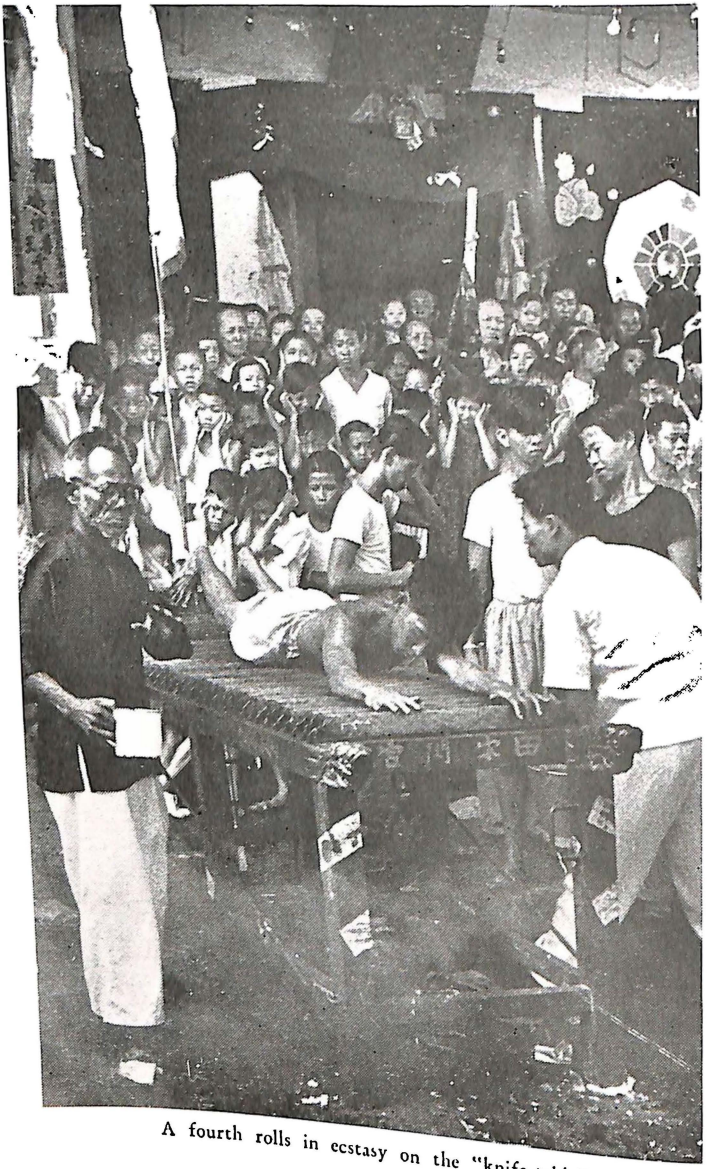
Another wields a "spike-ball" in similar fashion

PLATE 3



A third cuts himself with a sword

PLATE 4



A fourth rolls in ecstasy on the "knife-table"

PLATE 5

The Third Prince

PLATE 6

The God of War

PLATE 7

The Goddess of Mercy

PLATE 8

The Monkey God

dentally, *lok t'ung* may be the unexplained *loh tang* mentioned by Dr. Alan Elliott in his book referred to above. I can thoroughly recommend this book for further reading on this subject to those who are interested. It is written in a clear and concise style, different from the unintelligible jargon usually adopted by social anthropologists, and will appeal to the general reader.

There is another kind of medium quite separate from the temple mediums described above. This person, known in Cantonese as *man seng p'oh, man mong p'oh, man mai p'oh,* or *yau fa p'oh,* a bewildering variety of names all meaning the same thing, that is, a spiritualist, is always a woman. She is modest and does not claim to be possessed by any famous deity. She merely has the occult power to communicate with departed spirits. She performs both in private homes and in temples, but preferably in the former. Her clientele are persons anxious to find out about the welfare of beloved ones who have passed beyond or to establish contact with them for some other reason. There is no need to say much more about her here. The reader is only required to make a mental note that such a medium exists. She may most conveniently be thought of as being connected with the Confucian cult of ancestor worship, about which more will be said in Chapter Three.

It is quite easy to distinguish a temple which has a medium attached to it. One has only to look for the tools of his trade. They normally consist of all or some of the following items:—

(i) A black triangular-shaped pennant, em-

broidered in gold or silver thread with the magic symbol of the Eight Trigrams (*pat kwa*), and sometimes bearing the name of the deity. This may strike your eye first of all as it is often displayed outside the temple.

(ii) A red-painted wooden chair, resembling a throne, which is, in fact, called in Cantonese the "Dragon Throne" (*lung wai*).

(iii) Another chair of the same colour and shape, but much more uncomfortable, as it is lined with sharp spikes, called in Cantonese a "spike-chair" (*teng kiu*).

(iv) A "knife-table" (*to t'oi*), which is exactly what its name implies, a table of knife blades laid with cutting edge upwards.

(v) A "knife-ladder" (*to t'ai*), normally constructed in detachable sections, which, when fitted together with knife blades in place of ordinary ladder rungs, may reach a height of about ninety or one hundred feet.

(vi) A set of five daggers, the hilts of which are carved to represent the Five Generals of the North, South, East and West, and the General of the Devil Routing Army.

(vii) A set of skewers, the blunt ends of which are fashioned to represent traditional Chinese weapons, such as halberd, pike, and so on.

(viii) A vicious looking "spike-ball" (*ts'z k'au* or *teng k'au*), best described as a metal witch-ball studded with sharp spikes.

(ix) Several double-edged cutting swords (*kim*).

(x) A horsehair or rope "demon whip", sometimes with a wooden handle carved in the shape of a dragon.

(xi) A battle-axe or two.

If you see any or all of these around, you can be sure the temple is the centre of a spirit-medium cult.

The use to which these exotic articles are put? I will indicate it as briefly as possible. Firstly, the "Dragon Throne" is the chair on which the medium sits in meditation in front of his tutelary deity before he falls into a trance. Its red colour is thought to be especially propitious. Secondly, the "demon whip" and Eight Trigram pennant are held by the medium when he is possessed. He may pick them up himself or they may be handed to him by his assistants. Both are thought to have the inherent power of putting to flight any mischievous demons there may be lurking in the vicinity. Thirdly, all of the weapons are used by the medium when he is possessed for self-mutilation and scourging. This amply demonstrates in the eyes of the cult's devotees the power of the deity to render him impervious to pain. With the swords, axe, and "spike-ball", he will lacerate his back, shoulders, and stomach, He will roll, in his ecstasy, on the "knife-table". With the darts and needles, he will skewer his cheeks and tongue. In his trance, he will think nothing of climbing the "knife-ladder", treading with impunity with bare feet on the upturned knife-blades. On a festival day, he will be carried in triumphant procession through the streets, seated on the "spike-chair", following hard on the heels of his deity, who will be carried, much more comfortably, in an ordinary Chinese sedan chair.

There is no doubt that these extraordinary feats would cause an ordinary person pain and discomfort. But I have not seen anything which could not be done equally as well by any other highly trained and disciplined performer. Nor have I ever seen anything which suggests the intervention of a supernatural agency.

From what I have seen, there is always a build up of atmosphere before the start of a public performance. This may have an effect on one's faculties. The deity's altar is always in a small, confined space, and the air will be thick and hazy with candle and incense smoke. It may be uncomfortably hot, particularly with a crowd of excited devotees pressing forward, jostling for the best viewpoint. The medium will put on the special kind of apron he wears, bearing the name of the deity, and sit on the "Dragon Throne" in front of the altar. This indicates that he is ready to be possessed. The temple assistants start beating drums and gongs faster and faster, louder and louder, until a crescendo is reached after a few minutes when the medium's head, arms, legs and body begin to jerk and quiver in a queer, uncontrollable fashion. He is possessed. He may froth at the mouth and utter strange sounds. "*P'u sat lok kai*," the cry rings out — "The god has been reincarnated." Some of the devotees will fall on their knees, or prostrate themselves, calling upon the name of the deity. Others will stand in prayer with their hands clasped in front of them. At this stage, the crash of the gongs and the thunder of the drums may be deafening. The medium writhes and convulses. He is helped to his feet, and incense sticks, the Eight Trigrams pennant, and perhaps a sword, or some other

formidable weapon of flagellation, will be thrust into his hands.

Now, other spirit mediums attached to the temple may follow suit. They cavort outside into the sunshine. One cuts his tongue with a knife, and consecrates charm papers with a dab of blood. Another swings an axe over his shoulders and lacerates his back. A third wields a "spike-ball" in the same way. A fourth rolls on the "knife-table".

There is a certain amount of showmanship about it all. The weapons are wielded with a show of force, but their actual cutting impact is probably skilfully controlled by the medium. The wounds which they inflict are certainly nothing more than lacerations.

I have not seen any modern hygienic methods used to sterilise the lacerations. But a medium is always closely followed by an acolyte, who sprays the wound with water which he imbibes from an ordinary Chinese porcelain bowl and expels in a fine jet from his mouth. To the best of my knowledge, there is nothing unusual about this water, except that it contains the ashes of burnt paper charms. I am not aware that they possess any therapeutic value. Nor is there anything remarkable about the grains of rice which are scattered in the air in the wake of the suffering medium. Charm papers are also applied to the lacerations as direct dressings.

One by one, the mediums are brought out of their trance by having water thrown or sprayed over their faces. They sink back gratefully into the arms of their assistants. Sometimes, their foreheads may be smacked with the palm of an open hand, and then, usually, after a few moments they come round. And that is all.

They recall nothing of their possession. And afterwards, all that distinguishes them from their fellow creatures are faint scars or weals that criss-cross their backs and chests.

No consultations in regard to personal problems are held with mediums on these public occasions.

Chapter Two

POPULAR CHINESE TEMPLE DEITIES IN SINGAPORE

The Chinese pantheon has become so numerous that I do not think there is a single person who knows all of the gods and demons that have become enrolled in it. The fact is there is scarcely any object or living creature that has not been propitiated and worshipped at some time or the other. There are gods and goddesses, patrons of the sun, moon, stars, thunder, lightning, wind, mountains, rivers, sea, trees, flowers, theatres, literature, animals, wells, precious stones, farming, medicine, doors, hawkers, children, copulation, fortune-telling, brothels, gambling dens, amahs, military and civil officials, opium addicts, travellers, businessmen, street corners, barren women, tailors, cabaret girls, seamen, city and rural areas, and so on. I could easily fill this page with them but will not do so.

In this chapter I intend to be selective and say something about the more popular temple deities, including most of those that are known to possess the bodies of spirit mediums in Singapore. Many of the others will, in any case, be mentioned in a later chapter dealing with the temples themselves.

The first popular Singapore Chinese deity in this category is Kuan Tai, or Kuan Kung, the God of

WAR. At least, he is most commonly referred to in this way by foreigners, and it is certainly convenient to do so, though this description of him may convey a wrong impression. He is not worshipped so much for his martial strength, for the use of military force alone unaccompanied by other qualities does not impress the Chinese very much, as for his personification of chivalry, gallantry in the face of odds, loyalty to his comrades, and righteousness. He is not a cruel military despot delighting in bloodshed and wanton destruction; he is the defender of the weak and helpless. He is also the patron saint of many unwarlike trades and professions, one of the patron deities of literature, and the patron deity of Chinese secret societies (see my *Introduction to Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya*).

A full account of his legendary exploits is given in the historical novel, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*San Kuo Chih Yen I*), a story delighted in by every Chinese who can read. Unfortunately, it is rather long (4 volumes, containing 120 chapters) and has not yet been successfully translated into English. There is an English translation in existence, although difficult to come by nowadays, by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, which appeared in two volumes in 1925 under the title *San Kuo or Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, but it is stilted and stiff and creaks at the joints.

The story is based on actual events which happened during the troubled period in Chinese history, known as the "Three Kingdoms", which followed the fall of the house of the Later Han in the third century A.D. Many of the characters in it are historical figures, but they have been brought to life in the fictional version

and endowed with flesh and blood. The novelist, whose identity remains shrouded in mystery, although many theories have been advanced by Chinese scholars, has managed with great skill a huge canvas and his book has become the prototype for many other picaresque historical romances which have followed. The current version of the novel was probably in circulation in late Ming times, say, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In this account, we meet our hero Kuan Tai, in the first chapter, trudging along the Chinese countryside, pushing all his worldly possessions in front of him in a hand-cart. The times were bad. The Dragon Emperor was tottering on his throne, and the country was ravaged by the depredations of a secret militant sect known as the Yellow Turbans. Kuan Tai, fired with patriotism, was hurrying to join the expeditionary force being hastily formed to combat the insurgents. He meets up with two other kindred spirits, and they decide to join together and take an oath of blood brotherhood to be faithful and true to each other until death. They were Liu Pei and Chang Fei, whose names have become over the years almost as much household words among the Chinese as that of Kuan Tai. The oath which they took has become famous among Chinese as the "Oath of the Peach Garden". It was taken in a peach garden behind Chang Fei's farm. I cannot improve upon this description of Kuan Tai, which I have translated from the Chinese:

" Liu Pei looked at this man (Kuan Tai). He was nine feet tall, with a full beard which measured at least two feet. His face was burnt as brown as a berry by

the sun and wind, and his lips were full and cherry-red. His eyes were most striking and reminded one of those of a phoenix. They were surmounted by eyebrows shaped like "sleeping silkworms". His whole bearing was grave and sedate. Liu Pei invited him to be seated, and asked him his name. " My family name is Kuan," he said, " and my given name is Yu. Formerly, I was also known by the appellation Shou Chang, but this has now been changed into Yun Chang. I come from the east of the Yellow River. For the last five or six years, I have been a fugitive from justice because I killed a tyrant in my native place who was oppressing the people. I heard that an expeditionary force was being raised to put down an uprising, so I came post-haste to join up."

The length of the Chinese foot, incidentally, has varied from time to time, but has always been shorter than the English foot-measure.

It is not necessary here to follow further the exploits of the three sworn brothers. Needless to say, all performed prodigious feats of heroism. Of the three, Kuan Tai was probably the most outstanding. During the course of his numerous adventures, he was captured by his unscrupulous enemy, Ts'ao Ts'ao, who also had in his custody the two wives of Liu Pei, the Ladies Kan and Mei. In order to create misunderstanding between the two sworn brothers, Ts'ao Ts'ao ordered Kuan Tai to share the room occupied by the ladies. Kuan Tai, however, was equal to the situation, and preserved the ladies' reputations and his own good name, by staying awake all night at the door with a lighted lantern in his hand. Thereafter, the cunning Ts'ao Ts'ao tried

to tempt him in other ways by offering him high office in his service if he would change sides and fight against his sworn brothers. This, too, Kuan Tai spurned, and he eventually fought his way out to freedom. At length, he was captured by Sun Ch'uan, another of his powerful adversaries, and put to death in 219 A.D.

He had to wait patiently in the Otherworld for a further nine hundred years before his merits were officially recognized. He was then canonized (in the Sung dynasty, 1120 A.D.), as the Faithful and Loyal Duke (Chung Hui Kung). Thereafter, his promotion was relatively quick. Eight years later, he was elevated to the rank of the Martial Emperor and Pacifier (Chuang Mu Wu An Wang). Finally, in 1594, during the Ming dynasty, he took his place in the Chinese pantheon as the God of War (Kuan Tai or Kuan Kung). There are many variations in Chinese of his official honours and titles but they all amount to the same thing.

His birthday is celebrated annually in Chinese temples in Singapore on the thirteenth day of the fifth moon, and his elevation to the Chinese pantheon on the ninth day of the ninth moon.

THE NINE EMPERORS (Kau Wong Yeh), or, in full, Their Excellencies the Nine Emperors of the Pole Star (Pak Tao Kau Wong Yeh), are popular temple deities among the Chinese in Singapore. The central temple of this cult is at 5½ milestone Upper Serangoon Road, just outside the city limits. It is difficult to determine with any exactitude the names of these mythical kings. Indeed, in the familiar way they are spoken of by the Chinese in Singapore it often seems

that they have somehow been fused into one: a deity, as it were, with a single body and nine heads. But this is not correct. They each have a separate identity.

According to traditional Chinese mythology, their mother, Tou Mu, or the Goddess of the North Star, is more important than they are. But, in Singapore, they overshadow their mother. The story goes that the Goddess of the North Star was the wife of the King of Chou Yu, by whom she had nine sons. She herself occupies the North Star and her sons were allocated palaces in neighbouring stars forming the Chinese Dipper (the constellation of Ursa Major). This is made up of four stars forming the Bowl of the Dipper (known in Chinese as *k'uei*), three stars forming the Handle of the Dipper (known in Chinese as *shuo*), and two other ruling stars. I hasten to add that in Chinese astronomy stars are arranged in groups which would puzzle the Western astronomer, although it is a moot point whether their combination into clusters is any more arbitrary than the Western system of grouping them.

The Nine Emperors are also identical with the Nine Human Sovereigns (Jen Huang), who figure in the earliest recorded Chinese myths of the beginnings of Chinese history. They are said to have reigned a total of 45,600 years. Although obviously fabulous and undependable as history, they appear again and again in Chinese literature, mythology and folklore, and, with their illustrious mother, occupy a prominent place in both Taoism and Buddhism.

The Chinese almanac records that they visit the Earth every year between the first and ninth days, inclusive, of the ninth moon. The birthday of the God-

dess of the North Star also falls on the last of these days. During this period many of their devotees abstain from eating meat.

The most popular temple deity among Chinese women in Singapore is undoubtedly KUAN YIN, the GODDESS OF MERCY, but, paradoxically, very little is known about her, and there is no clear information as to her identity. It is said that her name was first mentioned in the fifth century B.C. by Gautama Buddha in his preachings.

According to one widely-believed legend, as she was about to enter Nirvana, she heard a cry of anguish from the Earth below, and was so moved by compassion that she turned aside from the promised Paradise, and devoted her life to alleviating the sufferings of mankind. Hence her full title in Chinese: Nan Wu Ta Tz'u Ta Pei Chiu K'u Chiu Nan Kuang Ta Ling Kan Kuan Shih Yin P'u Sat, which may be translated "The Most Merciful and Compassionate Bodhisattva, Protector of the Afflicted, Exalted Spirit who Hears the Cries of Mortals". This is far too long for Westerners to remember but it is evoked every day by suppliants in Chinese temples in Singapore. On a lower scale, she is also known affectionately in Singapore as the Third Aunt.

