On the Sanbao taijian xia xiyang-jì
and some of its sources

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I am most grateful to Professor Liu for having drawn my attention to the uses of a PhD thesis topic such as this one, both as a way of getting acquainted with the Chinese source materials and as a way to contribute to the study of Chinese historical fiction. I am equally grateful for his constant support once work was under way, though responsibility for any omissions, mistakes or conclusions must be mine.

I should also like to thank Mr. Y.S. Chan of the Menzies Library, Australian National University, Canberra, for his untiring help in obtaining source material for me.
SUMMARY

The novel Sanbao taijian xia xiyang-ji, a work in one-hundred chapters, written in 1597 by Luo Maodeng, has hitherto received very little attention in scholarly writings. Ostensibly it deals with Zheng He's (1371-1434) seven voyages to southeast Asia and the Persian Gulf between 1405 and 1433. However, in the novel these seven voyages are merged into one, interspersed with a considerable amount of material borrowed from popular fiction and both the Buddhist and Taoist Tripitakas. The major historical sources used by Luo Maodeng appear to be Ma Huan's Yingyai shenglan and Fei Xin's Xingcha shenglan, both of them quoted extensively. It is not possible to identify on the basis of material now extant any other historical sources that might have received sustained use. Indeed, the contents of the novel make it unlikely that other such sources were used. This is supported by the fact that, apart from Zheng He and Wang Jinghong, most of the characters used in the novel either had nothing whatever to do with the voyages or were not historical at all. The former applies to Jin Bifeng, now elevated to guoshi (National Teacher), who lived at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the latter to the Heavenly Teacher Zhang (Zhang Tianshi). A close study of the novel has led me to the conclusion that its historical value is minimal, and it can only be relied on when supporting material can be found in an independent source. Thus I have been able to show that a "list of tributes", assumed by the late Professor Duyvendak to be a genuine one dating to the year 1410, is in fact made up from several sources, the major one being Ma Huan's work.
Probably the list has been made up by Luo Maodeng. In his use of other sources Luo has in every case changed the story in one way or another to suit his plot. Sometimes he has taken unrelated stories current in his own time and merged them into a new one. Nevertheless, as shown in the chapter "Honglian seduces the monk Yutong", the novel sometimes does supply the earliest extant version of a story, and its main value lies in that fact.
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The approach

The approach taken in the next eight chapters is a textual one. Therefore little account is taken of the larger themes that can be found in the novel. This second approach has recently been pioneered by Hou Jian  in article in Zhongwai wenxue. There he demonstrates that some of these themes may well belong to a universal mythological framework, particularly if account is taken of the fact that some of the themes may only be known in displaced form. I must leave this approach to scholars who are qualified in the field of mythology.

The purpose of my research is to take some of the borrowings made by Luo Maodeng in the writing of his novel, in order to give some idea of their variety. Thus I have written chapters on borrowings taken from Chan (Zen) Buddhism, from Indian Buddhism as found in the Chinese Tripitaka, from popular literature and from Taoism. Once these borrowings, which were chosen partly to satisfy my own inclinations and partly because the research material at my disposal allowed me to deal with them, had been decided on I then went more closely into their own nature. I have attempted to show how these borrowings were adapted by the author to suit his particular purpose by comparing them with their original form to the extent that that could be decided without reasonable doubt. I have in no way attempted to make
a statement whether a borrowing, once made by the
author, did influence the plot layout of the novel,
or whether borrowings were made simply to suit a
particular stage reached in the novel. No doubt,
if an analysis of the structure of the novel were
made it would be found that either case could obtain.
It may be added here that although I do give in the
introduction my opinion, and the opinion of previous
scholars, as to the value of the novel as a literary
work, that opinion is based on my own reading of it and,
no doubt, quite impressionistic. It must be emphasized
strongly that I have merely selected and dissected
certain borrowings, and a complete appreciation of the
novel is still lacking.

1. Hou Jian, "Sanbao taijian xiyang tongsh
yanyi---ig fangfade shiyian" , Zhongwai 
I am grateful to Prof. Ma Yau-woon of the University
of Hawaii for having drawn my attention to this
article.
INTRODUCTION

Between 1405 and 1433 a Chinese fleet under the command of Zheng He undertook a series of seven voyages to southeast Asia and the Persian Gulf. The first of these took place from 1405 to 1407. Principal places visited included Java, Ceylon and Calicut. The return journey was by way of Palembang. The second voyage, from 1407 to 1409, again went to Calicut by way of Thailand and Java. The third, from 1409 to 1411, reached Champa, Java, Malacca, Ceylon and Calicut among other

The fourth, from 1413 to 1415, sailed to Champa, Java, Malacca, Ceylon, Calicut and as far as Hormuz. The fifth voyage, from 1417 to 1419, took the fleet to Aden, Mogadishu and Malindi. The sixth, from 1421 to 1422, took a very similar route. Then there was a long break, and the last voyage, took place from 1431 to 1433. This voyage is attended by many uncertainties, but it again went as far as Aden and Mecca.

Varying reasons have been brought forward as motives that might have impelled the Ming Court to organize these voyages, though no single one has ever been found to be completely satisfactory. For example, there is the theory that the Yongle emperor sent out the ships with orders to search for his predecessor, Huidi (1399-1402) whom he had overthrown in a violent rebellion. Though Huidi was presumed to have perished in the burning palace rumours spread that he in fact escaped across the seas. 

Attention has been given to the commercial

2. There is some uncertainty whether Zheng He was present on this voyage. See Duyvendak, J.J.L., The true dates of the Chinese maritime expeditions in the early fifteenth century, pp. 363, ff. Needham, J., op. cit., p. 489, n.b., finds that his "absence results from the argumentation of Duyvendak".

3. Details of this voyage may be found in Mills, J.V.G., op. cit., pp. 14-19.


(continued page 3.)
motives, as well as the possibility that the Chinese fleet may have sailed in search of medicines and herbs. Other reasons proposed have been a possible desire by the Ming Court to form an alliance with southeast Asian countries in defence against the Mongols, a policy begun by Taizu, the founder of the empire, and continued by the Yongle emperor; or a simple show of force abroad to impress the barbarians. This brief introduction must suffice here, since it is only intended to serve as a background to the main theme of the thesis.

Sometime in the late sixteenth century the imagination of a certain Luo Maodeng was kindled by these voyages, and he wrote a novel entitled "Sanbao tajian xiyang ji (A voyage to the Western Ocean) about it. It is also known under the titles Sanbao tajian tongsu yanyi or Xiyang tongsu yanyi. (continued from page 3) See also Xu Yuhu, Zheng He xia xiyang yuanyinzhì xin tan, Dalu zaju, vol. 16 (1958), no. 1, pp. 19-20.

10. Such as the edition published by Dadong shuju, Taipe, 1963, in 582 pages. This is the edition quoted throughout in this thesis.
Xiyang ji 洋記, an abbreviated form commonly found in histories of Chinese literature and often used in thesis also. 11

Hardly anything is known about the author. His zi was Dengzhi 登之. His hao was Ernan liren 二南里人.

This was understood by Duyvendak to refer to the sections Zhou-nan 周南 and Shao-nan 邵南 in the Shijing 詩經 (The Book of Odes). 13 Huang Wenyang 黃文陽 went further in deducing from this that Luo Maodeng came from Shanxi 西.

11. Mention should be made here of the anonymous play Feng tianming Sanbao xia xiyang 天令三保下西洋 (Receiving Heaven's command Sanbao goes down to the Western Ocean), contained in Guben Yuan Ming zaju 孤本元明雜劇, Zhongguo xiju chubanshe 中國戲劇出版社, Peking, 1958, vol. 4, of Wanli 43 (1615). Apart from being very dull, it has nothing in common with the novel. Thus there is no need to discuss it as a possible source. Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629-1699+) also mentions a play performed at the Ming Court on this topic, but its contents are not known. See Dushu mingqiuji jiaozheng 談書敏求記校證 (Annotations by Zhang Yuzhen), Guangwen shuju 廣文書局, Taipei, 1967, ch. 2b, p. 29a.


A more plausible conjecture has been made on certain linguistic grounds that he came from Nanking. The novel uses expressions like buzuoxing 不作與 (cannot be done, not allowed) or xiao wawa 小娃娃 (a child) which still occur in the modern Nanking dialect. This has been countered with the fact that the novel often uses the word zhongsheng 終生 in the meaning of "animal" (xusheng 畜生). Apparently the word zhongsheng is used in this meaning only in the Taihu area, whereas the Nanking dialect uses xusheng. We must admit that we do not know the native area of Luo Maodeng, though he may well have lived in the Nanking area.

We are slightly better off concerning his biographical data, but again his birth and death remain unknown. The novel was first published in Wanli 萬曆 25 (1597) by the Buyuelou 步月樓 (The Moonbeam Tower), and the same blocks were used for a reprint in 1642. The first edition is still extant in many

15. Xiang Da向達, "Guanyu sanbao taijian xia xiyangde jizhong ziliao 關於三寶太監下西洋的幾種資料", first published in Xiaoshuo yuebao 小說月報, vol. 20 (1929), no. 1, pp. 47-67. Reprinted in Tangdai Changan yu Xiyu wenming 唐代長安與西域文明, Sanlian shudian, Peking, 1957, p. 532. However, Professor Liu informs me that buzuoxing is spoken in many places north of the Yangtze, and wawa can be found in upper Yangtze areas, including Hebei province.

16. Zhao Jingshen 趙景深, "Sanbao taijian xiyang ji 三寶太監西洋記", Qingnianjie 青年界, vol. 9 (1936), no. 1 p.121. An example of the use of zhongsheng may be found in Xiyang ji, ch.20, p.113. Professor Liu again tells me that zhongsheng is used in a greater area than the Taihu area proper. Zhongsheng 終生 most probably is derived from the Buddhist term zhongsheng 衡生 (animal).

libraries. Luo Maodeng left another work with a dated preface. This is his play Xiangshan ji 香山記, also written by "Ernan liren". One may therefore assume that Luo was responsible for the whole work. It is dated Wanli 26 (1598). Taken together these two dates indicate the Luo lived sometime towards the end of the sixteenth century. He has also left some annotations to the Bayueting 拜月亭, the Toubi ji 投筆記 and the Piba ji 琵琶記, all dramatic works of earlier scholars. All these annotations are very brief and do not throw new light on Luo. The first edition of the novel also contains the notice that the pictures were carved by Sanshan daoren (三山道人編梓). He again is unknown, but we are informed that in Ming times a Sanshan street 三山街 in Nanking was a centre of the book trade, and that the Sanshan daoren may have been a bookseller in that street.

18. Its full title is Xinke chuxiang yinzhu Guanshiyin xiuxing xiangshan ji 新刻出像音註觀世音修行香山記 (Avalokitesvara's self-cultivation on Fragrant Mountain, newly-carved with pictures and pronunciation annotations). It is contained in Guben xiqu congkan 古本戲曲叢刊, second series.


21. Written by Qiu Jun 邱濬 (1418-1495). The source for this and the previous item in Xiang Da, op. cit., p. 558.


23. Xiang Da, op. cit., p. 557.
The history of the novel is not particularly distinguished. After the first edition of 1597 it went through a reprint in 1642, but received little attention from then on. In fact, no mention of it occurs until Yu Yue (1821-1907) wrote that in 1881 his friend Wu Pingzhai  had lent him a copy of the Xiyang ji by Luo Maodeng. Since that time it has gone through several different editions, as can be seen from the following list which, as far as can be ascertained, is complete.


Xiang Da adds that even Sanskrit letters carved on the banners are legible.


(2) A reprint of (1) of 1642. It also carries the imprint "Blocks stored in the Morningside studio 堡地藏藏板".

(3) Edition of Xianfeng咸豐 9 (1859), a reprint of the Ming edition by the Hall of Literary Virtue 文德堂, in Amoy 厦門, of middling size 中型. It carries the title Sanbao kai gang xiyang ji 三寶開港西洋記 (The story of how (the eunuch) of Triple Treasure opened the ports in the Western Ocean). Thirteen lines per page and twenty-six characters per line. Carved in running script.

(4) Shenbaoguan 申報館 (Shun pao) edition of Guangxu 31 (1881), typeset and not of very good quality.


(6) Lithographic edition by Zhongyuan Bookstore 中原書局, Shanghai, date unknown, not of a high standard.

(7) Wuguitang 五桂堂 (The Hall of Five Cassias) edition, Hongkong, date unknown.

(8) 1963 edition by Dadong shuju 大東書局, Taipei. Typeset. The pages are divided into an upper and a lower half, each half containing twenty-five lines of twenty-five characters.

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Xiang Da, op.cit., p. 558. Editions (5) and (6) contain pictures. According to the same source editions (4), (5) and (6) are in chronological order.
35. A copy of this edition is the possession of Professor Liu.
Two editions are mentioned by Duyvendak, though identification is not possible. One was printed in 1896 in Shanghai, the other is without a date or place of publication. This probably refers to two of editions (5), (6) or (7).

Unspecified, punctuated versions by Xinwenhua shushe 新文化書社 and Dada tushu gongyingshe 大達圖書供應社.

Students of Chinese literature generally assume that Luo wrote the novel because by the 1590s the Ming Court showed symptoms of great weakness which made it unable to cope with emergencies such as the raids on the Chinese coastal areas by Japanese pirates. Moreover, China had been defeated in Korea by the Japanese. In any case, the author's preface reads:

"That at present affairs in the East are in a confused state does not compare favourably with the situation (as under the emperor Yu, [the founder of the Xia dynasty]), when the western barbarians came to submit themselves (of their own accord) to (the Emperor's) arrangements. If we cannot attain to such a situation, what can be done? Suppose Wang (Ching-hung) and Cheng (Ho) [i.e. the heroes


36. Zhao Jingshen, op.cit., p. 143, n. 3. According to Professor Liu they are works printed in Shanghai in the mid-thirties. They were chap editions usually called Yizhe bakou-ben 一折八扣本, i.e. the price was to allow for a ninety-eight percent discount when on sale.

in this novel appeared, or would this perhaps in any measure rouse the authorities to thoughts of enthusiasm?". However, anyone expecting a rousing tale after reading this preface will be rather disappointed. Despite the preface's allusion to urgent current problems the novel itself quickly forgets them. Instead the author proposes that the voyages were undertaken in the first place to recover the seal of state taken to southeast Asia by Shundi, the last Yuan emperor (r. 1333-1367). The escape route of the emperor is itself noteworthy: Riding an elephant over a bronze bridge that spanned right across the sea. When the pursuers reached the shore it vanished. Be that as it may, but the Yuan History states clearly that the last Yuan emperor died at Yingchang, Chahar (now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region). The seal also is noteworthy. It was carved out of the piece of jade contained in the rock found by Master He. It is well remembered that this discovery cost him both his feet. An author could conceivably strike some difficulties trying to write an interesting novel based on this sort of phantasy.

38. Translated by Duyvendak, ibid., p. 3. My edition does not contain the preface. For Wang Ching-hung see below.
39. Xiyang ji, ch. 9, p. 48. This could of course simply be an allusion to the Jianwen emperor and his reported flight across the seas. See Mingshi, ch. 169, Biography of Hu Ying, p. 2b.
Though it is generally accepted that Luo took the *Xiyou ji* by Wu Chengen and the *Fengshen yanyi* by Lu Xixing as his models, it is also accepted that it does never reach their heights, quite apart from being exceedingly confused and boring in many places. One western writer put it this way:

"This [the voyages of Zheng He] was a stirring episode in the history of China and fraught with material for the pen of the novelist. But although the author has retained the true names of principal names and places, he has strangely disfigured the narrative by the fables of imagination".

Duyvendak put it this way:

"[The novel] moves, as it were, on two different planes: the one is that of free invention in which the most heterogeneous themes are utilized, the other is that of realistic description, copying, often literally, the sources which we know".

Zheng Zhenduo thought that thirty percent of the novel was derived from existing material and the rest added by the author. Father Schyns put it diplomatically when he classified the novel as being

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suitable "for informed readers". 47

I have already mentioned how boring the novel is at times. This seems to stem mainly from the undue repetitions the author appears to enjoy to a high degree. Take for instance the following example where the guoshi 国師 (National Teacher), about whom more will be said later, chases two monsters.

The two went to the Jade Goose Peak 玉鵝峰 . The abbot also went to the Jade Goose Peak. The two went to the Magu Peak 麻姑峰 . The abbot also went to the Magu Peak. The two went to the Fairy Peak 仙女巔. The abbot also went to the Fairy Peak. The two went to the Peak Where Immortals Meet 會真巔. The abbot also went to the Peak Where Immortals Meet. The two went to the Elegant Peak 綢繡巔. The abbot also sent to the Elegant Peak . . .

This goes on until it has been repeated twenty-five times without in the least advancing the plot. Another example of this type may be found in a description of a fight among the guards outside the Office of the Board of Rites 禮部. 49

That one's fist beat like a magpie fighting for a nest (喜鵲爭巣). This one's fist beat like a crow seizing for prey (烏鴉攫食). That fist beats that the whole face is blurred (滿面花). This fist beats like cotton gathered on the ground(草地綿). That fist beats like a Golden Pheasant standing alone (金雞獨立). This fist beats like a tiger crouching (伏虎側). 51

49. This part of the novel is analyzed in ch. 8, "On Zhang Sanfeng", pp. 199 - 228.
This is repeated thirty times in all, using cliches often found in traditional works on Chinese boxing. It must be said, however, that this is not as bad as the previous passage, and the effect can be quite comical.

Zheng Zhenduo has even compared Luo's style to that of the "Seven Masters" (qi zi 七俠) writing that "he apparently was deeply immersed in the poison of reviving antiquity". To substantiate his contention he quotes a passage from chapter 40:

Verily, the aforesaid high and deep oceans, the wood­
cutter twice immersed in Neptune's element, the creepers, vipers, bees and rats had all been conjured up by the goddess Wang 王神姐 . Forsooth, now that she had been caught in flagranti with the Buddha's treasure, did the tianshi (Heavenly Teacher) shed the scales off his eyes, and he uttered doleful Jeremiads ad infinitum. Wherefore did he utter doleful Jeremiads ad infinitum? Verily, had he but known about the treasure and its wondrous applications he would not have suffered her spite from sunrise to dusk. Quoth goddess Wang: "To save thee I do not have the time. To kill thee I should perforce need a witness. To tie thee up I do not have a hempen rope. And were I to denounce thee to the armed hosts ere everything else, me thinks thou wouldst escape".

(continued from page 12) ch. 49, p. 11.

51. Xiyang ji, ch. 57, p. 328.
52. The Seven Masters here referred to are Li Mengyang 李夢陽 (1472-1529), He Jingming 何景明 (1483-1521), Xu Jenqing 徐能卿 (1479-1511), Bian Gong 毛公 (1476-1532), Wang Tingxiang 王廷相 (1474-1544), Kang Hai 柯海 (1475-1540), and Wang Jiusi 王九思 (fl. 1508). On their activities see Liu Dajie, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 105-115; Zheng Zhenduo, op. cit., pp. 1100-1111.
54. See below, p. 19
55. Xiyang ji, p. 228.
Zheng then concludes that the novel's literary qualities fall far short of both the *Shuihuzhuan* (Water Margin) and the *Xiyou ji*. Anyone who has ever read the three novels cannot but agree with him.

As far as the *dramatis personae* are concerned, the author again has relied to a great extent on his own inventiveness. Zheng He, of course is there. Throughout the novel he is rather colourless which probably reflects the fact that Luo knew no more about him than we do. In chapter 93 Luo describes one of his dreams. However, no such dream is recorded elsewhere, and its whole purpose is to display Luo's erudition. Zheng He's title *Sanbao taijian* has already come under some scrutiny by scholars. Some would see the title as having a strong "buddhistic flavour", which seems to be based mainly on the

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57. This is treated in more detail in ch. 5: A Dream.
alternative writing 三寶 (skr. *triratna*), which is a Buddhist term meaning the "Three Jewels". On the other hand attention has been drawn to the fact that there also existed a Wang Sanbao, a Ma Sanbao, and a Yang Sanbao, so that the naming may have been accidental. In the novel, though, the term undisputedly has Buddhist connotations.

Another person in the novel of historical origin is Vice-Marshel Wang concurrently president of a board. He is mentioned in the Ming History as Wang Jinghong. Whether Zhang Bo stands for Zhang Da and Wang Liang for Zhu Luang cannot be answered at all. Zhang Da and Zhu Liang were both mentioned together with Zheng He and others in an inscription at the Tianfei temple at Liujiagang near Nanking. The change of names, however, would be difficult to explain. In any case, none of the actions or utterances attributed to these persons are likely to

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58. See Needham, J., op. cit., p. 487, apparently following Pelliot. The Three Treasures are The Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha (community).

59. Xu Yuhu, "Zheng He Ma xing ji 'sanbao' kaoshi 及「三寶」考釋", Dalu zaifu, vol. 12 (1956), no. 4, p. 10-11, Lang Ying 郎瑛, Qixiu leigao 七修類稿, Zhonghua shuju, Shanghai, 1961, ch. 12, p. 186, suggests the name may be derived in some cases from military activities in the border areas.

60. Ming shi, ch. 304, p. 2b. Se also Zhao Jingshen, op. cit., p. 122.

61. Zhao Jingshen, ibid.


be of any use to a historian.

It is perhaps typical of Luo Maodeng that the two most important characters in his novel are not in any way connected with the historical voyages. Moreover, one of them, though historical, lived several decades earlier, and the other one can be assumed to be entirely fictitious. The former is the abbot Jin Bifeng 金碧峰. In the novel he is a reincarnation of the Dipankara Buddha 燃燈佛, and he is the only son of the Jin family 金 of Hangzhou 杭州. He is said to have been born in the Hongwu 洪武 reign period (1368-1398). He excelled anyone else with his piety and in time was made a guoshi 國師 (National Teacher) by the Yongle emperor. This title is very old, having first been bestowed upon Wang Mang 王莽 (B.C.33-A.D.23). The title in its Buddhist connotations appears to have been introduced into China from India, and it also gained some currency in Central Asia. It appears to have had purely ceremonial significance, bestowed by the emperor upon monks he considered deserving.


65. Xiyang ji, ch. 3, pp. 11-12.

66. Ibid., ch. 14, p. 77.


The real Jin Bifeng was quite a different person. He was a monk from Xuanzhou (in Anhui). His original surname had been Shi. It was said that at six he became a disciple of another monk. Sometime after this he first attracted attention. While he was sitting under a tree near a river the water suddenly rose and covered him, and he was presumed dead. Seven days later the water receded. He was still sitting there. At the time Taizu crossed the Yangzi a Yuan official told him to go to Xuanzhou, where Jin Bifeng would give him some teachings. Taizu went there, and the following occurred:

He saw a monk sitting in meditation. Taizu laid his hand on his sword and asked what his name was. The monk didn't reply. Taizu grasped the sword and looked at him. The monk craned the neck. Now Taizu laughed: 'You can see that the way of a king is not to kill people.' The monk replied: 'And you can see a monk who is not afraid of death'. The two then talked together harmoniously.

The teaching Jin Bifeng gave to Taizu was that he should aim for Nanking. Then follows another incident involving Li Shilu.

The following account is based on Deng Qiu, Huang Ming yonghua leibian, Guofeng chubanshe, Taipei, 1965, ch. 131, pp. 3b-5a. (first publ. in 1570). The same text, with very few alterations, appears also in Fu Weilin, Ming shu, Tushu jicheng ed., ch. 160, pp. 3151-2.

Taizu crossed the Yangzi river in Zhizheng (1355). Ming shi, ch. 1, p. 4a.

Deng Qiu, op. cit., ch. 131, p. 5a.

"An autonomous agency in the capital . . . under a Chief Minister (ch'ing, rank 3a), and containing two Court of Review (ssu), one of the left and one of the right. This provided a final check, short of imperial review, on the propriety of judicial findings". Hücker, C.O., (continued on page 18.)
Dalisi 大理寺 (Grand Court of Revision)\textsuperscript{72}, but Li remonstrated against it three times, offending the emperor in the process. The Ming History reports that during an audience the emperor ordered that Li be seized and executed without delay.\textsuperscript{73} From a different source we know that Li died in Hongwu 16 (1383).\textsuperscript{74} One may therefore assume that Jin Bifeng was born in the second half of the Yuan dynasty, that he first met the emperor in about 1355, and that he was still alive in 1383.\textsuperscript{75} This excludes any possibility that he was associated with any of the sea voyages. Nevertheless, he has recently been promoted to "chief designer and builder . . . who made many working drawings for the ships " (tuyang 圖樣).\textsuperscript{76} No source is given for this. However, immediately afterwards the Voyage to the Western Ocean is mentioned. There we find the phrase "Qingxiale Jin Bifeng de baochuan t uyang lai . . . .(When they had received the drawings for the treasure ships from Jin Bifeng . . . )\textsuperscript{77}. Now this occurs in a passage where the authorities are dissatisfied with the progress of the war, and on Jin Bifeng's


\textsuperscript{73} Ming shi, Biography of Li Shilu, ch. 139, p. 9a.

\textsuperscript{74} Lei Li 雷禮, Guochao lieqing 祖朝列卿紀, Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社, Taipei, 1970, ch. 90, p. 4b.

\textsuperscript{75} The Pingyang fuzhi 平陽府志, Wanli ed., Microfilm in Chinese Rare Books series, ch. 8, p. 49a, states that he died at the age of seventy without giving a date.


\textsuperscript{77} Xiyang ji, ch. 17, p. 92.
advice they call upon Heavenly Artisans (tian-jiang 天匠) to complete it. Consequently it appears that Dr. Needham in his Science and Civilization in China, the origin of the promotion, relied to a larger extent than can be warranted on the novel.  

That Luo in fact did not attempt to produce a historically accurate novel can be seen from his use of Hu Dingjiao 胡釘釘 in the next chapter. His name had been Hu Sheng 胡生, and his calling was forging hinges 鍊釘. However, in a dream he learnt to produce poetry, and at that time changed his name. Luo changed his name again, using first Dingjiao 鍊釘 and even elevating him to "Immortal Hu Dingjiao 胡定教大人". Nevertheless, the guess that they all are the same person is probably accurate, since he is given the task of forging the anchor.

The second important person in the novel is the Celestial Master (tianshi 天師). The title had its origins in the Later Han (25-220) and, with a few exceptions, was always held by the Zhang 張 family, even though their genealogy is open to doubt and certainly not to be compared either in accuracy of transmission or rank to the official descendant of Confucius. The title tianshi is a ceremonial one only. In the novel he is first

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78. Possibly following Duyvendak's high opinion of its value, expressed in Desultory Notes on the "Hsi-yang chi", pp. 5-6. More on this later.

79. I am not able to supply biographical details.

80. Qian Yi 鍾易 (fl. 1107), Nanbu xinshu 南部新書, Yueyatang congshu 雅堂叢書, ser. 1, ch. ren 士, p. 4b-5a

81. Xiyang ji, ch. 18, p. 98-100.

introduced in chapter 9, and his name is not specified further. It is therefore not possible to assume that he was in any way historical.

A problem of a different kind emerges in the case of Jin Bifeng's disciple, at least in the novel, Feihuan 非幻.

According to the Voyage to the Western Ocean a Bifeng monastery 碧峯寺 was built outside the Jubao gate 聚寶門 in Nanking, which contains a Feihuan-an xianghuo jì 非幻庵香火記 (An account of incense and paper money in the Feihuan temple). 83 This could be dismissed as another of Luo's fabrications if the Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成 did not contain this item:

The Feihuan temple 非幻庵 in the Bifeng 碧峯 monastery has a hall containing garu-wood arhats (沉香羅漢) 84 which were brought back by Chan master Feihuan from the Western Ocean. The statues are unusually old, and their smell is even more uncommon. In the Wanli years (1573-1619) someone stole one of them. The monks had no alternative but to carve some out of some other wood. Then one night the former statues were brought back. The efficacy of the arhats can be deduced from this! 85

Xiang Da writes that he had not visited this place and therefore was not able to verify any of the foregoing.

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83. Xiyang ji, ch. 100, p. 581. This problem was raised very briefly in Xiang Da, op. cit., p. 562, who concluded that Feihuan must have been a historical person.

84. The correct name for the wood is Aquilaria Agallocha. "It is very hard, and being capable of very high polish, is carved into ornamental articles, as well as being used for burning." Stuart, G.A., Chinese Materia Medica, Taipei, 1969 (first publ. Shanghai, 1911), pp. 44-45. An arhat is a Buddhist follower who knows that in him all vices are destroyed and that he will not encounter them again. Lamotte, E., Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, Louvain, 1958, p. 684.

85. Zhifang dian 職方典, ch. 667, p. 51a (b).
At the time Luo wrote his novel the Bifeng monastery certainly existed. The *Jiangning xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Jiangning) 1595 states that "the Bifeng monastery is in the south of the district. It is outside the Jubao city gate". It already had had a very long history, beginning in the Jin dynasty as a convent. Some years afterwards it was renamed Tiesuoluo convent after a nun of that name. During the [Liu Song](420-477) and the [Nan Qi](479-501) dynasties it was also known as Cuiling and as Miaoguo monastery. In Kaibao (975) of the Northern Song it was destroyed by fire, but rebuilt in Taiping Xingguo 2 (977) as Ruixiang Hall. The next name is the important one. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty the name Bifeng monastery was bestowed upon it in honour of Jin Bifeng. We can therefore safely conclude that the monastery received its present name long before the voyages were envisaged.

Returning now to Feihuan, we can say with confidence that he was indeed a historical person. His biography appears in the *Buxu gaoseng zhuan* (Amplified

86. Microfilm in *Chinese Rare Books* series, ch. 4, pp.23a-b.
87. An Indian nun who came to Nanking in Yuanjia 1 (434) together with nine others. *Zanning 神 濂*, *Da Song seng shilue 大宋僧史略*, *Daizōkyō*, vol. 51, no. 2126, ch. 1, p. 238b. Compiled in the Shaoxing years (1131-1162).
88. The Gazetteer concludes by saying that Song Lian (1310-1381) wrote an account of this monastery, but is not contained in *Song Xueshi quanji* (宋學士全集), *Tongzhi* 13 (1874) ed., and the *Sibu congkan* edition, the two editions of his works available to me.
Continuation of Biographies of eminent monks. His original surname had been Wu 烏. When he became a monk it was changed to Daoyong 道永. His zi was Wuyai 無涯 and his hao Feihuan. He hailed from Xinan 新安 (in Zhejiang) and spent some time on Wushi mountain 烏石山 (in Jiangxi). In Yongle 5 (1407) he was brought to the notice of the emperor who had gone to perform some sacrifices at Changling 長陵. Apparently Feihuan enjoyed some reputation as a geomancer (dili xuezhe 地理學者).

