

The background of the page features a large, faint watermark of the National Chengchi University logo. The logo is circular and contains the university's name in Chinese characters (國立政治大學) and English (National Chengchi University) around a central emblem. The emblem itself is a stylized flower or cloud shape with the characters '政大' (Chengchi University) inside.

Chapter 3 Comparisons

In this chapter I will draw comparisons between the various statues. I will start by comparing the Wind Lion God statues to themselves in various ways.¹ After that I will compare the Wind Lion Gods generally to the Sheela Na Gigs, the Moai and the Dolharuebang.

3.1 Wind Lion God Statues

For this section I will not be examining traits that the majority of the lions have. Instead I will be choosing small groups of statues that are related in an oddity.

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all photos in this chapter are from Callum Sawatzky, November 2007

This section is being included in the paper to add necessary depth to the descriptions of the wind lion gods.

Before that, let me report some statistics for the 69 Wind Lion Gods of Kinmen. Height measurements were taken from Li and Huang's 1994 book: *Research of Wind Lion Gods in Kinmen* (金門風獅爺調查研究)². The rest of the information came from my own research. After a brief written explanation of how each category works, I will present pie charts that clearly show the percentages involved in each category.

In terms of size 13 statutes can be categorized as small, meaning up to and including 60cm tall. From 61 to 120cm is the middle-size category of which there are 27 statues. Large statues are those that are 121cm and up, there are 28 of these. For style there were also three categories, these are squat, halfway and standing. There are 25, 33 and 11 statues respectively in these categories.

Age is extremely difficult to tell and most of the time can only be guessed at by the amount of erosion present on a statue. Therefore statues that are badly eroded are classified as old, statues with no erosion are classified as new, and the rest of them are categorized as middle-aged. Most of these were probably made during or after the war that took place in Kinmen from the 1950's to the 1970's as a lot of statues were destroyed by bombs during this time and had to be replaced. Using this method of

² Li, ZhuFeng 李炷烽, and KuoTai Huang 黃國泰, eds. *Research of Wind Lion Gods in Kinmen* 金門風獅爺調查研究. JinCheng, Taiwan: Cultural Affairs Bureau of Kinmen County, 1994.

classifying the statues by age gives this result: the vast majority of the statues are middle aged with 36 of them being so. That is twice the amount of the next largest category, 18 statues qualify as old, and only 15 are new.

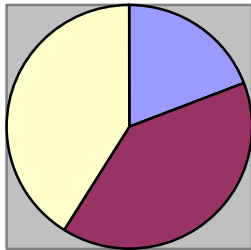
As far as genitals are concerned there are four categories. 45 statues actually have no genitals at all. After that 16 statues have penises. These are mostly new and a few middle-age statues. Then there are 4 statues that have bottle gourds, 3 are middle-age and 1 is new. Then there are 3 statues that have other things³ for genitals, 2 middle-age and one new statue.

In terms of direction and location there is a lot to look at. First is direction. 12 statues face north, 30 northeast, 2 northwest, 5 south, 9 southeast, 7 southwest, 4 east and 0 face west. Most of the statues are found at the edge of the village, with 32 of them being here. An additional 23 are inside the village, and only 14 lie some distance outside the village. About half, or 35, of the statues can be found near the road, and 15 are associated with temples. The vast majority of the statues (50 of the 69) are atop some form of pedestal, platform or dais.

The following pie charts show the various percentages of these categories clearly:

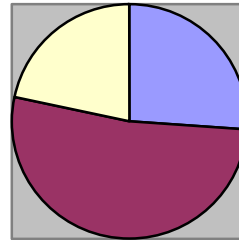
³ These include: a strange pointed implement, a curly black drawing, and a penis sheath like a dog has.

Size



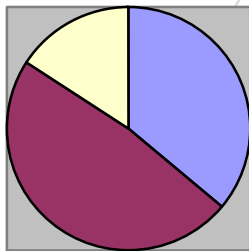
Small: 18%
Middle: 39%
Large: 40%

Age



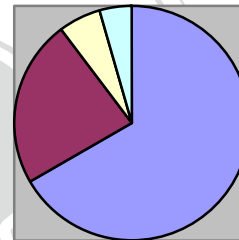
Old: 26%
Middle: 52%
New: 21%

Style



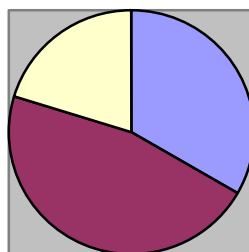
Squat: 36%
Halfway: 47%
Standing: 15%

Genitals



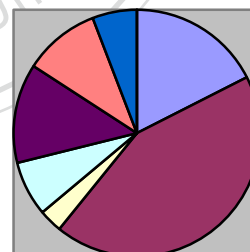
None: 66%
Penis: 23%
Hulu: 5%
Other: 4%

Location in Village



Inside: 33%
At Edge: 46%
Outside: 20%

Directionality



North: 17%
Northeast: 43%
Northwest: 2%
South: 7%
Southeast: 13%
Southwest: 10%
East: 5%
West: 0%

On the following pages is the chart showing the different ways of comparing the statues and the categories within each comparison group. These consist of: “Size” with small, medium and large; “Form” with squat, halfway and stand; “Age” with old, middle and new; “Genitals” with none, penis, hulu and other; “Location to Town” with in town, at the edge of town and out side of town; “Face Direction” with all the necessary directions; and finally “By Temple” as a counting method. After viewing this graph the comparisons following will make more sense.