If nothing else, her rank in the Buddhist hierarchy is clear: she is a Bodhisattva. A Bodhisattva is a second-class Buddha who has foregone Buddhahood in order to return to the world to assist mankind in the long climb to Nirvana. In classical Buddhism, Gautama or Shakyamuni (in Chinese, Shih Chia Fa), the Buddha, is undoubtedly her superior, but now she has ousted him

from his place of honour, at least, in most Chinese temples in Malaya.

Her worshippers are also a little confused as to how many Goddesses of Mercy there are in the Otherworld. There are at least the White-Robed Kuan Yin, the Thousand-Hand Kuan Yin, the Child-Sending Kuan Yin, and the Fish-Basket Kuan Yin. In addition, I have a feeling she may be related to two other popular goddesses enshrined in Singapore temples, namely Chu Sheng Niang Niang (the Empress Registrar of Births), and Tien Hou Sheng Mu *alias* Ma Chu P'oh (the Queen of Heaven), but this has never been investigated and it must remain a theory for the time being. More will be said about the Empress Registrar of Births and the Queen of Heaven in due course.

" Those women who are childless, visit her temple, and are granted the gift of sons. Those who are poor, only have to pray at her altar, and she will open the gates of the treasury and give them riches. Those who are sick, only have to drink water in which one of her charms has been mixed, and they will be cured. Those who are troubled by maleficent spirits, only have to call upon her name, and the spirits will be exorcised." This is a popular description of her qualities in a Chinese book in Malaya.

The most commonly heard account of her miraculous birth runs as follows. In the closing years of the Chou dynasty (*circa* third century B.C.) there was a kingdom in the Western Regions known as Hsing Lin, says the Chinese writer, Chung Shan K'e in his book *The Birth of Kuan Yin*. The exact location of this kingdom is in some doubt, but by some it is believed

to be in the area of present-day India. The king was P'o Chia, and his reign title was Miao Chuang. Although the country was prosperous and at peace, and the people content, the king was troubled at heart. He had been married for more than forty years and his good wife, Queen Pao Te, had produced no heir but only two daughters. The eldest was named Miao Yin and the second Miao Yuan.

One day in the fifth moon the King and Queen were taking their leisure in the Imperial Gardens, where they drifted lazily in the royal barge on a lake admiring the white lotus flowers, and eating and drinking their fill. At the end of the long day, they felt tired and fell asleep. The Queen had a dream. It seemed as if she was in the midst of a vast, shoreless ocean. The only object in sight was a golden lotus. Suddenly, before her eyes, it changed into a hill on which there were human habitations, including a magnificent flower pagoda, from which a strange glow was emitted on all sides. As she watched, a red pearl flew from the pagoda straight up to the highest heaven where it changed into a fiery sun. Suddenly, it came tumbling down again and fell at her feet. The Queen wanted to move but did not have the strength to do so, and it seemed as if it had entered her person.

When she awoke, the Queen related her strange dream to the King. The King was a wise man and understood. " It is indeed a good omen," he said, " and foretells the birth of a son." They were both exceedingly happy.

In due course, when her time drew near, a change came over the Queen. Whereas before, when she had

been with child, she had had a taste for meat, chicken, duck and fish, now she did not relish them at all and could only eat vegetarian dishes. The King, who was anxiously expecting day by day the birth of an heir, was informed in the morning of the nineteenth day of the second moon that another daughter had been born to him. She was named Miao Shan.

The King was beside himself with rage, and sent for his Chief Minister and said to him: " I am an old man and have no son to succeed to the throne. Of what use have been my labours if my dynasty becomes extinct? " The Minister tried to console him by saying, "Heaven has granted Your Majesty three daughters. No human can change this divine decree."

Miao Shan became noted for her modesty and many other virtuous qualities, and strictly observed all the tenets of the Buddhist faith. It seemed, indeed, that she had a destiny to fulfil.

I will not follow in detail the course of her life as given in this legend. The salient features are that while her two sisters married, she refused to do so and devoted her life to Buddhist practices. "Riches and glory mean nothing to me. They are transient. I do not desire worldly pleasures. My only ambition is to attain the highest degree of goodness, rescue my parents, and bring them safely to Heaven. I will succour the poor and afflicted on Earth. I will protect mortals from evil spirits." This is what our Chinese chronicler wrote about her.

Against her father's wishes, she entered a nunnery. The nunnery was later razed to the ground on his instructions, and Miao Shan herself was made prisoner

and sentenced to death. At the execution ground she was carried off on the back of a tiger to the Otherworld, where she was later deified by the Jade Emperor as Kuan Yin.

The myth of her birth related above is interesting in many ways. There are some who say that Kuan Yin was at one time represented as a man, and that she originally came from India in the form of the Indian god Avalokitsevara, shortened to Avalokita, the " God who Looks Down". Others say she is identical with Sumana, a Ceylonese god. Yet a third school identify her as the son of Amitabha, the Infinite-Eternal Buddha, who presides over the Western Paradise. Be that as it may, she is always represented as a woman in Malaya, although the male form survives elsewhere. Her change of sex in China is believed to have taken place about the time of the T'ang dynasty (ninth century A.D.). Perhaps a hint of her hermaphroditism is given in King Miao Chuang's desire for a son and heir.

In this legend, her birthday is clearly given as the nineteenth day of the second moon, which is celebrated as such in Malaya. But there are two other days on which birthday celebrations are held in her honour. They are also on the nineteenth day, but of the sixth and ninth moons. All three dates are given as Kuan Yin's birthday in the Chinese almanac in current use in Malaya. Chinese worshippers themselves are at a loss to explain this. The simplest and most plausible explanation is that the first is actually her birthday; the second, the day on which she became a nun; and the third, the day on which she ascended to Heaven. This

has the advantage, too, of not contradicting the legend we have referred to above.

The desire of her mother, Queen Pao Te, for vegetarian dishes before her birth has also had an affect on the cult of Kuan Yin. Many of her worshippers keep to vegetarian diets on her three celebration days. There are other days in the year set aside for vegetarianism which I will record here since they have not been recorded elsewhere before:—

First moon, eighth day; second moon, seventh and ninth days; third moon, third, sixth and thirtieth days; fourth moon, twenty-second day; fifth moon, third and seventeenth days; sixth moon, sixteenth, eighteenth and twenty-third days; seventh moon, thirteenth day; eighth moon, sixteenth day; ninth moon, twenty-third day; tenth moon, second, eleventh and nineteenth days; twelfth moon, twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days.

THE QUEEN OF HEAVEN is often confused with Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy. They have many attributes in common. Both are merciful and kind and offer special protection to seafarers. But the Queen of Heaven is undoubtedly a Water Spirit and her origin is quite different from the Goddess of Mercy, as will be seen. Firstly, I will record all the confusing array of names by which she is known throughout Malaya and Singapore: Ma Chu P'oh (Respected Grandaunt) is the familiar name by which she is best known by the many Hokkiens and Teochius who form the bulk of her devotees; the Queen of Heaven, the Holy Mother (T'ien Hou Sheng Mu); Ma Tsu Ch'iung (difficult to translate but probably meaning in this context something like Respected Mother of the Hainanese);

Lady-in-Waiting to Heaven (T'ien Fei); Lady-in-Waiting to the Sages (Sheng Fei); and the Jade Empress who Relieves the Sufferings of the People (Su Yu Niang Niang). We shall refer to her here, however, simply as the Queen of Heaven.

One legend in current circulation in Singapore has it that she was the daughter of a Hokkien sailor who had two sons. One night she had a terrifying dream in which it seemed that her father and two brothers were in danger of drowning. She seized her father's junk in her mouth, and held her brothers' junks in her two hands. She was dragging them ashore when she heard her mother calling her. She opened her mouth to answer and awoke in great fright. A few days later came the news that all three junks had sunk and that her father and brothers had lost their lives. Thereafter, she became an object of reverence and respect, and shrines were built in her name in sea-going junks at which sailors burnt incense and prayed for delivery from the perils of the sea.

The well-known Chinese encyclopaedia, *Tz'u Yuan Cheng Hsu Pien Ho Ting Pen*, (p. 377), gives a slightly different and more precise account of her origin. According to this source, the Queen of Heaven was born the sixth daughter of a Fukien sailor named Lin Yuan, in the time of the Sung dynasty (960-1278 A.D.). As a child, she was considered strange and unusual. One day, she had a vision in which she saw her father's junk caught in a storm and in peril of capsizing. She transformed herself into a water spirit and went to his assistance. She died at the early age of twenty, but her apparition has been seen skimming

the waves many times since then by sailors. In the time of Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming dynasty (1403-1426 A.D.), she was deified as T'ien Fei (Lady-in-Waiting to Heaven), and not long afterwards a temple was built in her honour in the capital. Her style was subsequently changed to T'ien Hou (The Queen of Heaven).

A local Chinese scholar, Mr. Han Wai-Toon, has written a most interesting and erudite article about her in Chinese in *The Journal of the South Seas Society* for June, 1941, which I commend to anyone who wishes to find out more about her.

Her birthday is celebrated annually in Singapore on the twenty-third day of the third moon.

NOR CHA SAM T'AI TZE, or THE THIRD PRINCE, sometimes referred to by his honorific title as the Third Prince of the Lotus, is always represented in Chinese shrines in Singapore holding his magic bracelet in one hand and a magic sword in the other, with "wind-and-fire" wheels under his feet. He is more likely to be found in an attap hut than in one of the older established temples.

You may sometimes also see his father, General Lee Ching, who has been deified as the God who Supports the Pagoda in his Hand. He is easily identifiable because, as his title implies, he carries a golden pagoda in the palm of his hand. He was originally a General, and Commander of the Ch'en T'ang Pass, under the infamous ruler Chou, whose crimes brought about the downfall of the Shang dynasty in 1122 B.C.

The Third Prince is one of the most frequently mentioned heroes in Chinese legends. His life story is

contained in Chapters Twelve to Fourteen of a Chinese novel entitled *Legends of the Gods* (*Fen Shen Pang Yen I*). The author of this story of fantasy is still unknown. All that is known about it is that it was probably written during the Ming dynasty (sixteenth century A.D.) at about the same time as *A Record of Travels in the West*. I am afraid there is no translation in English of this book, although it is considered to be one of the major Chinese novels dealing with the supernatural. The current version in Malaya is in four volumes, containing one hundred chapters. A German sinologue, Wilhelm Grube, has produced a condensation of the story in German entitled *Feng-shen-yen-i. Die Metamorphosen der Gotter,* consisting of a translation of Chapters One to Forty and a summary of the rest. I doubt, however, whether this will be read by many people in Malaya.

The Third Prince's miraculous birth is recorded in Chapter Twelve of the Chinese version in the following words.

" General Lee Ching's wife was Madam Yen. She had already borne him two sons: the eldest was Kam Cha, and the second Muk Cha. Now the strange thing was that Madam Yen had been with child for the last three-and-a-half years and there was still no sign of her reaching the end of her term. Her husband was very worried about it.

" One night, in the third watch, Madam Yen had a dream in which a most unkempt and bedraggled Taoist priest burst into her bedroom. ' You rascal,' she cried out, ' how dare you enter my room like this! ' The Taoist priest replied: ' Madam, prepare to receive

the son of the unicorn.' Before she could say any more the Taoist priest placed something on her bosom.

"Madam Yen awoke in a great fright, a cold sweat all over her body. She awakened her husband and told him of her dream. At that moment, she was seized with violent pains in her stomach. General Lee Ching withdrew into an adjoining sitting-room. He was uneasy and did not know what to make of it. Not long afterward, two servants ran to him, crying out that his wife had given birth to a freak.

"The General seized his sword and rushed into the bedroom. The room was filled with a strange red glow and a curious fragrance. A caul was rolling on the floor like a wheel. General Lee Ching cut it in two with his sword and a baby emerged surrounded by a halo of red light. Its face was powder-white. A gold bracelet encircled its right wrist, and there was a band of red silk around its waist. A golden light shone from its eyes. An immortal had been born; a reincarnation of the "Spiritual Pearl". The bracelet was the "Heaven-and-Earth-Circle", and the red silk cummerbund was the "Confused Heavens Cummerbund". These were precious objects endowed with magical powers from the Golden Brilliance Cavern of the Mountain of Heaven.

"On the morrow, a Taoist priest called at the house, and after exchanging salutations with General Lee Ching, announced himself by his Taoist appellation as the Great Monad of the Golden Brilliance Cavern of the Mountain of Heaven. 'I have come to offer my humble congratulations to you on the birth of a son,' he said. 'May I please see the child?' General Lee

Ching was truly delighted at the interest shown by the Taoist mendicant, as he himself was a Taoist, and he ordered his servants to bring the child out. The Taoist priest asked the exact time of the child's birth. The General replied that he was born in the hour of *Ch'ou* (between one and three a.m.). The Taoist priest looked grave. 'It is not a good hour,' he said, 'and I'm afraid he will cause you a lot of trouble when he grows up. Has he been given a name yet?' General Lee Ching replied in the negative. 'Then let him become my pupil,' said the priest. He then asked the General the names of his other two sons. 'My eldest son is Kam Cha,' answered the General, 'and he is the disciple of the God of Wisdom, the Venerable Taoist Exorcist of the Clouds and Mist Cavern of the Five Dragons' Mountain. My second son is Muk Cha the disciple of the All-Pervading Goodness Immortal of the White Crane Cavern of the Imperial Palace Mountain. I shall be honoured to allow my third son to become your disciple. Please select an auspicious name for him.' The Taoist priest said: 'Let him be known as Nor Cha.'

"General Lee Ching then invited the priest to stay and partake of his hospitality, but the latter declined and took his leave."

At seven years of age, the Third Prince was already six feet in height. He was soon in trouble. He killed the Third Son (Ao Ping) of the Dragon King of the Eastern Seas, and was also involved in further outrages for which his parents were held responsible. Eventually, the Third Prince voluntarily surrendered himself to the Dragon King, and paid for his crimes by scraping the flesh off his bones. His soul flew straight to the

Cavern of the Great Monad, his master, while his mother busied herself with burying his mortal remains.

Subsequently, his mother built a temple in his honour on the Kingfisher Screen Mountain (Ts'ui P'ing Shan). Miracles were regular occurrences and the temple was daily thronged with devotees.

In the meantime, his master was not inactive and he created a new Third Prince from water-lily stalks and lotus leaves, and armed him with a fiery spear and fastened wind-and-fire wheels under his feet.

The Third Prince then fought with his own father, because the latter destroyed his temple, but they were reconciled at last by the Immortals. His father was given by them a golden pagoda, the only means by which the Third Prince could be subjected, and appointed the God who supports the Pagoda in his Hand. The magic pagoda is used, as far as I can understand, as a kind of flame-thrower. Once before, it had been used effectively against the mischievous Third Prince and had rendered him helpless.

The birthday of the Third Prince is not mentioned in the Chinese almanac in use in Malaya but it is celebrated annually in great style on the eight and ninth days of the fourth moon.

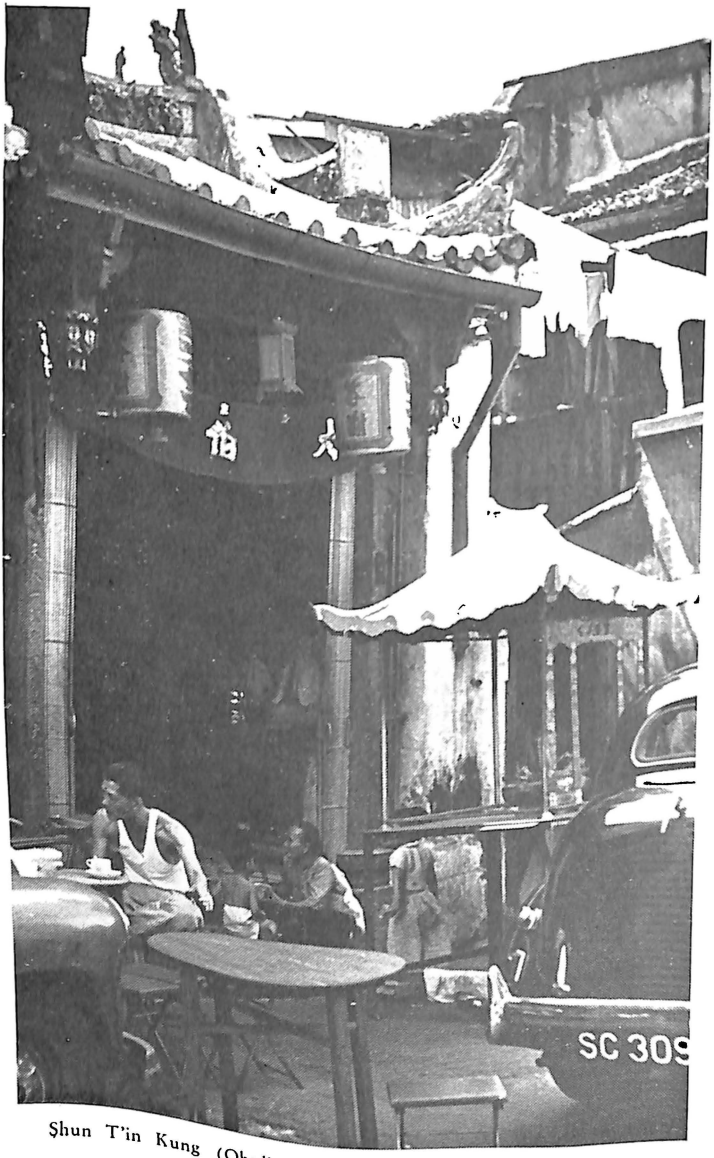
Toh Peh Kong (The Grand Old Man) is to my mind the most interesting Malayan-Chinese temple deity. He is always represented as a genial, red-cheeked, white-bearded old gentleman gazing down in a very paternal and benign way on his followers.