The emperor in consequence promoted him to Wuguan lingtailang 五官靈臺郎 (Secretary in the Spiritual Terrace of the Five Officials) in the Directorate of Astronomy (qintianjian 觀天監), an office of the seventh rank. After the ceremony Feihuan begged for permission to become a monk again. The emperor granted this and promoted him to Expositor of the Right in the Central Buddhist Registry (senglusi youchanjiao 僧錄司右閥敎) of unspecified rank. In this capacity he lived at the Bifeng monastery in Nanking, though he transferred soon after

90. The name Changling appears to be anachronistic, since this is the burial place of the Yongle emperor. It is located on Tianshou mountain 天壽山 in Changping 長平 district in Hebei. See Long Wenbin 龍文彬, Ming Huiyao 明會要, Zhonghua shuju, Peking/Shanghai, 1956, ch. 1, p. 3.
91. This office concerned itself with astronomical matters and was of rank 7a. Huang Benji 黃本騫, Lidai zhiguan-biao 历代職官表, Zhonghua shuju, Shanghai, 1965, ed., p. 20
92. It conducted astronomical observations, forecast weather conditions, interpreted natural phenomena, fixed the calendar, etc. Hucker, Co., op. cit., p. 37.
93. It was required to examine and certify all Buddhist priests in the empire. Ibid., p. 35.
to the Linggu monastery 靈谷寺. There he died in the first month of Yongle 18 (1420). This is the explanation for the existence of a Feihuan temple in the Bifeng monastery. The biography makes no mention of any journey abroad he might have undertaken, either by land or by sea. As for the Feihuanan xianghuo ji, the only mention if it extant nowadays is by Luo Maodeng. Its contents are not known, though it may be reasonable to suppose that Jin Bifeng was not mentioned in it, and that the two were only brought together by Luo.

He was of course quite willing to substitute names of his choosing for others, even when the traditional ones were quite well known. A case in question is that of the Eight Saints (ba xian 八仙). In Ming times the accepted Eight Saints, as for example in the Dongyou ji (Pilgrimage to the East) had been Han Zhongli 漢鍾離, Zhang Guolao 張果老, Han Xiangzi 韓湘子, Lie Tieguai 李鐵拐.

94. Two items in the Zhejiang tongzhi (浙江通志), 1934 reprint of Guangxu 光緒 25 (1899) ed., p. 3443, under the names of Feihuan 和 Wuyai 無涯 quoting a Zhengde 正德, (1506-1521) edition of the Jiangshan xianzhi 江山縣志, (Gazetteer of Jiangshan district) and a Hongzhi 弘治 edition (1488-1505) of the Quzhou fuzhi 衢州府志, (Gazetteer of Quzhou prefecture), respectively, substantially confirm the account in the Buxu gaoseng zhu. The second item adds that Feihuan entered the Central Buddhist Registry in Yongle 5 (1407).

Cao Guojiu 曹國舅, Lü Dongbin呂洞賓, Lan Caihe 蓝采和, and He Xiangu 何仙姑. Now Luo did remove Zhang Guolao and He Xiangu, and, without giving a reason, substituted Fengseng Shou 風僧壽 and Yuan Huzi 元壺子. Yu Yue has pointed out that in the Five Dynasties 五代 period (907-960) Zhang Suqing 张素卿 was reported to have painted a picture of the Eight Saints, one of which was called Changshou xian 長壽仙 who might have served as a model for Fengseng Shou. Who Yuan Huzi was remains a mystery.

Attention can now be given to some of the sources used by Luo in his novel. This has received very little investigation in western languages. Among the ones investigated has been Luo's adaptation of the Qianziwen 十子文 as an oracle, commented on by Duyvendak. The same scholar has also analyzed chapters 87 and 88 in which Wang Ming goes on his own on a trip to the netherworld. That place was reached when the ships kept sailing westwards for a long time, where they encountered very inhospitable regions. Duyvendak shows some interesting parallels with Persian and Middle High German accounts of the netherworld and particularly with Dante's Divina Commedia. Both of these articles are readily available, and I will not go into them further.


98. Zhang Suqing was from Jianzhou 剑州 (in Sichuan), and painted for most of the time for the Court of Later Shu 后蜀. Huang Xiufu 黄休後, Yizhou minghualu 益州名畫錄 (1005), Hanhai 汉海 ed., ch. 1, pp. 6a-7b.


Another episode in the novel has received proper attention. This is the story of "The five rats" escapades in Kaifeng (Wu shu niao Dongjing 五鼠開京). This is best known as a chapter in The Cases of Prefect Bao 包公案 of which there are only Qing 清 editions extant now.102 In Professor Liu's words "the book tells how five rats turn into supernatural beings and then play havoc with Kaifeng 开封 until Prefect Pao Cheng 包拯 goes to the Buddhist Western Paradise 西天, borrows the 'jade-faced' cat 玉面貓 and suppresses them".103 He also pointed out that this story occurs in chapter 95 of The Voyage to the Western Ocean, and his conclusion is that "the story about the apparition of the five rats must have been widely told during Ming times".104 As a result of this discovery Professor Andre Lévy has now translated the relevant parts of chapter 95 and compared them with other editions.105 He concludes that the Xiyang ji 牆改版 version derived from the Bao Gongan 包考 since it is doubtless inferior in style, the psychology of the protagonists and overall coherence, caused by the fact that it had to fit in the novel. Alterations were therefore unavoidable.106

The same could be said about an episode he borrowed from the

continued from page 24. ch. 78, pp. 450 - 451.

103. Ibid., p. 122.
Xiyou ji. It is the story "Wei Zheng beheads the dragon from Jinghe river in a dream (Wei Zheng meng zhan Jinghe laolong 魏徵夢斬澗河老龍)." Here the dragon is advised by his underlings to do something about a soothsayer who helps a local fisherman increase his catch and thereby threatens to empty the river of life. The dragon, who also is the rainmaker, asks the soothsayer about the quantity of rain that would fall next. The soothsayer tells him. The dragon leaves, threatening to smash his stall and drive him out of town if he were wrong by as little as a drop.

Soon after he receives the Jade Emperor's order for rain, and it tallies exactly with the soothsayer's prediction. The dragon is now advised by his underlings to change the quantity and so prove the soothsayer wrong. The dragon does this, but by contravening the Jade Emperor's order he has earned the death penalty. It is to be executed by Wei Zheng (580-643), and he does it in a dream as he nods off while playing chess with the emperor. This in turn causes the emperor to go on his famous journey to the netherworld. This story again has been the subject of a great deal of investigation, since it is one of the earliest known parts of the Xiyou ji. Its occurrence in the Yongle dadian 永樂大典 has raised the possibility that it may be part of an old prompt-book (pinghua 平話). It also occurs in the Pak t'longsa onhae 朴通事諺解, a manual of colloquial

107. Chs. 10 and 11, pp. 100-126.
108. For the complete version see Wu Chengen, Xiyou ji, chs. 10 and 11, and Waley, A., Monkey, Penguin Classics, 1961, pp.109-117. Wei Zheng's biography may be found in Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書, ch. 71, and Xin Tangshu 新唐書, ch. 97.
109. Ch. 13, pp. 8b-10a.
Chinese current in Korea in the late fourteenth century. There can be no doubt that Luo's rewriting is once again inferior to the other versions since he left out many items that were already well known at his time of writing, though it does substantially agree with the other versions. Here, as in other parts of the novel, he could not resist making certain changes. Thus he did change the Jing 美 river to Jin 宗 river, though the former is used already in the version included in the Yongle dadian. Zhu Bajie 猪八戒, translated by Arthur Waley as Pigsy, becomes Zhu Bajie 朱八戒. 113 Sha heshang 沙和尚, translated by the same author as Sandy, becomes Tanglai seng 涛来僧 (the monk who came unexpectedly). 114 Here exists a slight possibility, remote though it is, that he may have followed some other tradition, since the Pingyao zhuan 平妖傳, speaking of another monk, says: "In fact he is a monk who came unexpectedly原是個湧來僧". 115


111. For a description of this see Dudbridge, G., op. cit., pp. 60-62.

112. The standard analysis of this variant is "Ota Tatsuo大河辰夫, "Bokutsuji-genkai Shoai Saiyukiô 本通事件解剖引西遊記考, Kôbe gaidai ronshô 神戶外大論叢, vol. 10 (1959), no. 2, pp. 1-22; Dudbridge, G., op. cit., ch. 4, and his translation of this text, ibid., pp. 179-183; Liu, T.Y., op. cit., p. 76.

113. Xiyang ji, ch. 21, p. 119.

114. Ibid.

It is much more likely, however, that the alternative tales represent Luo’s fancies, though it must be acknowledged that Luo Guanzhong, the author of the *Pingyao zhuan*, lived long before Luo Modeng.

These are evident also in the next story to be dealt with. It is that of a certain Li Hai 海 and a python (mang 翁). The first recorded version of this story is the one by Lu Cai 寇 (1479-1537) in his *Yecheng kelun* 埃城客論 Strangers in Yecheng). The item is here quoted in full:

During the voyages to the Western Ocean in the Yongle period a soldier was stricken by an illness, and he almost died. The sailors wanted to throw him overboard, but the captain, an old friend of his, beseeched them to leave him with a cooking pot, an axe, clothes and some rice on an island. This was done. On the island the soldier was drenched by a downpour and in consequence recovered. Then he looked for a cave wherein to live. The island contained many tender herbs and magnificent trees in which the hundred birds rested. Their eggs and fledglings were everywhere. He ate them, and in fortnight he had recovered his strength. Now he heard the noise of wind and rain coming from the sea, coming up at sunset and descending at sunrise. Perplexed, he went to have a look at it. He found a slippery path that looked like a place where a snake left and entered the water. So he sharpened some bamboo sticks with a knife, waited till the snake came out and planted the stakes in its path during the night.

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(continued from page 27.) of *Hongkong*, vol. 8, no. 1 (in Chinese).


117. According to Xiang Da this item was taken from *Shuofu xu* 説部續. However, neither the 1646 edition nor the reprint of a Qing edition by Xinxing shuju, Taipei, 1961, contain the item in question. I therefore have taken the story as quoted in Xiang Da, *op. cit.*, pp. 561-562.
In time the snake went into the sea amidst a great noise. The next night no further noise could be heard. On closer inspection he saw many pearls in a stinking trail of blood, some up to an inch thick. The sharpened stakes must have ripped open the snake's belly, and it died in the sea. The pearls were from the oysters it ate daily. In the days following the soldier went to collect them, and he amassed several pecks of them in his cave. More than a year later the fleet returned. The soldier saw it and called for help. The eunuchs took pity on him, and he was hoisted aboard, where he told them his adventure. All his pearls were carried aboard the ship. The eunuchs then ordered that he be given the tenth part. When he came home he was a rich man.

This story may be based upon an actual incident, or it may merely reflect popular opinion that great fortunes were made by the lucky ones on these voyages. At the time Luo wrote his novel the story had already changed slightly, but it certainly still is recognizable:

The eunuch Sanbao 三保 was a native of Yunnan 云南. The story goes that when he went down to the sea one man suddenly came down with a skin disease and was abandoned at some shore. At night he saw a huge snake go down to the shore in order to drink. Fearful that he might be killed by it he cut some bamboo stakes and put them in its path. The snake's belly was ripped open, and it died. As the man was hungry he cut down some trees for firewood, cooked the snake and ate it. Each time he lit the wood nine egrets (jiu lu 九鹭) flew off. So he put the wood aside without burning it. His skin disease also healed because he had eaten the snake. In the sodden snake he found several pecks of pearls, among them a yeming zhu 夜明珠 or Night Shining Pearl. 118 Afterwards, when the eunuchs

118. Needham, J., *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 1: "Introductory Orientations", p. 199, states that "the most likely mineral appears to be chlorophane, which in spite of (continued on page 30)
returned the man shouted for help, and he was carried home, too. He then presented the *yeming* pearl, the *Nine Egret Incense* to the throne, and together with the treasure obtained by the eunuchs they were known as the Three Treasures (san bao 王寳).

This version of Li Hai's story probably was known to Luo, since his rewritten one also contains a *yeming* pearl. However, other variants of it may have been in circulation at that time. Now, it is instructive to see how Luo changed this story. It must be pointed out that the version in the *Yecheng Kelun* consists of about three-hundred characters, the one in the *Jieshi Shengtan* of about half that number. Luo expanded it to about six-thousand characters, excluding Li Hai's rescue. I do not propose to translate this passage, but the alterations will be evident from the following abridgment.

(continued from page 29) some of its synonyms such as pyrosmaragd, is not an emerald or a beryl (beryllium aluminium silicate) but a fluorspar (calcium fluoride), many varieties of which show strong phosphorescence on being heated or scratched in dim light".

119. This sort of incense does not appear to occur anywhere else. It is perhaps another name for aloes wood. See above, n.84.

Li Hai is thrown into the sea when a sudden guest of wind hits the sails. He floats in there for about two-hundred li and is finally thrown ashore by the tide at the foot of a mountain. He shelters in one of the numerous caves and dries his clothes. All he can see is water, but no ships. He is starving and thinks of home. He cries loudly which wakes up an old woman, originally an ape (hou猕). She is the daughter of the King of Miluo (Miluo) (122). Her only joy used to be her sparrow whom she taught to speak. But one day he was killed by one of Hou Yi's arrows. (123) So she went to see the emperor of Zhou (周) to complain, and he bowed to her. Then the First Emperor of Qin (秦始皇) wanted to make her a concubine, but she refused. She then wandered about the empire and was given food by a bleaching woman (piaomu) which earned her Han Xin's scorn (124). So she touched

121. This part of the story is Luo's invention. See Xiang Da, op. cit., p. 562.

122. It is not certain what is meant here. Possibly it is a corruption of Kashmir (skr. Kasmīra). See Hori, Kentoku, Kaisetsu saikiki reprinted Tokyo, 1972 (first ed. 1927), p. 132. Or it may be one of Luo's inventions to mean "The Country of Compassion", following Fa Yun (Fa Yin) (法雲), Fanyi mingyi ji (翻譯名義集), Daizōkyō, no. 2131, ch. 4, p. 1125c: Miluo. Ci yun ci 组羅此云兹 (Mira, i.e. compassion).

123. A legendary archer of great excellence, supposed to have lived in the Xia dynasty. Shiji (史記), ch. 128, p. 13a.

124. "When Han Xin was angling below the wall of Huaiyin where the women were bleaching [cloth], one of them noticed that he looked starving. She fed him, and kept on bleeding for many more days. Han Xin was pleased, and he said to her: 'I shall reward you heavily'. The woman said angrily: 'a man of standing cannot feed himself, but I take pity on a grandson of a prince and give him food. How could I expect a reward!' Shiji, Biography of the Marquis of Huaiyin [i.e. Han Xin], ch. 92, p. 1b.
Han Xin, and he went mad, but she was imprisoned by Gaozu 高祖, the founder of the Han dynasty. On being released she left China and went to the Fengyi mountain 封姨山 where she has stayed ever since and brought up four younger apes. She now calls the four young ones, and they set out to rescue Li Hai. They cannot see each other because of the cliffs, but Li Hai has in any case reservations about being rescued by someone unknown. When he sees the apes his spirits fall very low, but he finally tells her the story of his misfortune. The ape then realizes that they were connected in a previous life. The young apes are sent to find some creepers, and Li Hai is rescued. The ape receives him in a very friendly manner. She promises to put him back on the ships on their return journey. Li Hai doesn't trust her. She suddenly changes into a woman, the four young apes into four young fellows. Li Hai and the woman become very good friends. One night Li hears a noise like thunder and asks what it is. He is told about the snake, and he decides to inspect it. He wonders why the snake carries a lantern on its head, but the woman tells him that it is a yeming pearl. He decides to get it. Li succeeds using the bamboo stakes. The woman now briefly distracts his attention, seizures the pearl, rips open his thigh, puts the pearl into the cut and makes it heal instantly. She tells him that in this way the pearl will retain its splendour and be safe at the same time.

Much later Li Hai is indeed rescued. That rescue is part of another incident treated in more detail elsewhere in this thesis.

125. This name appears to be an invention, probably based on Cui Xuanwei's adventures with the girls representing the spirits of flowers and Eighteenth Sister Feng 封十八娘, representing the spirit of the wind (風神). Zheng Huanggu 鄭環古, Bo yi zhi 博異志 (An extended digest of oddities), compiled in the Tang dynasty. Gu-shi wenfang xiaoshuo 郭史文房小說 ed., pp. 9a-11b.


127. Ibid., See also ch. 5, "A Dream", pp.148-149.
In the description of his battle scenes, and the novel contains many of them, Luo has frequently borrowed from the *Sanguozhi yanyi*. These are not of great interest since copies exist of this novel that are much older, and the passages taken have already listed in detail by Zhao Jingshen.

A more important source is the *Yingyai shenglan* by Ma Huan, *zi Zongdao, hao Kuaiji shanjiao* (mountain woodcutter from Kuaiji). Not much is known about him. He was a native of Kuaiji in Zhejiang who accompanied Zheng He on some of his voyages and later wrote a slim volume concerning the countries he visited.

J.V.G. Mills assumes that "probably he was no less than twenty-five years of age when he received his first appointment to Zheng He's expedition in 1413, and he may have been eighty years old when his book was published in 1451; hence we may provisionally fix the date of his birth as about 1380." He received his appointment on the basis of his knowledge of Arabic and possibly Persian. On his return in 1415, which was the end of Zheng He's fourth voyage, he first wrote his book, with a preface dated 1416. He then took part in Zheng He's sixth voyage and at the end of it revised his book in 1424. Finally he took part in the seventh voyage lasting from 1431 to 1433. This led to further additions to the book. Apparently an attempt was made to have it published in 1444. The consensus is that Ma Huan who was assisted right through the writing of the book by Guo Chongli, otherwise unknown, did not succeed in this until 1451. Ma Huan probably was dead by about 1460. Today the Yingyai shenglan exists in three different versions, labelled by Mills thus:

a) version C, contained in Chi-lu hui-pien (Jilu huibian "A Collection of Records"), compiled by Shen Jiefu in about 1617;

b) version S, contained in Sheng-ch'ao i-shih (Shengchao yishi "Historical events of the late dynasty"), published in 1842 by Wu Miguang.

c) version K, contained in

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132. Ibid., p. 34.
133. Ibid., p. 36. See also Duyvendak, J.J.L., Ma Huan Re-Examined, pp. 13-14.
135. I do not have access to this edition.
Kuo-ch'ao tien-ku (Guochao diangu 国朝典故 " Quotations Concerning the Reigning Dynasty"), compiled by Zhu Dangmian 朱嘯鶴 sometime between 1451 and 1644 which may be extent in only one copy now, held by the Peking National Library. 136 According to Mills "the existence of this printed edition was not known to previous writers on Ma Huan", though manuscript copies, probably derived from this printed version have been known to exist for many years. 137

The Jilu huibian (《) version was possibly based on Ma Huan's edition of 1451, though it is already full of errors and omissions. 138 This was used by Feng Chengjun as the basic text for his annotated edition. This version had been subject to a rifacimento by Zhang Sheng 张升, a native of Nancheng 南城 (in Jiangxi) who passed his jinshi 进士 examination in 1469 and probably died around 1520. 139 Now it must be remembered that Ma Huan's original text contains many colloquialisms and other shortcomings that were disdained by scholars. Zhang Sheng set out to remedy this. The result was that in the Jilu huibian where both of them appear, Ma Huan's original version took up 89 pages, whereas Zhang Sheng's version has merely 43 pages: "yet comparatively little of the contents has actually been omitted; it is chiefly a matter of much more compact style". 140 Duyvendak has also pointed out that for a long time it was thought that Zhang Sheng's version was the original one, probably on account of its improved style. Rockhill, who translated this

136. I do not have access to it.
140. Ibid., p. 9.
version in its entirety was also under the impression that it was the original. 141

Little is known about version S, contained in Shengchao yishi. Mills thinks that "the text is even worse than C, yet it contains a certain number of better readings". 142

Version K, contained in Guochao diangu, is held by him to be the worst, and the matter is made even more confusing by the large number of differing manuscripts in existence, all based on the Guochao diangu. The differing nature of these three versions is made clear by him in this manner:

Errors and omissions are very numerous in each version and a detailed comparison of the three texts discloses that there are over four thousand divergencies. Omissions amount to as much as 32 consecutive words in C, 87 in S and 222 in K. In addition, the texts sometimes contradict each other, and this renders the composition of a definitive version a most hazardous enterprise; for example, S states that Chinese copper coins were not used in Thailand, whereas K states that they were always used. 143

Zhao Jingshen, who compared the Yingyai shenglan with the Xiyang ji found that Luo Maodeng resorted to fifty-two literal borrowings. 144 Zhao was prompted to do this upon reading


143. Ibid., pp. 39-40.

144. Op. cit., pp. 122-138. These borrowings are listed together with the ones from the Xingcha shenglan 星槎勝覽 to be dealt with presently.
Xiang Da's article, already made use of earlier in this chapter. There Xiang Da had noted some of Luo's borrowings. In particular he compared the two versions of the opening poem found in the Jilu huibian version and copied into the beginning of the last chapter of the novel. Though there are more than a dozen discrepancies, they are mainly either copyists' errors or different characters that do not affect the sense of the poem.

In the adaptation of his borrowings Luo has normally remained within the meaning of the original. However, in the item concerning the robber Chen Zuyi, who carried out his métier in Palembang, he made numerous alterations and amplifications. So we read in the Yingyai shenglan:

Some time ago, during the Hongwu period 1368-98 some men from Kuangtung province, Ch'en Tsu-i and others, fled to this place with their whole households; Ch'en Tsu-i set himself up as a chief; he was very wealthy and tyrannical, and whenever a ship belonging to strangers passed by, he immediately robbed them of their valuables.

In the fifth year of the Yung-lo period (1407) the court dispatched the grand eunuch Cheng Ho and others commanding the treasure-ships of the great fleet going to the Western Ocean, and they arrived at this place. There was a person named Shih Chin-ch'ing who was also a man from Kuangtung province; and he came and reported the acts of savagery and other such acts committed by Ch'en Tsu'i. Ch'en Tsu-i and others were captured alive by the grand eunuch Cheng Ho and taken back to the court; and they were put to death.

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Luo's fictionalized version starts when a small boat carrying a barbarian warrior is making its way towards the Chinese fleet lying before anchor:

A sentry called out: "Your small boat must not come nearer until you've communicated your name!" The barbarian warrior said: "I am from Chaozhou in Guangdong. My name is Shi Jinqing, and I moved here with my whole family. Today I was fortunate enough to encounter the Heavenly Soldiers and came here to meet you, free of treachery. I wouldn't dare bother you to communicate with me." The sentry said "Keep your small boat a little further away and wait till I notify you". Shi Jinqing said: "The case here is that of a master and a servant. You needn't worry too much".

The sentry transmitted what had been said, and the Officer of the Blue Flag reported it to headquarters. The field-marshal (Zheng He) ordered that he be brought onto the ships. On meeting the field-marshal Shi Jinqing bowed and said "I was originally from Chaozhou prefecture in Guangdong. My name is Shi Jinqing. In the Hongwu years we were robbed by pirates, and my whole family moved here. To see again the sacred capital is our greatest wish. Luckily I have today witnessed the descent of the Heavenly Soldiers, indeed a fortunate meeting. Thus I came to offer my greetings".

The marshal said: "You are not conducting some secret plotting, are you?" Shi Jinqing said: "I am all on my own. Neither do I wear a strip of armour, nor do I carry as much as inch of a weapon. Even if I were plotting, I'd be without the means."

The marshal said: "Though you do not overtly obey and covertly rebel, you are trying to obtain public revenge for a private wrong". Shi Jinqing took fright and, kowtowing instantly, he said: "How could you have known?". The marshal asked: "What is it?". Shi Jinqing said: "There is this countryman of mine, Chen Zuyi by name who had to flee here after his
smuggling at home was discovered. Over the years he has become a headman. His tyranny is unspeakable. All he ever does is robbing merchants. Not even the king can restrain him. It is because of this grievance that I came to see you”.

Mr. Wang said: "You could call this a public evil, rather different from trying to obtain public revenge for a private feud".

Zheng He asked: "What is the name of this country?". Shi Jinqing replied: "In Chinese it is called Jiugang (Old Haven). The barbarians call it Palembang (Bolin-guo)".

Zheng He asked: "What is the name of the king?". Shi Jinqing said: "His name is Manazhewuli".

Zheng He asked: "Do you know whether he was given a seal by the Court sometime in the past?" Shi Jinqing said: "I know. When the Hongwu emperor was on the throne King Hengmashana brought in tribute three times. Three times he obtained the Chinese calendar, their script and some currency".147

Zheng He said: That is so. You may go now. When Chen Zuyi presently arrives I will deal with him". Shi Jinqing left.

Zheng He now called the Left Guard Zheng Tang, gave him the tiger-headed tablet that was the sign of authority and ordered him to go into Palembang to proclaim the peace. Anyone offering the slightest resistance would be attacked by the army until there was no trace left. Zheng Tang accepted the tiger-headed tablet and went straight to Palembang.

147. These two kings are not mentioned in the Yingyai shenglan, but they are certainly historical. While Luo's source cannot be ascertained in this case, the Ming shi states that Manashewuli was the son of Tamashanaazhe, to give him his correct name (ch. 324, p.25a). See also Wolters, O.W., The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History, Asia Major Library, London, 1970, p. 58.

148. This appears to be a fictitious name.
There he sent word to the King and his generals to accept it. 149

Now follows a proclamation in pseudo-official language which briefly recounts events so far and again contains the threat. The story continues:

When the King of Palembang had read this tablet he said: "My father and myself have received great favour from the Zhu imperial family which we could not requite for a long time. Now that the Heavenly Envoys have descended I will quickly send a general to welcome them. A short while afterwards I will write a letter of submission and prepare some tribute articles which I will present in person to the field-marshal. May he stay here a little longer that I might treat him properly".

He was still speaking when a general, tall and of imposing appearance, clad completely in armour, shouted: "Though I am useless I wish to meet the Heavenly Envoys". The King looked up and saw a Chinese whose name was Chen Zuyi. At present he occupied the post of Left Headman. The King said: "Whether or not the waters in the native district are beautiful, whether or not the people here are close to you, you have come just right. Chen Zuyi took leave from the King, boarded a large boat and together with Zheng Tang went to see the field-marshal. As he bowed the marshal asked him: "Who are you?". Chen Zuyi replied: "Originally I was from Guangdong. My name is Chen Zuyi, and I serve under the King of Palembang in the appointment of Left Headman". He noticed that the field-marshal's mien boded no good. So he proffered a little more: "Do not harbour any suspicions. It so happens that the King of this Country was of two minds concerning you. But after I had carefully talked him around he raised no objections. Hence, before I came here I had just

149. Xiyang ji, p. 260.
strengthened my lord's mind".
The field-marshal said: "Tie up this strengthener of minds!".
Chen Zuyi was flabbergasted and shouted: "A chap comes here to submit, but is killed without further ado. Why do you tie me up?".
The field-marshal said: "While in China you were a smuggler. According to law you must be beheaded. Abroad pilfering is your occupation. Anyone obtaining wealth through robbery must be killed according to law. Even if you had two heads you'd still have to die. How much more when you only have one head!".
Chen Zuyi said: "You wrong my kindheartedness".
The field-marshal said: "You came to meet me to obtain public revenge for a private grievance rather than showing your kindheartedness". This left Chen Zuyi speechless. He thought: "How could this superhuman field-marshal know about my innermost thoughts?".
Then the field-marshal ordered that he be taken aside until after the King had arrived to collect his head".150

Thus ends the sorry tale of Chen Zuyi. As can be surmised he is beheaded on the spot, while in Ma Huan's account he is taken back to China for punishment. The version noted by Ma Huan also has been accepted by the compilers of the Ming History.151

The question is whether the Xiyang ji would be of any help for understanding the Yingyai shenglan. According to Ma Huan the following inscription was engraved on a stone in Calicut:

去中國十萬餘里民物熙雋大同風俗
刻石于茲永樂萬世

In translation this reads:

The Journey from this country to China is more than a

150. Ibid., p. 261.
152. Jilu huibian, ch. 62, p. 28b.
hundred-thousand li, yet the people are very happy and prosperous, with identical customs. We have here engraved a stone. May the Yongle reign period last for ever.\(^{153}\)

In the *Xiyang ji*, as pointed out by Xiang Da,\(^{154}\) one finds a different version:

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此去中國十萬餘程民物咸若熙皞同情
永示萬世地平天成
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A translation would read:

This is a distance of more than a hundred-thousand li from China, but the people all have realized the happiness of their nature (xian ruo 成若),\(^{155}\) and they are prosperous and in harmony. May this be a perpetual declaration for a myriad ages. The earth is reduced to order, and the influences of heaven operate with effect (di ping tian cheng 地平天成).\(^{156}\)

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153. Apart from the last sentence and the replacement of "Central Country" by "China", this is taken from Mills, J.V.G., *op. cit.*, p. 138. The last sentence is preferred by Duyvendak, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Professor Liu has suggested to me the following alternative translation: "A journey from this country to China is more than a hundred-thousand li. The people are very happy and prosperous, and the customs are similar to those practiced in the Ideal World (datong 大同). We have here engraved a stone. May the people of a myriad generations be happy and content!".


155. This is an allusion to a passage in the *Shujing* (Book of Documents), part *Tang gao* 湯告: "The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquility; and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all realized the happiness of their nature. 鬼神亦莫不顧 鳥獸魚鱉咸若." James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. III: "The Shoo King or Book of Historical (continued on page 43.)"
Xiang Da thought that this version was more intelligible and therefore gave it preference. Feng Chengjun adopted 永禾延世 (a perpetual declaration for a myriad ages), but left out the four characters 地平天成 altogether, saying that omissions or changes may have occurred. It is of course quite possible that more than one version of the inscription was in circulation at the time, and Luo simply copied the one he liked best. The changes may even be his. This certainly fits in with his treatment of other texts. Feng Chengjun's reservation is therefore the most acceptable way of looking at the problem.

Of the same character, but less important as a source for the novel, is Fei Xin's 星槎胜览 (The Overall Survey of the Star Raft; Mills' transl.). This book was first published in 1436. Fei Xin also accompanied Zheng He on some of his voyages, and his notes correspond in many cases with those of Ma Huan. However, the untiring Zhao Jingshen compared this book with both the Yingyai shenglan and the


156. Also an allusion to a passage in the Shu jing, part Da Yu mo 大禹谟: "The emperor said: 'Yes. The earth is now reduced to order, and the influences of heaven operate with effect; those six magazines and three businesses are truly regulated, so that a myriad generations may perpetually depend on them. 菽日則地平天成六府三事允治萬世永賴時乃功. " James Legge, ibid., p. 57.


158. Also contained in Jilu hui bian, ch. 61. An annotated edition of this work was compiled by Feng Chengjun, first publ. 1936 by Commercial Press, Shanghai, republished by Zhonghua shuju, Peking/Shanghai, 1954.

159. For its subsequent history see Feng, op. cit., pp. 1-4.
Xiyang ji, and he found that there were twenty-three places in
the Xiyang ji where only the Xingcha shenglan can have been used,
slightly less than half the number of quotations taken from the
Yingyai shenglan, though in some cases is not certain which text
was used. It must also be borne in mind that Ma Huan only
describes twenty foreign places, while Fei Xin has forty-six of
them. Since Zhao Jingshen has given the full passages side by
side I do not propose to list them here once more.

A third book, first published in 1434, does not appear to
have exercised any noticeable influence on the Xiyang ji. It is
Gong Zhen's Xiyang fanguo zhi (A digest of barbarian countries in the
Western Ocean). This book,
comparable in length to the two just discussed, had been lost for
a long time until it was rediscovered and republished about twenty
years ago. It does not list any countries that are not listed
in either Ma Huan or Fei Xin. Nor does it appear to fulfil
Duyvendak's hope that Luo's novel "also may yield new material,
contained in the now lost Hsi-yang fan-kuo chih".