	Size	Form	Age	Genitals	Location to Town	Face Direction	By Temple
AnQi 安岐	large	stand	middle	penis	out	NE	no
BangLin Old 榜林	large	stand	new	none	in	NE	no
BangLin New 榜林	medium	stand	new	penis	edge	NE	no
BeiShan 北山	medium	squat	middle	none	edge	SE	no
BiShan 1 碧山	large	halfway	middle	none	out	NE	no
BiShan 2 碧山	medium	halfway	middle	none	edge	NE	no
ChengGong 成功	large	stand	new	penis	in	SW	no
DongShan 東山	medium	squat	old	none	in	N	no
DongHeng 東衍	small	squat	old	none	out	NE	no
DongCun 東村	small	squat	new	none	in	NE	no
DongShaWei 東沙尾	medium	halfway	middle	none	in	NE	no
DongXiao 東蕭	small	squat	old	none	in	S	yes
DongZhou 東洲	large	halfway	new	penis	in	N	yes
DouMen 斗門	medium	halfway	middle	penis	edge	NE	yes
FuGuoDun 復國墩	medium	halfway	new	none	edge	SW	no
GuanAo 1 官澳	large	stand	new	penis	edge	N	no
GuanAo 2 官澳	large	stand	new	none	edge	N	no
GongLi 宮裏	large	halfway	middle	penis	in	NE	no
HeCuo 何厝	small	squat	old	none	edge	N	yes
HouHu 后湖	large	halfway	middle	other	edge	NE	no
HouPanShan 后盤山	large	halfway	middle	penis	out	NE	no
HouPuTou 1 后浦頭	small	squat	old	none	in	NE	no
HouPuTou 2 后浦頭	small	squat	new	none	edge	NE	no
HouShuiTou 1 后水頭	small	squat	middle	none	in	SE	no
HouShuiTou 2 后水頭	small	squat	middle	none	edge	NE	no
HouShuiTou 3 后水頭	large	halfway	middle	none	edge	NE	yes

	Size	Form	Age	Genitals	Location to Town	Face Direction	By Temple
HouZhai 1 后宅	large	halfway	middle	penis	edge	NE	no
HouZhai 2 后宅	medium	halfway	middle	none	out	SE	no
HuQian 湖前	medium	halfway	middle	none	edge	SW	no
HuXia 湖下	large	halfway	new	penis	in	NE	no
Old Jinmen City Old 舊金城	small	squat	old	none	edge	E	no
Old Jinmen City New 舊金城	large	stand	new	penis	edge	NE	no
LiuOu 劉澳	medium	squat	old	none	edge	S	no
LuCuo 1 呂厝	medium	squat	old	none	in	SE	yes
LuCuo 2 呂厝	medium	squat	middle	none	in	SE	no
PuBian 1 浦邊	large	halfway	middle	none	in	NE	yes
PuBian 2 浦邊	large	halfway	middle	none	in	SW	yes
OuCuo 歐厝	*	halfway	middle	none	out	NE	no
QingYu 青嶼	small	squat	old	none	edge	E	yes
QiongLin Old 瓊林	medium	halfway	middle	hulu	edge	SW	no
QiongLin New 瓊林	large	stand	new	hulu	edge	N	no
ShaMei 1 沙美	small	squat	old	none	in	N	no
ShaMei 2 沙美	small	squat	new	other	in	N	no
ShaMei 3 沙美	small	squat	old	none	in	NE	no
ShanWai 山外	large	stand	new	penis	edge	N	no
ShanHou 山后	medium	halfway	middle	none	edge	NW	yes
SiHu 泗湖	large	stand	new	penis	edge	N	no
TangTou 塘頭	medium	halfway	middle	other	edge	E	yes
TaHou 塔后	medium	squat	middle	none	out	E	no
TianDun 田墩	medium	halfway	middle	none	edge	NE	no
XiBian 溪邊	medium	squat	new	none	out	NE	no
XiaHu Old 下湖	medium	squat	new	none	out	NE	no
XiaHu New 下湖	large	halfway	middle	none	out	SW	no
XiaLan 下蘭	medium	halfway	middle	hulu	in	SE	no
XiaoGuGang 小古崗	large	stand	middle	penis	edge	N	no
XiaShu 夏墅	large	halfway	middle	penis	in	NE	yes
XiaTangTou 下塘頭	medium	squat	old	none	out	SE	no
XiaXinCuo 下新厝	medium	halfway	middle	none	edge	NE	no
XiaXing 夏興	medium	squat	old	none	edge	S	no
XiGuoShan 昔果山	large	halfway	middle	penis	edge	S	no
XiHong 西洪	medium	squat	old	none	out	SW	no
XiYuan 1 西園	large	halfway	middle	none	out	SE	no
XiYuan 2 西園	large	halfway	middle	hulu	out	SE	no
YangShan 洋山	large	halfway	new	none	edge	NE	no
YangZhai 1 陽宅	large	halfway	middle	none	in	S	no
YangZhai 2 陽宅	medium	halfway	middle	none	in	NE	yes

	Size	Form	Age	Genitals	Location to Town	Face Direction	By Temple
YangZhai 3 陽宅	medium	halfway	middle	none	edge	N	yes
YangZhai 4 陽宅	large	halfway	middle	none	edge	NE	yes
ZhongLan 中蘭	medium	squat	old	none	edge	NW	no

* Statue is located in the middle of a minefield and thus is unmeasurable

3.1.1 Similarities

Other than the facial similarities there are not a lot of common traits in the statues. Each one is a very unique carving. There are only a few patterns that can be seen when viewing the comparisons.