Who is this god? It is strange indeed that he is unheard of in China proper. and yet his shrines are to be found wherever there are Chinese in South-East Asia.

PLATE 9

Toh Peh Kong

PLATE 10



Shun T'in Kung (Obedient to Heaven Temple), Malabar Street

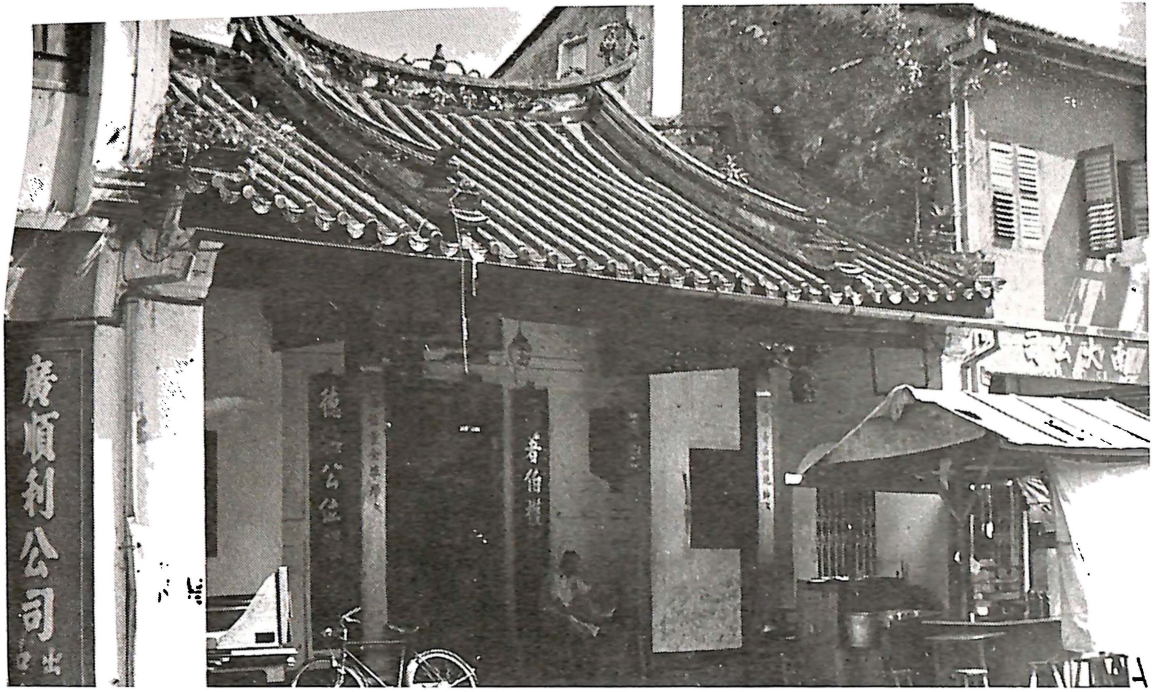
Tan Si Chong Su, Magazine Road

PLATE 11

PLATE 12

Ning Yeung Wui Kuan, South Bridge Road

Thian Hok Keng, Telok Ayer Street



Fuk Tak Ch'i, Telok Ayer Street

Wak Hai Cheng Bio, Phillips Street

PLATE 15

Fuk Tak Ch'i, Havelock Road

PLATE 16

The answer is that he is the tutelary saint of the overseas Chinese. In Malaya, his main function is to look after the interests of the Malayan-Chinese. In addition, he is relied upon to bring prosperity, cure disease, becalm the ocean and avert danger.

There are more than ten temples and shrines to him in Singapore alone, some of which will be described in another section of this book. The best known are in Balestier Road, Telok Ayer Street, Tanjong Pagar, and on the small island off Singapore, known as Pulau Kusu or Peak Island, the scene of annual pilgrimages by his devotees. All of these places of worship were built in the time of Emperors Tao Kuang (1821-51) and Hsien Feng (1851-61) of the Manchu dynasty.

The Grand Old Man is also evoked by a shortened version of his name, Peh Kong, and a lengthened version, Toh Peh Kong Tolong. He is the same as the local deity named Fu Tak Cheng Shan, although few people realise it.

His name itself is a fascinating one. It is clearly the same as *topekong,* a word found in the standard Malay-English dictionary meaning a Chinese household divinity. *To* is probably an abbreviation for *dato',* a title of respect in Malay, and *pekong* is probably derived from the shortened version of the Grand Old Man's name. The Malay word *tokong,* meaning a Chinese temple, may also be connected with his name.

There are several superstitions connected with his cult. For instance, many of his devotees will not eat a local fish known in Malay as *ikan talang* (chorinemus sp.), which has five black marks on its body. These marks are held by them to be the imprints of Toh Peh

Kong's fingers. The fish is known in Chinese as *Toh Peh Kong Yu*. In similar fashion, some of his devotees will not partake of durian fruit, which they consider to be Toh Peh Kong's own fruit.

There are many theories regarding his origin over which Chinese scholars in Malaya have been wrangling for a long time. One of the most intriguing is that he was an old Hokkien scholar named Chang Li, who, as he had had secret society connections in China, was forced to flee for his life to Malaya during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung (1736-96). He settled in Penang and took up employment as a school teacher. Later, after his death, on account of his popularity and good works among the local Chinese, he was regarded as something of a saint and given the honorific title Toh Peh Kong. Some scholars think that Chang Li was not, in fact, his proper name but the name of the rank he held in the notorious Triad or Heaven and Earth Society. This rank is believed by them to be the same as that of Elder Brother, Tiger General, or White Fan in the secret society hierarchy.

In this connection, I would like to add something which has hitherto been passed over in silence. A powerful Chinese secret society was established at Jelutong, Penang, at the end of 1844, under the name Toh Peh Kong Society. It played a leading part in the Penang Riots of 1867, when the port of Penang was taken over for several days by secret society rioters. It may well be that this secret society was formed by, or had some connection with, the old Hokkien scholar mentioned above.

Another theory about the origin of the Grand Old

Man is that he is simply a deity worshipped by seafaring people. Those who support this view point out that his image is set up on sea-going junks and prayed to by sailors. They regard him as second only to the Queen of Heaven as the guardian of seafarers.

His Excellency The Monkey God, (Ts'oi T'in Tai Seng Yeh), is prominent among Chinese temple deities in Singapore. There are always mediums attached to his shrines. Most of these places of worship are most unpretentious to look at and may be nothing more than dilapidated shophouses or attap huts, but they are centres of a cult which shews no sign of diminishing its hold over Chinese worshippers.

Who is this weird creature, and in what manner has he obtained such a strong hold? The answers to both these questions are given in detail in a Chinese book entitled *A Record of Travels in the West* (*Hsi Yu Chi*). There are forty-one different versions of this story extant, but the most commonly used now is the four-volume one, containing one hundred chapters, written by Wu Ch'eng En (1500-1582 A.D.) during the Ming dynasty. It is an interesting book in many ways. Its pages are filled with ghosts, demons and denizens of the Otherworld. But it is not a straightforward fairy story or story of the supernatural. Its characters are said to be allegorical. For instance, the Monkey God, who is really the hero of the story, is said to represent human nature, with all of its weaknesses. A Pig God, who also figures prominently in the narrative, is said to stand for lust and the baser passions of mankind, which are constantly in conflict with the conscience in an attempt to gain the upper hand. There

are others too. The story is woven around an actual historical event: the pilgrimage to India of the Buddhist priest Hsuan Tsang in the T'ang dynasty (seventh century A.D.) in quest of sacred Buddhist scriptures. But poor Hsuan Tsang in this account is relegated to the background and becomes a minor figure. The action is meant to take place in the T'ang dynasty but, under cover of this camouflage, the author takes the opportunity to have sly digs at the shortcomings of society in his own times, which would otherwise be a very dangerous thing for him to have done if he wanted to keep his head on his shoulders.

As far as I know, there is no complete translation of this book available in English. Dr. Arthur Waley has translated about one third of it, under the title *Monkey*. It makes delightful reading. There is another selective English translation by Timothy Richards called *A Mission to Heaven*, which consists of a translation of chapters one to seven, and a summary of the rest.

The opening chapter of the book records the birth of the Monkey God in the following words: "Beyond the seas, there is a famous mountain standing in the kingdom of Ao Lai, known as Hua Kuo Shan. On the very top of this mountain, there is a magic rock 36 feet 5 inches high and 24 feet in circumference. Since the creation of the universe, it had been worked upon by the elements. There were no trees around to give it shade, and it was nourished by the iris and epidendrum, and exposed to the vigour of the sun and the splendour of the moon. At length, in some magical fashion, it stirred within, and one day suddenly split

open and gave birth to a strange stone about the size of a playing ball. Fructified by the wind, it assumed the shape of a stone monkey, complete with five senses and four limbs. In no time, the monkey learned to climb and run. The newly-born saluted the four quarters. From his eyes, golden rays shot up to the Palace of the North Pole Star. This light subsided as soon as he had partaken of sustenance."

The monkey's prowess soon caused him to be proclaimed king of all the monkeys, under the title Handsome Monkey King (Mei Hou Wang). He then became more ambitious, and interested himself in trying to solve the mysteries of life. After travelling for eighteen years by land and sea, he became the pupil of the Buddhist Patriarch P'u T'i Tsu Shih.

His master selected for him the Buddhist appellation Obedient and Aware-of-the-Void (Sun Wu K'ung). The monkey also smartened up his appearance and began to wear clothes and look something like a human being. From his master, he learnt the elements of occult knowledge, how to fly through the air and somersault a distance of 18,000 *li* (6,000 miles), and change into seventy-two different forms. After serving his apprenticeship, he was granted the official title of Pi Ma Wen (Heavenly Groom) by the Jade Emperor, the supreme deity of the Taoist pantheon. The Monkey God, however, was not satisfied with this title, and thought it too lowly for him. He became very truculent and obstreperous, causing disturbances far and wide. He was certainly a formidable opponent to face, as he was armed with a magic iron lance, presented to him by the Dragon King of the Eastern Seas, which could ex-

pand or contract at will, and which on occasions he kept concealed in his ear. He is often portrayed carrying this weapon in Chinese representations in Malaya. He then assumed the more grandiose title of The Great Sage of All the Heavens (Ts'oi T'in Tai Seng Yeh). It is this name by which he is most commonly known in Singapore, or, at least, the shortened version of it, Tai Seng Yeh. Even to this day, it is considered an affront by his worshippers to refer to him bluntly in Chinese as the Monkey God. In English, it apparrently does not matter because he cannot understand the language.

Ultimately, after a series of astounding adventures, he became converted to the true faith by Buddha, and agreed to join Hsuan Tsang's entourage on his pilgrimage to the West. On their journey out, according to this story, the pilgrims encountered and overcame eighty different difficulties. On their way back, there was only one, but that brought them to the brink of disaster within sight of home. They were crossing a a swollen river on the back of a turtle when the turtle reminded Hsuan Tsang of a promise he had made on the way out to intercede on his behalf with the Ruler of the West. Hsuan Tsang had to admit that he had forgotten to bring the matter up. The turtle, thereupon, dived below the water, leaving the pilgrims floundering in midstream with all of their precious Buddhist relics and books. Of course, in the end, they managed to swim ashore safely.

The story ends with honours being conferred upon all the intrepid travellers at a meeting of the Immortals presided over by Maitreya, the Laughing Buddha.

For those interested, the birthday of the Monkey God is celebrated annually in Singapore on the sixteenth day of the eighth moon. The celebrations generally last two days.

Chapter Three

CONFUCIANISM, TAOISM AND BUDDHISM

There may be some who, in spite of what I have said in the first chapter, are conservative and would still like to hear something about the three traditional religions of China. This chapter is directed to them. There may be others who have already a good idea of these three religions. This chapter is not for them. They are at liberty to pass on to the next chapter without fear of missing very much.

San Chiao is the Chinese expression for what is commonly translated into English as the three religions. In the order I have listed them in the chapter heading, they are *Ju Chiao*, *Tao Chiao*, and *Shih Chiao*. We may get some idea of their content from a translation of their Chinese names. *Ju* means learned or scholarly; *Tao* means the middle path; and *Shih* means to unloose or explain. From this, we can easily see that none of them is likely to be a particularly militant or warlike religion. This is something in contrast to the religions of the West.

Only the word *Chiao* remains unexplained. Generally speaking, this has three meanings: education, culture, or religion. When, therefore, it is used in Chinese, it may not always correspond to what we understand

by the word " religion " in English. This is an important difference which we would do well to bear in mind.

Each of the three religions has two faces to it. One is the pure, metaphysical side, and the other is the popular, superstitious side. The first will only appeal to the thinkers, the philosophers of society, who are always in the minority. The second will appeal to the broad masses. This is the conclusion we have alluded to at the beginning of this book. Religion in Chinese garb nowadays is largely a matter for the broad masses. Thus it is in Singapore. We can expect them, in common with ordinary folk anywhere, to be superstitious, credulous, and easily led "up the garden path".

Only two of the three religions are indigenous to China. They are Confucianism and Taoism. And the first of these is not a religion in the Western sense but an ethical system corresponding more closely to the first two meanings of the word *chiao,* that is, education and culture. The third religion, Buddhism, is a foreign importation from India which entered China in the first century A.D. Thus, it can probably be said with some justification that China has produced only one religion within its own borders, namely, Taoism. This conclusion is not as surprising as it seems at first sight, for there have been comparatively few outstanding religious leaders in China compared with writers, painters, statesmen and other leaders of public life and thought.

The Chinese sages, Confucius and Lao Tzu, together with the Indian Buddha, all flourished in the fifth or sixth centuries B.C. They lived within a few centuries of the Hebrew prophets and Greek philosophers. All were seeking a way of life, a system of

ethics and morality, by which people could live in harmony and the holders of power be tempered with benevolence and righteousness. All were considered to be dangerous rebels in their day. They had other similarities too but I will not labour the point here.

To return to the Chinese scene. The Confucians believed in a moral code embracing the individual, family, and society, and perhaps, to a certain degree, the state. The Taoists had a mystical philosophy of their own, and thought that things should be allowed to run their own course. Theirs was the line of least resistance. The Buddhists sought salvation in union with God, and prepared all who believed for entry into the Western Paradise.

It is possible that Taoism was infused with new life by the advent of Buddhism in the first century A.D. At any rate, it soon borrowed or adapted to its own use many of the more popular beliefs of the latter religion. Buddhist deities began to take their place on Taoist altars, and vice versa. The ordinary people were prepared to worship any god, regardless of his denomination, who was likely to give them the best return for their money. They even took up ancestor worship, the propitiation of the spirits of the departed, which was the only popular feature Confucianism had to offer. Otherwise Confucianism was too academic and dry for them. They wanted something more colourful and sensational. And Confucius did not pander to this demand when he disposed of the Otherworld in the following terms: "How can there be any proper service of the spirits until the living have been served?

We do not know enough yet about living, how can we possibly know about death? "

Anyway, popular Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucian ancestor worship were regarded as forming one whole, and having one aim, namely, the worship of the gods of the Otherworld and the ghosts of the deceased. I have already alluded to this fusion in Chapter One. Indeed, I think they were never completely separate in the Chinese mind. They were only separate to Westerners looking at them from the outside. But Chinese writers themselves have largely ignored this subject. There have been few books by Chinese writers on Chinese popular religion, but many by Chinese scholars who have concerned themselves with the more abstruse philosophical disciplines of the three religions. Hence, this subject is still dealt with inadequately by Westerners like myself who can only touch upon the more obvious aspects.

From China, we must now return to Malaya. Probably all that lingers of Confucianism in Malaya today is the cult of ancestor worship. Many persons knowledgeable about things Chinese think that it is ephemeral and will soon wither away. But the fact remains that there are still spirit tablets set up to the ghosts of the departed in many Chinese temples. Of the thirty-three temples described in the following chapter, eleven have shrines for ancestor worship with spirit tablets within them. Of course, this does not mean that the adherents of this cult are Confucianists. Far from it. The majority of them are animists, prepared to propitiate all the denizens of the Otherworld, but, quite naturally, they have a loyalty to the spirits

of their own departed ones first and foremost. I was, however, surprised to find quite recently that there is actually a temple to Confucius in Singapore, and that the sage's image is installed in several other Chinese temples. This means that he has assumed his rightful place among the tutelary gods. Confucius' Day, the twenty-seventh day of the eighth moon, also survives in the Malayan-Chinese almanac and it is still an optional public holiday for Chinese schools.

The form of Taoism that was brought to Malaya by the earliest Chinese immigrants was not the lofty metaphysical dialectics of the sage Lao Tzu but the debased version with its accretion of superstitions and magical practices. The originator of this popular form of the religion in China was Chang Tao Ling, born in 34 A.D., who started a Taoist settlement in West China. In his day, Mr. Chang was a celebrated alchemist. At the age of sixty, he startled the Chinese world by announcing that he had discovered the much sought after elixir of life. It was a weird concoction, the ingredients of which unfortunately still remain unknown, which he called the " Blue Dragon and White Tiger " mixture. However, it did not prolong his own life and his spirit departed from this world in due course. Seven hundred years afterwards, in the T'ang dynasty, the Chinese Emperor graciously conferred the posthumous title of " Celestial Teacher " upon him and his successors. These gentlemen have been likened to the Pope at Rome, but the comparison is flattering to them.

This line of high priests survived on Dragon-Tiger Mountain in Kiangsi until the Chinese Communist Government took over the country in 1949. The

Taoist Pope then left hurriedly for the fleshpots of Macao where he has been ever since.

The highest god in Taoism is Yu Huang (The Jade Emperor), or Yu Huang Shang Ti (The Jade Emperor on High), or, less accurately but more commonly in English, The Pearly Emperor. This deity sits in several temples in Singapore. There is also a Taoist Trinity, probably copied from a similar association of three in Buddhism. The identity of the Taoist gods in this trinity often varies. It is sometimes said to consist of Heaven, Earth and Water, or Lao Tzu, Yu Huang, and the hoary creator of the world, P'an Ku. But strangely enough, I have never seen an image of Lao Tzu in a Chinese temple in Singapore.