Reading the Voyage to the Western Ocean in a critical manner
and comparing it with the sources used in it, one cannot escape
the conclusion that whenever a statement of fact occurs, it must
be treated with circumspection until it is corroborated by an
independent contemporary source. Therefore, when Duyvendak
remarks of a list of tributes, allegedly given by the King of
Malacca to the Chinese expedition, that it "is given in great
detail in our novel and, as stated before, there is no reason to
doubt the historicity of this list, not known from elsewhere for

161. Ibid., tabulation on pp. 58-60.
such detail, it is worth an examination. Duyvendak assumes
that this list dates from Zheng He's third expedition (1409-1411)
when the fleet reached Malacca in 1410, though he allows that it
may date to the first expedition (1405-1407). The exact date
is of little importance for the present purpose, which is to
examine the authenticity of the list of tributes, for it is my
contention that the list is made up of at least two different
sources, possibly three or more, as we have them now. It may be
objected that Luo Maodeng did have access to an unmutilated list,
and this possibility certainly exists, though it will be seen
that parts of the list read more like a description of a foreign
country than a list of articles brought to the ships. It is
given here both in Chinese and in translation.

The numbering is mine.

1. 珍珠十顆徑寸
   Pearls, ten, an inch thick.

2. 藥目十枚狀如眼鏡觀書可以助明
   Aidai, ten. Their shape is like
   that of eye-glasses. In reading
   books they can aid the eyesight.
   They are worth a hundred pieces
   of gold.

3. 黃連香才箱
   Lign-aloes incense, ten chests.

4. 花錫一百擔本國有
   "Flower tin", one-hundred piculs.
   In this country there is a large
   stream. [Men are sent to] wash
   the sand in it and cook it. It
   is then cast into a block the size
   of a dou (peck). Its name then is
   dou tin. Each block weighs one
   pound eight ounces. Every ten

163. Ibid., The list occurs in the Xiyangji in ch. 50, p. 290
    and is repeated very briefly in ch. 99, p. 576.
blocks are tied together with rattan to form a small bundle. Forty blocks make a large bundle. It is used for trading transactions. 165

5. Black bears, two pairs.
7. White deer, (moschus chinensis), ten.
8. White deer, ten.
9. Red monkeys, two pairs.
10. "Fire chickens" (cassowaries), twenty. Their colour is purplish red. Their eggs are quite thick and weigh more than a cash. Some are mottled, some white, suitable for use as drinking cups. The fire chickens can eat fire and spit steam, hence their name. They are different from the ones found in Palembang.

11. Jack-fruit (Artocarpus integri folia), two boxes. The name of the fruit is "True Life". The tree is like that of a winter gourd (Benincasa cerifera). Its skin, like that of the chestnut, has many spikes. Below the spikes are several layers of marrow of a most exquisite taste.

165. This translation follows substantially that of Mills, op. cit., p. 111, and its source, the Yingyai shenglan, is thus already given away.
12. 設打麻二罐
樹脂結出者夜點有
光塗之船水不能入

Damar, two jars. It is made of tree resin. At night it can be lit for lighting. If it is smeared on a ship the water cannot penetrate it.

13. 菊蕎葛十床
葛蕎草名葉如刀茅
織之成箋

Kajang mats, ten. Kajang grass is a name. The leaves are like knife blades. They are woven together to make a mat.

14. 菊酒十罈菊花子
如荔子釀之成酒

Kajang wine, ten jars. The Kajang fruit resemble lichees. By fermenting them wine is made.

This list can be separated into several groups. The first one, least important, includes items 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. To begin with, they are too short to allow the search for a definite source and, secondly, all these items are attested to long before Luo's time. It must of course be recognized that in their present form these items could be part of a list. The Huang Ming yonghua leibian  of 1570 by Deng Qiu lists items 3, 5, 6 and 8. Item 7 and 8 can be found in Shen Maoguan's Hua-yi hua mu niao shou zhenzhu kao (An inquiry into the flowers, trees, birds, animals and precious objects of Chinese and foreigners) of 1581. Item one also occurs in that book, with the information that the pearls are up to an inch thick (寸一寸).168

As already mentioned in n. 152 item 4 is borrowed from Ma Huan. Fei Xin also contains this, and which of the two Luo

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166. Ch. 120, p. 5b, under Malacca.
167. Microfilm in Chinese Rare Books series, ch. 7, pp. 34a-b.
168. Ibid., ch. 8, p. 12b.
used is in doubt.

Item 10, the "fire chickens"\textsuperscript{170} is definitely not out of Ma Huan, but its origin remains obscure to me. Ma Huan does have a description of a "fire chicken", but it is listed under Palembang and, as can be seen, it bears no relation to Luo's text:

又出一等火雞大如仙鶴圓身長頸比鸕於頸更長頭上有軟紅冠似紅帽之狀又有二片 生於頸中嘴尖渾身毛 如羊毛稀長青色腳長 鐵黑爪甚利害亦能破人腹腸出即死好吃 瘡落遂名火雞\textsuperscript{171}

[The land] also produces a kind of 'fire fowl', as large as a 'fairy crane' (Manchurian crane, \textit{grus viridorostris}, supp. by Mills), with a round body and a tufted neck which is longer than a crane's neck; on its head it has a soft red crest like a red hat in appearance, and it has two [similar] pieces growing on its neck; the beak is pointed; and all over its body the feathers are sparse and long like a goat's hair, and blue in colour; the feet are long, and iron black. The claws are very sharp, and can rip open a man's stomach, [and] his bowels protrude and then he dies. [The bird] likes eating burning coals, hence the name 'fire fowl'.\textsuperscript{172}

Luo's version can be found firstly in Shen Maoguan's \textit{Si yi guang ji} (An extended account of the four barbarians)\textsuperscript{173}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{170} Given by Mills, J.V.G., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 101, n. 6, as "the cassowary; it must have been brought from the island of Ceram in the Moluccas".
\item \textsuperscript{171} Feng Chengjun, \textit{Yingyai sheng lan jiaozhu}, p. 18.
\item \textsuperscript{172} Mills, J.V.G., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 101.
\item \textsuperscript{173} Contained in \textit{Xuanlantang congshu xuji} under 滿剌加國 (Malacca), no pagination. Compiled after the \textit{Xi yang ji}. See Franke, W., \textit{An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History}, p. 206.
\end{itemize}
and in his earlier Hua-yi hua nu niao shou zhenzhu kao.\textsuperscript{174} In the latter book it is coupled with another item under the title Huoji shanfeng 火雉山凤 (Fire chicken and mountain phoenix). Exactly the same combination occurs in earlier work, Huang Zhong's Haiyu 海説 (Talks about the sea) of 1536.\textsuperscript{175} Both versions make it very clear that the "fire chickens" can be found in Malacca. I have not been able to trace it further back. The Bencao gangmu 本綱綱目 lists a description contained in the Wuxuebian 學編 by Zheng Xiao 鄭曉 of 1567 which closely corresponds to that found in Ma Huan. The other version is not mentioned.\textsuperscript{176}

Item 10 again presents a problem. Shen Maoguan's Hua-yi . . . zhen hu kao\textsuperscript{177} contains the following item:

波羅蜜樹
狀似冬瓜外結厚皮
若粟粒多棘刺
肉肉層層

The jack-fruit tree
Its shape is like that of the winter gourd. Outside it has a thick skin like that of a chestnut, attended by many spikes . . . Inside the meat is arranged in layers.

However, Ma Huan's description of the jack-fruit under Champa 占城 also contains similarities:

其波羅如冬瓜之樣
外皮似川荔枝皮內
有雞子大塊黃肉味
奴蜜中有子如雞脖

The jack-fruit resembles the gourd-melon. The outside skin is like that of a litchi [sic] from Sichuan [Szechwan]; inside the skin there are lumps of yellow flesh as big as a hen's egg.

\textsuperscript{174} Ch. 10, p. 15b.
\textsuperscript{175} Baoyantang miji 寶顏堂秘笈 ed., ch. zhong 中 , p. 2b-3a.
\textsuperscript{176} Vol. 6, ch. 49, p. 16. A drawing may be found in vol. 1, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{177} Ch. 2, pp. 10a-b.
which taste like honey; inside [these lumps] there is a seed resembling a chicken's kidney; [and when] roasted and eaten, it tastes like a chestnut. 179

It is probable that Ma Huan is the ultimate source in this case, though the intervening stages remain yet to be clarified.

Items 12, 13 and 14 again are not a problem, for there is little doubt that they were borrowed from Ma Huan, and no further comment appears to be necessary. 180

Item 2 remains to be discussed, as this is closely connected with Duyvendak's main argument. He thought, as there was "no reason to doubt the historicity of this list", that we have a definite date (1410) for the introduction of spectacles (aidai 眼鏡) into China by way of Malacca. 181

178. Feng Chengjun, op. cit., p. 4.
179. Mills, J.V.G., op. cit., p. 82.
181. Desultory notes on the "Hsi-yang chi", p. 7. The most recent treatment in English of the introduction of glasses into China may be found in Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, vol. 4: "Physics and Physical Technology", part I: Physics, Cambridge University Press, 1962, pp. 118-122, where Duyvendak's statement is noted. The word aidai 眼鏡 is of course much older. By using the Peiwen yunfu 佩文韻府 Duyvendak found that the earliest occurrence of it is in a poem by Fan Ni (fl. 291-300), where it has the meaning "hazy, misty". Desultory notes on the "Hsi-yang chi", p. 14. For attempts to derive the meaning of aidai as spectacles from the Persian and Arabic see ibid., pp. 13-14, and K'ai-ming Ch'iu, "The introduction of spectacles into China", Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 1 (1936), pp. 186-193.
this is not the proper time for the study of this topic it should now be fairly clear that the "list of tributes" is a concoction made up by Luo Maodeng, and the year 1410 is not supported by any other extant source. The earliest positive mention of spectacles having been brought from Malacca still remains, as it was in Duyvendak's own days, Zhang Ning's 张寧 Fangzhou zayan 方州雜言 (Miscellaneous Sayings from Fangzhou). 182

My own conclusion, therefore, is that any material presented in the novel cannot be dated earlier than 1597, unless it occurs in an independent source, when it may help to supplement the text. However, in view of Luo's propensity to alter his raw material, as can be seen from the following chapters, where some of his sources and their uses are discussed in greater detail, much caution is indicated even in these cases.

182. The exact dates of Zhang Ning are uncertain, but he became a jinshi in Jingtai 1455 (1457). He must have lived into the nineties since he spent thirty years at home after an official career lasting only a few years. Ming shi, ch. 180, pp. 1b-2a. The item dealing with the spectacles is translated in its entirety by Duyvendak, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
On the Ox-herding poems in Chan Buddhism.

In chapters 82 to 84 of the *Voyage to the Western Ocean* the intrepid voyagers have to contend with a black ox and a white cow, and an immortal called Yinshan (Leading the Toad). According to the novel the origin of the white cow is connected with the birth of the Buddha. The guoshi (National Teacher) narrates how Buddha's mother, while pregnant with him, was walking over Mount Vāraṇasī when she came across a herdsman riding a white cow and blowing an iron flute. She thought that the melody was not an ordinary one and, indeed, as the herdsman rode past her she saw that the flute had no holes. So she asked him what the purport of this was. He


2. No such mountain exists. However, I have taken it to stand for Vāraṇasī, because of its connection with Buddha. E. Lamotte, in his *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 18, writes: "Vāraṇasī ou Benares, chef-lieu du pays des Kas, située au bord du Gange entre les rivières Barça et Asi, était une vieille cité dont les origines remontaient haut dans le passé. Le Buddha y met en branle la Roue de la Loi et y prêcha plusieurs sermons importants".

3. Though this whole tale probably is the invention of Luo Maodeng, examples of a flute without holes (Wukong di 无孔笛) can be found in Buddhist literature. Thus the *Jiatai pudeng-lu* (The Record of the Universal Lamp of the Jiatai reign period, 1201-1205), compiled by Zhengshou in 1202, Zoku zokyo 绵续藏经, Hongkong reprint, vol. 134, ch. 30, p. 26b, records the line "The flute without holes is most difficult to play''. Such a flute is also mentioned in item 82, ch. 9, of the *Biyan-lu* 碧巖録 (continued on page 53.)
told her that by blowing the flute one could govern the world. Immediately he proceeded to hand flute and cow over to her. Then he jumped from the cow, bowed and disappeared in the sky. As it happened she couldn't feed the baby Buddha herself when he was born. The task devolved upon the white cow. Later that cow was allowed to rest at the feet of the Buddha in paradise. Coming down to earth she had to transform herself into the immortal Yinshan. Now, the only way to subdue her was to make use of the cowherd, who also doubles up as the "Star of fame and profit" (liming-xing 利名星). This disposed of the white cow.

Of greater interest in this chapter is the black ox. The guoshi demands to know who he is. He replies that he is one of the black oxen painted by Dai Song 戴松 (the novel uses 松). Dai Song was a famous painter who lived during the Tang dynasty. His exact years cannot be ascertained, though he was a contemporary of Han Guang 韓滉, Duke of Jin 晉公 (723-787). He often "painted all kinds of oxen and was able to capture their wild nature and the intricacy of sinews and bones to the fullest".  


4. According to the Lidai minghua ji 歷代名畫記 (Famous Painters through the Ages), Jindai mishu 津度祕書 ed., ch. 13, p. 10b, "Dai Song was made a troop inspector while Han Guang garrisoned Zhejiang". This work was compiled by Zhang Yanyuan 張彦遠 in Dazhong 大中 1 (847). See ch. 1, p. 11a.

5. Zhu Jingyuan 朱景元, Tang-chao minghua-lu 唐朝名畫錄 (A Record of Famous Tang Dynasty Painters), (continued on page 54.)
A later writer thought that "Dai Song surpassed any of his learned successors in the way he presented the spirit and the flesh of oxen". The *Xuanhe hua-pu* (A Register of Painters compiled in the Xuanhe years, 1119-1125) lists thirty-six different paints of oxen made by him. In view of this the author of the novel had sufficient reason for making Dai Song the originator of the black ox.

The *guoshi* then asks the black ox whether he was capable of metamorphoses. He replies in the affirmative and goes through ten different stages. They are:

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7. Ch. 13, p. 11a-b, *Jindai mishu* ed. There is some doubt about the authorship of this book. The copy available to the editors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu* bore the inscription "compiled by the emperor during the Xuanhe reign (1119-1125)", i.e. Emperor Huizong 徽宗. However, according to Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, a Ming dynasty copy held by Zhang Junheng 張鈞衡 and recorded in his *Shiyuan cangshu-zhi* 飛園藏書志 (*A Library Digest from the Pleasure Garden*) merely contained the date Xuanhe geng-zi 宣和庚子 (1120). Yu concluded that the book probably was written by an official under orders of the Emperor Huizong (1101-1125). See his *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 四庫提要辨證, ch. 14, p. 781.
1. At first the ox is undisciplined. When the herdsman tends him his whole body is black.

2. Discipline has begun, and the rope goes through the nose. A speck of white appears on the nose.

3. The ox is led in harness by the herdsman. The head has become white.

4. The ox turns the head and understands. On doing so neck and forelegs change to white.

5. The ox is tamed, and its nature gradually becomes more tractable. It becomes the good companion of the herdsman. Half his body is white.

6. The body suffers no impediment of any kind. His body is nearly white.

7. The ox does as he pleases, and everything is fitting. His whole body is white.

8. Ox and cowherd have forgotten each other. They are in the realm of nothingness. Everything is now white.

9. Merely the moon shines. Nobody knows where the ox is. Only the herdsman remains.

10. Both have vanished. The ox does not see the man, nor does the man see the ox. They have become invisible.

8. In the original (p. 487) each of these stages is followed by a poem. These have all been translated by Dr. Suzuki in his Manual of Zen Buddhism, London, 1956, pp. 135-144, each being preceded by an appropriate illustration. As this book is freely available I do not propose to copy them into this chapter or even to furnish a new translation.
These ten stages are better known as the Ten Ox-herding Pictures and Poems (shi niu tu song 十牛圖頌) by Puming, and they were used as a teaching aid in Chan Buddhism since Song times (960-1279). Puming and his poems will be discussed in greater detail below.

9. Liu Mingrui 刘名瑞, a late Qing dynasty writer, has asserted that Zhang Guo 张果, the well-known Tang dynasty eccentric (see biographies in Xu xian-zhuan 嚴仙傳, contained in Daozang 道藏, hai xia 海下, ch. zong 中, pp. 4b-6a; Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書, ch. 191, pp. 18b-20a; Xin Tangshu 新唐書, ch. 204, pp. 12b-13b), wrote a treatise with the title Muniu-tu shuo (On the Ox-herding Pictures). However, no confirmation of this can be found anywhere, and Professor Liu Ts'un-yan of the Australian National University, Canberra, thinks that this was attributed to Zhang Guo to show a more remote ancestry the superiority of Taoism (verbal communication). See Liu Mingrui, Daoyuan jingwei-ge 道源精微歌, 1965 Taipei reprint.

This is not to say that there has been no interest by Hoists in the ox-herding pictures. In the Jin dynasty (1115-1234) Wang Baiyun 王白雲, hao Wufeng baiyun xian-sheng 看雲先先生, wrote an Ox-herding Allegory (mu niu yu 牧牛喻) on the orthodox lines, contained in Caotang-ji 草堂集 (Collection from the Thatched Hut), Daozang, di xia 辰下 (no. 786), p. 29a. Wang Baiyun's proper name was Wang Dangui 王丹葛, zi Changling 昌齡. See the very short biographical notes by Chen Jiaoyou 陳敘友, (1823-1881), Changchun daojiao yuanliu 長春道教源流, in Yan Yiping 楊一行, Daojiao yanjiu ziliao 道教研究資料, Yiwen yinshuguan 藝文印書館, Taipei, 1974, vol. 2, p. 244. The Caotang-ji is also contained in the Yuan section of the Liao Jin Yuan yiwen-zhi 混金元文志, p. 302, by Huang Yuji 黃虞稷 (1629-1691), et al., (continued on page 57.
The origin of the concept of the ox and ox-herding as a teaching aid may be seen in the *Yijiao-jing* (The sutra of the Buddha's Last Teaching), following the opinion of Zhuhong (1532-1612). In the *Yijiao-jing* the Buddha reminds the converts: "Take the example of a herdsman who, carrying a staff, looks after the ox. He does not let it trespass into other people's fields". Thus they were also meant to keep a check on their minds. Another reference to cow-herding occurs in the *Anguttaranikāya* (the *sūtra containing the Instructions of the Buddha as he was about to enter Parinirvāṇa*).

The passage reads:

(continued from page 56.) Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1958.

The *Shangcheng xiuzhen sanyao* Daozang, zhong xia (no. 132), by a Yuanming laoren (nothing further is known about him) contains a set of thirteen ox-herding pictures and poems also illustrating the progress from wildness to enlightenment (p. la-10b). They are, however, outside the scope of this chapter.

10. *Daizokyo* no. 389, vol. 12, p. 111a. Another title of it is *Fo chui bannieban lue shuo jiaojie-jing* (the *sūtra containing the Instructions of the Buddha as he was about to enter Parinirvāṇa*). Translated by Kumārajīva. The Sanskrit title of this has been lost.


It is likened to the herdsman looking after his cattle in eleven ways, yet his herd will not increase, nor will he be able to protect it. What are these eleven ways? He does not know how to distinguish their colours, nor their appearances, does not brush them when he ought to brush them, does not attend to their sores, does not light a fire at the right time, does not know where the grass is lushest, does not know safe places, does not know where to ford the cattle, does not know their breeding season and, lastly, does not leave any food over for the future (my translation).

These items also occur in the Gopolaka佛說放牛經 with very minor changes. However, as was already pointed out by Zhuhong, it is not necessary to go back that far.14 It is said that when Daan 大安, a Tang Dynasty monk of the Chan sect,15 was on the road to Hongzhou 洪州 (in modern Nanchang 南昌 district in Jiangxi 江西) he met an old man at Shangyuan 上元 who said to him:

'You will find what you want at Nanchang!'. The master then went to Baizhang 百丈16, did his obeisance and said: 'Your student wishes to know about the Buddha.

15. Daan was from Fuzhou 福州. He died in Zhonghe 中和 23 (883) and was given the posthumous name Yuanzhi 圆智. Jingde chuan'geng-lu 景德傳燈録 (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp), compiled by Daoyuan 道原 in Jingde 景德 1 (1004). Contained in Daizōkyō no. 2076, vol. 51, ch. 9, p. 268a.
How can it be done?'. Baizhang said: 'It is rather like riding on an ox while searching for it'. The master asked: 'What is it like after one has attained that knowledge?'. Baizhang replied: 'It is like riding an ox and coming home'. The master asked: 'How can one keep it constantly without knowing the beginning and the end?'. Baizhang said: 'This is like a herdsman who, carrying a staff, looks after the ox. He does not let him trespass into other people's fields'. The master accepted this advice and did not press him further.17

A little later Daan is recorded as saying:

I have been with Weishan for thirty years. I have eaten and defecated without learning his meditation. The herdsman who looks after the water buffalo leads it back when it strays off the path into the grass. If it trespasses into other people's fields it is whipped into subjection. After a goodly time it pityfully takes to human speech. Now it has been changed to a white ox on the open-air square, and even if [someone] rode on [its back] it would not go.19

This "white ox on the open-air square" then found its way into the teachings of other Chán masters. Two examples are given here. Yixuan asked the monk Mukou:20

17. Jingde chuandeng-lu, ch. 9, p. 267b. Notice that Baizhang's last answer follows word for word the Yijiao-jing.
"What is the white ox in the open-air square?. Mukou replied: 'Moo'. The monk Shaoyuan was asked by another monk: 'What is the mind of an ancient Buddha?: The master replied: 'The white ox in the open-air square lies by the brook'.

Poems about white oxen also made their appearance, such as this one, though it may belong to a slightly later time already:

I have on an ancient altar a truly white ox
Kept by father and son for many years.
Leaving the door it goes straight to the top of the solitary peak.
Returning it swiftly jumps over Tiger Creek.

In the Wudeng huiyuan mention is also made of a cow-herding song by Puyuan, for he is reported to have said to Xiyun: "I have a cow-herding song (muniu-ge 牧牛歌)."


21. He is not further known to me.
23. I have no further information on him.
27. Lived at the beginning of the ninth century. Ibid., ch. 3, p. 46a.
28. Died in the Dazhong years (847-859). Posthumously he was awarded the name Duanji. Ibid., ch. 4, p. 62a.
that I should like you to match". Unfortunately Puyuan's
cow-herding song is not recorded, and Xiyun's abrupt reply does
not give us any clues concerning its nature.

However, it is not until the Song dynasty that ox-herding
songs and the like become more frequent. Sometime in the
eleventh century Chenggu 30 wrote this ox-herding song:

Get up, for the day is dawning.
Wearing my rain-cloak and a bamboo hat I lean against
the door.

Riding the ox we enter the grass.
East, west, north, south, he goes to the limits.

Ever lazy he eats brown and green grass all alike.
The sun is high already, and the ox has had his fill.
Blowing the reed pip I return home

And revel in a meal of wheat, rice and sour sauce,
Then wipe the corners of my mouth and fall asleep,
my clothes still on. 31

Another short ox-herding poem was written by Jingduan 淨端
at about the same time. 32

Ox! Ox! Ox! Don't! Don't! Don't!
Stop pulling plough and harrow!
Do what you want right through the year
With neither rope nor cord,
Nor restraints, nor hooks.

In the mornings I let you go to the grassy mound.

29. Ibid., p. 61a 
30. His dates are not entirely clear. In Jingyou 景祐 (1037) he returned to the Jianfu 蕭福 monastery, and his sayings were compiled by Weiqing 惕清 in Shaosheng 綠聖 (1097). Jianfu Chenggu chanshi yulu 蕭福永砳禅師語錄 in Zoku zōkyō, vol. 126, p. 218a.
31. Ibid., p. 252a 下.
32. He died in Chongning 崇寧 3 (1104) at the age of seventy-
four. Wushan Jingduan chanshi yulu 奧山淨端禪師
語錄, Zoku zōkyō, vol. 126, p. 258a 下.
When it is dark rest as you will. 33

Quite different in nature to the previous short ox-herding songs is a long poem entitled "Ox-herding 牧牛 " by Foyin 倪印. 34

1. Learning tending an ox for the first day
Herdsman and ox struggle with all their might.
For the ox loves to stray into the lush grass
But does not want to walk on the wide path.

2. As he twists and turns his nose is hard to pull along.
Use the whipe and he rolls his eyes.
To teach him not to trespass into crops
Is as valuable as timely ploughing.

3. He jumps and throws his head around.
The black in his breast and waist gradually disappears.
Leaving the enclosure I draw out my whistle.
Returning in the evening I urge him on with a wild song.

4. His fighting disposition is that of anger.
When he meets a multitude his eyes still rise.
Really, because of presence of whip and rope
His mind gradually is rid of desire.

5. Happy at the whiteness of his body
As he sleeps safely on the open-air ground.
Body and mind as though made of earth and wood.
Without seeing and hearing he has become seemingly blind and deaf.

33. Ibid., p. 252a 上.
6. A cloud forms in the valley.
Clusters of snow begin to fall.
White, without a trace of any other colour.
The ox is different now, yet is the same as other oxen.

7. Though white they will return to black.
A carefree ox is given back to you.
Then in the wild mountains he is let loose,
Left untroubled for all time.

8. In glory rivalling the sun.
A prancing boat left untied.
Surpassing all the sages.
Would anyone dare advance to capture him?\(^{35}\)

The preceding poem forms in fact some kind of a bridge, though not in a chronological sense, between the short descriptive ox-herding songs listed previously and the longer didactic ox-herding poems of the type composed by Puming. It is with this later type that this chapter is concerned.

The purpose of the ox-herding poems, often accompanied by pictures, was to show the progress of the mind from an untutored state to the point where enlightenment is attained, and the mind no longer is encumbered by other things. Thus it was thought that the mind at first was rather like an untamed ox, requiring a similar amount of coercion and persuasion to keep it on the straight path. In due time the mind would be like a well-trained ox that no longer would get itself into trouble, but that would be quite carefree. Several basic sets of such ox-herding poems

\(^{35}\) Contained in Jianzhong jìngguó xu dèng-lù 建中靖國

were current at one time or another. In all of them ox and herdsman disappear altogether at some stage. Thus the set may begin with both ox and herdsman present and end without either of them, though the herdsman may reappear in the last stage. As far as can be ascertained the number of stages varies from five to twelve. The ox sometimes starts off by being black and gradually changing into white, but in other sets he remains white throughout.

One of the less well-known sets of ox-herding poems is the one by Qingju 清居, and it may also be one of the earliest ones. Qingju belonged to the tenth generation after Dajian 大鏡 36 and therefore may have lived in the second half of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century. 37 His name as a monk was Haosheng 劉善 . Only fragments of his poems have survived, and they are given here in translation:

The explanation to the sixth of the ox-herding pictures by Chan master Haosheng read:

Faith is gradually ripening.
The gulf between himself and evil is felt to be wide.


37. The Xu chuangheng-lu supplies only one date in this chapter, (p.481a), and that is unreliable. It is for Ziyan 職巖 who is recorded to have died in Chunhua yi-mao 淳化元年 . The Chunhua reign period (990-994) does not have this cyclical year, it belongs to, e.g., Dazhong xiangfu 大中祥符 8 (1015). The date therefore is suggested in accordance with Dumoulin, H., "Die Entwicklung des chinesischen Ch' an nach Hui-neng im Lichte des Wu-men-kuan", Monumenta Serica, vol. 6 (1941), table III.
Though he can distinguish between clean and dirty
As easily as a sword cuts through mud
He still has a rope through the nose,
Unable to rely on faith.

Hence he is half white and half black. The poem reads:

Though he has been untamed for long
The hand slowly lets free the rope.
None of his actions are in the dark.
His progress is not according to whims.
On clean ground he is always happy.
The long whip always restrains him.
Nice is the fragrant fine grass on the blue mountain.
This is the food for him to stop being hungry for the day.

In the twelfth explanation.

Man is originally empty.
Body and mind belong nowhere.
Gain and loss no longer exist.
The road of the highest mystery goes far away, no longer distinct.
If one strives further to grasp the meaning of a phrase
One would quickly fall.

The poem reads:

Foolishly he labours on herding.
The ox does not exist, neither does the herdsman.
In this stage ideas are forgotten
Above there is the mysterious obscure
Fine dust rises from the ocean.
Snow is driven through the giant furnace.
Upon meeting they seek for an understanding
And not to sink to machinations. 38

38. Wansong laoren pingchang Tiantong Jue heshang song-gu congrong an-lu 墨松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古从容庵錄
(continued on page 66.)
It is clear that these explanations and poems were meant to be read together as an accompaniment to a series of pictures. Most probably the twelfth explanation was the last one, since both herdsman and ox disappear. Ciyuan 39 says that "Chan master Qingju had insight into the different capacities of many people for whose shortcomings he wanted to prescribe the remedies. He drew pictures of the Taming of the Ox so as to fit his teaching to the different capacities of his pupils. He first shows, in the gradual whitening of the ox, that the pupil is not yet advanced. Next, in the unflecked purity of the ox, the pupil's ability has matured. Finally, in the invisibility of both man and ox, he categorically portrays the disappearance of both mind and surrounding". 40 On the basis of this and the Congrong-lu one may accept that Qingju had twelve poems in all. However, Dr. Suzuki assumes that there were five only. 41 Possibly there

(continued from page 65.) (hereafter Congrong-lu, Daizōkyō, no. 200U, vol. 48, pp. 248c-249a. Based on the sayings of Zhengjue正覺 and compiled by Xingxiu 行秀. 39. Ciyuan, who is not further known, wrote a preface to a different basic set of ox-herding poems by Kuan 廥 (see below). See Shiniu-tu song十牛頌, Zoku zōkyō, vol. 113, p. 459a. 40. Ibid. Translation according to Trevor, M.H., The Ox and His Herdsman, Tokyo, 1969, p.2. This is a re-translation into English of Tsujimura/Buchner, Der Ochs und sein Hirte, Pfullingen, 1958. 41. Manual of Zen Buddhism, London, 1956, p. 128. However, he did have some doubts about this, for in Essays on Zen Buddhism (First Series), London, 1922, p.354n. he says: "After this book went to press, I have come across an old edition of the spiritual cow-herding pictures, which end with an empty circle corresponding to the eighth of the present series. Is this the work of Sei-kyo Qingju as (continued on page 67.)
are two reasons for this. First, Ciyuan points out that in the last stage the attitude towards other beings is still not quite clear. "This is why at this stage pupils of shallow disposition easily get pushed into a perplexing doubt. Even pupils of middling capacity fall into such a dilemma that they sometimes wonder if they have not fallen into sheer emptiness; or at other times if they have not sunk into the view of supposed permanence".

For clarity's sake a further stage is thus required to define one's attitude to other beings which brings us to the second reason, and to the second basic set of ox-herding poems.