The first patterns I will examine are those concerning the genitals. Of 69 statues in 2007, 23 – or exactly 1/3 – of them had some sort genitalia. Of the 23 statues with genitals, 16 had penises, 4 had hulu and 3 had something else. The age of the statues with genitals is interesting because not one of the old statues has them. Of the 23 that do, 14 of them are middle-aged while the remaining 9 are new. There are only 15 new statues, so 60% of the new statues have genitals versus only 40% of the middle-age and 0% of the old statues. This is the highest percentage of any group for having genitals, so it seems likely that as fertility plays a stronger part in the roles of the wind lion god, the more important the actual display of a penis becomes.

Another trend with the genitals relates to the form of the statues that have them. Only 1 of 25 squat statues has genitals, 13 of 33 halfway statues have them and 9 of 11 standing statues. Again, it is obvious that the genitals play a more important part on newer statues since the standing form is the most recent form of wind lion god.

The third genital pattern concerns size of statue. Only 1 small statue has genitals. That's 1 of 13 small statues and of 23 statues with genitals. 5 of the 27 mid-size statues have genitals, but 17 of 28 large statues have them. Again, since the statues have mostly grown in size as they have become more modern, it is possible to conclude from these three trends that penises have become more important and more prominent in newer statues.

The second area where trends can be seen is with statues near temples. Remember that these statues are not necessarily associated with the temples, most the time they just happen to be placed near one. The vast majority of the time the wind lion god statues near temples are behind the temple, or off to the side, or faced and placed in such a way that they are obviously not part of the unit. Of the 15 statues near temples 7 of them are located within the village while the other 8 are at the edge of the village. No statues near temples are found outside of the villages. This is most likely because temples are rarely found outside of villages, so any statue near one must therefore also not be outside the village.

Another trend with location is in form of statues. The squat and halfway forms are pretty evenly spread out between being in the village, at the edge of a village and outside the village. This is not true for the standing form. There are 11 standing statues and only 1 of them is outside of the village, with just two more being in the village. That means eight of the 11 standing statues are found at the edge of their village. This is probably because most of the standing statues are new and so the

villagers don't want to put them outside of the village, but also there is not a good place within the village to put a large statue.

Along with that, while the old and middle-age statues are more or less evenly distributed between the three locations the new statues are not. Of the 15 new statues six are in villages while nine are at the edge of a village. Not even one of the new statues is outside the village. Again, this is probably due to their being quite an expensive investment for the village and a new statue is something to be proud of, so you wouldn't want to put it far away. Also, villagers are going to want the statues where they will be convenient to access for worship.

As far as location and size, there are some dramatic changes in numbers. From this perspective, the middle-size and large statues are fairly evenly distributed between in, out and at the edge of a village. Small statues are not. There are 13 small statues and eight (61%) of them are inside the village. Five more are found at the edge of the village which is 15% of the total statues found on the edges of villages. And just one (7%) is found outside the village. For that matter just one (5%) of the 14 that are outside of the village is small. This is most likely because they are small statues and so they are easy to find room for within the village. Even if they are moved (which they are from time to time) finding room in a village is easier for a small statue than for the middle-size or large statues.

Continuing to look at size there are some interesting findings in the form comparison. Of 13 small statues, every single one is a squat form statue, but only 13

of the 25 squat statues are small. The other 12 squat statues are middle-sized, with zero squat statues being large. This is because the squat style is the oldest and larger statues are newer. Only one of the middle-size statues is standing up, that is 3% of the total 27 middle –size statues and 9% of the total 11 standing statues. There are 28 large statues and 10 of them are standing, but of 11 standing 10 of them are large. This is likely, again, to be because large statues are new, and the newest form of statue is the standing form, so it makes sense that the new form would be the new size too.

Looking at form versus age, the following information is found: The first statistic that comes up is of 18 old statues, 100% of them are of the squat form, and the majority of the squat form (64%) are old statues. There are not old statues that are mid-size or large. There are 36 mid-age statues and 5 of them are of the squat form, which is only 13%. Just 17% of the squat statues are middle-age. The surprisingly high amount of 80% of the middle-age statues are in the halfway form, which is an overwhelming majority. This figure is topped only because there are 33 halfway statues, so 87% of them are middle-age. Only two middle-age statues are standing, that's just 5% of the total for that age, and 18% of the standing statues. Because a couple of statues have been replaced there are actually 3 new statues that are of the squat form. But that is only 10% of the total squat statues. Another 4 of the new statues are in the halfway form which is only 12% of the total halfway form statues. The majority (61%) of new statues are in the standing form with 9 statues, that's 81%

of the 11 total standing statues. Yet again it is shown that old statues are smaller while new statues are larger.

The last area to look at is size against age. Of the 13 small statues, eight of them are old, two are middle-aged and three are new. Two of those new ones are replacements within the past 20 years for statues that were either broken or stolen. Of the 36 middle-age statues the two that are small constitute only 5% of the total. 2 of the 27 mid-size statues are new, that's 7% of the total, with another 33% of them being old. The remaining 59% of the mid-size statues are middle-aged. Of the 15 new statues, only 2 are middle-size. An interesting note is that not even one of the large statues is old. There are 28 large statues and 17 of them are middle-age with the rest being new. The 11 new large statues make up 73% of the 15 new statues. This again follows with older statues being small, middle-age statues being middle-size and new statues being large due to the resources available to the villages at the time of purchasing their statues.

3.1.2 Differences

After doing the comparisons of similarities, above, for contrast I decided to do comparisons of the statues that fall into small groups based on their extreme differences to the majority. The areas of comparison I have chosen to look at, in no particular order, are: hulu genitals; unusual genitals; square, squat bodies; badly eroded statues; cartoon-ish statues; those that have strange body forms; those made

after 1994; and those that have bodies that resemble temple lions. I chose these areas because there are at most six statues that fall into them and so are the oddities of the community. I am not examining the majority because it is more worthwhile to focus on the differences.