We must now consider an aspect of popular Taoism and Buddhism in Malaya which has been completely ignored so far. I refer to their connection with secret societies. In China, popular Taoism and Buddhism had the reputation from early times of being mixed up with eclectic sects and secret societies. Dr. Colin McDougall has quite correctly mentioned in his most informative *Buddhism in Malaya* (pp. 18 & 19) that there was a connection between popular Buddhism (Pure Land Sect) in China and the notorious White Lotus Secret Society. The White Lotus Sect was probably the first quasi-religious secret society to appear in China. It originated at the end of the Sung dynasty (thirteenth century A.D.). All of the quasi-religious secret societies that came after it appear to have been modelled on it. The Tsai Li Chiao, of the Ming dynasty (seventeenth century A.D.), was an important branch of the White Lotus Society of especial interest to us for

reasons which will be apparent in due course. It forbade its members opium, liquor, and tobacco, and claimed to be a fusion of the best features of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

In present-day Malaya (1957), there are known to be at least 408 Chinese secret societies in existence. If anything, this figure is a conservative one, as it includes only those secret organisations known to the authorities. There are likely to be many more. There is almost certainly a connection between some of these societies, such as the Dragon and Tiger, Eight Fairies, and Eighteen Monks Societies and popular Chinese religion.

I will indicate what the connection is in the three examples I have given. The first name implies a connection with the Southern School of popular Taoism, or the Dragon and Tiger Mountain School, as it is known in Chinese. Popular Taoism is divided into two Schools. The first is as stated. The second, or Northern School, is called in Chinese the White Clouds Temple.

As for the Eight Fairies, or Pa Hsien, they are one of the most popular subjects of representation in the Taoist religion. Their portraits are to be seen everywhere: on scrolls, embroidery, vases, and so on. They are so well known that there is no need for me to recite their names here. Three of them are historical figures; the others are mentioned only in fable and legend. The Eighteen Monks, or Shih Pa Lohan, are figures in the Buddhist hierarchy frequently represented in Chinese temples. Their numbers often vary but eighteen is one of the most usual combinations. They may simply be regarded as trusted disciples of Buddha.

Very little has been written on popular Chinese Buddhism in Malaya. There is a section on it in Dr. McDougall's book which I have referred to above, but not very much else. This may be due either to the reconditeness of the subject or to the fact that there are few publishers who are prepared to publish serious books on Malaya. The intellectual equipment necessary for a person attempting a study of Chinese Buddhism would be formidable. That person, if he exists, should have a knowledge of written Chinese at least up to Honours degree standard; a good knowledge of spoken Hokkien, Teochiu, Cantonese and Mandarin; a grounding in the literature and tenets of Buddhism; and a willingness (and funds) to devote several years of his life to the study of his subject.

Buddhism, in its purest form, is only observed in Malaya by Singhalese, Thais, Southern Indians, and the few Burmese that live here. They belong to the Theravada, or Lesser Vehicle School. The Chinese belong to another school known as the Pure Land Sect, or Mahayana. This is sometimes referred to as the Greater Vehicle, or Ta Sheng. But the Indian influence is still faintly discernible through the centuries. You have only to look at a Chinese Buddha to see that he is not Chinese but Indian modified by the Greek Apollo type. The main deity in the Pure Land Sect is Amitabha, the Buddha of Infinite Light and Life, who presides over Nirvana, the Western Paradise. He is easily distinguishable in a Chinese temple because he prefers to stand, sometimes as part of the Buddhist Trinity, with Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, on his left, and the Lord of Success (Ta Shih Chih), on his right. I feel, how-

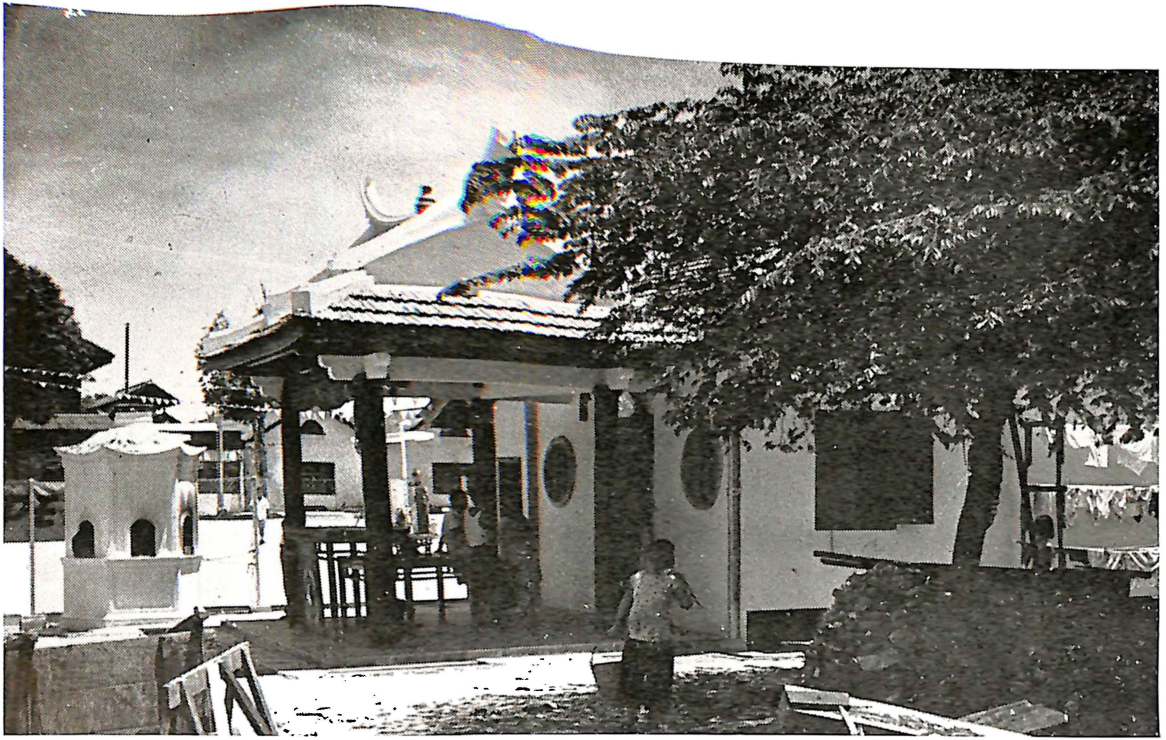
ever, that he is not so beloved by Chinese temple worshippers in Singapore as the more human and tangible Kuan Yin and Mi Lo Fu, the Laughing Buddha. These two personages are junior to him in status, for they are only Bodhisattvas, but superior to him in the regard of the people.

Another Buddha sometimes seen in Chinese temples in Singapore is Shakyamuni. He prefers to sit at his ease on a lotus in the act of meditation. But his appearance as the main deity on a Chinese Buddhist altar is rather uncommon.

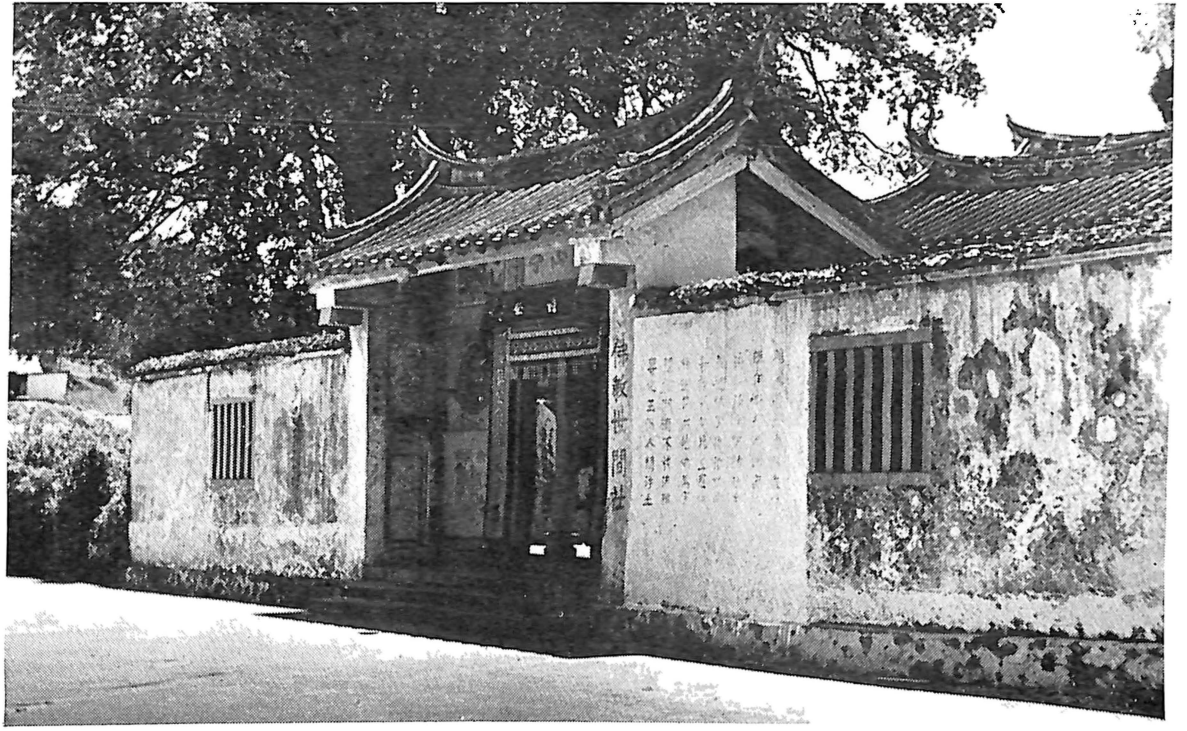
Dr. McDougall divides the Chinese Buddhist pantheon in Malaya into four grades. Buddhas of the first class; Bodhisattvas of the second class; Lohans of the third class; and miscellaneous deities of the fourth class. It is the fourth class which admits of easy fraternization with Taoist divinities, and there is much overlapping. It is not possible to be dogmatic about the large number of fourth-class deities. Sometimes, it is wisest to say they are neither Buddhist nor Taoist but just part of the religion of the masses.

There have been instances of Westerners entering the Buddhist religion in Malaya. Sir Ong Siang Song has an interesting reference in his book *One Hundred Years of the Chinese in Singapore* (pp. 369 and 370) to an Irishman, who was said to be the first white man to enter the Buddhist brotherhood (presumably in Malaya). This person was impressively entitled the Lord Abbot Right Reverend U. Dhammaloka. I do not know his lay name. He founded, in October, 1903, on a shady hill a little beyond the present-day Havelock Road Police Station, what was known as the Buddhist

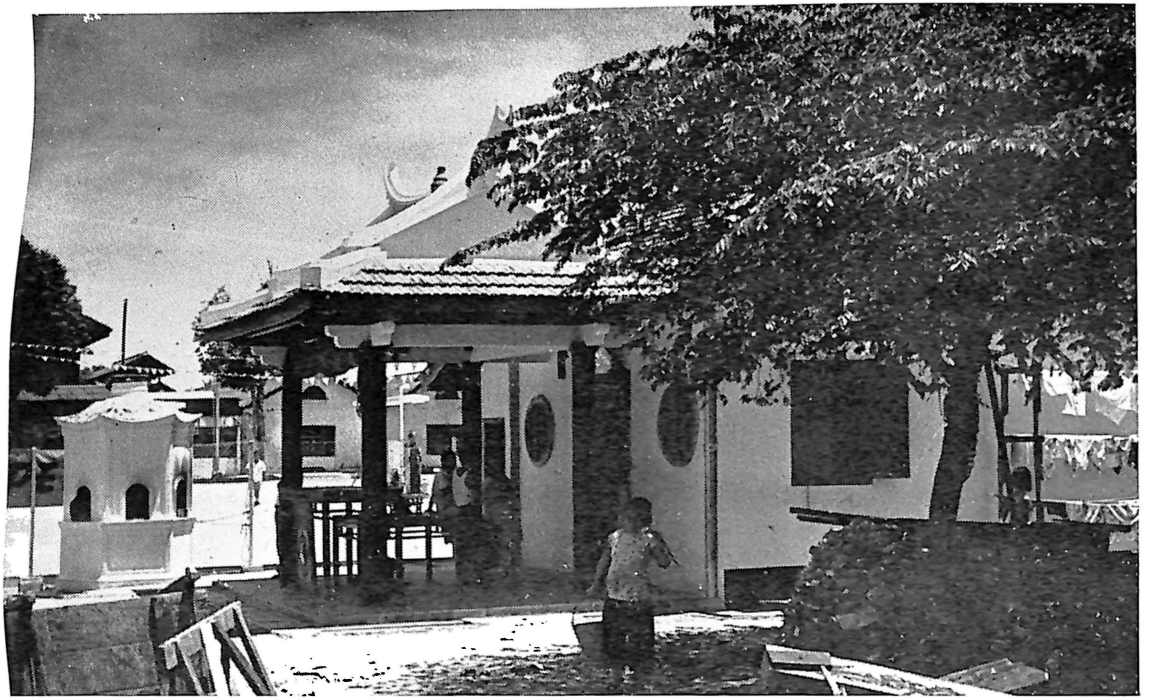
Giok Hong Tian, Havelock Road



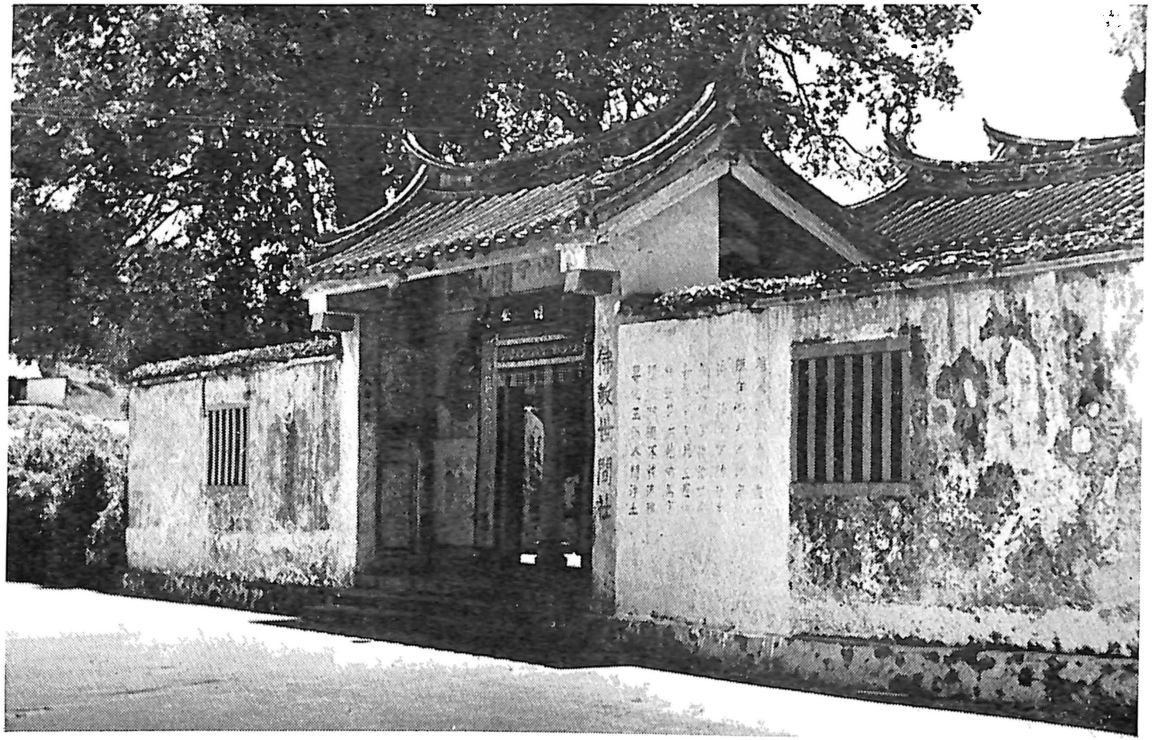
Fuk Tak T'ong, Havelock Road



Hang San T'eng, Silat Road



Fuk Tak T'ong, Havelock Road



Hang San T'eng, Silat Road

Lin Shan T'ing (Unicorn Mountain Pavilion), junction Tiong Bahru-Leng Kee Road

Fuk Shan T'ang (Bless the Righteous Temple), Race Course Road

Lung Shan Sze (The Dragon Mountain Temple), Race Course Road

PLATE 22

T'ung Shan T'ong (Universal Goodness Temple), Devonshire Road

Confucian Association & Temple, River Valley Road

Mission in Singapore. The Lord Abbot was, by all accounts, a familiar figure in Singapore, and was frequently to be seen walking barefooted in his parish, clad in a yellow priest's robe, with shaven head.

At the first anniversary function of this Mission, another European, reportedly a police officer from Pahang, was ordained (presumably as a pre-novice monk). The ceremony aroused great interest. The police officer bowed his head three times to the ground in front of a small Siamese statue of Buddha. He then prostrated himself before the Lord Abbot, and repeated after him in Pali the sacred precepts. At the conclusion of the service, he was given his yellow robe and a Buddhist name. According to Sir Ong Siang Song's account, he was to be sent to a Buddhist monastery at Pulau Tikus, Penang, to continue his studies. Sir Ong Siang Song further comments, no doubt with tongue in his cheek: " Among the guests who at the conclusion of the ceremony partook of light refreshment, there were a few Europeans who felt a thrill of astonishment at witnessing a European bowing down to ' wood and stone '."

Since then, in recent years, there have been two other instances of Europeans becoming pre-novice monks. They were both young National Servicemen serving in the British Army in Malaya, who were ordained in 1955 at the Buddhist Temple in Kuala Lumpur.