This second basic set originated with Zidehui 自得輝 43

It consists of six poems, each preceded by an introduction. In the fifth stage ox and herdsman have both disappeared. In the sixth the herdsman reappears. This may have led Dr. Suzuki to believed that Zidehui was dissatisfied with Qingju's five stages and added another one. Zidehui was roughly a contemporary of

(continued from page 66.) referred to in Kaku-an's [Kuoan] Preface? The cow is shown to be whitening here gradually with the progress of discipline". Dr. Suzuki did not further pursue this. However, Mochizuki Shinkō 望月隆章, Bukkyō daijiten 佛教大辭典, Kyoto, 1957-1963, p.2229, mentions a set of eight ox-herding pictures by Weibai (fl. ca. 1100). The set apparently remains unpublished.


43. Contained in Chanmen zhu zushi jisong 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (Poems and gathas by all Chan Patriarchs), Zoku zōkyō, vol. 116, p. 489b-490a, compiled by Zisheng and Ruyou 真澄 and Ruyou 真澄 in the Song dynasty. Nothing further seems to be known about the two compilers.
Kuoan (see below), since he died in Chunxi (1183). Much of his life was spent at the Jingci monastery in Hangzhou. Since only the sixth poem has been translated so far, a complete translation is offered here.

1. **Explanation**

   First obeying knowledge and instruction gives rise to faith. Since faith is budding it will forever be the root of the way. Hence there is a speck of white on the head of the ox.

   **Poem**

   Thinking of faith is the basis to enter the way for a thousand lives.

   He pities himself for having strayed from the mind free of illusion

   And falling into the contaminating dust.

   The grass shoots forth every season.

   The *kuang* flower is renewed every day.

   As he thinks of home without the means of getting there

   He only perceives tears soaking the kerchief.

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46. Most likely *kuang* flower is to be understood as *yecao* (wild plants, weed, etc.), in a symbolic sense. I am indebted to Professor Liu for this point. However, it can also be understood as a short-lived mythical flower whose appearance is said to announce a change in fortune, as indicated by the following quotation: "In Taixing (321), when Wang Dun was a general, a flower appeared on his staff of authority. In shape it resembled a lotus flower. After five or six days it withered and dropped off. It is worth a thousand treasures and called *kuang* flower. It grows on withered wood in general's quarters, signifying that his might will blossom like a beautiful flower. But it does not last long. Afterwards Wang Dun contravened the mandate and was hacked to pieces. Another opinion is that it signifies evil". *Jinshu*, ch. 27, p. 1b.
2. **Explanation**
Since faith is budding it will become clear suddenly if one thinks of it constantly, just as [a mirror] does shine when it is rubbed. The heart generates joy which enters the head first. Hence the whole head becomes white.

Poem
Could I ask the ox: why do you understand [the truth] so slowly?
You had abandoned your home for many kalpas
And yet pursued folly for such a long time.
The one who understands always yearns to return to non-yearning
And always thinks of severing what he thinks.
Entering the head begins here.
Gradually it gives testimony of non-action.

3. **Explanation**
Since this has become clear to him he gradually purifies his jñāna\(^47\) that, though unsullied and bright, cannot yet be perfectly pure and unified.

Poem
Being tended for several springs and autumns
He becomes a white ox on the open-air square.\(^48\)
When he leaves the grass

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\(^47\) Jñāna (knowledge) moves in the finite and is limited to the sphere of phenomena, to be distinguished from prajñā (wisdom) which reaches beyond that into the infinite and the essence. See Schumann, H.W., Buddhism: An Outline of its Teachings and Schools (trans. from the German by Georg Feuerstein), Rider & Co., London, 1973, p. 123.

\(^48\) Ludi bai niu 露地白牛. This is no doubt an allusion to Daen's 大安 teaching. See above, p. 59. The translation of this term is taken from Suzuki, D.T., Essays in Zen Buddhism (First Series), p. 356.
He wanders up to the nearby snow mountains. Though the right remembrance returns him to the One, wrong thoughts still keep him muddled. Released from them, the tracks of the mind wiped out, the six places have no further hold on him.

4. Explanation

He has been transformed to being without foolishness and only thinks of the One. His true mind is pure and quiescent. His whole body is clear and clean.

Poem

The Six Places cannot make demands on him. An udambara tree blossoms in the fire. He is without attachments, bright and clean, and rid of worldliness. There is no further use for ropes, for both ox and herdsman have disappeared. Beyond the empty kalpa, no Buddha can guess where.


50. Liu chu六處 (skr. saḍāyatana). The six abodes of perception i.e. the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind. See Lamotte, E., op. cit., p. 40.

51. Youtanhua優曼華. The Fahua-jing yi-ji法華経義記 (On the meaning of the Saddharma Pundarika), by Fayun法雲 of the Liang 梁 dynasty (Daizōkyō, no. 1715, vol. 33, p. 603a) says: "Udambara means an auspicious flower in the foreign language (i.e. skr.). It only appears when a Buddha is born on this earth. Therefore it is exceedingly rare".

52. Kongjie空劫. The Abidharmokosa-Śāstra 阿毗達磨法界論, translated by Xuanzhuang玄奘 (596-664), Daizōkyō, no. 1558, vol. 29, ch. 12, p. 63a, explains it: "When this world has been destroyed nothing but emptiness will prevail for twenty kalpas".
5. **Explanation**

Mind and dharma are both forgotten. Herdsman and ox have both disappeared. They have forever left the phenomenal world. Mere emptiness: this is the name of the great gate of release and the life pulse of the Buddha.

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**Poem**

Herdsmen and ox are both extinguished.

On the ancient road there is [no more] any sympathy.

Mists enshroud the thousand peaks in silence.

Moss deeply covers the three paths.  

The mind is empty. Nothing is there.

Feelings exhausted: no present exists.

When is there an old angler passing his time

In the shade by the Pan river?

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53. An allusion to a poem by Tao Yuanming (365-427), entitled *Gui qu lai xi ci* (A poem upon returning home) where the following lines may be found

![诗](image)

But the pines and chrysanthemums still exist.

54. The Pan river (Panxi) is a tributary of the River Wei in Shanxi. A hillock near the river contains a stone cave which is the abode of Taigong 太公. Near the water there are some flat stones suitable for angling. This is the spot where Taigong used to do his fishing.  

6. **Explanation**

After the root of life has been severed life begins anew. He receives a body after his kind. He takes part in activities without taking them seriously. Only the person of former times has changed. His environment remains the same.

Poem

When the marvel has been exhausted
He reverts to the six ways of existence.\(^5\)
Everything worldly is of the Buddha.
Wherever he is he feels at home.
He is like luminous jade found unexpectedly in the mud,
Like pure gold that is refined in a fire.
He walks the road to a hell of endless torment
According to his kind, as if fluttering \([\text{before the wind}]\).
Far more important than either the basic set of Qingju or that of Zidehui are the two differing basic sets by Kuoan and Puming. They each consist of ten stages. However, in Kuoan's poems ox and herdsman disappear in the eighth stage, and the herdsman is restored in the tenth stage. The colour of the ox is not changed at all. In Puming's version ox and herdsman disappear in the tenth and last stage. The colour of the ox gradually changes from black to white.

Before turning to their poems a few biographical details, scanty as they are, of the two authors are appropriate. According to the Wudeng huiyuan Kuoan belonged to the fifteenth generation after Huairang 懷讓 (667-774), though his entry in

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55. These are the six main ways of worldly existence (liu dao 六道 or liu qu 六趣), consisting of Naraka-gati 地獄趣 (the way of the hells), Preta-gati 魍鬼趣 (the way of the hungry ghosts), Tiryagyoni-gati 虎牛趣 (the way of animals), Asura-gati 阿修羅趣 (the way of malevolent nature spirits), Manyusya-gati 人道趣 (the way of human existence), and Deva-gati 天道趣 (the way of deva existence). See Angarika Govinda, (continued on page 73)
that work does not give any date whatever. However, taking some others of the same generation whose birth or death is known, it is probable that he lived in the first half of the twelfth century. Another of his names was Yuanpi, and he was from Liangshan in Changde prefecture (in modern Hunan). Apart from some of his sayings this is all that is known about him. There is no question about his authorship. The Wudeng huiyuan states clearly that his ten ox-herding pictures and ten poems to go with them were in existence at the time of its compilation.

Little is known about Puming beyond the fact that he stayed at Taibai mountain. If the authors of the Qingyi-lu are correct Puming could have been alive as late as 1157, which can make him either a contemporary or a predecessor of Kuoan.


56. Wudeng huiyuan, pp. 393b-394a. For Huairang see ibid., ch. 3, pp. 42a-43a.

57. Hu Anguo, 1074-1138 (see biography in Songshi, ch. 453, pp. 4b-12b), Wudeng huiyuan, ch. 18, pp. 356b; Pujue, from Linan prefecture (in modern Zhejiang), died in Shaoxing bing-chen (1136), ibid., pp. 376a-379b; Yunbian, from Pingjiang prefecture (in modern Jiangsu), died in Chunxi ling (1175), ibid., ch. 19, pp. 381b-382a; Duanyu, from Qingyuan prefecture (in modern Hunan), died in Shaoxing geng-wu (1150), ibid., ch. 19, pp. 379b-380a.

58. Ibid., p. 394a.

59. Ibid., ch. 20, p. 393b.

60. Wansong laoren pingchang Tiantong Jue heshang nian gu qingyi-lu 萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚拈古詩益錄, Zoku zökyō, vol. 117, p. 433b. This originated with Zhengjue 正覺, who died in Shaoxing ding-chou (continued on page 74.)
Returning now to their poems, their respective titles are listed here in tabular form for ease of comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kuoan</th>
<th>Puming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 寻牛 xun niu</td>
<td>1. 未牧 wei mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for the ox</td>
<td>Undisciplined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 见迹 jian ji</td>
<td>2. 犒调 chu tiao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing the traces</td>
<td>Discipline begun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 见牛 jian niu</td>
<td>3. 受制 shou zhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing the ox</td>
<td>In harness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 得牛 de niu</td>
<td>4. 返首 hui shou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catching the ox</td>
<td>Faced around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued from page 73.) (1157) at the age of sixty-seven years (Wudeng huiyuan, ch. 14, pp. 270b-271b), and was put together by Xingxiu 行秀 who died in the first year of Dingzong 元统 (1324) of the Yuan dynasty at 81 years. Xu deng zhengtong 續燈正統 (The Orthodox Continuation of the Lamp), ch. 36, pp. 452a-453b, compiled by Xingtong 廣通 in Kangxi xin-wei 嘉慶新繁 (1791). The version contained in Zoku zökyō is based on a Wanli ding-wei 萬曆丁未 (1607) edition. Qingyi-lu, ch. 1, p. 406a. The translations of these titles are taken from Suzuki, D.T., Manual of Zen Buddhism, pp. 127-144.

62. The Chinese version is contained in Zoku zökyō, vol. 113, pp. 459a-460b. Translations may be found in Suzuki, D.T., Manual of Zen Buddhism, London, 1956, pp. 129-134; by the same author, Essays in Zen Buddhism (First Series), pp. 357-366; Reps, P., Zen Flesh, Zen Bones, Rutland, Vermont, 1957, pp. 165-187; the poems by Kuoan the matching sets by Xiyi and Dalian, as well as the preface to them by Ciyou (see below) have been translated by Tsujimura/Buchner in Der Ochs und sein Hirte, Pfullingen, 1958, pp. 13-50, and re-translated into English by M.H. Trevor in The Ox and His Herdsman, Tokyo, 1969, pp. 5-24. All of these translations contain illustrations.
Kuoan's ox-herding poems quickly became very popular and many authors tried their hands in imitating them, as a reading of the various *yulu* (Recorded Sayings) of famous monks contained in the *Zoku zōkyō* quickly will confirm. Probably the two earliest known imitations, those by Xiyi and by Dalian, together with Kuoan's poems

63. The translation given here is literal. Dr. Suzuku has "Entering the city with bliss-bestowing hands".
were recorded by a certain Ciyuan 聖遠 who is not further known. The imitation, or matching set, by Xiyi 西翼, was "arranged in a similar manner and meter but, if anything, slightly exceeding them." The matching set by Dalian is roughly contemporary. Nothing is known about Dalian apart from the

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64. These, together with the preface by Ciyuan, can be found in Zoku zokyo, vol. 113, pp. 459a-461b, with the title Shiniu-tu song 十牛圖頌 (The Ten Ox-herding Poems and Pictures). This edition does not contain any pictures.

65. He belonged to the eighteenth generation after Dajian 大鑑 (Huineng 聖能, 638-713; ibid., ch. 1, pp. 19a-20a). His dates are not known, but on the evidence of other monks in the same generation it is possible to say that he lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. Examples: Jujian 居簡, from Linan prefecture, died in Chuanyou bing-wu 交遊丙午 (1246). See Wudeng huiyuan xulue 五燈會元續略 (A Continuation to the Five Lamps Meeting at the Source), Zoku zokyo, vol. 138, ch. 3, pp. 450a-b. Guangwen 廣聞, from Linan prefecture, died in Jingding 景定 (1263), ibid., pp. 452b-453a; Yiyun 義雲, also from Linan, died in Kaixi 開禧 (1206), ibid., pp. 450b-451a. The Wudeng huiyuan xulue was compiled by Jingzhu 景柱 in Chongzhen 崇禎 17 (1645). See his preface in ch. shou 序, p. 417b.


67. He also belonged to the eighteenth generation after Dajian. Ibid., p. 21a-21b.
fact that he stayed at Wansong (Ten-thousand Pines) monastery.

On the other hand it appears that Puming's poems were forgotten for a long time after they first appeared, judging by the recorded examples. Sometime before the publication of the Voyage to the Western Ocean Hu Wenhuan published a Xinke chanzong shi niu tu (A New


69. Hu Wenhuan, zi Defu, hao Quanan, also Baoqin Jushi (The lute-clasping hermit) was a native of Qiantang (Siku quanshu zongmu, ch. 114, p. 276). Hardly anything is known about him, though he was a prolific writer and compiler. The earliest date I can find for him is contained in the preface to his Gu qiju ming (Names of Ancient Utensils), p. 2b, which gives Wanli gui-si (1593). The original Ming edition of this is in the National Library of Australia, Canberra. Next is his WenHui-tang qinpu (A Register of Lutes of the Hall of Literary Association), for which the Siku quanshu zongmu (ch. 114, p. 27b) gives the year Wanli bing-shen guy (1596) as the date of its publication. The last date is the appearance of the Gezhi congshu (Collecteana on Natural Science) which was published in Wanli 31 (1603). See Zhongguo congshu zonglu, vol. 1, p. 48. This collection seems to be available in the original edition only. It must be pointed out that the Siku quanshu zongmu editors thought that this work was compiled as late as the Tianqi period (1621-1627). (Ch. 134, p. 14b). In any case they had a very low opinion of it. Hu also appears in the Ming cizong, ch. 10, p. 2a (Sibu beiyao ed.), though without any biographical data.
Edition of the Ox-herding pictures of the Chan sect)\textsuperscript{70} which contains a matching set to Puming's poems by a certain Yunan without being more specific about him. It most probably refers to a monk of this name who died in Chongning \textsuperscript{1} (1102) at the age of seventy-eight,\textsuperscript{71} though no reference to ox-herding poems appears in his \textit{yulu} \textsuperscript{72} (sayings). However, several references to oxen can be found in this text. So he enjoined the faithful "to hold on to the law and cultivate themselves as [constantly] as an ox brushes himself with his tail".\textsuperscript{73} On another occasion he said: "The \textit{Jiaowai biezhuan} \textsuperscript{1} (Further Uncanonical Stories) tells the story of the ox pulling the card. If the cart gets stuck should one beat it or beat the ox? Each one of you has a water buffalo pulling a cart, but their hair is of different colours, and their disposition is not the same.

\textsuperscript{70} Contained in \textit{Zoku zōkyō}, vol. 113, p. 461a. Dr. Suzuki gives 1585 (cyclical years yi-you 乙酉) as the date of Zhuhong's preface to Puming's ox-herding poems (see above). I don't know what edition he has used, but the version contained in the \textit{Xiyongxuan congshu} 喜永軒叢書, ser. 1, has the cyclical year ji-you 乙酉 (1609). Following \textit{Zoku zōkyō} I prefer the year 1609 for Zhuhong's preface.

\textsuperscript{71} He is also known as Kewen 聶文 or Zhenjing 聶淨. Well known in his own time, he even enjoyed the favour of the emperor Shenzong 神宗 (1068-1085). See his biography in \textit{Shimen wenzi chan} 舎門文字禪 \textit{Sibu congkan} 四部叢刊 ed., ch. 30, pp. 1a-6a. Compiled by Huihong 惠洪 whose dates are unknown. He was one of Yunan's disciples, to whom many of his items are addressed.


\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., ch. 42, p. 354b.
Some are red, some dark, some brown, some black. Now don't treat them with the painful whip, and they will all pull their cart".\(^{74}\) One last example may be given. Yunan was asked by a monk: "Between heaven and earth and within the universe a treasure is hidden on the body. Yet the body does not enquire what the treasure is'. He replied: 'The acārya\(^{75}\) rides an ox all day without knowing what an ox is".\(^{76}\) Yunan appears to have been the last recorded monk who knew of Puming's poems until their reappearance in Hu Wenhuan's collection.

One work, unfortunately left out of all collections of Buddhist scriptures, could be of some use in solving this problem. It is the Yuan edition of the Chanzong zaduhai 指月海 (An Ocean of Miscellaneous Chan Sect Poison).\(^{77}\)

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\(^{74}\) Ibid., ch. 42, p.370b. The example of the cart and the ox originally was given by Huairang 懐讓 (677-744), the patriarch referred to, in answer to a question by Mazu 馬祖 (707-786) on what he should do to attain Buddhahood. At first I thought the text had been tampered with, for the Jiaowai biezhuan 教外別傳 was compiled only in the Chongzhen years (1628-1643) by Li Mei, contained in Zoku zōkyō, vol. 144, p. 38a. But then I found the sentence "How is the method of the Jiaowai biezhuan 教外別傳 " in the Jingde chuandeng-lu of 1102 (ch. , p. 394b), though the title is not listed elsewhere. I do not know whether Yunan in fact refers to a book. The complete version of the example may be found in translation in Suzuki, D.T., Essays in Zen Buddhism (First Series), p. 222. Original Chinese in Guzunsu yulu, ch. 1, p. 80a. For Huairang and Mazu see also Dumoulin, H., A History of Zen Buddhism, pp. 96-99.

\(^{75}\) Sheli 阿闍梨 or Asheli 阿闍梨. A Buddhist teacher who instructs the novice in monastic rules. See Lamotte, E., op. cit., p. 61.

\(^{76}\) Guzunsu yulu, ch. 43, p. 363a.

\(^{77}\) (see page 80.)
This was originally compiled by Zuchan of the Yuan dynasty. However, because it is in many ways identical with the later Qing edition, the editor of the Zoku zōkyō decided to leave the earlier edition out. Now the oldest remaining part is a preface dated Hongwu 17 (1384) by Wuyun 無愠. In 1657 the Chanzong zaduhai was re-edited by Xingyue 星悦 who notes that he "carried out the re-editing in accordance with Zuchan's intention and embracing Wuyun's opinions". He continues: "The original collection contained 732 items. This is now increased to about 870". It assumed its final form in 1714 under the editorship of Xingyin 性音. It is this final version that contains Fuming's ox-herding poems. However, as the list of matching poems, though incomplete, contains the same names as the Kangxi (1662) edition by a monk with the pseudo-name Runiankong 如念空 there is reason to assume that the former was influenced by the latter.

Fifteen authors appear in Runiankong's edition. They are

77. This is not related to the Dahui chanzong zaduhai 大慧禪宗雜著海, compiled by Fahong 法宏 and Daoqian 道謙 which carries a preface dated Chunxi wu shen 潤熙戊申 (1188) by Zuqing 趙慶. Contained in Zoku zōkyō, vol. 121, pp. 24a-51b.

78. Contained in Zoku zōkyō, vol. 114, pp. 53b-100b. I have no further information on the compiler.


80. Chanzong zaduhai, ch. 1, p. 54a.

81. Ibid., p. 53b.

in order of their listing: Wengu 職公 83, Tianyin 天陰 84,
Poshan 福山 85, Wanru 萬如 86, Fushi 洗石 87, Yulin 玉林 88,
Ruoan 無案 89, Shanci 山慈 90, Xuanwei 玄微 91,
Xiangchuan 香幢 92, Dule 蘆軒 居士 93.

83. Also known as Guangyin 廣印 Zhenji 真寂. It is rather
difficult to find data concerning his life. However,
Tongxian 通賢 (see below), who died in 166, once visited
him. See Xu deng zhengtong, ch. 32, p. 438b. It may
therefore be assumed that he lived in late Ming to early Qing.

84. Also known as Yuanxiu 圓修 . Died in Chongzhen yi-hai
崇禎亥 (1635) at sixty-one years. An heidou-ji
善黑豆集 (Collection of the Crushed Black Bean), Zoku zōkyō,
vol. 145, ch. 5, p. 467a, compiled by Xinyuan 心願 and
Huolian 幡連 in Qianlong 乾隆 59 (1794).

85. Also known as Haiming 海明 . Died in Kangxi bing-
無熙丙午 (1666). Ibid., ch. 6, p. 482b.

86. Also known as Tongwei 通微 . He "began to preach in the
Tathagata in Chongzhen 13 (1640)". Xu deng zhengtong,
ch. 32, p. 433a.

87. Also known as Tongxian 通賢 . Died in Kangxi ding-

88. Name Zhu Lin 朱琳, also known as Tongxiu 通琇 . Died
in Kangxi 十四 (1676). An heidou-ji, ch. 6, p. 478a.

89. Also known as Tongwen 通問 . Died in Shunzhi yi-wei
順治乙未 (1655). Ibid., ch. 6, p. 481a.

90. Also known as Tongji 通紀 . Died in Shunzhi jiashen 甲申
(1644). Ibid., ch. 6, p. 481b.

91. Also known as Miaoyong 妙用 or 紹用 . Died in
Chongzhen 十五 (1642). Xu deng eungao, Zoku zōkyō, vol. 145,
p. 124b.

92. Also known as Minghai 明海 . I have no further
information on him.

93. Name Yan Dacan 嚴大參. Runiankong says that "in the
summer of 1662 Dule made known the origin of Puining as well
as his pictures in his old monastery". (Zoku zōkyō,
vol. 113, p. 463a. While the purport of this is far from
clear, it shows that Dule and Runiankong were contemporaries.
Another set of ox-herding poems in Puming's manner that could date back to the Wanli years was composed by Yuanxian 元賢 谁 was born in Wanli 6 (1578). One may therefore conclude that while Puming's ox-herding poems had their origin in the Song dynasty, the evidence supplied by the matching sets suggests that they were forgotten until the first half of the Wanli reign period (1573-1619).

As far as can be ascertained the earliest extant version of Puming's poems occurs in the Voyage to the Western Ocean. However, this novel quotes from the preface to the New Edition of the Ten Ox-herding Pictures of the Chan Sect by Hu Wenhuan, though Hu's

94. He is the compiler of this work.
95. Name Xu Changzhi 徐昌治, hao Jinzhou 見周. I have no further information on him.
96. Also known as Muyun 牧雲. His dates are not clear, but his Bing youyou cao 病遊遊草 is dated Chongzhen geng-zhen 康辰 (1640). Zhonghua dazang-jing 中華大藏經, vol. 62, p. 52447.
97. Also known as Jixian 敬賢. I have no further information on him.
classical idiom has been transformed into the vernacular. Hu's text reads:

牧童郎人也。牛郎心也。圓光郎人心俱渾化。而證於本然之道也。夫心孰不有乎。有則皆當修也。道孰不具乎。具則皆當證也。...夫牛且可馭。而謂心不可修者。未之有矣。心可修而謂道不可證者。有未之有矣。

Translation: The oxherd refers to the person. The ox refers to the mind. Through this medium they are both transformed and give testimony of the Way of Primordial suchness. Who does not have a mind? If one has a mind it ought to be cultivated. Who is not sufficiently provided with the conditions [for the realization] of the Way? If one is, then one can give testimony of it... Now an ox can be tamed, but to say that the mind cannot be cultivated is to express an impossibility. Granted that the mind can be cultivated it would be an impossibility to say that testimony cannot be given of the Way.

In the novel this has been changed to:

那牧童郎是人。牛郎是心。雙混郎人心俱渾化。而證於本然之道。心孰不有。有則皆當修。道孰不具。具則皆當證。...牛且可馭。心豈不可修。心既可修。道豈不可證。未修心。未證道。

100. Xiyang ji, p. 487.
Translation: The oxherd refers to the person. The ox refers to the mind. The disappearance of the two refers to the transformation of both mind and person, and it gives testimony of the Way of primordial suchness. Who does not have a mind? If one has a mind it ought to be cultivated. Who is not sufficiently provided with the conditions [for the realization] of the Way? If one is, then one ought to give testimony of it... An ox can be tamed. How should it be impossible to cultivate the mind? Since the mind can be cultivated, how could one not give testimony of the Way? If the mind is not cultivated, then one cannot give testimony of the Way.

Despite some minor changes the connection between the two texts is obvious. Taking note of Hu Wenhuan's known biographical data, it probably would be fair to say that his New Edition of The Ten Ox-herding Pictures of the Chan Sect appeared a few years before the publication of the Voyage to the Western Ocean.
Encounter with a Makara

The makara is a huge fish by any standards. The Fayuan zhulin, states for instance that "there is no fish bigger than the makara. As the Dharmagupta-vinaya says, it can be three or four-hundred, and at its most extreme, seven-hundred yojåna long. Thus the Agama-sutra says that its eyes are like sun and moon. Its nose is like a huge mountain and its mouth is like a red valley". Contrary to this statement there is a fish in Buddhist mythology that is bigger than the makara, that being the Timångala, which is credited with being able to devour the makara. The Fanyi mingyi also notes that the makara grows to a length of more than one-thousand li. Further supporting statements for the size of this fish can be found in the Mahåbhårata. Vogel translates a passage where Arjuna describes the ocean: "On y trouve des makaras semblables a des montagnes flottantes".

1. Taishö Daizökyö, no. 2122, vol. 53, p. 318. A thorough search fails to locate the references to the Dharmagupta-vinaya and the Agama-sutra. However, the Sarvåstivåda-vinaya, Daizökyö, no. 1435, vol. 23, p. 239, states that "the makara... can be one, two, three-hundred and even seven-hundred yojåna long". One yojåna measures about thirty to forty li.2

2. This can be seen in the following stanza from the Jåtaka:

Nicht gibt's bei ihnen Zucht und Selbstbezwünung, 
Branntwein und Fisch sie lieben unbezähmt;
was von dem Manne Gebrachte sie verschlingen wie
der Timångala den Makara im Meer.


4. Vogel, J. Ph., "Le makara dans la sculpture de l'Inde", (continued on page 86.)
It must be mentioned here that another variety of makara is thought to exist which would be unlikely to resemble a fish, as it is said to have a large number of heads. This variety will not concern us further.

A great deal of symbolism is attached to the makara. So it is hardly surprising that a creature of its size should stand for unbridled power. It is the symbol of the ocean and all the waters on earth. The makara further is associated with several Indian deities. It is the vehicle of Kāmadeva, the goddess of love, to which it is consecrated. According to Combaz, the earth rests on water in Indian cosmology. As these waters are the source of life fertility and fecundity, the makara was able to become associated with Kāmadeva. Related to this is the


5. The Fayuan zhulin, Daizōkyō no. 2122, vol. 53, pp. 854-855 speaks of two makaras being caught, one having one-hundred heads, the other eighteen. This passage is given as having originated in the Damamūka-nidāna-sūtra, but the Daizōkyō edition of it does not contain it.


Related to this is the makara's existence as the vehicle of Varuṇa. Lastly, of the major deities, the makara is also the vehicle of Gaṅgā, the goddess of the river Ganges. As a final symbol the makara of death, already mentioned by Sénart, ought to be listed. The makara also is connected with the constellation Capricornus, and his feast month is the lunar month that overlaps December and January.

In sculptures the makara is often represented with a yakṣa appearing to pull something, most likely a pearl, from his mouth. The significance of this has not yet been satisfactorily explained. A reference to this pearl can be found in the Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra, where a brahman challenges the audience to tell him what the pearl in his hand is. The Buddha tells him that the pearl comes from the mouth of a makara, a fish being more than 280,000 li long. Two names for this pearl are given in the

12. For a detailed analysis of this see V. Stietencron, op. cit., pp. 6-15.
15. Combaz, G., op. cit., p. 149.
16. Daizōkyō no. 203, vol. 4, pp. 480-481. Translated in the second half of the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534) by Tanyao and Kekaya. This is also contained in the Fayuan zhulin, no. 2122, vol. 53, p. 1018.
same passage. The first is \textit{cintāmani} (a pearl that fulfils every wish), the second "as strong as a \textit{vajra}".\textsuperscript{17} Combaz assumes that as pearls are the product of the sea it would seem natural that the makara was made their guardian.\textsuperscript{18}

What is the origin of the makara as a sculpture?\textsuperscript{19} It has been claimed that this was something purely Indian that arose in about the 3rd century BC.\textsuperscript{20} Others, while agreeing with the timing in general, hold that it combines elements of the crocodile, the elephant and Hellenistic types of marine animals.\textsuperscript{21} The Indian sea cow has also been mentioned as a possible ancestor.\textsuperscript{22} The makara sculpture does not seem to have been introduced into China before the latter half of the fifth century AD.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} For these two names see also Hackmann, H. \textit{Erklärendes Wörterbuch zum chinesischen Buddhismus}, Leiden, 1951, p. 288.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Combaz, G., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 151.
\item \textsuperscript{19} For articles dealing with the makara as a sculpture see Viennot, O., "Typologie du makara et essay de chronologie", \textit{Arts Asiatiques}, vol. I (1954), no. 3, pp. 189-208; by the same author, "Le makara dans la décoration des monuments de l'Inde ancienne: positions et functions", \textit{Arts Asiatiques}, vol. V (1958), no. 3, pp. 183-206 and no. 4, pp. 272-292; Vogel, V. Ph., \textit{op. cit.}.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Kohl, J.F., "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Tierlisten des Jinistälichen Kanons", \textit{Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller}, pp. 367-368.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Lindsay, J.H., "The makara in early Chinese buddhist sculpture", \textit{Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society}, 1951, p. 134.
\end{itemize}
Above I have pointed out the possibility of the makara's function as a guardian of pearls. This quality may account for his propensity to destroy ships. Vogel has already pointed out that ships laden with precious stones are particularly likely to become victims,\(^{24}\) the reason being that the fish wants to recover what used to be his. In the Buddhist texts many examples of shipwreck because of a makara can be found. The *Sat-paramitā-sūtra* \(^{25}\) records that this fish destroyed the ships of five-hundred merchants, and all aboard died. Further passages of merchants coming to grief may be found in the *Mulasārvaṣti-vādanikaya-vinaya* \(^{26}\) the *Sanghabhedakavastu* \(^{27}\) and the *Madhyamāgama* \(^{28}\). Indeed, another

\(^{24}\) Vogel, J. Ph., *op. cit.*, p. 146, where he quotes the following passage from the *Mahābhārata* (Bombay ed.), III, 270, 19-20: "De même que le navire chargé de pierres précieuses est déchiqueté au milieu de l'Océan par le dos du makara, de même tu verras les guerriers de cette armée à toi, exterminés, battus par les fils de Pāṇḍu".