Cartoon-ish Statues

The first comparison I would like to examine is four statues that look rather more like cartoon characters than fierce lion guardians. These are the statues in XiaShu 夏墅, XiGuoShan 昔果山, HuXia 湖下, and DongZhou 東洲. All four of these statues have penises, with DongZhou and HuXia being new statues while XiGuoShan and XiaShu are middle-age. All four of them sit up and hold their front feet in the same posture as a dog begging would, with arms close in to the body and paws bent down. All four of these statues are large size statues, with the smallest one being HuXia as 128cm tall. This is followed by Dong Zhou at 131cm tall, XiaShu at 141cm, and XiGuoShan at 155cm is the tallest of the four. HuXia and DongZhou wear medallions while XiGuoShan and XiaShu wear bells. All four statues are painted and all four, like the vast majority of statues on the island have and incense censor full of recently burned incense sticks.



Photo 1: The HuXia Wind Lion God

The DongZhou statue is right in front of the FuYou Temple 福佑廟 in the middle of the village. It is very prominent and centrally located. This is a statue that the village people obviously tend quite well as it seems to be freshly painted yellow in every picture of it I can find, as well as always having offerings of food shoved in its large mouth. This statue is one of few that has a wide-open mouth. This statue faces north. XiaShu is also by a temple, the ShengDi Temple 聖帝廟 and while it is centrally located and easy to find, it is not given a position with as much obvious importance as the DongZhou statue. Instead it is off to the side of the courtyard, and not nearly as well maintained: its coat of blue paint is badly worn away. This statue is also given food offerings, but instead of having them fed to it, they are placed on the pedestal in front of its feet. This statue faces northeast. XiGuoShan is behind the FaZhu Temple 法主宮. This is the only one that doesn't seem to be given food offerings very often. It's in a large plaza area, but is not centrally located in the town. Instead it is hidden behind the temple out at the edge of town. This statue is the largest of the four. In all of its pictures it is painted blue, but this paint is never in a state of freshness. This statue is the only one of the group that faces south. The HuXia statue is the only one of the four that is not near a temple; instead it stands in a cut-out in a wall across the road from the side of the village school. It's also the only one of the group that actually looks like it's standing, and not just sitting on its back legs. It is also centrally located, but not as prominently as DongZhou. HuXia has a rather

plump yellow wind lion god. In older pictures it used to be blue. This statue is always shown with food offerings in its rather unusually shaped clown-like mouth. This statue also faces northeast.

In summary: Two are yellow and frequently painted; two are blue and infrequently painted. Three are given food offerings, but the largest one is not. Three are close to temples while the fourth is near a school. Three hold balls and one doesn't. All four have prominent ears and larger than normal mouths.

Temple Lion Style Statues

There are three wind lion god statues that do not resemble the typical form, nor do they have the normal features of a wind lion god face. Two of these statues are found in ShaMei 沙美 (ShaMei 1 and ShaMei 2) while the third is found in DongHeng 東衍. All three statues are small.

The DongHeng statue is known to be at least 50 years old as one of the elder villagers told me about it being moved to its current position when he was a child. Even at that time it was already an old statue according to him. It was moved because the previous pedestal was falling into a stream. Mr. Wang (the village elder) showed me the original placement,



Photo 2: The DongHeng statue is old, small and of an unusual form

which was only a few feet away. It was possible to see that the new pedestal and the new placement of the statue maintained the original orientation of the statue as a northeast facing statue. This statue is the smallest one on the island at only 22cm high. In most pictures taken of it, and on my visit, it is painted green. It is the only statue that is painted this color that I know of. This statue raises its right hand, in which it holds a ball and does not have a penis. It is not located in the village, but instead you must follow a path through the fields and through a bamboo forest. On the other side of the forest at the edge of another field is where this statue is. Up until the statue it is a well-worn path, but shortly thereafter it becomes indistinct. This statue has an incense cup but no candles. ShaMei 1 is barely bigger than the DongHeng statue at 34cm. But it is located right in the middle of the village, at the edge of a pond. It looks away from the pond towards the road. It has obviously been moved from somewhere else, but it is not known where it came from. The fact that it has been moved is evidenced by the fact that the ball and the rock that it rests its front feet on are part of the new pedestal, but the feet and the bottom of the statue where it connects to the pedestal have been attached with globs of cement. This severely eroded statue has remains of yellow paint on it, but no penis. It faces north, but due to its having been moved I cannot be sure that this is its original orientation. Built into the pedestal is a hole for placing incense sticks. ShaMei 2 is the largest of these three statues at 56cm. This statue has almost no erosion and looks very new. It also looks significantly different than the other two statues of this style. It is not painted as a

whole, but gold paint has been applied to its teeth and eyes. This statue resembles standing dog, up on all four legs. It has huge, floppy ears that are different to any other statue on the island. Unlike the other two statues, this one does have a penis, or rather a penis sheath like a dog would have. This north facing statue is very intricately carved with many patterns all over its body. It can easily be found on a large dais next to the main road leading out of town. This one has two candles sticks in addition to the incense censor. I do not know why they chose to carve this new statue in such an old, and atypical form.

In summary: One of these is far outside of the village, while the other two are in the village. One is very new while the other two are very old. Two have been moved and one has not. One is on a large dais that has benches around it; the other two are on small pedestals. Two have only incense offerings, while one gets both incense and candles.