In 1957, the annual Vesak Day celebrations, the most important festival in the Buddhist calendar, were held in Singapore on the 14th May. This year also marked the end of the year-long celebration of the

2,500th anniversary of Buddha's death, although there are some differences of opinion about this date which it is not necessary to go into here. It is significant that, although this anniversary is observed by Chinese Buddhist temples and others in Singapore, it has no place in the traditional Chinese almanac. A rally sponsored by the Singapore Regional Centre of the World Fellowship of Buddhists was held at the Victoria Memorial Hall. In many ways, the highlight of the gathering was an address by an American monk, the Venerable Vajarasara Thero (J. E. Wagner). What he said was not of great import, but his mere presence excited a great deal of interest and curiosity among the local audience. The Venerable Vajarasara Thero is not staying in Malaya. He is a transient visitor on a world tour, and therefore cannot be included among Westerners who have entered the Buddhist priesthood in Malaya.

Although it is nowhere said, the above instances of Europeans entering the Buddhist religion in Malaya obviously relate to the Theravada, or Lesser Vehicle School, and not to the Chinese school. This may be inferred, among other things, from the name of the Buddhist institutions concerned, and the use of Pali language in the ordination ceremonies. There are additional difficulties in the way of a European entering the Pure Land Sect. Among these, the rather unorthodox features of popular Chinese Buddhism in Malaya, and the language problem, must loom large.

In closing this chapter, it is perhaps relevant to say something about the attitude of the Chinese People's Government towards the three traditional religions. It is, indeed, difficult to sift the truth from all the con-

flicting reports that come out of the country. But, as I understand it, the present position is as follows. There is no enthusiasm towards any religion on the part of China's new rulers. Their attitude seems to be that they consider religion as a superstition. Nevertheless, they regard it as a widespread superstition. The Head of the Bureau of Religious Affairs in Peking said recently in an interview with Hans Taussig, Editor of *Eastern World*, which was reported in an article entitled "Religion and State in China" in the February, 1957, issue of that magazine, that there are five recognized religions in China: Buddhism and Taoism, with so many followers that it is officially impossible to estimate their number; Islam, with 10,000 followers; Roman Catholicism, with 3,000,000 adherents; and Protestantism, with 700,000. It will be noticed that Confucianism has not been accorded official recognition. Maybe, as far as the Chinese Government is concerned, it is already dead, its death knell having been sounded when it failed as a system of government to cope with the encroachment of the Western materialistic powers in the last century.

The Head of the Religious Affairs Bureau went on to say, in effect, that the Chinese Government had not launched a campaign against religion, but "we have published leaflets criticizing religion and explaining to the people what it means and why we consider it a superstition." I have not seen any of these leaflets, but they are not likely to differ greatly from the views expounded recently in the Peking *Daily Worker*. These views were that religion still exists because "of ignorance, a lack of widespread knowledge about social and

natural science and restricted propagation of scientific materialistic atheism."

However, when all is said and done, there are still 40,000 Buddhist and 10,000 Taoist temples serving China's 600,000,000 population. It will clearly take some time and patience for the Chinese Government to persuade the people to discard their superstitions. In the meantime, Buddhism and Taoism remain faiths of the broad masses.

Chapter Four

A GUIDE TO CHINESE TEMPLES IN SINGAPORE

As far as I am aware, there is no other guide to Chinese temples in Singapore written in the English language. Mr. Ang Gim Tong (see Bibliography) has gone to the trouble of writing an account of over one hundred Chinese temples in Chinese, but his book is now out of print, and, in any case, would hardly be of value to non-Chinese readers.

I mentioned in the opening lines of this book that there are about five hundred Chinese temples in Singapore. A work recording all of these places would fill several volumes, and there would be no publisher prepared to undertake the expense of issuing it. I have, therefore, confined myself to a few. They are not chosen at random. I have selected them from the notes I have made on the few hundred temples I have visited over the past few years. I have endeavoured to include some of the oldest, and most attractive and interesting Chinese temples, representing, at the same time, the most popular Chinese cults. But, of course, this selection is arbitrary. Nevertheless, I do feel that if the reader takes the trouble to visit the cross-section I have selected, he will find that he has obtained a good general picture of the whole.

I decided against including street maps shewing their exact location. They would only increase the cost of the book without adding very much to its usefulness. There are many excellent street directories on the market, both Government and otherwise, which may be used in conjunction with this guide if necessary.

1. SHUN T'IN KUNG, Malabar Street (Plate 10). This small shrine, in a most congested part of Singapore, consists of only two inter-connected rooms. The one on the right contains the main altar to Toh Peh Kong, and a smaller altar to Chu Sheng Niang Niang, the Empress Registrar of Births, who bestows the gift of children on barren women. In the room on the left, there are two altars: one to the Monkey God and the other to Kuan Yin. There is also a counter at which the usual paraphernalia of worship — red candles, paper money, charms, and so on — are sold. A little business is also done in fortune-telling, and there are often Taoist priests in attendance. The temple is patronized mainly by Hokkien women.

An altar to Toh Peh Kong was first set up in an attap shed near this site as early as 1821. It was then rebuilt and enlarged in the late 1840's, and extensively redecorated in 1903.

2. TAN SI CHONG SU, Magazine Road (Plate 11). This is the assembly hall and ancestral temple of the Tan clan in Singapore. It also has another name, Po Chiak Kung, which may be rendered into English as "Protect the South Temple"; the implication being, in this case, that it offers protection to the Tan clan residing in the "South Seas" (Nanyang). The left-hand wing of the temple houses a Chinese school for small

boys (Po Chiak School). Another room in the temple is used as an ancestral hall and contains a number of spirit tablets.

The temple stands on the bank of the Singapore River, looking quite incongruous, with its upswept tiled roof, among the more prosaic godowns and warehouses of Chinese and European firms which flank it.

It was erected in 1876, at the expense of the Singapore merchant and philanthropist Tan Kim Cheng (1829-92), the eldest son of Tan Tock Seng, the benefactor of the Singapore hospital of the same name, and Tan Beng Swee (1828-84), the son of Tan Kim Seng, another prominent Chinese businessman in nineteenth century Singapore.

Tan Kim Cheng, a Straits-born Hokkien, was an interesting character. Besides being a well-known businessman in his time, he wielded great influence among Chinese settlers in the northern Malay States bordering on Thailand. He was appointed honorary Consul-General for Siam in the Straits Settlements and had the title Phya Anukul Siamkitch Upanick Sit Siam Rath conferred upon him by the King of Siam. He was at one time in business partnership with W. H. Read, a prominent European merchant and Legislative Councillor in Singapore. He doubtless played an important part behind the scenes in the internal politics of the Malay States, but his role in Malayan history has not yet been fully evaluated. He certainly used his influence to persuade Governor Sir Andrew Clarke to recognize the claims of Raja Muda Abdullah to the throne of Perak in the 1870's, and seems to have mono-

polized the revenue " farms " in Perak through his son-in-law, Lee Cheng Tee.

He inherited a substantial fortune from his father, Tan Tock Seng, which gave him a good start in the business world. Although charged in Court and acquitted of slavery towards the end of his life, he was regarded throughout his career as a philanthropist and Anglophile.

He died in 1892, and was buried in the Chinese cemetery at the 13th milestone, Changi Road.

Tan Kim Seng (1805-64) was a Straits-born Hokkien from Malacca who began life in humbler circumstances. He settled in Singapore, and by dint of his own business acumen, soon acquired a fortune. He is perhaps best remembered for his generous gift of $M13,000 to the Singapore Government for the purpose of bringing a sufficient supply of good drinking water into the town. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1850. He died at the age of 59 years in his home town, Malacca. He was then said to be worth close on two million dollars.

3. NING YEUNG WUI KUAN, South Bridge Road (Plate 12). This is an impressive-looking building, not very far from the Central Police Station, but it has obviously seen better days. It was originally the meeting place and ancestral temple of Cantonese immigrants from the Toi San District of Kwangtung Province. It still fulfills this function, but it is now also used as a mixed night school for Chinese boys and girls (Ning Yeung School), and it is the headquarters of the Ning Yeung Welfare And Mutual Aid Association. Two stone wall tablets just inside the main entrance

record the early history of the building. The founder of the Association was one Tsao Ah Chee, a Cantonese carpenter, who came down from Penang at the establishment of the Settlement of Singapore, and two years later (1821) built a meeting-hall for his fellow-clansmen on the present site. Extensive alterations and additions to the structure were made in the eleventh moon of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Emperor Tao Kuang (1848), and the premises have been kept in repair and renovated regularly from time to time since then.

4. THIAN HOK KENG, Telok Ayer Street, (Plate 13). This is undoubtedly the most important Hokkien temple in Singapore. In the nineteenth century it was also the headquarters of the Hokkien Association, which now occupies a modern building on the opposite side of the road.

From all accounts, a shrine was erected on the site of the present temple at the time of the foundation of Singapore (1819). The relevant details of the history of the temple are inscribed on several plaques inside the main courtyard to the right and left of the main entrance. The temple was completed in the twentieth year of the reign of Emperor Tao Kuang (1840), probably in time for the grand celebrations which were held when the image of the main temple deity, the Queen of Heaven, was brought with much ceremony from China in April of that year. A contemporary description of this occasion still exists and is well worth quoting (*One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore*, pp. 50-51):

"The procession extended nearly a third of a mile, to the usual accompaniment of gongs, and gaudy banners of every colour, form and dimension. . . . The chief feature of the procession was the little girls from five to eight years of age, carried aloft in groups on gaily ornamented platforms, and dressed in every variety of Tartar and Chinese costumes. The little creatures were supported in their places by iron rods, which were concealed under their clothes, and their infant charms were shown off to the greatest advantage by the rich and peculiar dresses in which they were arrayed, every care being taken to shield them with umbrellas from the sun's rays. . . . The divinity herself was conveyed in a very elegant canopy chair, or palanquin, of yellow silk and crape, and was surrounded by a bodyguard of Celestials, wearing tunics of the same colour. We have not been able to ascertain the various attributes of the goddess, but it seems she is highly venerated: and a very elegant temple, according to Chinese taste, has been built in the town for her reception. She is called by the Chinese Thien-siang-sing-bo (or Ma-cho-po), being the deity commonly termed the Mother of the Heavenly Sages. She is supposed to be the especial protectress of those who navigate the deep: at least, it is to her shrine as the Goddess of the Sea that the Chinese sailors pay the most fervent adoration, there being an altar dedicated to her in every junk that goes to sea. The procession is regarded as formal announcement to the Chinese of her advent in this Settlement, and the exhibition, with the feasting attendant thereon, is stated to cost more than $6,000."

In the following year, the temple attracted the

attention of Colonel James Low, then attached to the civil government in Singapore, who was something of an orientalist. His description, which is quoted below, is still valid to this day:

"(The temple is) lately erected, of elaborate workmanship, and very curious in its way. The granite pillars and much of the stone ornamental work have been brought from China, and the latter is exceedingly grotesque. The interior and the cornice are adorned with elaborate carving in wood. Outside are painted tiles and edging of flowers, fruits, etc., formed out of variegated pottery which is broken to pieces and then cut with scissors."

Low adds that 23,800 Spanish dollars were spent on it, and estimates the total cost of construction at about $30,000. This was a tremendous sum of money for those days. However, there is no reason to doubt it. An inscription on one of the wall plaques I have referred to records that a certain Tan Tu Sheng, "Chairman of the Board of Temple Directors", himself donated as much as 3,000 dollars gold.

The shrine of the Queen of Heaven occupies the place of honour, and she is flanked by Kuan Kung, the God of War, on the right, and Pao Sheng Ta Ti (His Majesty the Protector of Life) on the left. A hitherto unrecorded name for the Queen of Heaven, namely, Su Yu Niang Niang (The Jade Empress who Relieves the Sufferings of the People), is inscribed above her shrine. Behind, in a rear courtyard, there is an altar to Kuan Yin, which is much patronized by Chinese women. A pavilion has also been established within the temple precincts for modern ancestral tablets.

The interior of the temple is extremely colourful with embroidered silk horizontal scrolls and painted lanterns presented by grateful devotees whose prayers have been answered by the deity.

5. FU TAK CH'I, Telok Ayer Street (Plate 14). The main deity of this small temple is Toh Peh Kong. An inscription carved on one of the wooden pillars inside the temple records that he is able to bring about peace on land and water (*Hai An Ch'eng Ch'ing*). There are several wall tablets recording the early history of the temple. It seems it was first established in 1820, and then rebuilt in a more substantial form five years later. Although there are several old temples to Toh Peh Kong in Singapore, this probably ranks as the earliest of them. It is patronized mainly by Cantonese and Hakkas.

6. WAK HAI CHENG BIO, Phillips Street (Plate 15). The main deity in this temple is the Queen of Heaven. There are also subsidiary deities displayed inside. On the left of the Heavenly Mother's altar is a smaller one to Lung Wei Sheng Wang (The Sage King of the Dragon's Tail); on the right is our old friend Toh Peh Kong, also given another honorific title here as the Ruler of the Abundant Heavens. So much for the main hall. There is another inter-connected hall on the right, in which the main altar is to the God of the Profound Heavens (a Taoist deity). While I was there, a mother arrived carrying her sick child, wearing a gaily coloured woollen cap to ward off evil spirits. In her free hand, the woman carried a bundle of paper money and incense sticks. I understand that

the Queen of Heaven installed in this shrine has quite a reputation for curing sickness.

Historically, it is known that the Teochius had a shrine here as early as 1826 - 7, but the temple in its present form is said to date from about 1852 - 5, although parts of it may have been added later. The roof is decorated with a colourful array of porcelain figures of people, animals and pagoda *à la Chinoise*. There is a large open courtyard in front of the temple, which gives one a feeling of space in a very crowded part of the city. Unfortunately, the only people who take advantage of it are small children and a few old beggars.

7. FUK TAK CH'I, Palmer Road, (Plate 16). Although the name of this temple is given in the *Singapore Street Directory and Guide* as Ho Tek Su, it has, in fact, exactly the same name as No. 5 above. The main deity is, therefore, Toh Peh Kong. To the right of his altar, there is a smaller one to Kuan Tai, the God of War.

According to the temple-keeper, the temple was established in 1819, although there are apparently no historical records to support this claim. However, the temple is obviously very old. It has several attractive features about it. Just inside the main entrance, there is a small pond in which tortoises are kept. The temple-keeper and his family live in a small chamber to the right of the main entrance. It is obvious this small room was once a separate hall with its own door opening on to the street outside. A faded inscription above what used to be its outside door records that it was known as the T'ung Te Kung (Universal Virtue

Shrine). The door itself is almost completely covered with the magic symbol of the Eight Trigrams. An unusual feature about the temple is that there is also a Sikh family living on the premises in rented accommodation. When I asked the head of the Sikh family about this, he replied that he believed in the oneness of God, and there was no fundamental difference to him between Toh Peh Kong and Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism.

It is interesting to note that this temple is only a hundred yards or so from a spot much revered by Muslims — the Malay *kĕramat* of Habib Nor bin Mohammed al-Habshi.

8. GIOK HONG TIAN, Havelock Road (Plate 17). This temple to Yu Huang Shang Ti (The Jade Sovereign on High) is situated near the junction of Outram Road, a mere stone's-throw from Havelock Road Police Station. The Jade Sovereign on High is the title of the Supreme Deity of Taoism: it is also the name under which a favourite court magician of the Sung dynasty was deified by Emperor Hui Tsung (1101 - 25 A.D.). In a rear hall, there are three minor altars: one to the Empress Registrar of Births, on the left; another to the Grotto of the Nine Carps, in the centre; and the third to Ti Tsang P'u Sat, incorrectly styled the God of Hades, but more accurately described as the Bodhisattva Saviour of Souls.

According to a wall plaque, this temple was first established in the thirteenth year of the reign of Emperor Kuang Hsu (1887). It was built at the expense of Cheang Hong Lim, a well-known Hokkien merchant in his day.

Mr. Cheang Hong Lim was born in Singapore, the fourth son of Cheang Sam Teo, a successful businessman. After his father's death, Cheang Hong Lim took over the business and prospered. He was helped in this by holding the Government monopoly for the sale of opium and spirits (Opium and Spirit Farms). In 1872, he and three others were involved in a strange case in which they were jointly accused of forging the will of his father, Cheang Sam Teo. The charge was made by Cheang Hong Guan, his own brother, who appeared as Queen's evidence. The forgery was alleged to have been made by inking over an old signature of the testator with Chinese ink, taking a negative from it on a piece of paper, and, after applying fresh ink on the negative, making an impression from it on the will. There was only one witness for the prosecution, Cheang Hong Guan, and, after a hearing lasting five days, the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Sidgreaves, who tried the case, dismissed it as a fabrication and gave all of the accused an honourable discharge. A banquet was afterwards given by the Chinese community to Cheang Hong Lim in honour of his acquittal.

Cheang Hong Lim was very active in the public life of the Settlement. Besides erecting at his own cost the Giok Hong Temple, he subscribed a large sum of money for providing Maxim guns for the Singapore Volunteer Artillery. He received the thanks of the Governor for this. In 1837, he was made a J.P. It was stated on his death that his gifts to the poor amounted to $M100,000. There was, in addition, an enormous sum of $M400,000 outstanding to him for loans he had made to his so-called friends.