\(^{25}\) *Daizōkyō* no. 152, vol. 3, p. 21, translated by Kangsenghui 廖僧會. According to the *Jinglúwixiăng 经律異相*, *Daizōkyō* no. 2121, vol. 53, p. 223, where this passage is also recorded, the same item should also occur in the *Fubaojing* 福報經. Ono Gemmyō, in the *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten 僧書解說大辭典* states that the *Fubaojing* is part of the *Samyuktāvadāna-sūtra 勸禁经* (Vol. 9, p. 253). As will be seen below (p. 96), a story concerning the makara does occur in that sūtra, though it is a different version.

\(^{26}\) *Daizōkyō* no. 1442, vol. 23, p. 888.


textaments that "of ten million who leave, only one or two arrive because of the markara".

Among the many dangers Zheng He and his companions had to endure, there is an encounter with a makara. This does not occur until the last stages of the homeward journey. A council is held aboard the ships to discuss action to be taken in the next few days. To find out what there is in store for them the Dipankara Buddha summons the local god of the magnetic mountain which, by the way, is another difficulty to be negotiated. This local god has the ability to predict the future, and he tells them that two giant fish are lying in wait for them. One of them is the King of the Loaches, three to five li long and fifty to seventy feet high. He catches his victims with his tongue by ripping up ships as the ploughshare rips up the earth. For the other fish the local god is best left to speak for himself. He said:

"the other one is a fish king, about one-hundred li long and ten li high. His mouth is as big as his body. His teeth are like a white mountain range. The two eyes resemble two suns. When he opens his mouth the seawater rushes into it, and any ship going past will be made to suffer. How will this happen? When the water flows quickly the ship gathers speed and floats straight into his mouth and on to the belly. No trace remains of either men or ship. Isn't it truly made to suffer?" The Guoshi said: 'Are there such strange things?'. The local god said: 'I wouldn't dare spreading

30. Xiyangji, Dadong shuju ed., ch. 95, p. 556.
31. Ibid., pp. 557-558.
lies in the presence of the Buddha. In the distant past five-hundred ships went across the seas in search of treasures, and they came across his open mouth. He treated them exactly like five-hundred cold baked cakes'.

The Guoashi asked: 'Does he have a name?'
The local god replies: 'His name is makara fish king'.

The King of the Loaches then arrives, but because of the power of the Buddha he refrains from doing any damage. So this danger has been dealt with successfully. Soon after something disturbing happens, as the following lengthy extract from the novel narrates.

The Official of the Blue Flag reported: "Two suns have appeared on the mountains ahead. I don't know what kind of omen it is, so I report it to you, Field Marshal, and await your decision".
The Field Marshal asked: "In what direction are the two suns?"
The Official of the Blue Flag replied: "They are in the south-west".
The Field Marshal was terrified, saying that the makara had arrived. Immediately he transmitted orders to every ship and to every helmsman to manoeuvre the ships towards nor'east. Each ship obtained the order and the helmsmen turned the ships toward nor'east with united efforts. The Field Marshal, in giving these orders, had hoped to give way to the makara. Little did he know that the makara would move nearer. The ships were heaving and hoving, up and down, to and fro, while getting nearer to the shore all the time.
The Official of the Blue Flag reported: "The ships are getting close to the shore, Field Marshal. What are the orders?"
The Field Marshal ordered that the sails be secured and the anchors dropped to obtain some respite. But

32. Ibid., p. 557.
before the sails were lowered completely the fish drew closely to the ships. The sailors found themselves looking upon a precipitous mountain that lay there like a long snake. Its length could not be estimated. They only saw that at the foot of the mountain which was hundreds of feet high, water was gushing into a hollow. On either of the mountain ridge there were white stones, arraigned in a very strange manner. Two suns, one on the left of the mountain and one to the right of it rivalled the sun in the sky with their brilliance. Not one of the soldiers dared utter a word, but they all wondered how such a mountain could float in the middle of the sea. Every officer thought that this mountain looked like Dragon Tooth Strait mountain, and how to its left and right the sun was shining. How could they know that it was the king of the fish that was so long and so big. Now the Field Marshal had an order transmitted to the ships that the thing floating in the sea was not a mountain or a ridge, but the fish king with his evil doings. The ships were lined up to let off arrows, mortars and cannon, one after another, to make the fish withdraw. Each ship obtained the order. Every officer, fighter and commander went with his detachment to battle stations. At the sound of a whistle they let their arrows fly together. Though they kept this up for more than two hours at the expense of innumerable arrows, the fish king took no notice of it. Then it was the turn of

33. The strait south of Pulau Satumu (Coney islet, Raffles Lighthouse) . . . in Singapore strait. Mills, J.V.G., The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 204. This is not merely descriptive of the fish. The inhabitants of that place "used to attack foreign ships in their small boats. If the ships struck favourable winds they made a lucky escape, otherwise they would be broken up. Navigators found it advisable to avoid the locality". Xu wenxian tong-kao , ch. 246, p. 4815. (Commercial Press ed. of 1936).
the mortars. First the ones for shooting birds were used, then the ones whose thunder shakes heaven. This again went on for more than two hours at the expense of innumerable pounds of gunpowder, but the fish king took no notice of it. Next the cannon were fired, first the field guns, then the assault guns. No matter how many rounds they fired the fish king took no notice of it. The officers, seeing they couldn't repulse the fish, reported to the Field Marshal who in turn asked the Tianshi.

The Tianshi said: "How could I let this wild creature stay in front of our door? I will attend to it immediately."

Then, as the Tianshi stood in his Jade Emperor Palace muttering and murmuring his seven-starred sword flew forth, and it hurtled right onto the fish king's cranium. Now when the fish king was hit by this sword he finally felt some pain and shook his head once or twice. How could these movements have been ordinary ones? It was like mountains swaying and the earth moving. Water gushed forth and waves rolled so that every ship was tossed about by the waves seventy or eighty times, and even then they wouldn't settle down. When the Tianshi saw that the fish was unwilling to move he shouted an order to recall the sword. Then he burned four flying spells on it, and immediately the four heavenly generals Ma, Zhao, Wen and Guan descended, bowed and asked for orders. The Tianshi told them that this fish king was lying across the bay and blocking their way home, and he would like to bother the four to help him drive out the fish. The four rose to the clouds. Each displayed his own heroism. Each

had his own method. Marshal Ma was savage with a brick. Marshal Zhao was savage with his whip. Marshal Wen was savage with his cudgel, and Marshal Guan was savage with his sword. The four heavenly generals were savage with their weapons. At this, the fish king found the going a little hard, descended deeper into the water and rocked his body. This rocking wouldn't have mattered, but the water suddenly rose by several thousand feet. The ships quickly had to weigh anchor, otherwise they all would have been sunk as if loaded with bricks. The Tianshi grew worried that something untoward might happen and had to dismiss the four heavenly generals, who rose to the clouds and disappeared. The Field Marshal said this fish king was rather hard to deal with. Why was he hard to deal with? If no action was taken he blocked the road. If action was taken he overturned rivers and seas which was uncomfortable for the ships.

Zheng He said that the Guoshi ought to be consulted. Mister Wang felt that the Guoshi would only feel sorry for the fish, yet this fish had no manners whatever. There was no way to deal with him. Zheng He mentioned that before the Guoshi had said that this was merely a certain beast. Probably he knew the story behind him.

Mister Wang said that instead of keeping on talking about it they should go and see the Guoshi himself which they did. They told him about their efforts to get rid of the fish. The Guoshi said: "Amitabha, does he still not know that I am here". This was said so casually and without emphasis that even Mister Wang thought the Guoshi was a trifle insolent. How could this stupid, ignorant fish know anything?

Zheng He asked: "Whether he does know or not know that you are here, what difference does it make?"

The Guoshi replied: "If he knew that I am here he wouldn't be so uncouth".

Zheng He asked: "If someone were sent to tell him, would it do?"
The Guoshi said that the fish would understand. Mister Wang wanted to know who could be sent. The Guoshi said it would have to be the Tianshi. Immediately the Tianshi was told what to tell the fish.

The Tianshi said: "Even when we troubled the heavenly generals he wouldn't move. Telling him a couple of words may not necessarily produce a result". The Guoshi said: "Try it out on him. If he still doesn't move I have other ways of dealing with him".

The Tianshi said: "How do we tell him?" The Guoshi said: "I have to borrow your sword to write something on it. When you let it fly this time you must not aim it on his cranium, but on his eye, so that he will be able to see it".

The Tianshi did not dare being dilatory and instantly took out his sword. The Guoshi wrote the word 'Buddha' on it with his finger. Then the Tianshi muttered and murmured. The sword took off and made straight for the eye of the fish. The fish stared at it, and as he saw the word 'Buddha' he instantly closed his eyes, lowered his head and shut his mouth. Then he gradually grew smaller, sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly, until in a short while he was only the size of an earth worm. Then he looked at the ships, wriggled three times, turned around three times and disappeared in the distance.35

According to the novel the ships had a very narrow escape and were only saved from certain disaster because the Guoshi let the fish see the word Buddha. If we now look at an extract from the Samyuktāvadāna-sūtra we can see a possible prototype for the version in the novel. The two stories are almost the same in plot outline, apart from the embellishments in the novel. The sūtra goes like this:

35. Xiyangjì, pp. 559-560.
"Of old there were five-hundred merchants who went down to sea in search of treasures. It so happened that a makara showed his head and opened the mouth, meaning to devour them all. On that day only a light breeze blew, but the ship went like an arrow. The sārthavāha (skr. leader of the merchants) told the crew to reef some sails as the ship went too quickly. Immediately they did as they were told and took down some sails. The ship rolled and sped on, but could not be stopped. The sārthavāha asked the lookout whether he could see anything. The reply was: "I can see two suns above. Below is a black mountain within a white mountain". The sārthavāha was terrified and said: 'This is a huge fish, and there is nothing more to be done. Now you and I have struck trouble. Once we are inside this fish's belly not one of us will live. All of you must wholeheartedly beseech the gods you serve'. They did as they were told. They wholeheartedly entrusted their lives to them, so they might be saved. But the more they begged the faster the ship went. Unless it stopped shortly it would enter the mouth of the fish. Then the sārthavāha said to them: 'I know of a great god whose name is Buddha. You'd better give up your former gods and call wholeheartedly on him.' Immediately the five-hundred merchants loudly called out 'Namo Amithaba'. Now when the fish heard the name of the Buddha he thought: 'There must be again a Buddha in this world. How could I bear hurting anyone?' While he was still thinking he closed his mouth. The water swirled away from it, and the five-hundred merchants obtained their escape. In a previous life this fish had been a follower of the Buddha, but because he committed an offence he was given the body of a fish. . ."36

36. Daizōkyō no. 207, vol. 4, p. 529. This sūtra was compiled by Daolue 道隆 in the Later Qin 後秦 dynasty (384-417. This story also occurs in the (continued on page 97.)
The ship's company is again saved by the name of the Buddha, this time calling it out loudly. This time we are told why the fish reacts to Buddha's name. He has been a follower of the faith who committed an offence in a previous existence. His reward was being reborn as a makara.

Before dealing with this aspect it should be pointed out that an almost identical passage occurs in the Mahāprajñā-paramitā-pādārtha. 37 translated by Kumārajīva in 404. 38 Traditionally Nāgārjuna is considered to be its author, though his historical existence is still a matter of doubt. 39

A much abbreviated version of this tale of salvation occurs in three different translation of the Avatāmsaka-sūtra. 40

(continued from page 96.) Zhongjingzhuan zapiyu translated by Kumārajīva, compiled by Daolue. De Visser, M.W., The Dragon in China and Japan, p. 13, thinks that these probably are two different editions of the same work, Kumārajīva having translated Daolue's work in 401 ad. The passage has also been copied into the Jinglū yixiang, no. 2121, vol. 53, p. 226, and the Fayuan zhulin, no. 2122, vol. 53, p. 551.

(continued on page 98.)
A slightly less abbreviated version occurs in the Damamūka nidāna-sūtra. The story is used, again in a much abbreviated form, to demonstrate the efficacy of Avalokiteśvara in the Saddharma-pundarika. Lastly, a much abbreviated version, still serving to point out the power of calling out "Namo Amithaba" occurs in the Mahākarunapundarika-sūtra, translated by Narendrayaśas.

Above I noted that the makara had been a follower of the faith in a previous existence and now was suffering punishment. The Buddhist Tripitaka again sheds considerable light on this, as can be seen in the following translation of part of the Pūya-vibhāṅga.


42. Daizōkyō no. 263, vol. 9, p. 129. Translated by Dharmaraksita during the Western Jin dynasty, 265-316.


45. Daizōkyō no. 1507, vol. 25, p. 45. This passage has also been copied into the Jinglū yixiang, no. 2121, vol. 53, pp. 190-191. The name of the translator is lost, but traditionally it is assumed that the Sutra was translated in the Later Han dynasty. This is now in doubt, it being thought that it was translated sometime between 385 and 489. The original is assumed to have appeared during or after the reign of King Kaniṣka. See Mori, S., "On the Fen-bie-gong-de-lum" (in English) (continued on page 99.)
When the Buddha was still on this earth there was an elder by name of Dharmaruci who came to his abode and politely inquired after him. The Buddha said: "Dharmaruci, you have not come for a long time, but now we meet again". Someone asked the Buddha: "I don't understand this. Why do you say he hasn't come for a long time?" The World-honoured One said: "Do you want to know it?" He replied that he would. The Buddha said: "Innumerable kalpas ago another Buddha lived in this world. His name was Dipankara Buddha. At that time I was a Brahmacarin and my name was Chaoshu. As it happened Dipankara was just about to enter the city and I met him on the road. On seeing his shiny countenance I sighed: "The brilliance of the World-honoured One's countenance surpasses that of sun and moon. His virtue fills heaven and earth. The benevolence of his heart exceeds that of a kind mother. I am mere form and shadow and have nothing to offer him. Now is the time to plant a seedling in this beautiful field of blessedness". I saw the ground was muddy and thought it might soil the Buddha's foot. So I quickly undid my hair and spread it out on the ground to allow him to walk on it. He then said to me: "You are fearless and bold. Innumerable kalpas from now you too will be a Buddha, and your name will be Sakyamuni". Now


46. I have no further information on him.

47. The first stage of life in which the young man leads a celibate and austere life as a student at the home of his teacher. Basham, A.L., The Wonder that was India, London, 1961, p. 158.
there had been another Brahmacārin nearby whose anger rose, and he said: "This man is no different from animals, seeing he walks over other people's hair". Henceforth he was reborn as an animal for innumerable kalpas, lately as a makara in the huge sea. He was more than seven-thousand yojāna long. At this time there were five-hundred merchants who went down to the sea in search of treasures. They chanced to meet this big fish when his mouth was wide open. They were about to drop into it. All five-hundred were terrified and each besought the god he served. Then their chief said to them: "At present the Sakyamuni Buddha lives in this world. He can save people from dangers greater than this. If we all call his name we can be delivered from this". Immediately they called the name of Buddha. When the fish heard it his fundamental vijñāna was restored and he thought: "Sakyamuni has been born into this world. Why am I among the fishes?" Then he turned around and submerged. The five-hundred merchants were safe and went home. The fish beached himself and did not eat or drink for fourteen days. When he died he was reborn as the son of a merchant, and his name was Dharmaruci. Today we finally met again. This is why I said he had been away so long". Having heard all this Dharmaruci went to the beach to search for his former body. He saw the bones, but all the flesh had vanished. As he walked onto the ribs he reflected that this was his former body. Then he scattered flowers on it, left and obtained sudden enlightenment.

48. Or ālaya-vijñāna. V. Glasenapp gives the following explanation: "Das ālaya-vijñāna, das die Quelle aller Vorstellungen, das Magazin aller gemachten Erfahrungen ist, fließt seit Anfangslosigkeit während aller Wiedergeburten bis zum Nirvāṇa. Dannaber nimmt es seine wahre unbegrenzte Wesenheit an, denn es ist im tiefsten Kern nur "reine Bewusstheit" (vijñāpati-mātratā), leer von Subjekt und Objekt, rein wie der Weltraum, wenn alle ihm anhaftenden Trübungen geschwunden sind". Buddhismus und Gottesidee, pp. 506-507.
Here we have an example of how a follower of the faith was punished for an imprudent action by being reborn as a makara. A different version of this theme, concerning a king this time, can be found in the Damamūka nidāna-sūtra \(^49\) and in what is generally known as the Chinese translation of the Buddhīsattva jātaka-mālā \(^50\), executed by Shaode 紹德 and Huixun 禪詢 who lived during the Song (960-1279) dynasty. Since the latter had been lifted from the former there is no need to pay any further attention to it, and all remarks following concern the Damamūka nidāna-sūtra only. The translation of the excerpt requires a short introduction. There was an old merchant by name of Srivrddha \(^51\) who lived in Rajagṛha, the capital of

\(^49\) Daizōkyō no. 202, vol. 4, ch. 4, p. 379. It has also been copied in an abridged form into the jinglùyixiang, no. 2121, vol. 53, p. 189. There the source is stated to be ch. 7 of the Damamūka nidāna-sūtra, though it is in fact ch. 4. Another version, slightly less abridged, is in the Fayuan zhulin, no. 2122, vol. 53, ch. 21, p. 443.

\(^50\) Daizōkyō no. 160, vol. 3, ch. 4, pp. 343-344. The Chinese gives as its author the name of the author of the Sanskrit version, which has been translated into English by J.S. Speyer under the title "The Jātaka-mālā". However, as Professor J. Brough has pointed out in a most entertaining article, the first half of the Chinese version has been lifted from other sutras (in this case from the Damamūka nidāna-sūtra), and the second half is merely a pseudo-translation of Arya-śūra's Jātaka-mālā. See the article in Asia Major, NS., vol. XI, (1964/65) pt. 1, pp. 27-53. I am indebted to Dr. T. Rajapatirana of the Australian National University for this reference.

\(^51\) Chinese 福增 (transliterated according to Daizōkyō shōin 大藏經索引, Tokyo, 1962-, vol. 2, p. 160) or 戶利光提 (transliterated according to the same work, vol. 2, p. 65). I have no further information on him.
He was desirous of joining the Buddhist community, but wherever he went he was rejected. In the end Mahā-maudgalyāyana took pity on him and told him the following story:

A long time ago there was a king by name of Dharmavrddha in Jambudvīpa. He was fond of doing good works, holding the precepts and hearing the law. He had a compassionate heart and was not violent, nor would he hurt the life of any creature. He had sufficient of everything and ruled the country according to proper laws for twenty years. In his leisure time he liked to gamble with others. Now it so happened that a man murdered another. The officials reported to the king that there was a man outside who had transgressed the law of the country. They asked how they were to deal with him. The king was just enjoying himself and sent them away with an order to proceed according to the law. In this case the law demanded the death penalty, and the murderer was executed forthwith. When the king had finished

52. An ancient Indian kingdom, controlling at one time both banks of the Ganges from Banares to the borders of Bengal. See Basham, A., op. cit., p. 48.

53. Mahāmaudgalyāyana was one of the two principal disciples of the Buddha. See Kern, H., Histoire du Bouddhisme dans L'Inde, vol. 1, p. 92.

54. Chinese 法增 or 妙摩提 提. So far I have not been able to find out more about him. The Bodhisattvacaryā-nirdeśa 妙 薩 增 校 緒, Daizōkyō no. 1582, vol. 30, ch. 1, p. 960, mentions a Dharmavrddha Boddhisattva by name, but nothing else. It is not possible to say what their relationship is.

55. According to traditional Indian geography the earth was flat and divided into four continents (dvīpa), the southern continent being called Jambudvīpa. The southern zone of this continent included INDia. See Basham, A., op. cit., pp. 488-489.
his gambling he asked the officials where the criminal was, for he wanted to pass judgement. They reported that as they had to proceed according to law he was already dead. Now when the king heard this he fainted and fell to the ground. The ministers and attendants sprinkled water on his face, and after a long time he regained consciousness. Shedding tears he said: "The palace women and singing girls, the elephants and horses, in fact the sapta ratna all will stay here. I alone will go to hell to receive all sufferings. Before I was king another king ruled. Soon I will die and yet another king will succeed me. I am named a king, but I have killed someone, which makes me equal to a candala who is an outcast for generation after generation. I have now decided to be a king no more". Then he abdicated and took to the mountains to keep himself from evil. After his death he was reborn in the sea as a makara with a body seven-hundred yojana long. The king's officials took advantage of their power to maltreat the people. They separated and exploited them. Upon expiry most of them became makaras. Often there were parasites that fed on their bodies, the same way as insects will stick to the tuft of a fine mat. When their body itches too much they rub against a mountain and crush all parasites. The blood reddens the sea to a distance

56. The Seven Treasures. According to Sénart, op. cit., pp. 22-23, they are "le trésor de la roue (cakra), de l'éléphant (nâga), du cheval (açva), du maître de maison (griphati), du joyau (mañi), de la femme (strī), du conducteur (parinākaya).

57. Basham, A., op. cit., p. 145, states "Chief of these groups (outcastes) was the candala . . . He was not allowed to live in an Áryan town or village, but had to dwell in special quarters outside the boundaries . . . in theory their main task was the carrying and cremation of corpses, and they also served as executioners of criminals".
of one-hundred li. Because they are entangled in their net of wrongdoing they enter hell. A makara sleeps for a hundred years at the time, and when he awakes he is hungry and thirsty. He opens his mouth. The seawater flows into it like a flooded river. Now at this time five-hundred merchants had gone down to the sea in search of treasures, and they came across his open mouth. The boat travelled quickly with the current and made straight for the mouth. The merchants were terrified and began a great wailing. All spoke in this way: "It has been decided that we should die this day". They all called the names of what they respected, some a buddha and all his disciples, some the spirits of heaven, mountains and seas, some their father, mother, wife, brothers and relatives. They all said: "Today we have seen Jambudvīpa for the last time, nor shall we ever see it again". As they were about to enter the makara's mouth they shouted at the same time: "Nama Amithaba". As soon as the fish heard this he closed his mouth and the water came to rest. The merchants were saved from death's claws. The fish was so hungry that he instantly died. He was reborn in the city of Rājagṛha. Yakshas and rakshas set about the dead body that was lying on the beach, bleached by the sun and washed by the rain. The flesh went, but the bones remained. And this is the mountain of bones. Śrīvṛddha, you ought to know that you used to be that King Dharmavṛddha".

It is now possible to state one of the uses, though not the essence, of the makara in Buddhist literature. Makaras can exist in their own right, but persons committing an offence, such as being an accessory in the killing of a man or insulting the Buddha, may

58. To my knowledge the makara does not occur in Chinese popular literature apart from the Voyage to the Western Ocean, and it resembles its source so closely that one is justified to say that it belongs entirely to Buddhist literature.
as punishment be reborn in this guise. Since he dwells in the ocean he may destroy ships and their company, thus committing offence upon offence. If however he is lucky enough to meet a ship sailed by followers of the Buddha who have the presence of mind to shout "Namo Amithaba", not only will the ship be safe, but the makara will have his fundamental consciousness restored to him. This allows him to break out of this existence and be reborn as a man.

The author of the *Voyage to the Western Ocean* makes the Buddha narrate the events leading up to the appearance of the makara. He used to be the eldest son of the King of Makara in India. His name was also Makara. He was born under strange circumstances. When he grew up he devoted himself to magic. On the king's death he succeeded to the throne. Then he lusted after someone else's wife and killed an innocent man, after which the people rebelled, and drove him out of the country. He goes to a kingdom in southern India where he impresses the king with his tricks. One day he changed into a butterfly, fluttered up to a concubine and told her that if she slept with Makara she would not go to hell. She told the king who promptly drove him out. He then went to Motiaoli, where nobody wanted to have anything to do with him. He stayed at an inn where the innkeeper grew suspicious of the way he obtained his money. Nobody in India wanted him, and he had to go to Persia. There he played a trick on the king's dancing girls. Finally an immortal, Tian Zizai (Heaven Acts as it pleases),

60. Perhaps Makara stands here for Magadha.
61. No such country seems to have existed, but perhaps Matali is intended.
offered the King to get rid of Makara whose only escape is to change into a huge fish. The Buddha had ordered him to grow no longer than one foot on pain of death. This is why he shrunk when he saw the name "Buddha".

This Tian Zizai is described in the novel as a Persian monk who always was filthy (lata):

He did not shave his head. Through the four seasons his hair was only half an inch long. He did not wash his face, and dirt stuck to it throughout the four seasons. He did not mend his clothes which consisted of one outfit, worn throughout the year. When he met someone he only talked about Heaven's fondness of pleasing itself, and that is how he acquired his name. This Tian Zizai had great supernatural powers, in their big aspect to understand Heaven and Earth, in their small aspect to control supernatural beings.

The origin of this can be found beyond doubt in the Yeren xianhua (Idle talks of a rustic) by Jing Huan.

In the market at Lizhou (in Sichuan) there used to be a man with dishevelled hair hanging down his back. He went barefoot and wore a short coat. When people talked to him he often told them about heavenly matters. If given paper and pen he would happily draw theatrical people holding musical instruments or draw clouds, dragons and phoenixes. At night he slept in a temple. The people called him Tian Zizai. There was a market in the south of the

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63. The dates of Jing Huan are not known. However, the Shuofu, Commercial Press edition, ch. 17, p. 6b, gives Qiande (965) as the date of Jing Huan's preface. The item quoted here is not contained in the Shuofu.

(continued on page 107.)
prefecture packed with people. One night a fire started, and the flames reached up to heaven. Tian Zizai was in the temple muttering to himself: "The people here have been despicable for a long time. Heaven is about to kill them". Then he reached for the water in a stone bowl by the steps and sprinkled some around. Presently a strange smell was emitted from the temple gates. It changed into a downpour and completely extinguished the fire. The templekeeper subsequently told the people about this, but Tian Zizai had disappeared. Later the people were hit by a huge flood. Only then did they believe the truth of what had happened before.

This is all we know about Tian Zizai, but it was sufficient for Luo's purposes.
Honglian seduces the monk Yutong.

The stories contained in *Guijin xiaoshuo* 《古今小說》 which, as generally agreed, were compiled in the Tianqi 天啟 period (1621-1627) have received a considerable amount of attention among modern critical writers. However, it has so far remained unnoticed that part of *Guijin xiaoshuo* (GJ) 29 (Yueming heshang du Liucui 月明和尚度柳翠), translated as "The monk Yueming saves Liucui") is also contained in chapter 92 of the *Voyage to the Western Ocean*. 2

As might be expected of its author, Luo Maodeng, he cannot refrain from adding repetitions, a habit of which he is very fond. So he has three different groups of people begging the prefect that Yutong be spared any punishment after failed to attend welcoming ceremony for the new prefect. GJ 29 makes do with the abbots of the neighbouring monasteries. In the *Voyage to the Western Ocean* the same prefect, Liu Xuanjiao 柳宣教 and Wu Honglian 吳紅蓮, an accomplished singing girl, have a

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2. Pp. 533-537. See also the translation at the end of this chapter. In *Guijin xiaoshuo* the story is in two parts, the first concerning Liucui 柳翠 and Yueming 月明, the second concerning Honglian 紅蓮 and Yutong 圭通. In this chapter more attention will be given to the second part.
lengthy talk on her ability to rouse the sexual desires of men. GJ 29 has a summary order for Honglian to seduce the monk. However, the general outline of the plot is the same to the extent that even the poems correspond. In one case the order of these poems has been changed. In GJ 29 the poem beginning with "Since I entered the gate of Chan . . ." comes before "The monk Yutong from the Shuiyue  水月  monastery . . .". In the Voyage to the Western Ocean the order is reversed.

The Xiugu chunrong  高香春蓉 (part 仁仁), published in Nanking in the late sixteenth century\(^3\) also contains an early version of this story, and there are no serious alterations.

There is reason to believe that all these versions hark back to the same source, now lost, but which may have been the Qingpingshan-tang huaben  清平山堂話本. Only a minor part of it survives now.\(^4\) GJ 29 is often mentioned together with GJ 30 (Mingwu chanshi gan Wujie  明悟禪師斷五戒), translated as "Chan master Mingwu drives out [the monk] Wujie (Five Precepts).\(^5\)

There we are lucky enough to have the still

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4. For a description of the re-discovery and the extent of the Qingpingshan-tang huaben see Lévy, A., *ibid.*, pp. 97-106. It was published between 1541 and 1551. See Ma Lian's 馬廉 preface to Qingpingshan-tang huaben 清平山堂話本, Shanghai, 1957, p. 188. See also Lévy, A., *op. cit.*, p. 102 for a summary of the evidence.

5. Professor Hanan surely goes too far when he says "in each story a girl named Honglian seduces or unwittingly tempts an upright monk, causing him to end his life". (*The Chinese Short Story*, p. 143). In GJ 30 the monk Wujie even buys off Honglian's guardian to get an opportunity at seducing her.
extant version in Qingpingshan-tang huaben. Professor Levy has found upon comparing GJ 30 with its version in Xiugu chunrong (part he 2) that "il résulte que les deux compilateurs ont indépendamment 'édité' une texte qui ne pouvait guère être différent de celui que nous connaissons par l'édition du Qingpingshan-tang". It has to be remembered that this latter work was known in its own time as Liushi jia xiaoshuo (Sixty Short Stories) and the modern title is only a matter of convenience. Of the sixty only twenty-seven are preserved, a few of them only partly. Whether GJ 29 was ever part of this is a matter of speculation, and it cannot be pressed very far.

A reference that could apply either to GJ 29 or GJ 30 is contained in the Baowentang shumu (The Catalogue of the Hall of Precious Literature) by Chao Li 嘉靖 (Jiajing 20 (1541), with the laconic title Honglian-ji 紅蓮記 (The Story of Honglian). A case has been made that this in fact refers to GJ 29 (Yueming heshang du Liucui), since GJ 30 (Mingwu chanshi gan Wujie) is also listed in the same catalogue under the title "Wujie chanshi si Honglian ji 五戒禅師私紅蓮記 (The monk Wujie (Five Precepts) has sexual relations with Honglian). This is certainly most plausible, since the Qingpingshan-tang huaben story that has the same contents as

8. See ibid., where all the evidence for this is presented.
9. Gudian wenxue chubanshe, Shanghai, 1957, P. 114. The exact date of the compilation of this catalogue is not known, but the likely time is the middle of the sixteenth century.
GJ 30 is entered under the title "Wujie chanshi si Honglian 烏澈禪師私紅蓮", i.e. only the character 记 is missing.

We are on firmer ground with an account in Xihu youlan-zhi 西湖遊覽志 (An Account of Sightseeing at West Lake) by Tian Rucheng田汝成, where it is recorded that

"in the Shaoxing 绍興 years (1131-1162 a certain Liu Xuanjiao 柳宣教 was appointed to a post in Linan 林安. On the day he took up this post the monk Yutong 玉同 from the Shuiyue monastery 水月寺 did not pay him a visit. Liu bore him a grudge over this and schemed to send the singing girl Wu Honglian 吴紅蓮 to lead him astray. She was to go to the monastery, stay there for the night and beguile him into having intercourse with her. Yutong had cultivated himself for fifty-two years and was firm in holding the precepts. At first he resisted her, but by midnight his defences were worn down, and they had intercourse. Making inquiries afterwards he knew that he had been cheated by Liu. Dying of shame he said: 'I will destroy your family's reputation!'" 11

Tian's own preface to his work is dated Jiajing 嘉靖 26 (1547). 12 This very brief summary, so far as it goes, agrees in every detail with the later versions of the story. It is therefore not only the forerunner of the Gujin xiaoshuo version, but also the earliest extant story involving Yutong and Wu Honglian. In the sequel to his work Tian Rucheng says "Honglian, Liucui ... all deal with strange occurrences in Hangzhou 杭州 and probably were written in recent times." 13 The text does not make

12. Ibid., p. 4
clear whether Honglian and Liucui are referred to as separate stories, or whether the amalgam as it now occurs in GJ 29 is meant.