Strange Form Statues

There are four statues whose forms don't really fit into the three categories assigned. These four are the TaHou 塔后, BeiShan 北山, LiuOu 劉澳 and LuCuo 呂厝 statues. None of the four have genitals, and all are middle-sized, ranging from the 72cm LiuOu statue to the 119cm BeiShan statue. The form that these four statues have is relatively similar to one another; they have long backs and are in a form that

makes them look like sitting dogs. The difference from the other statues is, in the case of the squat style statues, they are not compact. Their front legs are some distance from their back legs and so while they can still qualify as squat style statues since they have 3 or 4 feet on the ground, they aren't exactly that form. They cannot qualify as halfway-form statues because they do not sit-up and hold their front paws up off the ground.



Photo 3: The statues of TaHou, BeiShan, LuCuo 2, LiuOu, L to R

TaHou is the most unique of the four. I would not have thought it was a wind lion god if it hadn't been listed as such in all the books. At 87 cm, it has a very round, flat face with two bulging eyes and a mouth like wide beak. The front legs have been individually carved out of the stone, so that each stands independently and the body hangs between them and the sitting end of the statue. This statue was painted white at some point in the past, and this paint can still be seen on most of the body, though it's badly chipped off. The statue has been placed on a platform with a fence on three

sides atop a hill in a park alongside the village so that it looks east. This is one few statues on the island that has an incense censor that is almost devoid of ashes. BeiShan is definitely a wind lion god, of the four of these statues it's the one with a style closest to a regular squat style statue. However, it's still not quite right. It still looks more like a sitting lion, not a crouching lion. The four legs are not carved separately; they are bas relief on the main block of stone. This statue is outside the village on a raised platform that has stairs leading up to it and a fence around 3 sides. It looks southeast out over Twin Carp Lake 雙鯉湖. It sits on three feet and holds a ribbon in the fourth. LiuOu was painted blue and, like BeiShan, sits on three legs while holding up a chop in its fourth paw. Like TaHou the front two legs were carved free from the main block of stone and the body slopes down from them to the sitting rear of the statue. This statue sits on a platform in the village along the roadside, facing south. LuCuo 2 is shaped like TaHou and LiuAo in that the body slopes down from the standing front legs to the sitting rear legs, but unlike them the front legs have not been carved free of the stone. Instead, like BeiShan, they are just bas relief carved onto the stone. The facial features of this statue are less like a fierce lion and more like a grimacing human than most of the statues. It has a bell around its neck. It is in the village, next to a pile of garbage, facing southeast so it can over look the village pond.

In summary: 2 statues have free carved front legs, 2 have bas relief front legs. 2 are on 4 legs, 2 on three (both because they are holding something up). Two are in very reverential locations, two are not. Two are in their village, and two are at the edge of their village. One has a completely un-lion-like face, one has a very human face, and two have normal wind lion god faces. Two keep watch over bodies of water, two do not.

Badly Eroded Statues

Five of the statues have been severely eroded, to the point where there is very little detail left at all. These five statues are the XiaTangTou 下塘頭, Old KinCheng City's old statue 舊金城, HeCuo 何厝, DongShan 東山, and QingYu 青嶼. These five statues are all in the squat form and none of them have genitals. All five of the statues are not in their original locations, as can be seen in various ways explained below.

DongShan is the largest of these statues, and the only one that qualifies as a middle-size statue at 69cm. It faces north on a small platform that is now at the edge of the driveway for a house. It is a few feet from the street. This statue has a longer body and a rounded head, the whole statue is circular around the outside, more like a post than a square. This is the least eroded of the five, possible



Photo 4: The very old HeCuo statue

because not many of its details stick out from the body very far. However, it is still only possible to see where the various facial details were, it is not possible to see any more detail than that. The HeCuo statue resembles a knob on a pole. It stands only 39cm high and so is a small statue. The outside of the body is slightly squared when looking down from above, but the head sticks out in the front, and in this area you can see traces of the mouth and eye indents. This statue faces north at the edge of the village behind the BaoAn Temple 保安殿. The QingYu statue is also a small one at 42cm. This statue has a squared body shape instead of the more normal round body. This one is slightly less badly eroded than the others in that you can still see things like teeth and ear nubs, but since these are only barely discernable it qualifies as a badly eroded statue. This is the only one of these five statues that is regularly photographed with food offerings. It faces east on the edge of town behind the JinShanDao Temple 金山道殿 in a large plaza area.

XiaTangTou is the only one of these statues that holds an object. In its right paw it has a ball. The body shape of this statue is a somewhat squared circle. On this statue it is only possible to discern the eye and mouth areas, though they are



Photo 5: The oldest of two statues in Old KinCheng City

more distinct than those on the HeCuo statue. This statue is on the south edge of town facing south, unlike the others. The

Old KinCheng City Old statue was not included in the 1994 survey for reasons

unknown, so its height is unknown. By my own visual inspection it is a small statue, but I cannot be more specific than that. It can be found on the wall behind the HuiXiang Temple 迴向殿 facing east. It is flanked on either side by temple lions and is only a few feet in front of the new, huge statue that has been made for the village. This is the only statue in Kinmen to be in such close proximity to another statue. This statue is neither round nor square in shape; instead from what is left of it, it looks like it may have originally had a shape like a temple lion, with a long body, a rear end and a projecting head. On the head one can use the extra lump of the muzzle to discern the front of the face, but absolutely not details whatsoever remain on this statue.

In summary: Three of these statues are near temples, two are not. One of these statues has a nearby replacement, while the other four do not. One has a square-ish body, three have a round body and one has a body that resembles the temple lions. One of these holds a ball while the other four don't hold anything. These statues range in terms of their erosion from being able to discern eyes, mouths and even teeth, to not being able to make out a single detail. One of these statues is regularly given food, while the other four are not. Two statues face north, two face east and one faces south.