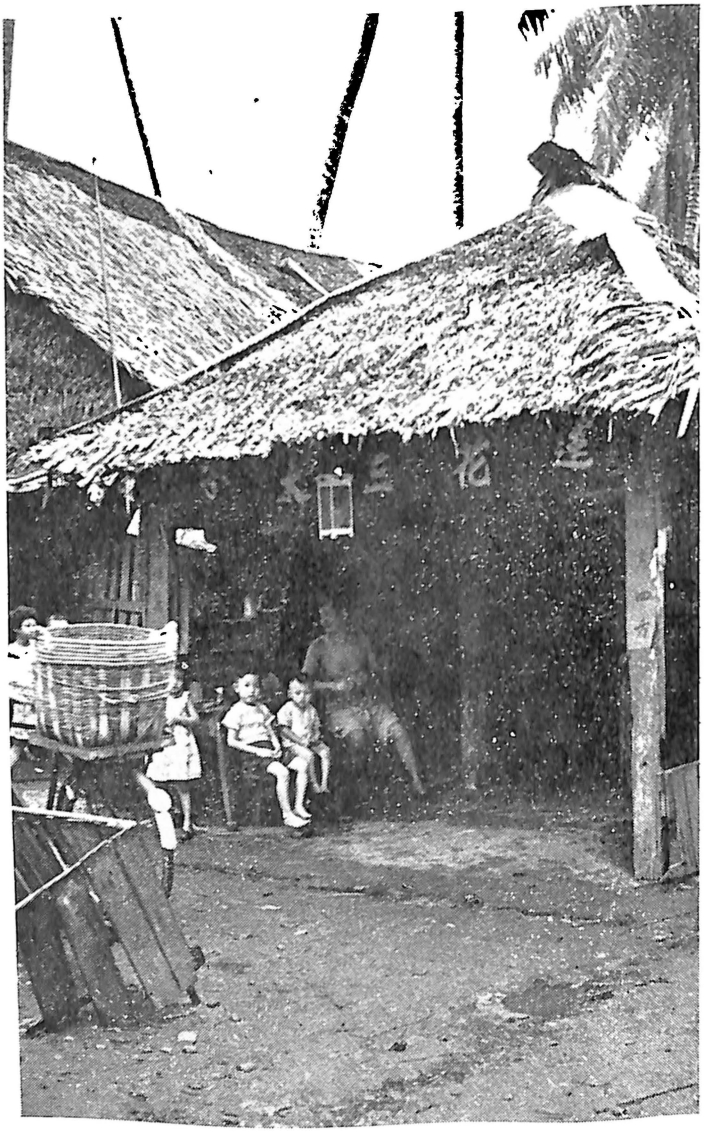
9. FUK TAK T'ONG, Havelock Road (Plate 18). This small modern temple is close by the Giok Hong Tian, on the opposite side of the road. It is not believed to be more than about twenty years old. It houses an altar to Toh Peh Kong, and is patronized mainly by Hokkien and Teochiu devotees. On a sunny day, it looks very bright and clean (1957), and is worth a glance after you have visited the Giok Hong Tian.

10. HANG SAN T'ENG, Silat Road (Plate 19). This attractive temple is situated on the crest of a small hill lying off Kampong Bahru Road. It is not very far from the General Hospital, and next to the Government Medical Store. There is an atmosphere of tranquillity and calm about it, which is probably enhanced by the green fields stretching away at the back of the temple. For some reason, this locality seems to be particularly hallowed ground, for there are at least three other temples in the immediate neighbourhood: Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist.

The main deity enshrined here is Toh Peh Kong. On the left, there is a smaller altar to the Tutelar God of the City, who is also styled T'ai Yang Huang Chun. On the right, there is another altar to the Empress Registrar of Births. There is also a small side-room containing ancestral tablets. Several wall plaques, and two perpendicular stone tablets standing about ten feet high, one on each side of the courtyard, record the history of the temple together with the names of its benefactors. Several donated hundreds of gold dollars to the building fund. The total cost of construction is believed to have been about $12,000 gold, a large sum of money for the early nineteenth century.

Sun Chen Jen Miao, junction Mergui Road-Norfolk Road

PLATE 26



Clear Water Temple, Rangoon Road

Kuan Yin Temple, Waterloo Street

The Temple of the Buddha who Saves Souls and the Golden Lotus Temple, Narçis Street

PLATE 28

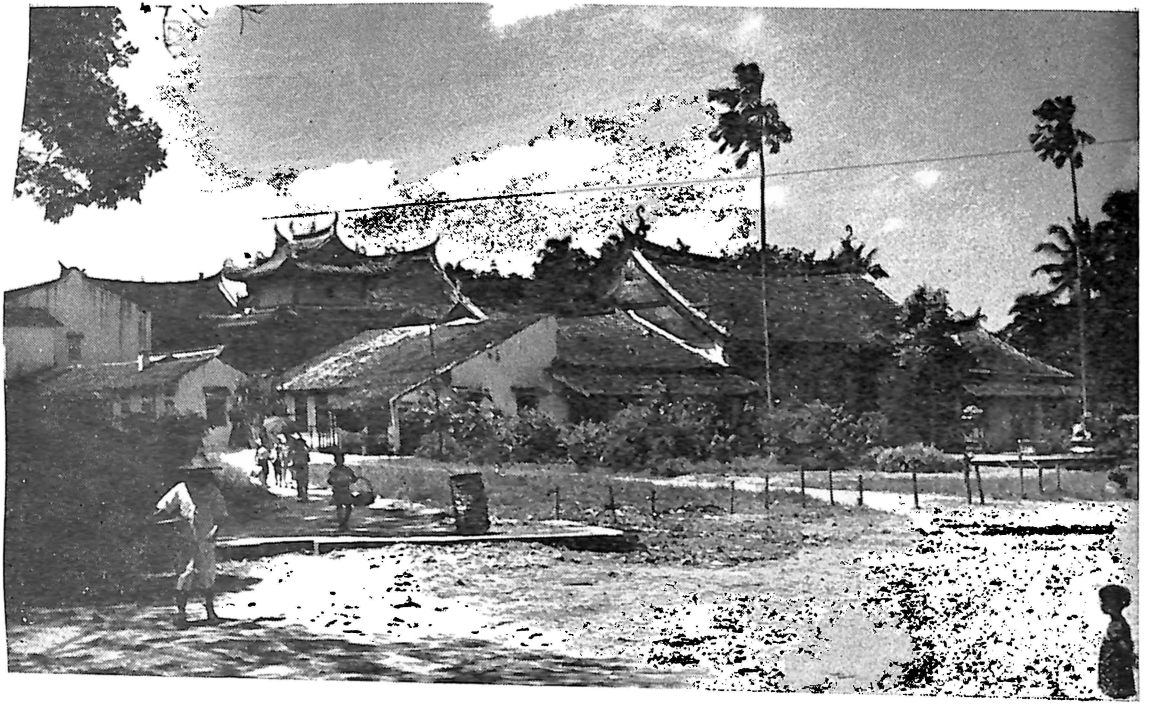
Po Toh Temple, Narcis Street

PLATE 29

The Temple of the City God, Peck Seah Street

The Monkey God Temple (Ts'oi T'in Tai Seng), Eng Hoon Street

PLATE 31



Shuang Lin Temple, Kim Keat Road

A joss-house was first established here in 1828. A carved wooden tablet above the main altar records this date (eighth year of the reign of Emperor Tao Kung). Most of the present building dates from this time, and renovations were carried out in 1830 and 1879. In 1831, the story goes, Singapore was infested by tigers and one of the gardeners was carried off and killed by a tiger in the temple grounds.

A modern note is the telephone in the courtyard!

11. SHUN T'IN KUNG (Obedient to Heaven Temple), Bukit Purmei (Plate 20). A few hundred yards further along Kampong Bahru Road is the junction with Bukit Purmei, where, opposite St. Theresa's Church, stands this very picturesque temple. The main altar within is to Tung Yo Ta Ti, a most intriguing divinity. This is the name by which Mount T'ai in Shantung Province, one of the five sacred mountains in China, is worshipped. As the eastern-most of the five (as the Chinese name implies), it is believed to govern life, man's allotted span on this earth, and the souls of the departed in the Otherworld. In China, it was repeatedly sacrificed to by Chinese Emperors through the centuries. This mountain cult has had wide popularity with the people as well and is celebrated annually on the sixth day of the sixth moon. It is revered in both Buddhism and Taoism.

On the left, there is a smaller altar to the City God, and, on the right, another one to Yen Lo T'ien Tze, the King of Hades, or Chinese Pluto.

On the day I visited this temple, all of these deities were clad in gorgeous yellow, blue, orange, and red silk capes presented by grateful devotees. It seemed, from

the inscriptions embroidered on them, that most of them had been given by a certain Madam Lin "in return for favours granted".

The date of establishment of the temple is carved on one of the wooden columns in the main hall as the twelfth moon of the thirty-third year of the reign of Emperor Kuang Hsu (1907). Other inscriptions elsewhere indicate that it was extensively renovated in 1955 and 1957. It is certainly a credit to its keepers now.

12. LIN SHAN T'ING (Unicorn Mountain Pavilion), junction of Tiong Bahru and Leng Kee Roads (Plate 21). There are two resident Buddhist monks in this very clean and well-kept temple, which is also known as the Temple of the Pole Star. The main altar is to Kuan Yin. On the right, there is a smaller altar to the Empress Registrar of Births, and, on the left, another one to Toh Peh Kong. As this temple houses two goddesses, it is not surprising it is very popular with Chinese women. I suspect there is a fertility cult connected with it. The clue to this is given in an inscription on one of the wooden beams outside the main entrance which reads: "May the Unicorn Hoof bring you Good Luck!" In the Chinese idiom, this wish means simply: "May you have many sons!"

Three wall tablets record the history of the temple. It was established in the tenth year of the reign of Emperor Hsien Feng (1860), and renovated thereafter in 1879. It is in spotless condition now (1957).

13. FUK SHAN T'ANG (Bless the Righteous Temple), Race Course Road (Plate 22). The main deity in this temple, a modern bungalow-style building, is Kuan Yin. On the left, there is a smaller altar to Sam

Wong Yeh, either a Buddhist or Taoist trinity of uncertain identity. If Buddhist, it may refer to the Buddha of the Past, Present and Future: if Taoist, it may refer to the Three Emperors of China's Golden Age, namely, Shen Nung, Fu Hsi, and Huang Ti.

There is a middle-aged Chinese female medium in attendance on most days here. Sunday morning, at about eleven o'clock, is a good time to see her. She was consulted on the day I visited the temple. After entering a state of trance, she sat on a stool in front of the main altar to Kuan Yin. Her head was resting on her arms on the altar table. Her bare feet twitched underneath. She was moaning in a loud voice, and every now and then she banged the table-top with the flat of her hand. A large crowd of housewives gathered round.

She was apparently having a little difficulty in contacting the wandering ghost of a deceased relative of one of these ladies. Kuan Yin was asking her a number of awkward questions about the exact identity of the spirit she wanted to contact. The lady questioner bent forward to catch her words. But she was speaking in a most obscure Chinese dialect (so I was told), which nobody present could understand. At this impasse, a sheet of yellow-coloured rice paper was thrust into her left hand and a Chinese writing brush in her right. She drew wriggly lines in Chinese vermilion ink on the sheet. This was removed as soon as she had finished, and was apparently considered to be an especially potent charm as it was written while she was in communication with the Otherworld. No one could interpret what she had written. It was not a Chinese character.

The medium gradually lapsed into silence, and was led away to sit on a more comfortable chair at the side. In a short while, she came to and behaved normally. No one took any more notice of her, and she left the temple unseen. The question of payment is looked after for her by the temple-keeper.

14. LUNG SHAN SZE (The Dragon Mountain Temple), Race Course Road (Plate 23). There is a notice in Chinese outside the entrance which runs something like this: "We respectfully bring to the notice of all worshippers entering this temple that they must do so with a pure heart and mind, and abstain from strong drink and meat. The teachings of Buddha are based on compassion and non-violence, and all worshippers are exhorted to follow these principles. Those who pray with a pure heart and mind will attain eternal virtue."

The main deity in this well-kept temple is Kuan Yin, and celebrations are held in her honour on the nineteenth days of the second, sixth, and ninth moons. The temple was established in 1917. There are several resident Buddhist monks in attendance, who, in addition to their religious duties, also help run a Buddhist School next door. This school, the Mei Toh Buddhist School, occupies an imposing modern building of several storeys. It dates from as recently as 1954. The original intention was to give free tuition in the medium of Kuo-yu (Chinese national language) to Chinese boys and girls from poor families living in the neighbourhood. Now, this has been enlarged upon and paying pupils are also accepted.

"To serve all living creatures is to serve Buddha," runs a Buddhist proverb. This precept is visibly

demonstrated by the number of well-fed dogs frequenting the temple compound.

15. T'UNG SHAN T'ONG (Universal Goodness Temple), Devonshire Road (Plate 24). The street frontage of this temple looks deceptively narrow, but the temple itself extends in depth, and has an upper storey as well. The main deity is Kuan Yin. Her altar, in the main hall, is flanked by the Eighteen Lohans or Arhats, nine on each side in a glass case — listening to and profiting by the Buddhist doctrine. The hall directly behind Kuan Yin contains a large figure of Maitreya (Mi Lo-Fu), the jovial Laughing Buddha. I suppose few people realize that his image is modelled after a tenth-century Chinese monk who claimed to be a reincarnation of Maitreya.

There are some surprises among the deities enshrined in the upper storey. The main one is T'ien En Kung (The Lord of Divine Favour). But on the left is a smaller altar to Confucius. This is the first time I have seen the image of Confucius included in its rightful place among the tutelary gods in Singapore. On the right-hand altar, there is another deity, unusual in a predominantly Buddhist temple. It is Lu Tung Pin, sometimes called Lu Yen, one of the Eight Fairies of Taoism. So much has already been written about the Eight Fairies, or Immortals, that figure so often in Chinese works of art, that it is unnecessary to describe them here. Their cult is found wherever there are Chinese. Lu Tung Pin is the most popular of the group. Although he failed twice in his examination for a doctor's degree, he is widely worshipped as a patron saint of literature. His emblem

is a magic two-edged sword which enabled him to become invisible and subdue evil spirits.

I could not find any wall plaque recording the history of the temple. The priest in charge told me it was established in about 1870.

16. CONFUCIAN ASSOCIATION AND TEMPLE, 251 River Valley Road (Plate 25). Dr. Colin McDougall in his *Buddhism in Malaya* (p. 23) comments: "There are no temples devoted to the worship of Confucius in Malaya, as there were in China, and we have not personally seen a statue of Confucius included among the tutelary gods. . . ." This temple, and the preceding one, prove his statement incorrect; but it is a small flaw in a book which I commend to your reading.

The office of the Southseas Confucian Association (Nanyang K'ung Chiao Hui), which I understand is somewhat moribund, is also located in this building. This temple is really divided into two separate halves, partitioned by an iron-grill gate. The right-hand half is dominated by a larger-than-life portrait of Confucius. The sides of the hall are hung with scrolls illustrating Confucian maxims.

The left-hand half of the temple is reserved entirely for women. The main deity is Kuan Yin. There is another statue of her, this time in white marble, in the inner hall, which, I am told, was brought from Burma.

17. SUN CHEN JEN MIAO (Ancestral temple and meeting-place of the Sun clan), junction Mergui Road and Norfolk Road (Plate 26). This temple is of special interest for its connection with Dr. Sun Yat-sen,

the founder of the Chinese Republic, who, as his family name indicates, was a member of this clan.

The main deity of the temple is the tutelary god of the Sun clan, Hui Ying Ta Shih (The Great Master who Returns Favours), also styled Pao Sheng Ta Ti (His Majesty the Protector of Life). His image was brought from China when the temple was first established in about 1927. On the right of the main altar is a shrine to the Queen of Heaven, and, on the left, an altar shared by Toh Peh Kong and Kuan Yin.

A full length portrait in oils of Dr. Sun Yat-sen dominates the clan's board room on the right of the main hall. The office of the clan association is in another room on the left.

There are estimated to be about two hundred members of the Sun clan in Singapore, most of whom are Hokkien and Teochiu, with a lesser number of Cantonese and Hakka.

The birthday of the tutelary deity falls on the seventh day of the ninth moon, when Chinese theatricals and other celebrations are held in his honour on the open space in front of the temple.

18. CLEAR WATER TEMPLE, Rangoon Road (Plate 27). Directly after leaving the Sun ancestral clan temple, you should walk round the corner along Rangoon Road for about fifty yards. A series of small flags on the roadside will lead you in to this shrine. The contrast between the two places of worship is complete. One is a delight to look at; the other is a squalid, dilapidated attap hut. Nevertheless, the latter is more popular among the local people than the first. The two deities housed in it are the proletarian Monkey

God and the Third Prince. There are several young men mediums attached to this temple. Annual festivals in honour of the two deities are held every year on nearby Balestier Plain. An unusual incident occurred in connection with the birthday celebrations of the Third Prince in May, 1957. A "knife-ladder" (*to t'ai*), about ninety feet in height, crashed down on two Chinese schoolboys while it was being hoisted into position by crane. One died on the spot, and the other died later in hospital. The organizers of the celebrations declared this to be a most inauspicious omen. The owner of the ladder, a middle-aged Hokkien woman, who had hired it to them for the occasion, was furious. She told me she had paid altogether $M1,800 to have it made according to her own specifications, and now it was very doubtful whether other performers would want to hire it again after what had happened. Offerings were made on the spot to appease the spirits of the two boys and the Third Prince.

19. KUAN YIN TEMPLE, Waterloo Street (Plate 28). This temple, hemmed in by stalls, fortune-tellers' booths, and shops selling religious articles, is extremely popular with Chinese women. The main deity is Kuan Yin. On the left, there is a smaller altar to Ta Mo Tsu Shih; on the right, another to Hua T'o, a famous doctor of the Han dynasty (third century B.C.), and one of the patron saints of Chinese medicine, who is widely credited with legendary powers of healing. It was noteworthy that, on the day I visited it, there were two Chinese men offering prayers to the Goddess of Mercy.

According to a wall plaque inside the courtyard, the temple was first established on the twenty-eighth

day of the fifth moon of the tenth year of the reign of Emperor Kuang Hsu (1884). Improvements and renovations were carried out in 1895.

The temple is also connected with the Kuan Yin Yuan, a few doors away at 158 Waterloo Street, a sanctuary for elderly Chinese women where they can live out their days in peace. Small charges are made to cover the cost of board and lodging.

20 and 21. THE TEMPLE OF THE BUDDHA WHO SAVES SOULS and the GOLDEN LOTUS TEMPLE, Narcis Street, off Tanjong Pagar Road (Plate 29). These temples are grouped together here because they are inseparable on the ground. Each stands adjacent to the other in the same compound at the far end of Narcis Street, overshadowed by a huge, aged tree with drooping branches and vines. The Temple of the Buddha who Saves Souls is on the left with the Golden Lotus Temple on the right.

In the Temple of the Buddha who Saves Souls, there is a central altar to Ti Tsang Wang (The Buddha who Saves Souls); a smaller altar on the left is to the Monkey God; and there is another altar, to Confucius, and also another deity styled Pao Kung. The rear hall is entirely given over to modern ancestor worship and is filled by tier upon tier of spirit tablets. Outside and to the left, in a small courtyard, there is a stone tablet, looking something like a tombstone, dedicated to the Gods of the Soil of Singapore (Lo P'o She Chi Chih Shen).