The story of Liucui is of course very old. A Yuan play by Li Shouqing who flourished at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, is still extant under the title *Yueming heshang du Liucui* (The monk Yueming saves Liucui). The *Chuogeng-lu* (Notes While Resting From Ploughing) lists a Jin dynasty (1115-1234) play with the title *Yueming faqu* (A fa play about Yueming). Unfortunately only the title is mentioned, and any assumption that these two deal with the same subject matter is pure conjecture. The Ming dynasty playwright Zhu Youdun (1379-1452) mentions in his play Li Miaoqing *huali wu zhenru* (Li Miaoqing becomes aware among flowers of real suchness) that Kang Boke (fl. around 1131) had a poem on the same topic, but unfortunately it is now lost. Zhu Youdun's play also is on

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15. *Chuogeng-lu* 轉耕錄, *Jindai mishu* 津逮祕書 ed., ch. 25, p. 6b. See also Tan Zhengbi 田正壁, *Huaben yu guji* 詩本與古劇, Gudian wenxue chubanshe, Shanghai, 1957, p. 169. The meaning of the term faqu is not too clear, but Tan Zhengbi, ibid., that plays of this class probably were similar to those classified as daqu 大曲, where both singing and dancing were included.

16. Tan Zhengbi, op. cit., p. 169, appears to be quite convinced that the two deal with an identical topic.

17. I do not have access to Zhu Youdun's play, and I take this information as given in Zhang Quangong, op. cit., (continued on page 113.)
the Liucui theme.

It is necessary to give a brief outline of the Liucui story, and the resume given here is the outline of Li Shouqing's play Yuerning heshang du Liucui as presented by Huang Wenyang in his Quhai zongmu tiyao 曲海總目提要. 18

There we read:

A speck of dust contaminated by chance a leaf of a willow branch in Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva's clean vase (jing ping 淨瓶). 19 As a punishment the branch was sent into the human world to enter the cycle of rebirths. There it became a prostitute in the Carrying Sword Camp Street (揀劍營街 ) in Hangzhou with the name Liucui 柳翠. Thirty years later her debt of a previous age had been liquidated and [Avalokitesvara] ordered the sixteenth arhat Candra-prabha (Yuerning 月明 ) to reform and return her to her original condition in the assembly of the Buddha. 20 ... [At that time] Liucui and the rich man

(continued from page 112) p. 66. Zhu Youdun, the eldest son of Zhu Su 朱樑 (died in Hongxi 洪熙 1 (1425)), the first Prince of Zhou 周王, was chiefly known as a dramatist, but was also a skilful calligrapher and painter. See Draft Ming Biographies (1965, no. 3), to be published by Columbia University Press, edited by Professors L. Carrington Goodrich, Fang Chao-ying and Fang-Tu Lien-che.


19. It is interesting to note that a Jin dynasty (1115-1234) play with the title Jingpinger 淨瓶兒 is also known to have existed. See Chuogeng-lu, ch. 25, p. 132. Tan Zhengbi, op. cit., p. 195, suspects that it may have been similar in content to the play Yuerning heshang du Liucui.

20. Compare the Ratnamegha-sūtra 僧誦寶雨經, (continued on page 114.)
Niu Lin had a relationship. [Her father Liu Xuanjiao had been dead for ten years, and she asked Niu Lin for one-thousand cash so that she might hire ten monks from the Xianxiao monastery on Songting mountain to conduct a service for her father. However, the monastery had only nine monks capable of chanting sûtras. There was nothing for it but to ask the Mad Monk (Feng heshang) who stoked the fires in the kitchen to fill in as number ten. This monk really was Candra-prabha. When they arrived at Liucui's gate he exhorted her to become a nun. Afterwards he again exhorted her in a teahouse, and when the monks expounded the law he again exhorted her. After much questioning and answering she suddenly was enlightened. Then she shaved her head and dressed like a nun. Before long she died. Candra-prabha also left, riding a cloud.

This briefly, is the story of Liucui. It is not the only one in existence, but quite typical of all of them.

To return to the main theme of this chapter, we have Tian Rucheng's outline of the plot of Yutong and Honglian recorded (continued from page 113.) Taishō Daizōkyō, vol. 16, no. 660, ch. 1, p. 284, where the Buddha predicts that Candra-Prabha would come to China after he himself had entered nirvana.

21. Tian Rucheng's Xihu youlan-zhi yu, p. 274, also lists a play with the title Feng Heshang.

22. Liucui and her story certainly were known at the time of the writing of the Voyage to the Western Ocean. The earlier Xiyou ji (The Journey to the West) by Wu Chengen contains the line

I wish to be Liucui of the previous dynasty.

Zuojia chubanshe ed., Peking, 1954, ch. 55, p. 636. On this see also Liu Ts'un-yan, (continued on page 115.)
in about 1546, and the full story appearing in the *Voyage to the Western Ocean* in 1597. However, this gap of fifty years is not unbroken, for there exists a play by Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521-1593) with title *Yu chanshi cuixiang yi meng* 王禪師翠鄉一夢 (The Dream of Chan Master Yu and Cuixiang), which is the second in his cycle of four plays known as *Sisheng-yuan* 四聲猿 (Four Cries of a Gibbon). 23 There is some doubt as to when he wrote these plays, the earliest extant edition appearing in Wanli 萬曆 22 (1594) 24 which is one year after his death.

It has been stated that this play was written during the Longqing 隆慶 period (1567-1572), 25 but on closer examination this appears unlikely. Xu Wei led a very turbulent life. As a young man he attracted the attentions of Hu Zongxian 胡宗賢 because of his literary talents. 26 Later Hu was arrested more


26. Hu Zongxian was a powerful censor and later Chief Military Commissioner in the Jiajing reign. He became involved in intrigues over his handling of a campaign against Japanese pirates and rebels in Zhejiang. See his biography in *Mingshi* 明史, ch. 205, pp. 8a-14a.
than once, for the first time around Jiajing 41 (1562). Xu was in such terror that he too would be implicated that "he went mad and slashed his ears with a large awl several inches deep". According to his own testimony this happened in 1566.

Next year he killed his second wife and was sent to prison until Wanli 1 (1573). Thus he spent all of the Longqing years in prison. A place which, one might surmise, not too conducive for the writing of plays. Matters did not improve after his release. Yuan Hongdao (1568-1610) has recorded that "in his later years his vexation grew even deeper, as did his madness. When well-known people came to his door he sometimes barred them from entering. Sometimes he took money to the wineshop and called on the others to drink with him ... He died still harbouring his anger".

Yuan Hongdao also notes that in his younger years he saw the Sisheng-yuan performed in the village markets. Since Yuan was born in 1568 this would most likely refer to a time in the 1570s. Here we have proof that in the early years of the Wanli

period Xu Wei's plays had acquired a certain popularity. Based on this evidence, circumstantial as it is, my conclusion is that Xu Wei wrote his plays no later than the last years of the Jiajing reign period (approx. 1560-1566).  

The reason for spending some time on the dating of Xu Wei's plays is that two of the poems that occur in GJ 29 and the *Voyage to the Western Ocean* can also be found there. The first is:

Translation:
Since I entered the gate of Chan nothing has hindered me.
For fifty-three years I was at ease.
Only because a thought went astray
I transgressed the Tathagata's sex commandment.
You made Honglian break my vow on sex.
I owe Honglian a debt from a previous life.
My virtue came to grief through you.
I will destroy your family's name.

32. The recent doctoral thesis by J.F. Faurot accepts that three of these plays, including the one under discussion, were written between 1552 and 1557, the fourth in the series not being written until several years later. See *Four Cries of a Gibbon: A Tsa-chü cycle*, pp. 33-34.

33. Sheng-Ming zaju, ch. 6, p. 9a.
The Voyage to the Western Ocean has 月 4t 5f instead of 恶, 夜 instead of 昼, 的 instead of 藍, and 蓋我 instead of 被我. It can hardly be disputed that the three versions come from the same source, the divergencies being copyist's idiosyncrasies. The same applies to the second poem:

水月師號王通, 多時不下住林峯
可憐數點菩提水, 倒入紅蓮西瓣中

Translation:
The monk Yutong from the Shuiyue monastery
For long has not come down from the mountain.
Unfortunately he tipped a few drops of Bodhi water
Between the two petals of Red Lotus.

The Voyage to the Western Ocean has 数 4t ^ 2th instead of 数
Otherwise it is the same. GJ 29 is the same as Xu Wei. These two poems may serve as additional proof for the common origin of all the various versions.

I now turn to the problem of the components of the Yutong-Honglian story. An anecdote concerning a woman named Honglian appears in the Shier xiao ming lu compiled by Zhang Bangji, who flourished at the beginning of

34. Pp. 536-537.
35. Quan xiang gujin xiaoshuo, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1947, ch. 29, pp. 3b-4a. I use this edition in preference to the 1958 Peking edition, because apart from the removal of erotic passages, such omissions being clearly marked, it is complete. The Peking edition passes over omissions without comment.
36. Xiyang, p. 536.
37. Gujin xiaoshuo, ch. 29, p. 4a.
During the Five Dynasties (906-960) there was a monk by name of Zhicong, who cultivated himself on Zhuyong peak for ten years. He considered himself perfect in holding the precepts and that nothing could lead him into sin. Now one day he came down from the mountain and saw a beautiful woman whose name was Honglian (Red Lotus) in the street. In the twinkle of an eye his desires were roused, and they enjoyed themselves together. In the morning the monk rose, washed himself and died together with the woman. There is a poem about it:

There was the monk Zhicong in the land of the immortals,
Who for ten years did not leave Zhuyong peak.
The Bodhi water stored between his loins
Dripped into the leaves of the Red Lotus.

The joke of course depends on the woman's name meaning Red Lotus. Bodhi water is a reference to the male sperm. It is fairly obvious that this is more likely to be the prototype for GJ 30 where the monk sets out to seduce the girl. But this anecdote is of interest for two reasons. First, it supplies the name Honglian in an unmistakable setting. Second, the poem


"There was the monk Zhicong . . ." offers an interesting comparison with the second of the two poems quoted above.

It is given here in Chinese:

有道山，僧號至聖，額下不祝融膏
胸間所積菩提水，瀉向紅蓮一葉中

It can be seen that this poem must have been the ancestor of:

水月禪師號玉 düzenlenen時下竹林羣
可憐若許菩提水，傾入紅蓮兩瓣中

The rhymes are exactly the same. Zhicong has been replaced by Yutong, Zhuyong feng (peak) by Zhulin feng. Certainly, the meaning of the two poems is the same.

The last two lines also occur in a minor variation in GJ 30. There they read:

...  

可惜菩提甘露水，傾入紅蓮兩瓣中

Unfortunately a few drops of sweet Bodhi dew
Were tipped between the two petals of Red Lotus.  

The pun is a natural one, and no one writing a story on Honglian would be able to resist it. It seems that no special significance can be read into its occurrence in both GJ 29 and 30.

Part of the plot of the Honglian-Hutong story is the peculiar nature of the cure Honglian suggests for her bellyache. It consists of rubbing bellies on each other. A story was current in Ming times about a charlatan's scheme in Jingtai 5 (1454). He claimed that

he could cure ailments instantly by rubbing chests against each other. Even if there was no ailment he

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40. Gujin xiaoshuo, ch. 30, p. 5b. The ganlu甘露 (sweet dew) mentioned here originally was the water of immortality (skr. amṛta), produced through the churning of the ocean by some gods and demons. See Wilson, H.H., The Vishnu Purāṇa, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1961, pp. 65-66.
would prolong life. The villagers all hurried to him. He pretended to be a eunuch. Because of this the women also went to rub bellies with him. He had intercourse with many of them, but they didn't dare complain. Because of his breathing technique he could make his sexual parts grow small like those of a eunuch, and they would grow all the bigger afterwards. He was particularly close with the widow Shen Sanniang 求三娘. Those who rubbed bellies with him increased in number till it was well-known in the area. . . .

It has apparently remained unnoticed that the same story has also been included in the *Wuzhong guyu* 味中故譚 (Old Tales from Wu) by Yang Xunji 楊循吉. Though this item is virtually the same, the prologue and the epilogue are much longer. The two versions probably were recorded at about the same time, for Huang Wei-yê 黃惟 , the author of the *Pengchuang leiji*, graduated as a *jinshi* in Hongzhi 弘治 3 (1490), whereas Yang Xunji (1458–1546) graduated with the same degree in Chenghua 成化 20 (1484). This item is not intended to prove that it in fact helped to give birth to this story, but to show that part of a plot may come from an unexpected quarter.

Now follows a translation of the story as it occurs in the

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41. Huang Wei 黃惟, *Pengchuang leiji* 蓬窗類記 (Classified Stories from an Overgrown Window), ch. 2, p. 13a contained in *Hanfen-lou miji* 海芬樓秘笈, no 9. My attention was drawn to this item through Zhang Quangong, op. cit., p. 60.


43. *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目, ch. 144, p. 9b.

44. See biography in *Mingshi*, ch. 286, pp. 15a-16a.
In the Shaoxing years (1131-1163) there was a Shuiyue (Water Moon) monastery south of Linan. Within the monastery there was a Bamboo-grove Peak (Zhulin-feng), and on this peak was the monk Yutong who came from Sichuan. His conduct was virtuous. All the monks took refuge in him, and all officials respected him. He was asked to become the abbot. Though he became the abbot he had already cultivated himself on Bamboo-grove Peak for more than thirty years without leaving its gates. Whenever presents had to be given to a new official he sent a disciple instead. He was never reprimanded by any official for this.

Then suddenly one day Liu Xuanjiao, a man from Yongjia district was by imperial order promoted to prefect of Linan under the jurisdiction of the Linhai military prefecture.

The day he arrived to take up his post every official, scholar, teacher, pupil, village elder and abbot went to welcome him. Afterwards they all ticked off their name in a visitors' book. Only the abbot of the Shuiyue monastery still hadn't done so, but a novice two generations younger had represented him.

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45. Professor Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story*, p. 57, considers it "the best text of the story, if shorn of its added passages". GJ 29 has a prologue, but it does not add to the development of the story.

46. During the Song dynasty provinces were subdivided into lower administrative units, whereby 頃 were urban prefectures, 周 were rural prefectures and 軍 were military prefectures. See Lewin, G., *Die ersten fünfzig Jahre der Song-Dynastie in China*, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1973, p. 37.

47. GJ 29 is more detailed on the events taking place before Liu's appointment.
Prefect Liu said: "A certain abbot still has not come to welcome me on taking up my new post, but he sent a young disciple instead. What an insult this is!". He issued immediately a warrant for his arrest and interrogation. Everybody was terrified. All the abbots knelt down together and besought him: "This monk is an ancient Buddha on earth. He has been alone on Bamboo-grove Peak for more than thirty years. In that time he has never set foot outside the monastery. In the past, whenever anyone had to be welcomed he sent a disciple or a disciple of his disciple to welcome him".

Then all the prefectural officials went to see Liu. He told them about the matter, and they said in unison: "It is true that this monk has not gone outside the gate for thirty years. We hope that you let him off".

Prefect Liu was a newly-appointed official, a sharpened point, so to speak, who had been slighted by a monk. This added to his forcefulness. Though he acceded to their requests, he still bore Yutong a grudge.48

Three days later a dinner was held at the prefecture with a troop of invited singing girls. Among them was one with a slender waist, just sixteen years old, who sang very well. Her appearance was exceedingly beautiful. Prefect Liu thought: "This girl would be a worthy opponent of Yutong".

When dinner was over and the guests had left Liu called her, ordered the attendants to withdraw and asked what her name was. She said it was Honglian. Liu asked her: "Do you stay at home, or do you ply the streets?". She replied: "I stay at home. I only came here because I was asked". Liu said: "Do you have ways to arouse men?". She replied: "That is a matter for people of our profession. Let me say that even if I am not intending to rouse them, they are often aroused nevertheless." Liu asked:

48. In GJ 29 only the abbots make the request.
"Can a young fellow be aroused?". Honglian said: "That requires no effort. [The proverb says] 'If one does not exert oneself when young, one would regret it very much when getting old and unable to do so'. Why should it not be possible?". Liu asked: "Can an old fellow be aroused?". She said: "Of all the ginger on the floor the old one is the hottest. Why shouldn't it be possible?". Liu said: "Can a Taoist be aroused?". She said: "When he doesn't wear his cap straight and approaching [me] with indecent desire [it is the time for him to be induced]. Why shouldn't it be possible?". Liu said: "Can a monk be aroused?". She replied: "Though the Buddha was a sage his life wasn't cut off. Why shouldn't it be possible?". Liu said: "The way you speak you know what you are doing. I have someone that I want you to arouse. Are you willing?". Honglian said: "If you give orders would I dare refuse? I'd go through fire and water and not shirk ten-thousand deaths". Prefect Liu now rammed home the point: "Honglian, should you receive my commission and not carry it out according to my wishes, how should you be punished?". She said: "I am insignificant in the eyes of the law, and I ought to die". Prefect Liu said: "I will tell you the terms. If you arouse the person you will be rewarded with one-hundred ounces of silver, which will enable you to be married properly, or you will be able to get a lover. If you don't succeed you will be punished heavily". Honglian said: "I understand your orders, but I don't know who the person is. Is it a Taoist? Or a monk?". Liu was very pleased and said: "What a clever woman you are! With the first guess you were right. It is indeed a monk". Honglian asked which one it was. Prefect Liu said: "It is Yutong, the abbot of the Shuiyue monastery. Do you know him?". Honglian said: "I do not know him, but according to my experience with men I don't think he can be a man
without feelings”. Then she kowtowed and was going to leave. Liu also enjoined on her: “There must be no monkey business about it. You must collect some of his sperm [as evidence]”. Honglian said she understood, left and thought all the time how it could be done best.

At home she told her mother in detail what had happened with prefect Liu. Her mother thought it would be all-right with any other monk, but that Yutong's head would be difficult to shave. Honglian knitted her two eyebrows and thought of a plan. She said: "Even if he is hard to shave we'll go over him with a knife".

By midnight she had prepared some dried rice, changed her clothes and left home. She went to the left shoulder of Bamboo-grove Peak, where the free graves for the poor were, and dug up a heap of fresh earth in the shape of a grave. Then she threw on some hempen mourning clothes and began to wail. This heap was no more than a hundred steps from Bamboo-grove Peak. The wailing took place no more than a hundred steps away. These truly were the tears of immeasurable grief, like an ape hearing of a broken heart. She was afraid that the monk's feelings might not be stirred. In the morning Yutong did indeed ask the monk where the crying was. It so happened that there was only one monk in the monastery. One disciple had gone to Wutai mountain and another one had gone to the village to thresh rice. Otherwise there was only one old monk of eighty or ninety years left, half deaf and

49. This talk between Liu and Honglian only occurs in the Voyage to the Western Ocean. GJ 29 has a simple order by the prefect telling Honglian to seduce the monk.

50. Mt. Penta-terrace or "Five Peaks". It is located in Shanxi province, and its highest peak is 9,500 feet above sea level. For a description see Mullikin, MA. and Hotchkis, A.M., The Nine Sacred Mountains of China, Vetch and Lee, Hongkong, 1973, pp. 75-93.
tottering along. He told Yutong that someone was crying on a newly-dug grave below. Yutong remarked how sad this was. From then on the crying began at dawn until dusk, and from dusk until dawn. First one day, then two, three days until the seventh day. Yutong's compassionate heart was broken by all this crying. It was the eleventh month, the weather cold and the earth frozen. Water turned into ice. On the seventh day winds rose from all sides, and snow filled the sky. Honglian thought: "Tonight will be the reckoning".  

She kept on crying until midnight, when she sat wailing beneath Yutong's window and called out: "Buddha, heavy snow is falling. Please open the door and give me shelter for a while. If you don't take pity on my worthless life I will freeze to death here".

Having heard her crying for seven days Yutong thought that this couldn't be a bad person. When she came to his window he did not think that she had bad intentions. His heart was compassionate. The wind was roaring and the snow thick. A small delay could cause her death which would cause a brush with the law. Therefore he did not hesitate, went from the bed and opened the door. Under the light of the lapis lazuli lamp he saw a woman wearing mourning.

Yutong said: "Oh, you are a woman!". Honglian deliberately cried again and said: "I am a woman who lives in Nanxian street 新街 in the city. My husband's name was Wu 胡. We had been married for only a year and a half when unfortunately he died. I have no relatives and wish to die with him. There was no one to bury his body, hence I spent day and night digging a grave in the pauper section of your mountain. When I have finished I am certain to die. Another day or two, and I would have finished when heaven unexpectedly sent down this snow. If I die

51. In GJ 29 Honglian enters the monastery after having spent one day wailing.
now everything I have done will be for nothing, and I wouldn't know what to do. I must ask you brazenly to give me shelter for the night". Yutong said: "How filial you are! Please come into the hall where I will tend a fire to warm you". Honglian knelt down and said: "If I can sit down it will be more than enough. Do not trouble about the fire. I am in pain as though pierced by knives. My heart burns like fire." Having never seen the woman before who had cried so much for seven days and afterwards was so pitiable, he thought that such a thing might truly occur. Yutong was no longer on guard for her, but was full of compassion, only longing to save her life. He did not know that while the path at Zhandao is repaired in the open an attack is made surreptitiously at Chencang. Under the bright light of the lapis lazuli lamp the abbot was sitting on his bed, unable to bear it. Honglian was sitting on the mat, still crying and moaning. After a while she rubbed her belly, and a little later she fell to the ground, rolling to and fro, biting her teeth and making some noise, but deliberately she did not call anyone. Yutong thought: "This woman is in a bad way. She has been crying for seven days. Today snow was falling. How would it be if she froze to death here?" He could only descend from his meditation bed and ask her: "Is this an old ailment that has recurred?". Honglian pretended not to be able to speak. When he had asked for the third time she said slowly: "It is an old belly ailment. Since the death of my husband no one has been able to cure it". Yutong was in no way surprised by this and thought it was true. Then he asked her: "What sort of a cure did your husband have?". Honglian said deliberately: "It

52. A reference to two episodes in chapters 105 and 98, respectively, of the Sanguozhi yanyi (The Romance of the Three Kingdoms).
would be embarrassing to tell you". When Yutong heard that she was unwilling to tell him he thought that it was all the more true and said: "You are mistaken. The difference between life and death lies in one breath. Don't be shy and tell me". Honglian was now sure of the monk's intentions, and she said very slowly: "When my husband was still alive he used to put warmth on warmth to make the cold go". Yutong understood that putting warmth upon warmth was to let belly let touch belly. He did not dare say anything silly. So he asked: "That ailment of yours, is it in the chest or lower down?". She replied: "I will tell you the truth. My ailment can wander. Sometimes it is in the heart cavity and sometimes in the abdomen". Yutong was only afraid that the woman might die and thought of nothing else. He said: "Do not despise me. I will do something about your belly". It was clear to Honglian that the monk would have to be cheated. So she said: "How could I dare? I would rather die than besmirch your good name". Yutong said: "You are not an ordinary person. You are filial, and you repaid your husband's love. That is righteousness on your part. There could not be many like you. How could I sit here watching you die without trying to save you?". Honglian again intentionally rolled to and fro on the ground, keeping on moaning, and it seemed she was going to die. Yutong did in fact take her onto his bed, removed his outerclothes and put his belly against hers. After a while Yutong did not know how, Honglian had removed her underclothes. While the bellies were touching her two feet kept stirring left and right, and shortly the monk found that he was also without underclothes. Honglian whose intentions were covered under the guise of having no intentions, used the rubbing of the bellies to get hold of the male organ. The monk who had no intentions but was confronted by them, saw his passions roused.

53. GJ 29 is less detailed, and therefore shorter. (see page 129.)
A heart full of rampant desire brings on evil. [In order to avoid suspicion] one does not adjust one's hat under the pear tree, nor does one tie shoelaces in a melon field.

How could he take heed of the Tathagata's precepts? Hard it is to obey the words handed down by the Buddha. A wordly eye criss-cross
He pants and sings
Like an oriole neath the willows flitting to and fro.
A sensual mind agitated,
Seductive words.

On Honglian's pillow
He makes vows of eternal binding.
How could it not be that the Shuiyue monastery
Is to become a paradise and
Even with Yutong on the Chan seat
It turned out to be a very happy place of worship.

This describes how abbot's willingness and compassion, full of good intentions, turned into a bad thing. After intercourse had been completed Honglian wiped up some sperm with her mourning headcloth, all the time thanking him profusely. Overjoyed she went home.

Yutong now understood what had gone on. He twice beat the wooden fishes and said: "Simply because a thought went astray evil has come unto me today. The whole thing was organized by the prefect because he bears me a grudge for not having welcomed him. He made me break my sex vow and forces me to enter hell. But it has been done. Too late for regrets".

At that moment daylight broke, and he saw a young disciple stand before him. Yutong asked him where he had been. He replied that he had been

This poem has been omitted in the 1958 edition of Gujin xiaoshuo.
threshing rice in the village. Yutong asked: "Which gate did you pass through?". He replied that he had come through the Wulin gate. Yutong asked him whether he had met anyone on the way. The disciple said: "I saw a singing girl in Qingpo gate who was carrying a bundle of hempen clothes. Following her were two messengers who said something about an ancient Buddha on earth. Though I could not hear too clearly this is roughly what they said". Yutong sighed that there was no need to go on. He ordered the old monk to prepare a bath for him and the young disciple to bring his writing utensils. The disciple was first to finish his task, and Yutong wrote a short note which he folded and put under the incense burner. Then the monk had the hot bath ready. Yutong washed himself, changed his clothes and ordered the disciple to burn incense in the hall. He did this and returned to Yutong's room.

Yutong was sitting on his bed and said: "In a short while some messengers from the newly-appointed prefect will arrive to ask after me. You will ask them about their reason for coming. They will say that they want to ask after me. You tell them that I am already dead, leaving behind a short notice only which is now under the incense burner. They are to take it back to the prefect". Then Yutong closed his eyes and gave up his spirit. His hands dropped and his feet grew cold. His soul departed. The disciple still did not understand that he was dead and asked: "What do you mean, you

55. The Wulin Gate in Hangzhou had been known in Song times as Yuhang Gate. In the Jiajing years (1522-1566) it was commonly known as the Beiguanmen (Northern Pass Gate). See Tian Rucheng, Xihu youlan-zhi, p. 15. This could be supporting evidence that the story wasn't written until the Ming dynasty.

56. This gate was known in Song times as Anmen (Dark Gate). Ibid., p. 26.
will die?". Having asked several times without getting an answer he finally understood. He knew for certain that the abbot was dead. He called the monk to discuss what was to be done. But before he appeared the messengers arrived.

It will be recalled that after Honglian had blemished the monk she kept on thanking him and returned overjoyed. At that time it was already daylight. When she entered the Qingpo gate she saw two messengers waiting for her. Without delay she went to the prefecture to report to his excellency. The prefect ordered everyone to retire. Then Honglian told him everything in detail. She also gave him the headcloth. Prefect Liu was highly pleased, saying that this was indeed an ancient Buddha in earthly guise. There and then he gave her two-hundred ounces of silver with an admonition to get herself married, and to do with it what she thought was best. Honglian thanked him and left. The prefect called a runner, put the headcloth in a lacquered black box with a label on it. He did not mark it with a date but wrote a poem instead:

The monk Yutong from the Shuiyue monastery
Has for many years not come down from the mountain.
Unfortunately he tipped a few drops of Bodhi water
Between the two petals of Red Lotus.

He sealed the box and sent a runner to the monastery to give it to Yutong, requesting an answer in return. This was to be done without delay or error. Would anyone have dared disobey the prefect? Therefore, when the disciple called the old monk, the messenger did arrive.

The disciple asked him: "Are you here to inquire after my teacher?" The messenger said he was, trying to find out why it was known already. The disciple said: "Before my teacher died he enjoined it to me". The messenger took a fright
and said: "Your teacher cannot be dead". The disciple protested that he wouldn't fool him, and that the abbot was lying on his bed. The messenger went to have a look. It was true enough. He said: "There is something strange about the way your teacher went, but I will have to report it to the prefect". The disciple said: "Don't let that bother you. My teacher has left a short note under the incense burner which he told me to give to you". The messenger was even more surprised and said: "Your teacher was indeed an ancient Buddha in worldly guise to know all this in advance. Very strange! Very strange!"

Immediately he carried the note back to the prefecture. Prefect Liu opened it and read:

Since I entered the gate of Chen nothing has hindered me,
For fifty-two years I was at ease.
Only because a thought went astray
I transgressed the Tathagata's sex commandment.
You made Honglian break my vow on sex.
I owe Honglian a debt from a previous life.
My virtue came to grief through you.
I will destroy your family's name.

When he finished the prefect took a fright and said: "This monk was genuine, and I have destroyed his virtue". Then he ordered the attendants to put him in a coffin.

Next he sent for Chan master Fakong from the Jingci monastery to do the cremation. Fakong was a perfectly virtuous man who obeyed the prefect's orders. He went to the Shuiyue monastery where he saw Yutong in the coffin. He sighed:
"Pity the true monk! Because a thought of his went astray he fell into a bad track". Then he requested the coffin to be taken to an open space behind the monastery. Fakong drew a circle with
the torch and said:  

He entered the stream many years ago.
He even slept on Vairocana's forehead.
If you want to penetrate Zhaozhou's pivot
A good match becomes a bad one.

57. 'The method of the "perfect signs" or, concretely, of the "circular figures", which was first developed by Huai-jang Hui-an, the disciple of Hui-neng, was used by the Wei-yang sect to symbolize the nature of the enlightened consciousness, or the "original countenance before birth". . . . The use of circles not only became the main practice of the Wei-yang sect but was also widely diffused beyond its immediate limits.' Dumoulin, H., A History of Zen Buddhism, Faber & Faber, London, 1963, pp. 107-108.

58. Vairocana is one of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas in Tantric Buddhism. He is in the centre of them. The other four are Aksöbya (east), Amithaba (west), Amoghasiddhi (north) and Ratnasambhava (south). See Angarika Govinda, Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism, Rider & Co., London, 1969, p. 121. According to the same author "the term Dhyāni-Buddha was coined by western scholars to distinguish the spiritual or symbolical figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, visualized in meditation (dhyāna) from the historical Buddha and his predecessors or successors on earth". (Ibid., p. 83, no. 2). Vairocana represents the knowledge of the universal law and ultimate reality (p. 83) and, physiologically speaking, he is seated in the brain. (p. 184).

59. Perhaps a reference to the following: "Zhengjue  正覺  . . . was asked by Wuzuyan  五祖演  ; 'If you do not know the pivot Zhaozhou  趙州  bridge is hard to cross' . But at the bridge he was not asked what the pivot was. Wudeng huiyuan  五燈會元  (The Five Lamps Meeting at the Source), compiled by Puji  普濟  at the end of the Southern Song dynasty, Zoku Zōkyō 續藏經 (Hongkong reprint), vol. 138, ch. 18, p. 356a.
The pink peach blossoms and the green willows are as before.
The cold bubbling water flows past the stones.
This morning I will show him the Bodhi road
That he will never think mistakenly of Honglian.