Square, Squat Form

This section will discuss six statues that display the oldest consistent form of squat statue. These statues are all square in body form, unlike all halfway and standing forms that have cylindrical body forms. These statues therefore exaggerate their shortness and squat-ness by having this form. None of these statues has genitals; all have all four feet on the ground, with their back legs either not visible, non-existent or tucked up under them and the front legs being relief carved down the sides of the front of the body. These statues all have very simple details, and not much carved into them. Most detail that exists is done through the way they are painted. These six statues are the QingYu 青嶼, ZhongLan 中蘭, XiaXing 夏興, XiHong 西洪, the XiaHu 下湖 old statue and the #2 statue at HouPuTou 后浦頭.

HouPuTou is an exception to the other statues because it is not an old statue. It is a replacement statue that was made in the 1990's for a statue that had been recently installed but was then stolen. This statue was made and erected in a hurry to make up for that. So it is a new statue that was made in this very old style. But like the others, very little detail is actually carved onto the statue, what detail there is, is given through the way it is painted, all the way down to its toenails. This statue is usually painted blue and at 46cm tall it is a small statue. It is found on a large plaza area near a road where it looks northeast out over RongHu Lake 榮湖. The QingYu statue is also a small one at 42cm. This one was carved with a little more detail than the others

in this category, as can be evidenced by the remaining, though badly eroded, details like the ear and teeth numbs, and some lines on its belly. These details are only barely there, but it is enough to hint that this was probably one of the more elaborate statues of this particular style. This is the only one of these six statues that is regularly photographed with food offerings. It faces east on the edge of town behind the JinShanDao Temple (金山道殿) in a large plaza area. The Zhonglan statue, at 65cm, is actually a middle-size statue. It is usually painted blue and has stripes going across its stomach. It faces northwest on a large platform that has been raised up with several steps leading up to it near the town bus stop. At XiaXing there is a 78cm middle-size statue. This south-facing statue is usually painted blue, with stripes going across its stomach, like the one in Zhonglan. It has a bell around its neck and is found in a garden near the bus stop. XiHong's statue is a larger middle-size statue at 111cm. It is found facing southwest outside the town along the road on a large, tall pedestal that makes the statue slightly difficult to access. This one is different from the others in that it raises one of its hands while the other hand rests on a ball. The mouth on the XiHong statue is unique as well. The muzzle of this statue projects outwards a little wide, so even though the mouth is quite wide, it still has a tube-like aspect to it. The rest of the head details are on top of this muzzle area. The older statue in XiaHu has



Photo 6: XiaXing's statues exemplifies the short, squat style

this same kind of mouth and head structure. This statue, though, is only 82cm tall. It is still middle-size, but not quite so large as the XiHong statue. It doesn't have many details other than a bell around its neck. This northeast facing statue is in a field outside of the town. Actually it is in a hedgerow at the edge of the field and if it had been summer time we may not have found it. Even in the winter the vegetation had mostly covered it over. There is no pathway or walkway of any sort leading to this statue and it was rather difficult to access. This is one of few statues on the island that does not have an incense cup..

In summary: One has more carved details than the others. Two have stripes painted on their stomachs, two are unpainted and one is just painted blue. One has a raised hand, two are wearing bells. Two have odd, tube-like mouths, one has an open carved mouth and three have painted in mouths. Two are in large plaza area, three are easy to access, and one seems to have been forgotten is being grown over by the surrounding vegetation.

Statues made after 1994

There are seven statues that were made after the 1994 survey came out. At least two of these were made after the 2004 survey as well. The two newest are the new statue at Old KinCheng City 舊金城 and the statue at FuGuoDun 復國墩. The ones made between 1994 and 2004 are both the statues at GuanAo 官澳, the newer

statue at BangLin 榜林, the statue at ShanWai 山外, and the version currently at DongCun 東村. These are being compared because they can definitively be put into a time period and yet are quite different. It is not known why the towns choose the forms that they do for their statues, especially a new statue that isn't a replacement, but with all the options available for modern statues, it is worth looking at how traditional, or how far from tradition, the new statues are. Other than their time of creation, there is nothing these statues have in common, but because they were all made after the 1994 the heights for them all are unavailable.

The DongCun statue is different from the other statues in that it is a replacement for a statue that broke and no longer exists. Visually it is a small statue of the old squatting form. It holds a medallion between its two front hands and faces northeast on a very tall pedestal in the middle of its village. The new statue in Old JingCheng City is also a replacement statue, but the original statue is still in place just a few feet away on a wall. There are massive differences between the new statue and the old statue⁴. The new statue is huge, both in terms of height and circumference, easily the second largest on the island. This statue is elaborately carved in relief 3-D detail. In addition to having a penis it also holds a calligraphy brush and chop. It is behind the HuiXiang Temple 迴向殿 facing northeast. The statue in FuGuoDun was, like the new Old JingCheng City statue, made after 2004, but it was made in the

⁴ For a description of the older statue, please see the section on Badly Eroded Statues

halfway form. It is visually a middle-size statue. It can be found looking southwest just at the entrance to the village off the side of a parking lot. This statue is also very intricately carved, with odd pointed ears, again in a relief style of carving. It holds a ribbon and medallion. ShanWai's statue is visually a large one, with a lot of carved detail, though the detail is in the style of etched lines unlike the statues in FuGuoDun and Old JinCheng City. It holds a ribbon and a medallion and is found in a fenced in box alongside the main road leading north out of the village across from TaiHu Lake 太湖 looking north up the road. The statue in BangLin must have been made just after the other statue, but only the other one was there in 1994. They look very similar and also have the same lack of weathering that indicates they are very close in age, which would mean the other statue is very new as well. This BangLin statue is probably a large statue; it has a penis and holds a flag. There aren't many body details and most of it is in relief carving. The head is turned slightly to the side. This statue can be found looking northeast in the middle of a patch of garbage near some houses in the village. The two statues in GuanAo are very similar: Statue #1 is slightly taller though both are definitely large statues. Both are painted a light purple and hold flags, though in opposite hands. Statue #1 is located closer to the edge of the village on a platform near the road while #2 is along the edge of a minefield in a field of millet. Both face north. The main difference between the two is that while #2 has no genitals, #1 has the largest penis of any statue on the island.