In the Golden Lotus Temple, the main altar is to Kuan Yin, referred to here by her colloquial name as the Third Aunt (San Niang Fu Tsu). On the left, there is an altar to Pao Shang Ta Ti (His Majesty

the Protector of Life); and, on the right, another to the Empress Registrar of Births.

Two stone tablets in the Golden Lotus Temple record the establishment and names of the benefactors of both temples. The Temple of the Buddha who Saves Souls dates from 1881, and the Golden Lotus Temple from 1839.

22. Po Toh Temple, Narcis Street (Plate 30). This rather impressive-looking temple stands opposite the two shrines mentioned above. Its name is interesting for its connection with Buddhism. It is the name of an island, one of the sacred centres of Chinese Buddhism, standing off the coast of Chekiang Province, which is held holy to Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy.

The main deity inside is Chun T'i, the Goddess of Light. On the left, is a small altar to the Buddha who Saves Souls; and, on the right, there is an altar to Kuan Yin. The sides of the main hall are lined with the Eighteen Lohans, nine on each side. Annual celebrations are held in honour of Chun T'i on the sixteenth day of the third moon.

Many other miscellaneous deities have their place in this temple. On the left, as you enter, there is a fairly large statue of the Monkey God. Toh Peh Kong and Kuan Kung, the God of War, are also to be found if you look for them.

There are Buddhist priests in attendance. I could find no tablet recording the establishment of the temple, but was told by the head priest it was built in 1914.

23. The Temple Of The City God, Peck Seah Street (Plate 31). This attractive temple is hidden at the far end of Peck Seah Street, entering from the

Tanjong Pagar Road end, opposite a shophouse shrine to the Monkey God. As it also houses, in a side-room, the offices of an agent of the North British Mercantile Insurance Company, International Contractors, and Messrs. Lau Chua and Company, it is a good example of the "this-worldliness" of Chinese religion. All of these business interests are managed by a relative of the Buddhist monk, now deceased several years, who established the temple in 1905.

From all accounts, this priest was an unusual man. He was a Cantonese by birth, named Wong See Ue, with the self-deprecatory Buddhist appellation of the Stupid Monk (Ch'i Shin). He was, on the contrary, a most cultured and intelligent man, a lover of the fine arts with an especial *penchant* for Chinese painting, poetry and calligraphy. There are many attractive, and doubtless valuable, works of art hidden from public gaze in the inner rooms. Art connoisseurs will find there scrolls and album paintings of flowers, bamboo, and landscape, including a long horizontal scroll more than twenty feet long painted in delicate colours and depicting the famous Eight Beauties (Pat Mei T'o). The earliest reign-mark I noticed on these paintings was that of Emperor Chien Lung (1736-96), but there may well be others dating before this.

The main temple deity is the City God. On the left, there is a smaller altar to the White Tiger General. He is one of the two guardian deities of Taoist temples. The other is the Blue Dragon. The White Tiger General is also a stellar deity, sometimes called the Spirit of the White Tiger Star. According to Chinese mythology, he is the deification of Yin Ch'eng Hsiu,

the son of Yin P'o Pai a high official of tyrant Chou Wang (*circa* 1122 B.C.). Yin P'o Pai was sent as an emissary of peace to Chiang Tzu Ya but he was treacherously seized and put to death. His son, Yin Ch'eng Hsiu, set out to avenge his father's death, but was himself captured and decapitated. He was afterwards canonized for his filial piety as the White Tiger General and allocated a place in the White Tiger Star.

The image of the White Tiger General is also attended by three other gods: Erh Ch'a Kwan, the Deputy Commander of the Nether Regions; the Military Judge of Hades; and Shen Lo Yen Chun, the God of Hades.

On the right, there are other small altars to the Empress Registrar of Births; the Commander of the Nether Regions; and the Civil Judge of Hades.

The birthday of the main deity, the City God, is celebrated on the eleventh day of the fifth moon and the twenty-fourth day of the seventh moon.

The temple is most often frequented by Cantonese and Hokkiens.

24. The Monkey God Temple (Ts'oi T'in Tai Seng), 44 Eng Hoon Street, Tiong Bahru (Plate 32). This is a Monkey God shrine, but, as I have said in Chapter Two, it is considered rather impolite to refer to this deity so bluntly. The Cantonese simply refer to him as Tai Seng Yeh (The Great and Venerable Sage). Most items of the spirit-medium's equipment are in evidence here. The medium himself is a male Singapore-born Hokkien, over 50 years of age, rather slight in build, and not at all dynamic to look at.

The Great and Venerable Sage occupies the place

of honour on the altar, respectably draped in a cape and looking quite tame. He is accommodated in a gilded, carved case, which I understand was especially made by Chinese craftsmen in Singapore for $M1,000. He is flanked by images of other well-known deities, such as Toh Peh Kong, Kwan Tai Kung, and Kuan Yin.

There is no plaque recording the date of the establishment of the shrine. The temple-keeper says vaguely that it was established in 1925, and explains that no plaque has been put up because the premises are only rented on a monthly basis ($M40 per month).

While I was there a respectable-looking Chinese woman came in to consult the medium about the illness of a close relative. The medium was willing to oblige and grasped a black Eight Trigrams flag in his left hand and some charm papers in his right. He sat on the "Dragon Throne" in front of the altar and bowed his head on his arms. Soon, he began to twitch and jerk and his eyes closed. He started to moan and bang the table with his fist. An assistant standing close by helped him to his feet. The medium began talking in a strange, guttural voice, and, from time to time, was questioned by the woman suppliant. Sometimes she did not understand his replies and his assistant interpreted for her. Finally, the *seance* came to an end, and the medium sank back on the "Dragon Throne", apparently exhausted. All the while, he had been shaking and trembling as if he had palsy. His assistant smacked his forehead with the palm of his hand, and the medium opened his eyes and "came to". He stood up and walked out into the sunlit street beyond the door.

I saw the woman place a bundle of one dollar notes into the collection box on the altar. When she had gone, I asked the temple-keeper how much she had paid. I was told she had paid nothing but had only given a voluntary contribution "to buy incense and lamp oil" for the shrine.

As I went on my way, I saw the medium drinking a cup of coffee in a corner coffee-shop.

25. SHUANG LIN TEMPLE, far end of Kim Keat Road, off Balestier Road (Plate 33). The full name of this temple is Lin Shan Shuang Lin Shan Sze (The Twin Grove of the Lotus Mountain Buddhist Temple). It is said to be the second largest Chinese Buddhist temple in Malaya, the largest being the Kek Lok Si (Temple of Supreme Bliss) at Ayer Hitam, Penang. The buildings are of elegant shape and contain several large marble Siamese Buddhas, a magnificent specimen of Kuan Yin, and a large, jovial-looking Maitreya. A wall plaque records the date of establishment of the temple as the tenth moon of the thirtieth year of Emperor Kuang Hsu (1904). It took six years to complete. However, both Sir Ong Siang Song (*One Hundred Years of the Chinese in Singapore*) and Dr. Carl Gibson-Hill (*Architecture in Singapore*) (following the former?) record that it was started in 1902 and completed in 1908. The main cost of the building was met by two leading Singapore Hokkien merchants of the day, Low Kim Pong and Yeo Poon Seng, who donated half a million dollars between them. Perhaps, of the two, the first was the more prominent. But the latter was also a wealthy sawmill owner with an established position in Singapore Chinese society.

However, he died at the early age of 47 years in 1906, two years after the building of the temple was started.

Low Kim Pong arrived as a young man from China in 1858 and went into business in Singapore as a general trader. Later, he opened a Chinese herbalist shop and set up a private banking organisation in the days before there were established Chinese banks in Singapore. He was, in a sense, one of the first Chinese financiers in Singapore. He also took an active part in public life, and eventually became the recognized leader of the Hokkien community. This did not take away his appetite for life, and there is no doubt he was something of a *bon viveur* as well.

When he died at the age of 72 in 1909, he left considerable property but no will. Litigation ensued. One of the claimants was Madam Ngai Lau Shia, who sued the administratrix of the estate, Madam Low Chee Neo, for her share as a lawful daughter of the deceased. It then turned out that Madam Ngai Lau Shia's mother was a secondary wife of the deceased, and, after much legal argument, the Courts upheld her claim. The case, with all of its legal and social implications, aroused a great deal of interest at the time.

Low Kim Pong's name has always been associated with this temple. In the 1920's, The Reverend E. G. Semple (*Singapore Religions*) said it was known locally as "Low Kim Pong's Temple" and not by its proper name. In those days, apparently, a rubber factory was set up within its precincts "to help swell the temple funds".

26. Fuk Tak T'ong, Balestier Road, close to the Towner Road corner (Plate 34). This temple is most

commonly frequented by Hokkiens, and it is referred to in the Hokkien dialect as Rochore Toa Kong Beo (The Rochore Grand Old Man Temple). "Rochore" was the old name used for this locality in the 1830's and 40's.

The main temple deity is Toh Peh Kong (The Grand Old Man), known here by his *alias* Fuk Tak. It is reckoned by many to be the most attractive temple to Toh Peh Kong in Singapore. A wall plaque, on the right inside the temple, records the date of its establishment as the eighth moon of the twenty-seventh year of Emperor Tao Kuang (1847). It was extensively renovated in 1920 and 1928.

The temple was first established by Chinese settlers and plantation workers on Mr. J. Balestier's sugar plantation in the area. Mr. Balestier was the first local American consul appointed to Singapore in June, 1837, and the road on which the temple stands is named after him.

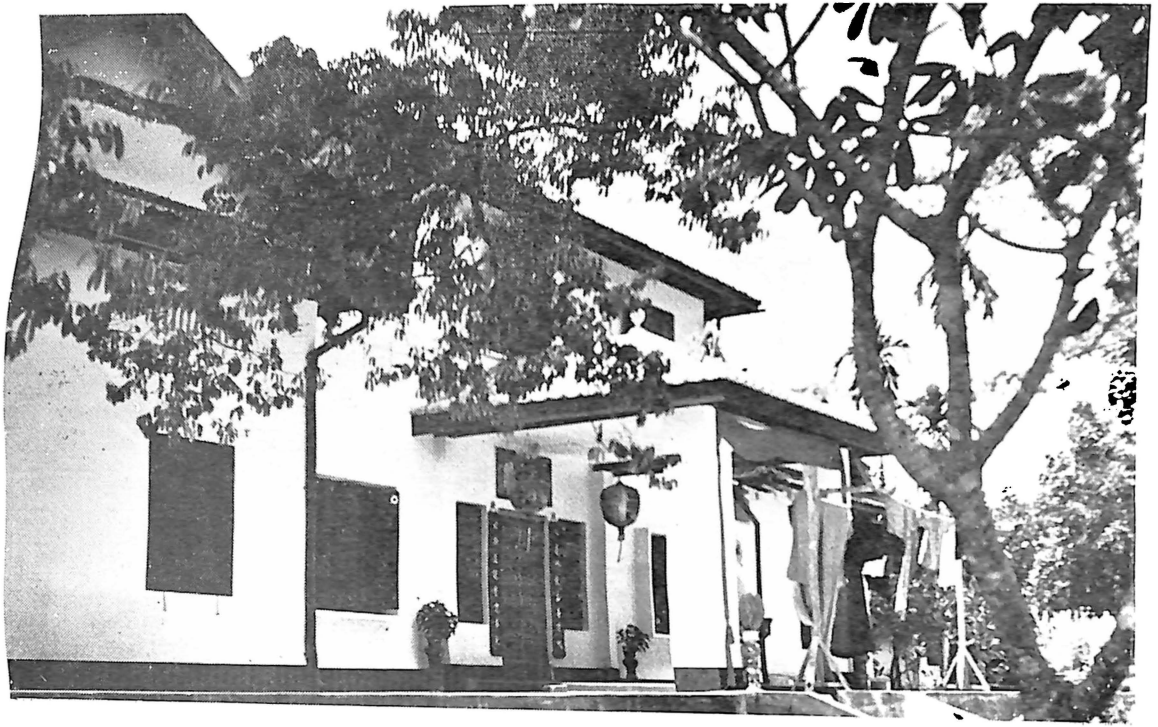
27. THE TEMPLE OF HEAVENLY VIRTUE, Balestier Road (Plate 35). This shrine to Nor Cha Sam T'ai Tze (The Third Prince) (see Chapter Two) lies directly behind the more imposing Toh Peh Kong temple described above. It should not be overlooked, for it is probably the most important temple to the Third Prince in Singapore. There is a quaint image of the Third Prince, with a fire-wheel under his feet, holding his magic ring and sword, flanked by his two elder brothers, Kam Cha and Muk Cha, on the main altar. On the left, there is a smaller altar to a mysterious deity known as Hsueh Wang (King Hsueh). I have not been able to find out the identity of this monarch. On the right,

Fuk Tak T'ong, Balestier Road

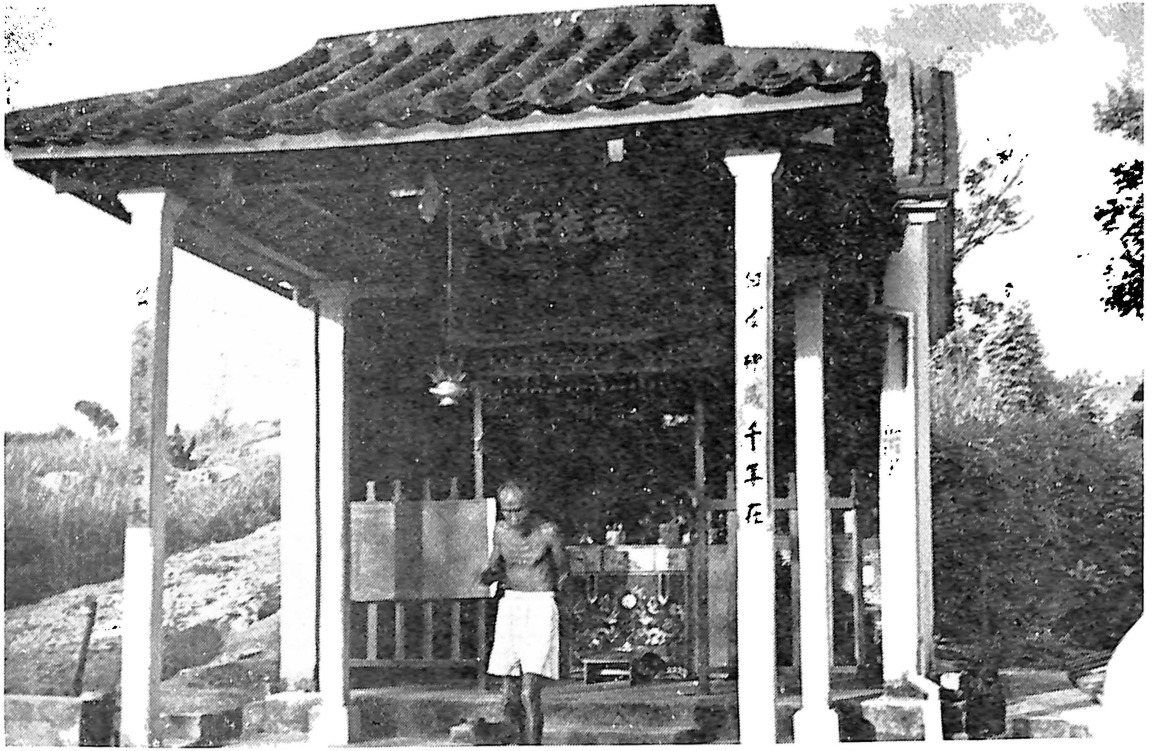
The Temple of Heavenly Virtue, Balestier Road

PLATE 34

Tou Mu Kung (The Goddess of the North Pole Star Temple),
Upper Serangoon Road



The Kuan Yin Sanctuary, Dunearn Road

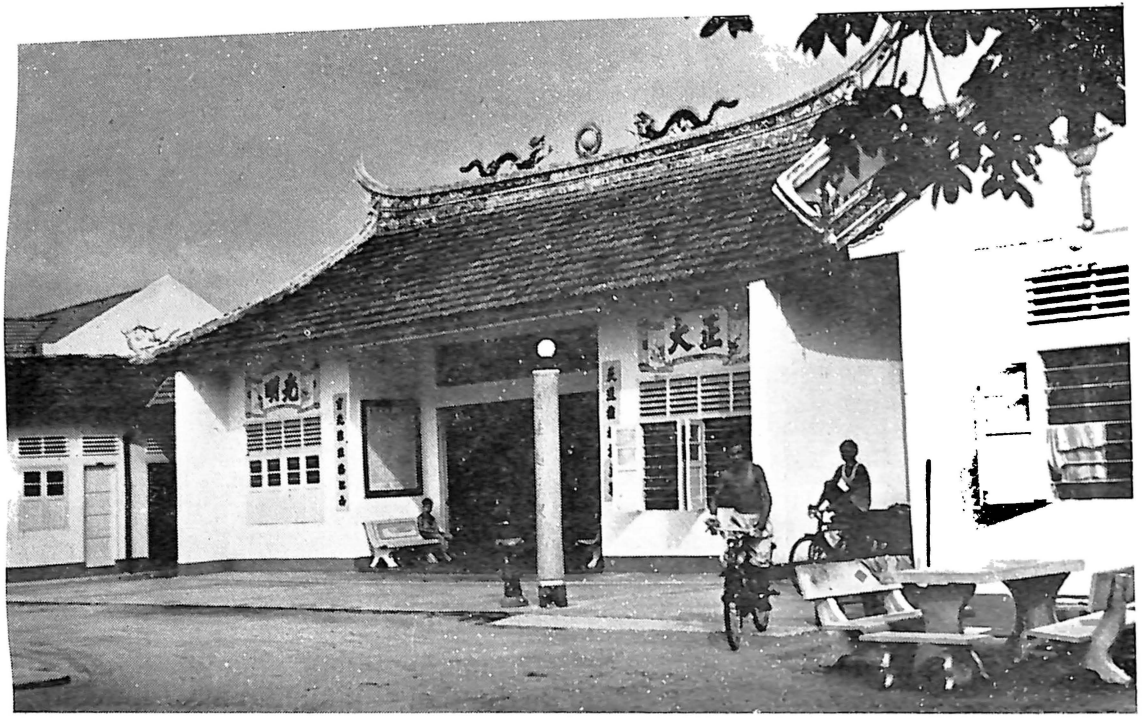


Lin Shan Miu (Unicorn Mountain Temple), Bukit Timah Road

The Temple of Countless Blessings, Frankel Estate

PLATE 38

The Immortal in the Clouds Temple, Changi Road



Tien Ling Central Temple, Changi Road

PLATE 40

there is another altar to a deity who reputedly has the power of curing the craving for opium. I have also to admit defeat here. The temple promoters were most friendly and helpful in many ways, but seemed reluctant to supply his name or talk about him. Perhaps they thought I was a Government agent.