Then he lit the torch and set fire to the coffin.
A golden flash could be seen shooting towards the sky.

60. This poem is part of GJ29. Chapter 73 of the Jinpingmei cihua 金瓶梅詞話 contains a version of GJ 30 that also includes this poem. According to Ono Shinobu, "Chin P'ing Mei: A Critical Study", Acta Asiatica, vol. 5 (1963), p. 77, the Jinpingmei was completed at the latest by the 34th year of Wanli (1606). This is rather later than the first appearance of either GJ 29 or GJ 30. In GJ 29 this poem is followed by a poem "Last Testament" (Professor Hanan's term).
A Dream.

In chapter 93 of the Voyage to the Western Ocean Zheng He has a dream, and he is very worried about it. Inquiries are made for a dream diviner, and in due course Ma Huan offers his services. Before Zheng He tells him about the dream which already has been subject to several unsatisfactory interpretations, as will be seen below, he is anxious to know something about Ma Huan's credentials. His teacher had been a certain Zou Xing who "excelled in interpreting outlandish dreams and who had broken the secret of heaven's creation". When Zheng He presses him for more information on Zou Xing, Ma Huan proves most reticent to do so, and the name almost certainly is Luo Maodeng's invention. He does, however, volunteer: "I have lived to sixty-four years, and in that time I have divined countless dreams about the rich, poor, sages, stupid, worthy and worthless characters". He then proceeds to give examples of them.

The first is that of a rich man (富人). Ma Huan asks: "Ever since he was a child Shi Chong had been dreaming of riding the dragon (cheng long). Is this not the dream of a rich man?". In other words, Shi Chong (249-300), zi Jilun, had long been a very ambitious man. There can be no question that he had been a very rich man, though he was the only son deprived by Shi Bao, his father, of an inheritance. Nevertheless, by the time he died "his water-mills

1. See introduction, p.33
2. Xiyang ji, p. 542.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 25b.
numbered more than thirty, and he occupied eight-hundred people.

His possessions in gems, other wares, fields and dwellings rivalled those of Huidi 惠帝 7. Shi Chong had been a friend of the powerful Jia Mi 賈逵 8, and when the latter crashed, Shi Chong fell with him. The immediate reason for this seems to have been his refusal to part with his concubine Lúzhu 緑珠 (Green Pearl), who was wanted by a favourite of the Prince of Zhao. As a result he was executed, his family exterminated and his wealth confiscated. 9

Next Ma Huan notes the dream of an exalted man (貴人夢).

It is a fictitious one, for he says that emperor Gaozu 高祖 of the Han 漢 dynasty (r. 206-195 BC) wasdreaming of going to the Pantaohui 平桃會 (Flat-Peach Party). 10 No such dream is recorded.

Third, there is the dream of a poor man (貧人夢).

Fan Dan 范丹 11, zi Shiyun 史雲 he reports as "having dreamt of

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7. Ibid., p. 32a. Huidi, one of the Jin rulers, reigned from 290-306.
11. He lived towards the end of the Later Han 助漢 dynasty, apparently steadfastly refusing official posts. His death occurred in Zhongping 中平 2 (185) when he was seventy-two. Biography in Hou Hanshu 後漢書, ch. 81, pp. 17a-19a.
picking up gold". Now Fan Dan was undoubtedly a very poor man for "he himself pushed his small cart laden with his wife and children as well as his possessions. Sometimes they rested at an inn, sometimes they spent the night under a tree. This he did for more than ten years before he managed to build a straw dwelling to live in". However, the dream must be considered fictitious once more.

The fourth dream is that of a debased monk (多夢) who dreams that he is transformed into a small snake of variegated colours. The dream of a sage (聖夢) is rather well known. Allusion is made to Confucius' saying: "I am getting old! For a long time I have not seen the Duke of Zhou 鳳公 in my dreams."

Then we go on to the dream of a stupid man (愚夢), the example being that of Dong Zunhui (董遵惠) who couldn't distinguish between black and yellow dragons. The official account varies slightly on this:

12. Xiyang ji, p. 542.
13. Hou Hanshu, ch. 81, p. 16b.
14. This allusion is not quite clear, but it probably refers to an incident in the Jigong huofo 濟公活佛 (The Living Buddha Jidian), Dada tushu 大達圖書 ed., Shanghai, 1934, vol. 2, ch. 159, p. 80, of which now Qing dynasty versions only are available. See Sun Kaidi 孫楷第, Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo shumu 中國通俗小說書目, Zuojia chubanshe 作家出版社, Peking, 1957, p. 174, I am indebted to Professor Liu for this suggestion.
15. Lunyu 論語, shu er di-qi 述而第七, pp. 1b-2a.
16. Dong Zunhui's official appointments show that he spent much (continued on page 138.)
When Taizu 太祖 [of the Zhao Song 順宗 dynasty] (r. 960-975) was young he once travelled to Eastern Han 漢東 (in modern Hubei) while under the aegis of Dong Zongben 董宗本. However, Dong Zunhui put much reliance on his father's station in life. For this reason Taizu avoided him. Once Dong Zunhui said to Taizu: "I often see purple clouds above the city looking like a canopy. I have also dreamt of climbing a high terrace where I met a black serpent more than a hundred feet long. Suddenly it became a dragon and soared up in a north-easterly direction. Thunder and lightning followed it. What sort of omen could it be?". Taizu did not reply to any of this. Another day, when they were talking about soldiers and fighting, Dong Zhunhui was most unreasonable, shook his clothing and attacked him. Thereupon Taizu took his leave from Dong Zongben and left. The purple clouds then gradually dispersed.

When Taizu had acceded to the throne and was in the provisional palace he summoned Dong Zunhui for an audience. Dong prostrated himself on the ground and asked for death. The emperor ordered attendants to raise him and asked: "Do you still remember the purple clouds and the dream [of a snake] changing into a dragon of bygone days?". Dong again did obeisance and shouted: "Long live the Emperor!". Then suddenly some soldiers of the Guard seized him, drums were heard, and he was accused of more than ten illegal acts. Taizu released him without hearing [the charges]. Dong's terror increased, and he awaited the verdict of guilty. Taizu then gave the edict: "We give an amnesty for misdeeds and reward merit. How could we remember the bad things of the past."

(continued from page 137.) of his time fighting the Kitans on the northern border. He died in Taiping xingguo 太平興國 6 (981) at the age of fifty-six years. Biography in Songshi 宋史, ch. 273, pp. 19b-21a.

18. Ibid., p. 20a.
It would seem then that it was not so much Dong's inability to distinguish between black and yellow dragons that was at fault. What nearly cost him his life was his assumption that the lucky omen was meant for him.

The dream of a worthy man (良人夢) again has received much attention. It is Zhuangzi's famous dream in which he thought he was a butterfly.¹⁹

Immediately after comes an example of a dream of a worthless man (不肖人夢). Once more no actual recorded dream lies at the foot of it. The name given is that of Zhu of Dan who, being worthless 不肖, was not given the empire by his father Yu 舜.²⁰

So far it can be seen that the knowledge of dreams displayed by Luo Maodeng's Ma Huan leaves a great deal to the imagination. However, this is not considered sufficient, and he proceeds to give examples of people who did not have dreams.

To begin with there is the rich man without a dream (富人無夢). This would certainly arise when "the ivory

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20. *Mengzi 孟子*, ch. 9b, p. 3b. *Shisan jing zhusu* ed. In the *Shujing 尚經* (Book of Documents) Zho of Dan is described in this way: "Do not be like the haughty Choo of Tan, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppression. Day and night, without ceasing, he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the honours of his house to an end". James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. III: "The Shoo King or (continued on page 140.)"
counting-rod (yachou 牙算) sings till the fifth watch (4 a.m.)." This has its origin in the biography of Wang Rong 王戎 who lived in the Jin 金 dynasty.21 This states that "his accumulated riches could not be properly recorded. He always took up the counting rod himself and calculated the increases day and night. If he thought them insufficient he grew more avaricious".22 No wonder the man did not have any time for dreams.23

For an example of an exalted man without a dream (無夢) the author has resorted to Du Fu 杜甫. From his poem Chun su zuosheng 春宿左省 (Overnight in the spring at the Eastern Division) he uses the line "Buqin ting jinyue 便聽金鈕 (I lie awake and hear the golden key)." 24

(continued from page 139.) the Book of Historical Documents", Hongkong reprint, 1939, p. 84.

21. Jinshu, ch. 43, pp. 13b-20b. He died in Yongxing 2 (305) at the age of seventy-two.

22. Ibid., p. 19a.

23. It may be appropriate to quote a short poem on this topic:

Some people are so wealthy they are unable to rest.
In the night they labour the counting-rod, through the day they are in saddle.
The rest of their lives is spent in being busy
In ignorance even of a green mountain on their roofs.

Dai Fugu 戴復古, Shiping shiji 石屏詩集 (A Collection of Poems from the Stone Screen), Sibu congkan 四部叢刊, ed., ch. 7, p. 18a. Exact dates about Dai Fugu are hard to come by. However, the collection contains a preface by Lou Yue (Biography in Songshí, ch. 395, pp. 1a-3b, died in Jiading 嘉定 6 (1213) at the age of seventy-seven years. The correct form of his surname is 魏, see ibid.). See Shiping shiji, p. 4b. A technical description of the counting-rod may be found in Needham, J., Science and Civilization in China, vol. 3: "Mathematics and the Sciences of the (continued on page 141.)
Yuan An, a man who lived in the second half of the first century AD, and who lay in the snow in Changan.

(continued from page 140.) Heavens and the Earth", Cambridge University Press, 1959, pp. 70-72. Wang Rong is also listed here.

24. The translation of the poem's title is taken from Hung, W., Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 125, where the line is translated "Even the turning of the keys in the palace are heard in my sleeplessness". The original poem may be found in Chou Zhaoao (ed.), "Du Shaoling-ji xiangzhu", Zhonghua shuju Zhonghua shuju, Hongkong, 1974 (first publ. in 1684), ch. 6, p. 95. The "Golden Key" is explained there as being taken from the line "Yushi jinyue chang jianwan (the jade and golden key are always secure)", in the Huangting neijing yujing zhu, no. 190, ch. 3, p. 7b. The commentary by Liangqiu Zi explains this phrase by referring to the Laozi (Siku shanben congshu ed., ch. 1, pp. 13b-14a): "If one is good at shutting, even though no key is used, it cannot be opened". On this sentence see also Liu Ts'un-yan, "Daozang-ben sansheng-zhu Daodejing huijian (A Comparative Study of the Three Imperial Commentaries on the Lao-tzu), Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, vol. V (1972), no. 1, pp. 9-10.

25. The Runan xian xian zhuan (An Account of Former Worthies from Runan), quoted in the commentary to Yuan An's biography in the Hou Hanshu (ch. 75, pp. 1a-5b) states that "the snow was more than ten feet deep. The magistrate of Luoyang went out himself to inspect the town. He noticed that the people who had swept away the snow outside, and there were others begging for food. When he came to Yuan An's place no way had been prepared, and someone told him (continued on page 142.)
is listed as an example of a poor man without a dream (貧人無夢). Although in actual fact he did not literally lie in the snow, he was a frugal and incorruptible man, and therefore would not have had time to dream.

A lowly person without a dream (賤人無夢) would be one that has to lean all night against a frame placed over a brazier, used for drying clothes (xunlong 房籠). Presumably such a person, a slavegirl perhaps, would have sufficiently pressing worries to forget about dreaming.

Ma Huan is then made to say that the Duke of Zhou was sitting up until dawn (周公坐待旦). This is to illustrate a sage without dreams (聖人無夢). This has been borrowed from Mencius who is recorded as having said:

The Duke of Chou sought to combine the achievements of the Three Dynasties and the administrations of

(continued from page 141.) Yuan An was dead. So the magistrate and some people removed the snow and went inside. There they saw Yuan lying prostrate, and they asked him: 'Why don't you go outside?' Yuan replied: 'When there is so much snow the people are hungry. It would not be fitting to trouble them'. The magistrate thought that this was the manner of a worthy man. Afterwards he achieved eminence (ch. 75, p. 1b). The Runan xian xian zhuan was written by Zhou Fei 周斐 of the Jin dynasty. It is contained in Jiu xiaoshuo 舊小說, ser. jia 甲. 26.

As was already noted by Chen Shiyuan 陳士元 in his Meng zhan yizhi 夢占邑志 (written in Jiajing 嘉靖 41 (1562)), Congshu jicheng 羣書集成 ed., p. 9, it was Zhuangzi who said: "The immortals of bygone days did not dream when asleep". Zhuangzi, "Dazongshi 大宗師", ch. 3, p. 2a. This would be due to the calmness of their minds, and it will be seen presently that the Duke of Zhou did not dream for different reasons.
the Four Kings. Whenever there was anything he did not quite understand, he would tilt his head back and reflect, if need be through the night as well as the day. If he was fortunate enough to find the answers, he would sit up and await the dawn (坐以待旦). 27

Once more, the Duke of Zhou would be too occupied to have any dreams.

For an example of a stupid man without a dream (無人無夢) the author again gives a famous example. In the Hanfeizi 韓非子 a tale is told of "a tiller in the state of Song 宋 in whose field there was tree stump. A rabbit was running away, hit the stump, broke its neck and died. The tiller thus ceased ploughing and instead watched the stump, hoping to obtain another rabbit. But he did not get another one and became the butt of jokes in Song (my translation)". 28

Dreaming would be out of the question in those circumstances.

Then follows the worthy man without a dream (賢人無夢). Here he gives the line "shuijiao dongchuang ri yi hong (Asleep, and the sun at the eastern window is red already)". Though this is not an obvious literary allusion it probably refers to an incident in the Romance of the Three Kingdoms 29, which was published before Luo Maodeng's work, where

27. Translated by D.C. Lau, Mencius, Penguin Classics, 1970, p. 131. The original may be found in Mengzi 孟子, Shisan jing zhusu ed., ch. 8B, p. 11a. A similar passage also occurs in Shangshu 尚書 (Book of Documents), same ed., ch. 8, p. 18b, where Yiyin 伊尹 refers to an identical practice by former kings (先王).

Liu Xuande, Zhang Fei, and Guan Yu at last find Zhuge Liang at home after repeated fruitless attempts. Though the sun has risen he is still in bed, and as he wakes he recites a poem:

大夢誰先覺，平生我自知
草堂春睡足，窗外日遲遲

Who has the great dream before sleeping?
Ordinarily I know this myself.
It's spring: I slept enough in the grass hut.
Through the window the sun shows that it is late.

Lastly, Ma Huan refers to himself in a humble manner to give an example of a worthless man without a dream (無夢) who snores away until the morning.

Zheng He is satisfied with this show of expertise, and now he tells Ma Huan his dream:


29. I am indebted to Professor Liu for this suggestion.


Can anyone know what fate is his?
Yet I have felt throughout my life,
The day would come at last to quit
The calm retreat for toil and strife.
In my dream I saw an old man who called himself Jin Taibai 賈太白 who entrusted me with the carrying back to his master on Song Mountain 嵩山 which is the Zhongyue 中岳 Mountain of a pair of pearls that rival the moon (sai yueming 資月明). He did not have them with him but said that one of them was on the ship with Zhi the Short 支 and the other one with Li the Bearded 李鬚 . Then I woke up".  

Now it must be pointed out that before Ma Huan was called, two other men had already attempted to explain the dream, though without convincing Zheng He in the least. Mr. Wang thought that yueming 月明, translated as moonlight, is bright (ming 明). Add to it the fact that you are worried (lu ) and you obtain Da Ming 大明 as the present dynasty is known. The fact that you have to carry the things back to China means that you will return. The word "master" here refers plainly to the emperor. As for Jin Taibai, this refers to

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31. The Zhongyue is the central of the five sacred mountains (Wuyue 五岳 ), including also Dongyue 東岳 or Taishan 泰山 in Shandong, Nanyue 南岳 or Hengshan 衡山 in Hunan, Xiyue 西岳 or Huashan 華山 in Shanxi, and Beiyue 北岳 or Hengshan 恆山 in Hebei. It consists of three sharp peaks, and Songshan 蘭山 is their general name. Li Xian 李賢 , Da-Ming yitongzhi 大明一統志 , 1588 ed., ch. 29, p. 5b.

32. Xiyang ji, p. 543.

33. See Introduction, p. 15

34. According to the Guangya 鬱雅 , compiled by Zhang Ji 張綤 in the Wei dynasty (386-532), lu also has the meaning of da (great, big). Gujin yishi 古今史 ed., ch. 2, p. 1b.
Taibai jinxing 太白金星 through whom you have had the dream. Though all this sounded eminently reasonable to Zheng He he thought that the word "white (bai 白)" posed some problems. In his words

And still there is too much white in it. Pearls that rival the moon are bai (white in colour). Not knowing the facts about them is bai (here in its meaning of "without substance"). The name [of the old man] is Taibai (Exceedingly white), and bai again is part of it. Now joy governs the beautiful [colours] and mourning governs white. The whole thing can't be auspicious.

The tianshi (Heavenly Teacher) then offers to divine the dream by making a calculation with his fingers in his sleeves (xiu zhan yi ke 神占一課). He finds the result highly auspicious since he has drawn the sign representing two phoenixes facing the yang 雙鳳朝陽. The reason is that the phoenix is of magical qualities, and the taiyang 太阳 (sun) is the star of happiness (fuxing 福星). All this still did not satisfy Zheng He, and he can hardly be blamed for it. At this stage Ma Huan was called for.

Ma Huan also explains the name Jin Taibai as taibai jinxing. The term sai yueming he explains in this way: "The moon (yue 月) goes along his path at night. Therefore it must refer to a

35. The planet Venus, which used to be the star of war, manufacture of weapons and executions. One of its alternative names is Star of Destruction (Miexing 滅星). See Schlegel, G., Uranographie chinoise, Leiden, 1875, pp. 636-637.

36. Xiyang ji, p. 541.
The matter of Zhi Aizi 支矮 (Zhi the Short) refers to this: "When your knees are bent (qi que 膝屈) you are short (ai 矮). It means that you will be kneeling before the emperor. As for Li the Bearded 李鬚子, here it is to be understood that the beard is attached to the mouth. What this means will be seen sometime later. Entrusted with the return of something means that you will return to the Court. Zhongyue 中岳 (Middle Mountain, see n. 32) refers to the emperor, as he is placed in the middle between heaven and earth and also is master of both Chinese and barbarians. Song 参 refers to "Song hu wansui 歌呼万岁 (people lined up at several levels resembling a mountain and shouting "Long live [His Majesty]\). Ma Huan then sums it up: "As I see it, the dream revolves around two pearls, one appearing earlier, the other one later. When you return to the Court and see the emperor face to face at the audience you will present to him these rarest of treasures. Office will be added upon office, and enfeoffment upon enfeoffment. Isn't this a most

37. The Shiyi-ji 括囊記 by Wang Jia 王嘉 (d. ca. 390), Gujin yishi ed., ch. 2, p. 2b) states: "When Yu 圭 was cutting into the mountain of Longguan 龍門, also called Longmen 龍門, he came to an open cave several tens of li 里 deep. It was so dark that he could not go any further. Yu then lit a torch and proceeded. Inside there was an animal like a pig (zhu 猪), which held in its mouth a 'pearl that shines at night 夜明之珠'. Its light was like that of a candle". See also Needham J., Science and Civilization in China, vol. 1: "Introductory Orientations", p. 199, where he assumes that "the most likely mineral appears to be chlorophane, which in spite of some of its synonyms such as pyrosmaragd, is not an emerald or a beryl (beryllium aluminium silicate), (continued on page 148.)
auspicious dream?". 38

Shortly afterwards the mystery of Zhi the short is solved. It turns out to be a spider (zhizhu 蛛蛛), and with it the first of the pearls appears. The guoshi reminds the assembled ship's company that this turn of events has its origin in what happened many years ago when they first arrived in Java. He draws their attention to what happened at the time.

I was sitting down at the time when a gust of xin wind 信風 suddenly went past. I let its head go past but grabbed its tail to get a whiff of it. Something was lodged on this xin wind. It shape was like a wolf (hou 狼) and it was about as big as a bucket (dou 斗), and it was most agile on its feet. 40

This little silky animal does in fact contain the pearl.

Sometime later the other pearl also appears. For this the novel again makes use of an earlier part. In chapter 19,

(continued from page 147.) but a fluorspar (calcium fluoride), many varieties of which show strong phosphorescence and fluorescence on being heated or scratched in dim light".

38. Xiyang ji, p. 543.
39. In his Tang guoshi bu 唐史補 (Additions to the History of the Tang Dynasty) Li Zhao 李肇 explains xin wind as a north-easterly 信風. It is subdivided into three kinds: 1. shangxin 上信 (upper xin) which blows in the seventh and eighth months; 2. niaoxin 鳥信 (bird xin) which blows in the third month; 3. maixin 立信 (wheat xin) which blows in the fifth month. Jindai mishu 景定秘書 ed., ch. 3, pp. 21b-22a. Li Zhao occupied official posts in the Yuanhe 元和 years (806-820). Siku quanshu zongmu 四庫全書總目, ch. 79, p. 4a.
40. Xiyang ji, ch. 34, p. 194. The passage used in the chapter under discussion (ch. 94, p. 548) has been taken from here word for word.
soon after the start of the voyage, a certain Li Hai 莉海 fell in the water and was presumed drowned. However, he managed to reach the shore, and now the ships pick him up on the return journey. He tells the story of how he killed a huge snake that carried the pearl on its head, and he made a cut in his thigh, put the pearl into it and let the wound heal again. He is none other than Li the Bearded. This also explains Ma Huan's remark that the beard was attached to the mouth, for Li Hai had to use his mouth to reveal the whereabouts of the second pearl. It hardly warrants further mention that the ships do of course return to China, that Zheng He meets the emperor again, and that the participants do receive suitable rewards. Thus Ma Huan's explanation of the dream has come true in its entirety.

When the tianshi drew the sign containing the two phoenuxes facing the yang 雙鳳朝陽 out of his sleeve, he wasn't wrong either. Early in the voyage Wang Ming 王明 had obtained two phoenix eggs. These were then used by the guoshi as prisons for the whole of Loose Hair Country (Safa-guo 沙法國) that had caused the navigators so many difficulties, to remain there for three years. Now the time has come for their release. The guoshi mutters some incantations, and two phoenixes are seen flying towards the sun. So, when Zheng He remembered the guoshi's dictum "The hidden plans of Heaven are most mysterious
That dreams may have a prospective function has been recognized as being scientifically acceptable for more than half a century. In his *General Aspects of Dream Psychology* the late Professor C.G. Jung pointed out:

The occurrence of prospective dreams cannot be denied. It would be wrong to call them prophetic, because at bottom they are no more prophetic than a medical diagnosis or a weather forecast . . . That the prospective function of dreams is sometimes greatly superior to the combination we can consciously foresee is not surprising, since a dream results from the fusion of subliminal elements and is thus a combination of all the perceptions, thoughts, and feelings which consciousness has not registered because of their feeble accentuation. In addition, dreams can rely on subliminal memory traces that are no longer able to influence consciousness effectively. 49

The Chinese, as much as anyone else, have been aware of this prospective function. 50 In popular fiction much use is

made of them to suit the plot. Sometimes, as in the following example, the explanation rests on a character being substituted for another with the same sound:

[Dou Jiande 賈建德] saw in his dream how he with his own hand let fall to the ground a bean (dou 豆). Immediately a beanstalk grew up, and it blossomed and bore beans. Suddenly an ox (niu 牛) came across it and ate it, leaves and all. Then he woke up.52

Not long afterwards it came to pass that Dou Jiande was captured in the Niukou valley (牛口 崖 ox mouth valley).53 In this way the prophecy of the bean (dou) entering the mouth of the ox (niukou) was fulfilled.

The next example belongs to the same category:

When the President of the Board of Rites Yu Pu 原模 sat for the jinshi examinations he was famous and considered a certainty to pass. At the time of registering he dreamt he entered the cassia palace (guigong 桂宮) and broke off a cassia branch (guizhi 桂枝), to signify that he would be successful. When he returned among the people (gui renjian 原人間).

51. Dou Jiande was one of the contenders for the empire at the time of the founding of the Tang dynasty. He was unsuccessful, and in 621 he was beheaded at Changan at the age of forty-nine. Biography in Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書, ch. 54, pp. 9b-18a.
53. Jiu Tangshu, ch. 54, p. 17b, has Niukouzhu 牛口渚 (Ox mouth bank). It is in Fanshui 河南 district in Henan.
54. I have no further information on him.
55. One of the imperial palaces built in Changan during the Former Han dynasty. Hanshu 漢書, ch. 12, p. 1b.
he looked at it and found it had wilted. Presently he sat for the examinations. The same year he was betrothed to a woman of the surname Gui. He went to welcome her, and a fortnight later he stealthily observed that she always applied oil on a spot about a finger long on her temple. When he asked her she replied: "As a child I was burnt by fire, and it left a hairline scar. Hence I am also called cassia girl (Gui niangzi 桂娘子 )." In the end he did not pass the examination.

Yu Pu was no doubt so preoccupied with his coming examination that he would not have been able to see any other meaning in the cassia branch than that of passing successfully the jinshi examination. The phrase gui renjian was only shown to have significance much later. It might be appropriate here to cite a dismissal by Sun Wukong (Monkey) of a dream by Tripitaka in which he is given a description of the situation beyond the next mountain in the Journey to the West (Xiyou ji):

56. The name for a girl that burns incense in a Taoist temple, as can be seen from two stanzas of a poem by Cui Shi (died in 712 at the age of forty-three after having been ordered to commit suicide):

The boy holding the polyporus steps down.

The cassia girl burning the incense remains.

Cui Shi, "Xing Bailuguan ying zhi (Being invited to compose a poem on going to the Bailu (White Deer) monastery), Quan Tangshi, Shanghai, 1960, ch. 54, pp. 662-663. The polyporus (yaozhi 灵芝) is associated with immortality. See Li Shizhen Bencao gangmu (本草纲目), Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1954, ch. 28, pp. 19-21 (orig. publ. in 1596).

Master, dreams arise out of one's thinking. You are afraid of monsters before you've climbed the mountain. You worry that the road to Leiyin is long and that you may not be able to reach it. You also think of Changan, not knowing when you might return there. Thus, if much is on your mind you have many dreams. (My translation).

Sometimes prophetic dreams are much simpler, as when a man dreams that his roof caves in under the weight of ten-thousand catties, and he soon after dies. Prophetic dreams are in any case available in abundance, and these few examples are given only to show their nature.

It may be appropriate here to offer a few brief remarks on the origin of dreams in traditional Chinese thinking.

Quoting Professor Liu "the ancient Chinese believed that man has two souls. One is the material and spermatic p'o (魂) which is denser, and when one dies the p'o will descend into the soil to stay along with the corpse. The other is the aerial and the superior hun (魂) and at death, it will ascend to the

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58. "The Lion's Roar monastery". Used in the *Xiyou ji* to denote the birthplace of the Buddha.


60. Luyi-ji, ch. 3, p. 7b.

air". The hun represents the qi (vital breath) of heaven, the po that of earth. These two substances are not static ones, but are subject to the influences of the yin which exerts its influence on the po, and the yang which exerts its influence on the hun. In this way it was concluded that "when yang is controlled by the yin, the hun rules the po . . . When the yin is controlled by the yang, the po rules the hun". The hun represents the clear qi, the po the muddy one. Thus "when the qi is muddy, the hun is superior to the po. The former case is one of exaltedness, the latter one of lowliness. The clear hun stands for wisdom, the muddy po for stupidity. This is the threshold [to the understanding] of dying young and living to an old age, to calamity and happiness". However, the world changes constantly, so that one may enjoy a long life and have to endure calamity, or suffer death at a young age and yet enjoy happiness. Nevertheless, pointers can be obtained at times, because "the hun may know about the future, and the po may know the

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63. Chen Shiyuan, Meng zhan yizhi, p. 1.

64. Wang Jie (d. 1132), Huanzhen-ji 隨真集, Daozang fu xia 夫下 (no. 739), ch. 2, p. 8a.

The way one actually dreams is explained by Chen Shiyuan in this way:

When a person is awake during the day, the hun is connected with the eye. When the eye sleeps in the night, the po rests in the liver. Since the hun is connected with the eye, one can thereby see. Since the po rests in the liver, one can thereby dream. As for the dream itself, it is a mirror that reflects the wanderings of the spirit (shen) and its knowledge of the future. This explains the part played by the hun and the po, but it is still necessary to describe how one gains ascendency over the other.

It has already been made clear that the yang influences the hun and the yin the po. So, when the yang is stronger and the spirit has a dream, it will be clear and bright. But if the yin is stronger the spirit is overshadowed by material desires, and the dream wanders into disorder and becomes confused.

The Huangdi neijing suwen (The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine) states that:

Ibid. 

Ibid. Compare also the words of Zichan in the Zuo zhuan: "When a man is born, [we see] in his first movements what is called the animal soul ( ). After this has been produced, it is developed into what is called the spirit ( ). By the use of things the subtle elements are multiplied, and the soul and spirit become strong. They go on in this way, growing in ethereality and brightness (jingshuang), till they become [thoroughly] spiritual and intelligent (shenming )." James Legge, The Chinese Classics, vol. V: "The Ch'un Tsew with the Tso Chuen", (continued on page 156)
Thus one can know that when Yin is flourishing then there occur dreams, as if one had to wade through great waters, which cause bad fears; when Yang is flourishing there occur dreams of great fires which burn and cauterize. When Yin and Yang both are flourishing, there occur dreams in which both forces destroy and kill each other. If the upper pulse flourishes then there are dreams as though one were flying; and when the lower pulse is flourishing there are dreams as though one were falling down.

Lang Ying (b. 1487) attempts to define the yang further:

(continued from page 155.) Book X (Seventh year of Duke Zhao 公 ), Hongkong, 1939 reprint, p. 616.

68. Thus Lang Ying 內伊 , Qixiu leigao 七修類稿 , ch. 15, p. 226 (Peking, Shanghai, 1961) says: "the hun is the qi (vital breath) of the yang. It resides in the feeling (qing 情 ) and moves outwards".


70. Suwen Wang Bing zhu 素問王冰注 (The Suwen with a Commentary by Wang Bing), Sibu beiyao 四部備要 ed., ch. 5, pp. 3b-4a.

71. Wang Bing 王冰, the Tang dynasty commentator, says that yin stands for water. Ibid.

72. Graphic illustrations of these three cases may be found in Chen Shiyuan, Menglin xuanjie 梦林玄解 (An Explanation of the Mysteries of the Forest of Dreams), ch. 27, Microfilm of the Chongzhen 萍穂 (1628-1644), ed. I am indebted to Mr. Wong Shiu-hon, now of Murdoch University, Perth, for having drawn my attention to this book.

73. Translated by Veith, I., Huang Ti Nei Ching Su Wen: The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine, University of California Press, 1972, p. 163. Identical passages occur in Huangdi neijing lingshu 黄帝內經靈樞, Sibu beiyao ed., ch. 7, p. 6b, and Chen Shiyuan, Meng zhan yizhi, p. 13.
Thus the things used in daily life change constantly. At night, when one is asleep, the hun comes across them and they achieve form through imagination. Now, when one looks at one's dreams in old age they all seem to be about things experienced in one's younger days. Is it not that the hun consists of the yang vital breath of childhood (shao yang zhi qi)?