In summary: these statues are incredibly varied. Three have penises, but one of those is flaccid. Two hold flags, one holds a calligraphy brush and chop, two hold ribbons and medallions while another just holds a medallion. Five of the statues have lots of intricate detail, but one of those has incised lines whereas the others have 3-D details. One statue is in the squat style, one is in the halfway form and the other five are all in the new standing form. Two are replacements; five are statues for villages that didn't have them before. Three face north, two face northeast and one faces southwest.

Hulu Genitals

“Hulu” 葫蘆 is Chinese for bottle gourd. As it says in the body of this thesis: One theory about the bottle gourd is presented by Chen⁵ “craftsmen often carve a bottle gourd on the genitals as in traditional Chinese society that is a way of praying for more children.” Shih⁶ confirms this when she says that bottle gourds represent all things male because in Chinese lore a drinking gourd represents productivity and virility. It is also possible that the statue is simply using the gourd as a



Photo 7: The newer QiongLin statue and its hulu genitals

⁵ Chen, BingRong 陳炳容, ed. *The Wind Lion Gods of Kinmen 金門風獅爺*. JinCheng, Taiwan: Kinmen County Government, 1996: 68

⁶ Shih, Sandra. Lions Protect Windswept Kinmen *Taiwan Journal* (2007) <http://taiwanjournal.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=24906&CtNode=122>. (accessed December, 2007).

place to store any captured demons, or to heighten its healing powers as this gourd is often thought of as having medicinal uses.⁷ Only four statues have bottles gourds: Both of the statues in QiongLin 瓊林, XiaLan 下蘭, and the second statue in XiYuan 西園.

The XiaLan statue is the only one of the four that is a solitary statue. At 106cm tall it is a middle-size, middle –age statue of the halfway form that holds a flag. This statue faces southeast on a platform in the middle of the village and is often painted blue. The XiYuan statue is one of a very similar pair, but the other doesn't have any genitals. It wears a bell and holds a calligraphy brush and chop. This is a middle-age, halfway form, large statue at 143cm tall. This statue faces southeast on a tall pedestal with a couple steps leading up to it along a wall by the old salt warehouse at the edge of its village. QiongLin is unique because it is the only village that has two statues that both have hulu's. The older statue is only 114cm tall and so is a middle-size statue. Middle-age and of the halfway form it only holds a flag in its hand with no other decoration. It is a very simple statue that faces southwest on a pedestal at the edge of the village. It is in a small plaza area off the back road leading out of the village. The new statue, in contrast, is on a pedestal in a large plaza area alongside the main east-west artery of the island. It is a large statue at 189cm in the new standing form facing north. Its only decoration is a bell around its neck.

⁷ Chen, BingRong 陳炳容, ed. *The Wind Lion Gods of Kinmen* 金門風獅爺. 68

In summary: 3 of these statues are in pairs, 1 one solitary. Three are middle-aged, while one is new. Two are large statues while two are middle-sized. One is in the village proper while three are at the edge of the village. Two face southeast, one south west and one north. Three of the statues are of the halfway form, while the fourth is a standing statue.

Unusual Genitalia

There are three statues that have genitals that are unique to themselves. Each of these statues has its own form of genitals that no other statue has, so they are included in this group. These three are the TangTou 塘頭 and HouHu 后湖 statues as well as the #2 statue from ShaMei 沙美.

The statue from Shamei has been introduced above, but I will use the relevant information again here. ShaMei 2 is the largest of the three statues in ShaMei at 56cm, but it is the smallest of the three in this category. It falls into the category of small statue. It is not painted as a whole, but gold paint has been applied to its teeth and eyes. This statue is of the squat form, but resembles standing dog, up on all four legs. Like a dog, it has a penis sheath between its hind legs. It has huge, floppy ears that are different than any other statue on the island. This north facing statue is very intricately carved with many patterns all over its body. It can easily be found on a large dais next to the main road leading out of town. HouHu is a large statue at 189cm

tall. It is a middle-age, halfway form statue that holds a ribbon. The genitals on this one are sharp and pointed, like the outline of a pair of scissors. This statue has been painted blue with lots of yellow details. It is found in the garden behind the HuiYuan Memorial Hall 會員紀念館 at the edge of the village facing northeast. The third statue in this group is the TangTou statue. It is 93cm tall and so a middle-size statue. It is middle-age and of the halfway form. This statue wears a bell around its neck. For genitals it has an odd shaped lump that has been outlined with black paint. It looks like a club from a deck of cards. This statue has a head turned 45 degrees off center, and it's the only one done in this style. It is found looking east over the fields at the edge of the village behind the JinLian Temple 金蓮寺.

In summary: One of these faces north, one northeast and one east. Two are by important buildings in the town and one is not. One is the squat style, and two are the halfway form. Two are middle-aged and one is new.