There are three male mediums attached to this temple, one for each of the three deified brothers.

It is interesting that the clientele who patronize this shrine, which was only established in 1945, include people of many races — Hokkien, Teochiu, Cantonese, Hainanese, and a few Southern Indians and Eurasians, in that order.

28. TOU MU KUNG, 5½ milestone Upper Serangoon Road (Plate 36). This temple is the centre of the cult of the Nine Emperors (Kau Wong Yeh) (see Chapter Two). It is named after their illustrious mother.

A point illustrating once again the "this worldliness" of Chinese religion in Singapore is brought out here. The front portion of the open space in front of the temple has been let out as a repair station to the Ponggol Bus Service Company, and, on most days, several of their yellow and white buses may be seen parked here.

Opposite the temple, is a large, raised, covered stage on which theatricals are performed on the birthday of the deities.

The main altar within the temple is to Pak Tao Kau Wong Yeh (Their Excellencies the Nine Emperors of the Pole Star). On the left is a smaller altar to the Empress Registrar of Births; and, on the right, another

to Kuan Yin. There is a shallow pond within the courtyard in which tortoises are kept. The temple walls are decorated with paintings depicting the gruesome punishments awaiting transgressors after death, but they are a poor effort.

A notice inside the main courtyard reads almost the same as the one outside the Dragon Mountain Temple in Race Course Road (No. 14). The latter, however, is a Buddhist place of worship, whereas this temple is predominantly Taoist. There will doubtless be some people who will contradict this, but it does not matter: Buddhism, Taoism, and folk religion are inextricably mixed in Singapore.

According to an inscription on the tablet bearing the name of the temple above the main entrance, the temple was first established on this site in the eighth moon of 1881.

29. THE KUAN YIN SANCTUARY, 398 Dunearn Road (Plate 37). Heading out of the city along Dunearn Road, a hundred yards or so past the junction with Adam Road, one notices a tall archway standing back a few yards off the main road, with three Chinese characters written on it: *Kuan Yin Shan* (Kuan Yin Hill). The reverse side of the archway has an inscription on it too: *Wei Shan Chi Pao* (Cherish good and obtain the most precious of jewels).

Enter here and you are quickly removed from the noise and bustle of the outside world. The sanctuary itself stands on a slight elevation, almost hidden from sight in a quiet garden of trees and flowers. There are some twenty old Chinese ladies staying here. Their ages range from 50 to 90 years. Nearly all of them

were formerly employed as amahs in domestic service with Europeans in Singapore. Now, they have come here to live out the rest of their days in peace.

The main door to the sanctuary is framed by a pair of matching couplets engraved in gold letters on black wood. I will not try to match the Chinese order of words as it is impossible to reproduce the artistry of the original: "May all those who enter this gate find sanctuary in hallowed ground; May all those who follow this path reach the highest Heaven."

The date of establishment of the sanctuary is engraved over the door as September, 1930. But an inscription on an incense table outside indicates there must have been a humbler shrine here from 1926. In fact, the story goes that the place began in a small way in about 1912, when a Cantonese Buddhist priest named Ngoo Ngon arrived from China and set up a temple in a small attap hut. He soon became popular and acquired a number of wealthy patrons who provided him with funds to build the present temple. Probably, the date September, 1930, indicates the date on which the present building was completed.

On entering the door, the main altar to Kuan Yin faces you. The inmates don black robes and pray together before it three times a day: at 5 a.m., 1 p.m., and 5 p.m. The Goddess of Mercy is flanked by two strong-arm men: Kuan Kung, the God of War, and Wei T'o, the Bodhisattva protector of monasteries and similar places. The latter is always represented as panoplied in full armour and carrying a sword. On the right, there is a smaller altar to the Laughing Buddha;

and, on the left, another crowded with a motley collection of Buddhist and Taoist deities.

On a rise above the sanctuary, and connected to it by a footpath, is a smaller temple looked after by a Buddhist priest and his assistant. The former supervises the temple rites of the Kuan Yin Sanctuary. The main altar here is to Shakyamuni, a Buddha seldom seen in Chinese temples in Singapore. It is a magnificent altar, gleaming with black and gold Foochow lacquer work. The reason for its magnificence is given in a small brass plaque on the right-hand side of the altar which reads in English: "In Pleasing Memory of the late Reverend Sek Ngoo Ngon presented by Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Gardiner 1.10.47". I am given to understand that the Reverend Sek Ngoo Ngon was very friendly with the Gardiners over a number of years and helped them greatly when they were interned in Singapore during the Japanese occupation. As a token of their appreciation after their release, they presented this altar to his temple. Readers will have already observed that this Buddhist priest is identical with the founder of the Kuan Yin Sanctuary mentioned overleaf.

This is the only Chinese temple in Singapore, as far as I know, which has benefited in this way by a gift from a European.

30. Lin Shan Miu (Unicorn Mountain Temple), 12¼ milestone, Bukit Timah Road, about half-a-mile before the junction with Mandai Road (Plate No. 38). This small shrine is also known as the Fuk Tak Miao or Toh Peh Kong Temple. The main deity, as implied in the name, is the Grand Old Man, Toh Peh Kong. But it is looked after by a poor old man, who lives with

his dog in a wretched hut in front of the small stone building housing the shrine. I have included it as a typical example of a guardian temple for a Chinese cemetery. The cemetery, which lies on the slopes of the hill stretching behind, is the Kuang Hsiao Shan. It is one of the many Chinese burial grounds in the rural areas owned by the Ngee Ann Kongsi, a Teochiu association. The temple itself is said to be about ten years old. A Chinese *wayang* and market are held here on festival days connected with the deity.

31. THE TEMPLE OF COUNTLESS BLESSINGS (Yen Ch'ing Sze), 48 Frankel Avenue, off East Coast Road (Plate 39). As new housing estates spring up for Singapore's increasing population, so Chinese temples are built to keep pace with them. This is a good example of a modern Chinese temple built on the fringe of a modern housing estate (Frankel Estate). According to an inscription on the nameplate above the main entrance outside, the building was started in 1955. Another inscription on a plaque above the main entrance inside records that it was completed on the twenty-fourth day of the fourth moon of 1956.

It is not common in Singapore to find a Chinese Buddhist temple with the historical figure of the seated Shakyamuni Buddha of the Pure Land Sect of the Chinese Mahayana School. But here we have an instance. There is a large white marble statue of Shakyamuni on the main altar in the front hall facing the entrance, flanked by his two disciples, Kassyapa and Ananda. He bears on his chest the mark of the swastika, the sacred emblem of Buddha, which is one of the

identification marks of the Chinese Mahayana School. An inscription on silk banners suspended at both sides of the altar reads: *Nan Wu Pen Shih Shih-Chia-Men-Ni-Fu* (I put my trust in the True Shakyamuni Buddha).

The rear hall, behind the main altar, is used for modern ancestral worship, and houses a number of recent spirit tablets.

32. THE IMMORTAL IN THE CLOUDS TEMPLE (Hoon Sian Keng), Junction Lorong 102, 4th mile-stone, Changi Road (No. 112) (Plate 40). The main deity in this attractive-looking temple is Kuan Yin, but there is a statue of Maitreya, the Laughing Buddha, in the outer hall which is almost equally important. There are several other local deities on display in front of the main altar, including the Third Prince, Kuan Kung, and the Monkey God.

On the right, there is a smaller altar to Ta Shih Chih P'u Sat (The Almighty One); on the left, an altar to the Buddha who Saves Souls. The left-hand side of the room is used as an ancestral shrine housing the spirit tablets of many local people who have died.

The temple has occupied its present site since 1947. It has had rather a chequered history. It was first established in 1937 in a small attap hut in MacPherson Road. During the Japanese occupation, in 1942, due to some unpleasantness with the Japanese soldiery, it moved to Joo Chiat Road. And thence, to its present site.

The temple is extremely popular with Teochiu, Hokkien, Hakka, Hainanese, and Cantonese devotees. There is an old Hokkien lady spirit medium in attendance. She is a grandmother, aged 68, appropriately

named Miao Chen (Truly Mysterious). She is possessed by Chun T'i, the Buddhist Goddess of Light, and has gained quite a reputation locally for curing sickness caused by evil spirits. According to her, sickness is brought about by two main causes. The first is natural causes, and the second is the unwelcome attention of maleficent spirits. She admits quite modestly that she is only able to deal with the second. As for the first, she advises her clients to see a doctor. However, a small stock of Chinese medicine is kept in the temple which she dispenses free of charge to those suppliants who are too poor to afford to buy it. She also writes out prescriptions, while possessed by her tutelary deity, which the suppliant is at liberty to take to any Chinese herbalist shop in the city.

To ward off the attentions of evil spirits, she writes charms. Some are written in a kind of vermilion ink, which in itself is believed to contain a certain medicinal property. These charm papers may be burnt and swallowed with liquid. Others are written in black ink. Both are written with a Chinese brush on yellow-coloured rice paper.

33. TIEN LING CENTRAL TEMPLE, 5½ milestone, Changi Road (Plate 41). The temple is also known as the Opium Curative and Faith Healing Centre. A shrine was established at this site in 1942 by one Wong Ta Chung. A whole volume could be written about this temple. It is the Singapore headquarters of the Religion of the Void (*K'ung Chung Ta Tao* or *Chen K'ung Chiao*). Relatively little is known about this Chinese cult, which claims to be a fusion of the best features of Confucianism, Bud-

dhism, and Taoism. The deity worshipped is the spirit of the founder, the Patriarch of the Genuine Void, whose birthday is celebrated annually on the ninth day of the fourth moon. The teachings of the cult claim to enable true believers to eliminate the opium-smoking habit, cure disease, and generally live a pure life. The sacred scriptures of the religion are contained in four volumes: the Precious Volume of the Three Religions; the Precious Volume of Intangibility; the Precious Volume of Compensation to the Void; and the Precious Volume of Repayment of Grace. It can easily be seen from these names that the teachings of the cult are abstruse and mystical, and there is no need for us to go further into them here.

The Patriarch of the Genuine Void was born in Kiangsi in 1827. He devoted his life to travelling far and wide throughout China proselytizing his faith, and attracting disciples and followers. In 1892, his work was brought to an abrupt stop by his arrest on the orders of a district magistrate as a dangerous heretic. After undergoing torture and other hardships, he died in prison in the following year. His death in such circumstances, of course, made him a martyr in the eyes of his converts. The Religion of the Void quickly spread throughout Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Hunan, Kwangtung, Fukien and other places in South China. It was brought overseas by Chinese emigrants to South-East Asia. Now, for instance, in Singapore alone, there are fourteen temples, and many others are scattered throughout the Federation of Malaya, in Kuala Lumpur, Klang, Malacca, Johore, Penang, Negri Sembilan, Perak, Selangor, and Kedah.

The Religion of the Void first came to official attention in Singapore in 1955, when its success in curing opium addicts was given publicity. It was claimed that even confirmed addicts could be cured by one week's stay at the temple, providing they followed the teachings of the religion and partook of a certain tea. The cost was $M18 for one week's course. There is no doubt that some of the cures have been spectacular. One well-known Singapore magistrate in 1956 often sent opium addicts to the central temple for treatment, and his rather unorthodox methods seemed to pay dividends.

Some pioneer research into the sect was carried out by two Chinese scholars, Messrs. Hsu Yun-Ts'iao and Chiang Liu, in 1954, but little has been done since then. It is worthy of a detailed study. In some ways, there are similarities between the sect and the Hung Society (a much dreaded Chinese secret society in nineteenth century Malaya) and the Tsai Li Chiao mentioned in Chapter Three. But the cult itself places much stress on the fact that it is non-political and law-abiding. Nevertheless, in China proper, all such religious sects are considered weapons for political, and, very often, subversive movements.

Appendix One

CHINESE INDEX

I am afraid I may dismay some sinologues by not keeping to a standard romanization of Chinese words. The fact is that there are so many Chinese dialects spoken in Singapore that it is quite impracticable to standardize the pronunciation of Chinese words in such a list. Some are best known in their Hokkien form, others in Cantonese, and so on through all the variations of the eight or nine Chinese dialects spoken locally. To turn them into a standardized National Language equivalent may well make them unintelligible to the very people who know more about them than I do. In any case, the key to all of them is given in the Chinese characters themselves.

D

E

F

G

H

I

J

M

N

O

P

Q

R

S

T

W

Y

Appendix Two

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Record of Travels in the West (西遊記) (五桂堂書局) Shanghai, undated, 4 vols.

Ang Gim Tong. *Chinese Temples of Singapore* (in Chinese). Nanfong Commercial Publishing Bureau, Singapore, 1949.

Brewitt-Taylor, C. H. *San Kuo* or *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Shanghai, 1925. 2 vols.

Chan Wing-tsit. *Religious Trends in Modern China*. Columbia University Press, 1953.

Chung Shan K'e (中山客). *The Birth of Kuan Yin*. (觀音出世) (香港祥記書局). Hong Kong, undated.

Comber, L. *Chinese Ancestor Worship in Malaya*. Donald Moore, Singapore, 1954.

Comber, L. *Chinese Magic and Superstitions in Malaya*. Donald Moore, Singapore, 1955.

Dennison, A. *Gods of the Chinese*. Article, *The Sunday Times*. Singapore, 22nd November, 1953.

Diemer, Christine. *Temple is Amah's Haven in Old Age*. Article, *Sunday Tiger Standard*, Singapore, 12th December, 1954.

Elliott, Alan J. A. *Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore*. The London School of Economics & Political Science, 1955.

Ferm, Vergillius (Editor). *Encyclopaedia of Religion*. The Philosophical Library, New York, 1945.

Freeman, D. *Fire-Walking at Ampang, Selangor*. Journal Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, Pt. I, 1924.

Gibson-Hill, Carl. *Six Wooden Images in the Cheng Hoon Teng, Malacca*. J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, 1955.

Giles, Herbert A. *A History of Chinese Literature*. William Heinemann, London, 1901.

Grube, Wilhelm. *Feng-shen-yen-i. Die Metamorphosen der Gotter*. Berlin, 1912. 2 vols.

Han Wai Toon. *Research on Taupekong* (in Chinese). Journal South Seas Society, Singapore, Vol. I, Pt. 2 (No. 2), 1940.

Han Wai Toon. *Tien Hao & the Early Chinese Emigration* (in Chinese). J.S.S.S., Singapore, Vol. II, Pt. 2 (No. 4), 1941.

Hancock, T. H. H. & Gibson-Hill, C. S. *Architecture in Singapore.* Craftsman Press Ltd., Singapore, 1954.

Hightower, James Robert. *Topics in Chinese Literature.* Harvard University Press, 1953.

Hsu Yun-Ts'iao. *Notes on Ta-pe-kong, Erh-pe-kong and Pun-t'ou-kong* (in Chinese). J.S.S.S., Singapore, Vol. VII. Pt. 2 (No. 14), 1951.

Hsu Yun-Ts'iao. *The Religion of the Void* (in Chinese with English translation by Chiang Liu). J.S.S.S., Singapore, Vol. X, Pt. 2, 1954.

Hughes, E. R. *Religion in China.* Hutchinson's University Library, London, 1950.

James, E. O. *History of Religions.* The English Universities Press, London, 1956.

Johnston, R. F. *Buddhist China.* John Murray, London, 1913.

Latourette, K. S. *The Chinese: Their History & Culture.* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1950.

Legends of the Gods (封神榜演義) (五桂堂書局), Hong Kong, undated, 4 vols.

Legge, James, *The Religions of China.* Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1880.

Lim Kim Guan. *Spirit Mediums of Telok Ayer.* Article, *The Malayan Monthly,* Singapore, December, 1954.

McDougall, Colin. *Buddhism in Malaya.* Donald Moore, Singapore, 1956.

Purcell, Victor. *The Chinese in Modern Malaya.* Donald Moore, Singapore, 1956.

Reichelt, Karl Ludvig. *Religion in Chinese Garment.* Lutterworth Press, London, 1951.

Richards, Timothy. *A Mission to Heaven.* 1913.

Semple, The Rev. E. G. *Singapore Religions.* The Methodist Publishing House, Singapore, 1927.

Shih Tsu (石竹). *The Monkey God attacks the Palace of Heaven* （孫悟空大鬧天宮）（南洋書局）, Singapore, 1953.

Singapore Street Directory and Guide. Government Printer, Singapore, 1956.

Song Ong Siang. *One Hundred Years of the Chinese in Singapore.* John Murray, London, 1923.

Stirling, W. G. *Chinese Exorcists.* J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. II, Pt. I, 1924.

Taussig, H. *Religion and State in China.* Article, *Eastern World,* London, February, 1957.

The Romance of the Three Kingdoms. （三國演義）（新文化書社） Shanghai, 1940. 4 vols.

Topley, Marjorie. *Paper Charms and Prayer Sheets as Adjuncts to Chinese Worship.* J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXVI, Pt. I, 1953.

Topley, Marjorie. *Chinese Women's Vegetarian Houses in Singapore.* J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXVII, Pt. I, 1954.

Waley, Arthur. *Monkey.* George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1942.

Werner, E. T. C. *Myths and Legends of China.* George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., London, 1934.

Appendix Three

GENERAL INDEX