3.2 Wind Lion Gods, Sheela Na Gigs, Moai and Dolhareubang

In this section I will not compare extremely specific details, for example from one statue to another, but will stick to the information that is true for the majority of each statue. If there is important supplemental or defining information in each area, it will be explained as necessary.

The carving of these monolith spans hundreds of years, just the moai alone were carved for more than 1100 years. They started being carved in the 500's and were still being carved as of the 1700's. The sheelas were mostly carved in the 11th and 12th centuries and the wind lion gods were already being carved by the 1300's and are still being carved. The dolhareubang were carved in just 2 years, from 1754 to 1756. Of all the statues, only the wind lion gods are still authentically made today. The moai, dolhareubang and wind lion gods all have tourist keepsakes carved, and all have modern carvers who manufacture fakes statues for sale. Only the sheela is not carved in any way today.

The wind lion gods are the only ones that are definitively gods. The sheelas most likely are, but there is not much proof for this theory, neither is there much proof that the dolhareubang are gods. Only the Moai are certainly not representations of gods, they are documented to be representations of honored ancestors and village leaders.

All of these statues are guardians, but the sheela is the only one that does not guard a whole village. The wind lion gods are in various locations around a village, but their power covers the entirety of the village, the dolhareubang are found guarding both sides of the village gates, so that they can control what enters it. The Moai are some distance outside their villages, but at their enormous sizes easily look out and over the village to guard it. The sheela's powers are not that strong, they can only guard people who come into close proximity, though their protective powers do

last for a while so the person does not have to remain close to the sheela to maintain the protection. For the most part, the protection that these four statues provide is directly related to getting rid of various kinds of evil spirits, but the dolhareubang and the wind lion gods also try to control the damaging effects of the wind.

The sheelas, moai, and wind lion gods are all religious in nature, with both the wind lion gods and the moai having documented worship practices while the sheelas are found in places such as churches where their religiosity is apparent but is undocumented. Only the dolhareubang are not religious icons. The moai were definitely not fertility symbols, though it is distinctly possible that the sheelas were. The wind lion gods and dolhareubang both did not start out as fertility symbols but have evolved into holding that role as at least part of their powers in contemporary beliefs.

These four statues are incredibly varied in size. The smallest ones overall are the sheelas, though the wind lion gods can be quite small too. The wind lion gods vary in size but on average are on par with the dolhareubang. The tallest wind lion god is still barely bigger than the smallest moai; they are the giants of the collection.

The dolhareubang always come in pairs, and the wind lion gods occasionally do. The moai are usually found in large groups, but occasionally are solo. Wind lion gods are typically solitary, but the sheelas are always alone. The moai and the dolhareubang are always free-standing 3-D statues. Typically the wind lion gods are also free-standing, but there is a form of them that are found within walls, though

they are still 3-D. Sheelas are typically found in walls, but occasionally as free standing stone. However, sheelas are not 3-D but rather carved in relief on just one side of a stone slab. The moai are always found on specialized platforms called ahu, and the wind lion gods are often found on a pedestal or dais of some sort. Some of the dolhareubang are perched on a specially carved support rock. The rare sheela that isn't wedged into a wall is usually standing on her own without any special platform under her. A lot of the statues have been moved from their original locations. While there is no documentation of this for the sheelas it is generally accepted as true. The dolhareubang are documented as being in other locations earlier in time, and some of them even have accounts of them being moved. Some of the wind lion gods are documented in different locations than they now stand in, but mostly it becomes obvious from looking at the way they interact with their pedestal and their surroundings that the majority of them have been moved to where they are at some point.

The moai and the dolhareubang are more or less homogeneous statues. They have minor variations from statue to statue, but over all present a unified image. The sheelas vary incredibly from image to image, while the wind lion gods are incredibly varied but have a few that are quite similar. The wind lion gods and the sheelas are differentiated from other statues by sharing some defining characteristics instead of presenting a homogenous image. All four statues have very unique facial structures. The dolhareubang, the moai and most of the wind lion gods have extremely phallus

shaped bodies, but only the wind lion gods and the sheelas actually have prominently visible genitals.

There is an unknown number of sheelas, but they easily number over 200. Counting only the fully completed and installed moai there are over 300, over 800 if broken and incomplete statues are counted as well. There are currently 69 wind lion gods and only 47 dolhareubang. It is unknown how many sheelas and wind lion gods there were originally, or have been over time. It is thought that the over 800 moai are all that there were on Easter Island. On Jeju experts believe that there were probably 48 dolhareubang originally. While the dolhareubang have managed to survive intact, except for one, the moai have all been desecrated, toppled or broken. What exists now are moai that have been reconstructed and re-erected. There are records from the 1600's ordering the destruction of the sheelas and many of those that exist now only do so because they were hidden or too difficult to access. Wind lion gods have also been destroyed for various reasons, some by the wind, and many by bombs during the 20 years that China bombarded the island.

The moai are the most famous of these statues, and are widely known as a tourist attraction. Jeju Island is starting to successfully use the dolhareubang as its own tourist icon. Within South Korea they are widely and easily recognized as an image of Jeju, and that image is rapidly spreading throughout Asia as Jeju Island promotes itself as a tourist destination. As part of this in the early 1990's it opened a dolhareubang themed park with copies of the statues and versions by modern artists.

Kinmen Island is following the footsteps of Jeju with a wind lion god themed park that has copies of the statues in it, that also opened in the 1990's. Kinmen is also just now starting to use the statues as their tourist image. The sheelas are not used for tourism and are not well-known.

There is a lot that is unknown about all four statues, and while this paper does not try to do new research on the sheela na gigs, the dolhareubang or the moai it does hope to fill some of the empty chasm surrounding the wind lion gods.