DREAMS, however, are not only due to the interaction of yin and yang. They may also be brought about by corporeal stimuli. Therefore

if one's belly is full one dreams of giving away. If one is hungry one dreams of taking. If the qi of the liver is abundant the dream is one of anger. If the qi of the lungs is abundant one dreams of crying.

In this chapter I have attempted to show the sources used for a dream occurring in the Voyage to the Western Ocean as well as for the examples of other dreams quoted in the course of its solution. Finally I have given some brief technical details on the process of dreaming as understood by the ancient Chinese.

74. Qixiu leigao, ch. 15, p. 226.
75. Huangdi nei jing suwen, ch. 5, p. 4a. I have translated this myself to make it more literal. See also Veith, I., op. cit., p. 163.
Were Gao Pian and Xue Tao friends?

After their sojourn to the netherworld some of the crew members brought back with them a jade paperweight in the form of a sleeping lion. This was a gift bestowed on them by Yama, king of the netherworld. Nobody knew what to make of it, but the guoshi told them of its connection with Xue Tao and Gao Pian, both of them Tang dynasty people. In this chapter I therefore propose to deal with their connection in history and fiction.

The life of Xue Tao, zi Hongdu, is not well documented, and we are dependent on a Yuan dynasty writer, Fei Zhu, for most of the details. Fei Zhu is not well known either. He was a native of Huayang, i.e. the modern Chengdu in Sichuan. He passed the jinshi examination and was appointed as assistant teacher (zhujiaoguan) in the Imperial University (Guozijian) and attained the post of administrator (zongguan) of Zhongqing (Chungking). The major part of his life seems to have occurred in the first half of the fourteenth century.

1. Xiyang ji, chs., 87-91, pp. 503-538.
2. Siku quanshu zongmu 四庫全書總目, ch. 70, pp. 41b-42a.
3. I have only been able to find two dates connected with his name. The first one is Taiding gui-si date (November 13, 1324), when he was sent out with others to make selections for office (Yuan shi 元史, ch. 29, pp. 17a-b). The second is his preface to a Gazetteer of Chengdu (Chengdu zhi 成都志) he compiled, dated 2nd month of Zhizheng 3 (March, 1343). This preface is contained in Chengdu-fuzhi 成都府志 (Wanli 萬歷 ed.), ch. 37, pp. 24a-25a.
While he was in Sichuan, on what occasion is not known, he saw that "through the devastation of war in the last years of the Southern Song dynasty many old points of interest had not been recovered. Thus he pursued things of bygone days, jotted them down, and the result was the Suihua jili pu (A Record of the Glories and Fascination of Years past)."

This small work contains a short biography of Xue Tao, due entirely to the fact that her name was associated with a certain kind of paper made in Sichuan, the Xue Tao-jian, which was a deep red colour. The paper obtained its name because "Xue Tao... was fond of composing small poems, but unhappily her scroll was a long one. As she did not desire to lengthen her poem she ordered an artisan to reduce the paper. The literary world of Sichuan found this new size most convenient and adopted it henceforth for its own use."
Fei Zhu then proceeds to give a brief biography of Xue Tao:

[She] was the daughter of a good family from Changan. Her father, whose names was Yun, died while

(continued from page 159.) dipped by her in a stream from which water had been taken some years before by a concubine of Cui Ning, to wash the stole of a Buddhist priest who had fallen into a cesspool, and which stream had at once become miraculously filled with flowers". The Chengdu fuzhi quotes Wu Zhongfu as recording a tombstone inscription for Cui Ning's wife, nee Ren which said that she saw this monk, and the paper associated with her was known as Ten-colour Paper (shise jian), said to have been peach-coloured (ch. 2, p. 13b). (Wu Zhongfu lived from 1011-1078. See biography in Songshi, ch. 322, pp. 3a-4b). Ren Zhengyi, You wanhua ji (Going to Wanhua), quoted in Chengdu fuzhi (ch. 43, p. 22b) also tells this story without mentioning Xue Tao. Nothing is known of Ren Zhengyi except that he was the author of a Gantang zhengyi in 30 chapters (the Gantang being a poem in the Book of Odes), see Songshi, ch. 202, p. 4a. According to the Shu ji (An Account of Sichuan) the matter of the monk and Mme Ren happened in the Dali reign period (766-779). Quoted in Chengdu fuzhi, ch. 32, p. 17b). The Shu ji itself is now lost.

7. The Gaojian zhuibi (Drafts of Postscripts) (in Shuofu, Commercial Press ed., ch. 44, p. 10a), by Zhang Yuan, gives Zheng instead of Yun. Neither name can be verified. Zhang Yuan, zi Boshen, lived during the Song dynasty, but very little is known about him. In the preface to the Gaojian zhuibi he says that "after he gave up his post at Nanchang, he lived at the Southern Thatched Country House (Nanshu caotang) at the bank of the Ruoxi (in Jiangsu). (Shuofu, ch. 44, p. 7a). In the text the reign period Xining (1068-1077) is mentioned. (Ibid., p. 8b).
serving on a post in Sichuan. Her widowed mother looked after her, and soon she made a name for herself with her poetry. At that time Wei Gao was garrisoning Sichuan, and he summoned her to wait on him with wine and poetry. Many of his retainers changed her social standing. After some years Wei Gao petitioned that she be given the title of Secretarial Revisor of Texts (jiaoshulang) but the Military Protector (hujun) blocked it. Afterwards the proposal was abandoned. Xue Tao frequented Wei Gao’s headquarters until the arrival of Li Deyu (when Wei Gao set out on a military

8. Wei Gao, zi Chengwu, was from Wannian (in mod. Shanxi). He was appointed to the post of legate (jiedushi) in Zhenyuan (785) and held it for twenty-one years when he died suddenly at the age of sixty-one. (Xin Tangshu, ch. 158, pp. 1a-5b). Des Rotours explains the positions as "un commissaire impérial au commandement [d'une region] était chargé de diriger les troupes, et avait le droit d'infliger la peine de mort sans en référer a l'empereur". (Traité des Fonctionnaires et Traité de l'Armée, Leiden, 1947, vol. 2. p. 662).

9. A minor post, the holder being an official of the ninth rank, third class. See Des Rotours, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 772. "Ils étaient chargés de comparer et arranger les documents et les règlements, et d'effacer et de rectifier les fautes et les erreurs". (Ibid). Henceforth the title "jiaoshu" was often used as an appellation for singing girls in Sichuan. See He Guangyuan 何光遠, Jianjie-lu 鑑誠錄, ch. 10, p. 11a, written during the Five Dynasties period and contained in Zhibuzu-zhai congshu 知不足齋叢書, ser. 22.


11. For Li Deyu’s campaigns in Sichuan see Jiu Tangshu, ch. 174 (continued on page 162.)
campaign in Western Zhejiang). This known through poems. Among those who patronized her were Yuan Zhen, Bo Juyi, Niu Sengru, Linghu Chu, Pei Du, Yan Shou, Zhang Ji, Du Mu, Liu Yuxi, Wu Wuling, and Zhang Hu. 

Her last years were spent at Bijifang (Jade Chicken Ward), where she built the Yinshilou (The Tower of Poetry), and then lived in seclusion upstairs. Afterwards Duan Wenchang garrisoned Chengdu for the second time. When she died in the Taihe years (827-835) at the age of seventy-three years Duan wrote the necrologue for her.

Because of these last two sentences it is possible to fix the date of Xue Tao's birth and death to within the short span of about three years in either case. One has, of course, to assume that Fei Zhu's account is reasonably correct. As it happens there is no conflicting account nor, indeed, any other account. Tentatively I therefore follow Fei Zhu.

Duan Wenchang, zi Moqing and Jingchu.


12. All these will be dealt with in succeeding paragraphs

13. Perhaps better known as Wanhua. It is about four to five li southwest of Chengdu.

14. Suihua jili pu, p. 3a-b.
who owed the start of his career to Wei Gao was made legate of Western Sichuan for the first time in Changqing (821). In Taihe 4 (830) he was transferred to garrisoning duties in Jingnan (in Hubei). Two years later, in 832, he went back to his former post in Sichuan, where he died suddenly in the third month of Taihe 9 (April, 835) at the age of sixty-three. Now Fei Zhu makes specific mention that Xue Tao died while Duan was in Sichuan for the second time, that is in the years 832 to 835. Since her age at death was seventy-three years (sui), or seventy-two by western reckoning, it follows that her birth must fall between the years 760 and 763.

Now I will turn to the various men said to have patronized her, and I will be concerned mainly with their connections with Sichuan province. The first one, Yuan Zhen (779-831), a native of Henan, was a descendant in the tenth generation of Shiyijian or Emperor Zhaocheng (338-376), the grandfather of the founder of the Later Wei dynasty (386-534). In the early years of Emperor Xianzong (acceded 806) he put forward some proposals for dealing with unruly people occupying the north-western border areas. The emperor then summoned him for an audience on this topic. Subsequently he was given the post of censor (jiancha

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15. The Xin Tangshu has "he put himself under the wings of Wei Gao, then legate of Jiannan [of which Chengdu was the centre]. Wei Gao recommended him for the post of Jiaoshulang". (Ch. 89, p. 15a).


17. Ibid., p. 9a.

18. Ibid.

19. Zhaocheng was the posthumous name bestowed on him by his grandson. See biography in Weishu 萬, ch. 1, pp. 11b-16b.
In Yuanhe 4 (809) he was sent on a tour of Sichuan whence he reported that the legate of Jiannan and Eastern Sichuan, Yan Li, had contravened regulations and acted on his own authority against the bandits. In the ensuing intrigues Yuan Zhen was recalled to the capital. From then on he occupied several minor posts, mainly away from the capital, though in Taihe 4 (830) he was promoted to legate to Wuchang. In the seventh month of the following year he died suddenly at the age of fifty-three.

Nowadays, Yuan Zhen is remembered mainly for his deep friendship with Bo Juyi, which lasted almost thirty years.

Two poems Yuan Zhen wrote for Xue Tao still survive. It is reported that "Yuan Zhen heard that Xue Tao in Sichuan was skilful in poetry. When he was sent there to carry out investigations as a censor he found it hard to meet her. The Director of Public Works (sikong) Yan Qian knew of his intention to


21. Yan Li was already dead when Yuan Zhen arrived. His death occurred in the third month of that year. Jiu Tangshu, ch. 117, p. 14a.

22. The preceding sketch of Yuan Zhen's life is based on his biography in Jiu Tangshu, ch. 166, pp. 14a-13b.


24. Yan Qian does not seem to be known further.
meet her and sent her to him each time. When Yuan was promoted to the Hanlin Academy\textsuperscript{25} he in turn sent her this poem\textsuperscript{26}.

The poem reads:

Shiny is the Jin river.\textsuperscript{28} Luxuriant are the eyes of a beautiful woman.

From the indistinct appear Wenjun\textsuperscript{29} and Xue Tao.

\begin{enumerate}
\item [25.] Sometime during the Yuanhe period (806-820) he was in the Hanlin Academy together with Li Deyu. \textit{Jiu Tangshu}, ch. 174, p. 2b.
\item [26.] You Mou 尤袤, \textit{Quan Tang shihua 全唐詩話}, ch. 2, p. 41b. Contained in \textit{Lidai shihua 歷代詩話}. You Mou compiled his material in Xianchun 咸淳 (1271). This item is also contained in \textit{Quan Tangshi 全唐詩}, Shanghai, 1960, p. 4651.
\item [27.] All poems are quoted according to the 1960 Shanghai edition of the \textit{Quan Tangshi}. This one can be found in vol. 6, p. 4651.
\item [28.] Jinjiang 錦江, a river in Sichuan, also known as Shu river 蜀水. It has its origin in Ruizhou 瑞州 and ultimately flows into Lake Poyang 濟陽湖. \textit{Qing-chao tongzhi 清朝通志}, ch. 26, p. 6893, (Vol. 10 of 1936 Commercial Press ed.). A plagiarized version of this poem occurs in Wu Chengen's \textit{Xiyou ji 西遊記} (The Journey to the West): Shiny is the Jin river. Luxuriant are the eyes of the beautiful woman. Exceeding those of Wenjun and Xue Tao. The characters in the first line are exactly the same. See Zuojia chubanshe 作家出版社 ed., Peking, 1954, p. 687.
\item [29.] A reference to the story of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179-117 BC) and the recently widowed Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君. "At a party in her father's home Wenjun saw Sima play the lute and instantly they fell in love with each other. That night she ran away from home, and they galloped off to Chengdu. Her father was furious. Being impecunious (continued on page 166)
Words surpassing those of a parrot's tongue.
Literary ability sufficient to obtain a phoenix feather.
His words confused, the writer's pen is often halting.
Every gentleman wants to dream of knives. 30
After separation we think of one another, kept apart
by mists and water.
The calamus flowers (changpu hua 蒲花) rise
five clouds high. 31

(continued from page 165.) they were forced to live a life of
poverty for some time, but then her father swallowed his
anger, made them a handsome present, and they continued
to live happily in Chengdu." Shiji 史記, ch. 177,
pp. 2a-3a. Translated in Watson, B., Records of the

dreamed that three knives were suspended from a rafter in
his bedroom. In a little while one more was added to
them. Wang woke up in terror, thinking that this omen
was very bad indeed. The Keeper of the Records Li Yi
李毅 bowed twice and, congratulating him, said:
'Three knives  make the character
zhou州 prefecture, adding  one knife makes it
clear that you can expect Yizhou 益州. ' When
shortly after the bandit Zhang Hong 張弘 murdered
Huangfu Yan 黃暘, the magistrate of Yizhou, Wang Jun
was indeed given his post." Jinshu 晉書, ch. 41,
pp. 12a-b.

31. Xin Wenfang 辛文房, a Yuan writer, notes that Xue Tao
had planted calamus flowers in front of her door at Wanhua.
See his Tang caizi zhuan 唐才子傳, Gudian wenxue
chubanshe 古典文献出版社, Shanghai, 1957,
p. 101. This book was compiled in Dade 大德 8 (1304),
and no earlier mention of the calamus flowers can be found.
The flower may also be taken as an auspicious omen, as can
be seen from the following quotation: "Previously the
empress had spent much of her time in her quarters when
(continued on page 167.)
While Yuan Zhen and Xue Tao thus kept each other company it so happened that one day "she drank wine with him and grew tipsy. An argument then arose and she threw the wine jug at him, causing him to be injured. On sobering she sent him "Ten Poems About Being in a State of Bereftness' (shili shi 十離詩 )".

Dog bereft of master
Docile at the mansion gate for four or five years
Hair fragrant, feet clean that the master may take pity.
Merely because he bit an illustrious guest
He is not allowed to sleep on the red silk mat.

Pen bereft of hand
The brush from Yue 湖 , the paper from Xuancheng 襄城 , less would not do.
On the red paper scattered a few hortensias.
Destined to exhaust its sharpness after long use
Xizhi's hand will never pick it up again.

(continued from page 166.) she suddenly saw a calamus plant in front of the room produce flowers of such magnificence that they could not be of this world. The empress was astonished and asked a servant: 'Did you see it?' The servant said: 'I didn't see it'. The empress said: 'I once heard that anyone who sees a calamus flower will attain a position of eminence" Liangshu 梁書 , ch. 7, p. 1b. The good lady later gave birth to Wudi 武帝 (502-549), founder of the Liang 梁 dynasty.

32. Tangshi jishi, ch. 49, p. 12a-b. The poem is quoted according to Quan Tangshi, vol. 11, pp. 9043-4.

33. Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321-379) was famous for his calligraphy. This may be illustrated by the following story: "Once when he was on Ji mountain 柿山 [Shaoxing district, in Zhejiang] he saw an old woman carrying six bamboo fans which were for sale. Wang then wrote five characters on each of them. The woman at first was angry, hence he told her: 'You just say that General Wang did (continued on page 168.)"
Horse bereft of stable
Snow-white ears, red coat and light-green hooves
Pursuing the wind from dawn to dusk.
Startled, it threw the handsome lord on the ground
And will not neigh again on his carriage.

Parrot bereft of cage
At Longxi all on its own one lonely soul
Flying to, flying fro, settling on the brocade pillow.
Destined to cause inconvenience because of its careless words
It will not talk again to people from the cage.

Swallow bereft of nest
Entering and leaving the mansion that it could not bear abandon
The master of the house often liked to talk to it.
The mud it held in its beak soiled the coral pillow
And it will not build another nest between the rafters.

(continued from page 167) the writing and ask for one-hundred cash'. The woman did as told, and people were competing to buy them. Later she went back to him with more, but Wang merely laughed without acceding. All of his paintings were treasured by his contemporaries like this." Jinshu, ch. 80, pp. 10b-11a.

34. Traditionally parrots came from Longxi 龍西 (in mod. Gansu). See the commentary by Zhang Hua 張華 in Shi Kuang's 魏晉 新經 Qin jing (The Classic of the Birds), Baichuan xuehai 百川學海 ed., p. 10a. Though this book is ascribed to the Spring and Autumn period doubt exists as to its authenticity, as well as that of the commentary. See Siku quanshu zongmu, ch. 115, pp. 57b-60b.
Pearl bereft of hand
Unsullied, round and truly perspicacious
Its clear shine like the glow of a crystal palace.
Fated to get one spot of blemish
It will not rest again in the palm for the whole night.

Fish bereft of pond
Jumping around the deep pond for four or five autumns
Always shaking its red tail playing with the fishing silk.
Inadvertently it severed a hibiscus bud
And won't frolic in the clear waves again.

Falcon bereft of a falconer's glove
Claws as sharp as a blade, eyes like a pointed weapon,
Catching rabbits in the plain its greatest pleasure.
Suddenly it rushed into the clouds,
Thus the hawk will not rest again on the prince's arm.

Bamboo bereft of pavillion
Four of five dense rows planted but recently.
Bound to withstand the autumn frosts unyieldingly.
The spring shoots penetrated the wall and made it crumble
And its shade will not cover the jade hall again.

Mirror bereft of stand
When the molten gold was cast the mirror first unfolded.
For a few months after its birth it was handed to and fro,
Because it encountered much dust that made its reflection poor
It will not rest again on the jade stand in a beautiful hall.

After this, we are told, the former feeling of friendship prevailed again. 35

(continued on page 170.)
Yuan Zhen sent Xue Tao yet another poem, but it is not dated, nor does it refer to any particular incident. Hence I leave it untranslated.

Bo Juyi is hardly in need of an introduction. He too sent Xue Tao a poem which unfortunately was undated. The mass of Mountain Emei touches the clouds. I want to pursue Mr. Liu, lost on the northern road, If he is in Yanzhong he is easy to find. The spring water keeps me apart from Wuling river.

(continued from page 169.)
Together on horseback we are holding today's cup.
By the side of the lake we again brush off last year's plums.
Year after year lonely and getting older.
Yet can we say that flowers are not blossoming anywhere?
When we sing we always add poems to the high feelings caused by wine.
After getting drunk we yet order music to be played,
Facing the wine-jar everything is as before.
Counting them over only xiucai Xue is missing.

Sun Tao, Quan Tangshihua xubian, in Qing shihua, Shanghai, 1963, vol. 2, p. 630.
36. Quan Tangshi, vol. 6, p. 4641.
37. Ibid., vol. 7, p. 5254. For the life of Bo Juyi see Waley, A., op. cit.
38. This of course refers to the famous sacred mountain in Sichuan.
39. This refers to Liu Chen who was from Yanzhong (in Zhejiang province), and Ruan Zhao who at the end of the Han dynasty went into the Tiantai mountains and there lost their way for thirteen days. They then suddenly met two beautiful girls who gave them food and drink and invited them to their place. Though they stayed there for half a year it appeared to be spring (continued on page 171.)
Of the remainder of the poets and officials mentioned in Fei Zhu's account only Liu Yuxi 提锡 mentions Xue Tao's name in the title of one of his poems. As it is of no particular interest I leave it untranslated.

The three poets dealt with so far were all very good friends. The rest of the people mentioned by Fei Zhu belonged to their circle too. Not one of them can be connected with Xue Tao by means of documents. One rather suspects that Fei included them because they ought to have done so.

The biography of Zhang Ji 张籍 mentions that

(continued from page 170.) all the time. When finally they left it turned out that they had been away for seven years. Later they attempted to return but could not retrace their steps. Wang Shizhen 王世贞 (1526-1590), Huitu liexian quanzhuan 總圖列仙全傳 (A Complete Account of all Immortals with Illustrations), Da Zhongguo tushu gongsi 大中國圖書公司, Taipei, 1972, ch. 3, pp. 21a-22a.

This refers to a story in a similar vein, the rather better known Taohuayuan ji 桃花源集 by Tao Yuanming 陶渊明, where a fisherman travels up the Wuling river and reaches a peach tree grove where the inhabitants live in idyllic circumstances and do not know anything about the outside world. When the fisherman finally leaves them he is not able to find the way back again. See Beijing daxue zhongwenxi 中文系, Tao Yuanming juan 陶淵明卷, Peking/Shanghai, 3rd printing, 1965, pp. 338-9.

Quan Tangshi, vol. 6, p. 4121.

Jiu Tangshu, ch. 160, p. 10b. He passed as a jinshi in the Zhenyuan years (785-804).
"gentlemen like Pei Du and Linghu Chu\(^{43}\) and outstanding poets like Bo Juyi and Yuan Zhen mixed with him". Niu Sengru was a friend of both Bo Juyi and Yuan Zhen.\(^{44}\) There is no doubt that Wu Wuling also was familiar with some of them, particularly with Pei Du.\(^{45}\)

In the case of Yan Shou it is rather likely however, that he knew Xue Tao personally. He was born in Sichuan in 746 and passed as a jinshi in the Dali \(^{17}\) reign period (766-779), and died in Changqing \(^{2}\) (822).\(^{46}\) As with the others, there is no written evidence that they did so.

Lastly we come to Du Mu who, as far as age is concerned, is the odd man out. He was born in 803, twenty-four years after Niu Sengru, to whom he owed the start of his official career\(^{47}\) and who in turn was the youngest of all the men mentioned so far. All these were born within fifteen years of each other. By the time Du Mu reached manhood Xue Tao would already have been about sixty.\(^{48}\)

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\(^{43}\) Pei Du's biography is contained in Jiu Tangshu, ch. 170, Xin Tangshu, ch. 173; Linghu Chu's in Jiu Tangshu, ch. 172, Xin Tangshu, ch. 166.

\(^{44}\) See Waley, A., op. cit.

\(^{45}\) According to his biography in Jiu Tangshu, ch. 203, p. 16a. The dates of his birth and death are not known, but he passed as a jinshi at the beginning of the Yuanhe \(^{12}\) reign period (began 806). Ibid., p. 12b.

\(^{46}\) Ibid., ch. 146, pp. 5a-7a.

\(^{47}\) Xin Tangshu, ch. 166, p. 11b.

\(^{48}\) Lest the reader consider it improbable that Du might have taken an interest in her, he is reminded of the fame of another singing girl, told by Waley, A., op. cit., pp. 100-101, retained even though she was by now a "shabby, dishevelled old lady".
On the other hand Fei Zhu leaves out one poem that was dedicated to Xue Tao. It has been ascribed to both Wang Jian 王建 and Hu Ceng 胡曾 (see below). The poem reads:

By the side of the Ten-thousand Mile Bridge (Wanli-qiao 萬里橋) the lady secretarial revisor
Lives under flowering loquat trees behind closed doors.
Few and rare nowadays are the talented with beautiful eyebrows
Yet none can compete with her in mastering the spring-wind!

Wang Jian fits into the same age group as all the men discussed already. He passed as a jinshi in Dali 10 (775) and is again mentioned as an official at Shanzhou (in mod. Henan) in the Taihe years (827-835). Later he returned to Xianyang (in mod. Shanxi) where he associated with Zhang Ji. More problematical is Hu Ceng's supposed relationship with Xue Tao, mainly because their lifetimes are widely apart. Though Hu's date is unknown, we do know that in the Xiantong years (860-873) he sat for a jinshi examination but failed. Most of his extant poems deal with places of interest throughout the empire. The reference in the poem to Xue Tao spending her time behind closed doors makes it clear that

49. Quan Tangshi, vol. 5, p. 3434, and vol. 10, 7438, respectively.
50. Ibid., vol. 5, p. 3362.
it cannot have been written before the last years of her life. In Wang Jian's version the title contains the character ji (sent to), while Hu's has zeng (bestowed on). One would imagine that these characters would be used when referring to a living person. In Wang's case there is no difficulty in this. Hu, however, in view of the date given for his attempt at the examination, would probably have been unborn or at most a few years old at the time. It would seem, then, that Wang was the author of the poem.52 This view is reinforced by the fact that Zheng Gu, perhaps a slightly younger contemporary of Hu Ceng, wrote a poem in which he mentions Xue Tao's grave.

Xue Tao's poems regrettably are not of much help either. Though the titles of some of them do contain names they generally are too vague to be of much use. Two poems are dedicated to a certain Duan which one may reasonably assume to be Duan Wenchang. Two others are dedicated to Wu Yuanheng, but the name has been left out in other versions. Another poem, addressed to "His excellency Wu" may be assumed to refer to the same person. Reasonable proof is only obtainable in the case of Yuan Zhen which already has been dealt with.

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52. The Chengdu fuzhi, ch. 35, p. 3b, also gives Wang Jian as the author.
53. He passed as a jinshi in Guangqi 3 (887). Quan Tangshi, vol. 10, p. 7704.
54. Ibid., vol. 10, p. 7742.
55. Ibid., vol. 11, p. 9043.
56. Wu (758-815), at one time Chief Minister at the Capital, was a friend of Bo Juyi. See Waley, A., op. cit., p. 91. For the poems see Quan Tangshi, vol. 11, pp. 9037-8. His biography appears in Jiu Tangshu, ch. 158 and in Xin Tangshu, ch. 152.
We are much better informed about the dates of Gao Pian. He was born at the beginning of Changqing (821). He then achieved a good reputation for his knowledge in literature and fame as a marksman for "when he was serving in the army under Zhu Shuming as a Superior Administration Officer (sima 司馬) two hawks were seen flying side by side. Gao said: 'If ever I am to reach a prominent position I will hit them'. Then he shot an arrow and hit both hawks at the same time. The troops were greatly astonished and gave him the nickname 'Falling Hawks'.

During this time he occupied some minor posts, but in Xiantong 5 (864) he was appointed Protector General of Annam (Annan duhu 安南都護). After his recall he was given among other things the poste of legate of Huainan. During the Huangchao rebellion he was appointed army

57. Ibid., p. 9045.
59. I have no further information on him.
61. Xin Tangshu, ch. 224, p. 5a.
63. For this rebellion see Levy, H.S., Biography of Huang Ch'ao (Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, no. 5), Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955.
commander of the whole area of Sichuan. This happened in Qianfu 乾符 6 (879).\textsuperscript{64} Three years later when matters looked very gloomy his actions appeared suspect to the court, and he was replaced by Wang Duo 王鐸.\textsuperscript{65} In 887 he was imprisoned by Bi Shiduo 毕師鐸\textsuperscript{66} and killed.\textsuperscript{67}

Assuming that the dates for Xue Tao as supplied by Fei Zhu are correct, it would seem that Gao Pian was at most fourteen years old when she died, for Gao was born in 821 at the earliest and Xue Tao died in 835 at the latest. The whole argument hinges on whether Duan Wenchang did in fact write her epitaph. That unfortunately can no longer be decided with certainty. On the other hand, there is complete absence in contemporary writings that the two ever met, despite numerous mentions of them individually.

The first story that brings them together dates from the Song dynasty. It originally came from the collection \textit{Jiyi-lu}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Xin Tang shu}, ch. 225c, p. 4b. It is interesting to note that Hu Ceng, previously mentioned, spent some time in Gao Pian's headquarters. Zhang Zhengliang, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 617.
\item He was also murdered soon after Gao's death. Levy, H.S., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 60.
\item "Pi Shih-to was one of many of Huang Ch'ao's generals who were repeatedly captured in Jan. 879 by Chang Lin 張琳 and Liang Tsuan 梁詡, imperial leaders who were under the command of Kao P'ian. Pi Shih-to was a native of Yüan-ch'u, Huang Ch'ao's birthplace." \textit{Ibid.}, p. 47.
\end{enumerate}
Later it was incorporated into the **Luchuang xinhua** (New Talks by the Green Latticed Windows), also a Song dynasty work, from which the following quote is taken (p. 138):

When Gao Pian garrisoned Chengdu he ordered Xue Tao, who looked after the wine, to take part in a game that results in a change of written characters. He said: 'They must be of the same form, as well as of the same rhyme'. Gao then said: 'Mouth (kou 口), its capacity seems to be like a limitless wine-cup (mei liang dou 没粒斗)'. Xue said: 'River (chuan 江), it seems like three rafters (chuan 樓)'. Gao said: 'Unfortunately one of its strokes is a curved one'. Xue said: 'You are legate of Xichuan, yet you use a damaged vessel (mei liang dou to be understood as the vessel not having a handle to which the lid is attached). As for the poor wine attendant, you blame her because one of the three rafters is crooked'.

This story was later included in the **Tang caizi zhuang** with

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68. The collection, originally consisting of ten chapters, is now extant in a few fragments only contained in **Shuofu** (Commercial Press ed), ch. 3, though not including this item. Its author, Qin Zaisi 秦再思, does not seem to be known otherwise. Both are listed in **Songshi** 宋史 (yiwenzhi 艺文志), ch. 206, p. 4b and 6b. The collection has the alternative title **Luozhong jiyi** 途中紀異.

69. This book is by a certain Gaiety Master in the Imperial Capital (Huangdu fengyue zhuren 黄都風月主人). He is otherwise unknown, though the frontispiece of the 1957 **Gudian wenxue chubanshe** 古典文學出版社 ed. assumes that he lived some time during the Southern Song period (1127-1278).

70. **Luchuang xinhua**, p. 138.
a few minor changes that do not affect it. Later it was included, rather in the manner in which background information is handed out nowadays, in the *Jiandeng yuhua* 剪燈餘話 (Further Talks While Trimming the Lamp), written in Yongle 永樂 (1420), cyclical year geng-zi 戌子 by Li Changqi 李昌祺.  

The title of the story is *Tian Zhu yu Xue Tao lianju*, 天沚與薛濤聯句記 (Tian Zhu meets Xue Tao and writes verse with her). It is through this story that the preceding discussion becomes relevant, for a large section of it, though excluding the part of Xue Tao and Gao Pian playing games has been used in the *Voyage to the Western Ocean*. About half of the story consists of poems that do not contribute to its progress. Since, moreover, they are largely untranslatable without numerous footnotes I intend to give a resume only.

A certain Tian Zhu 天沚, zi Mengqin 墨渃,

71. p. 102. The same passage notes that Xue Tao died in the Taihe years (827-835).

72. Modern edition published in 1957 by Gudian wenxue chubanshe, Shanghai, and containing two other works. The author's dated preface can be found on p. 129 of that edition. Li Changqi, zi Xing 行, was from Guangling 廣陵 (in modern Yangzhou). In Yongle 2 (1404) he passed the jinshi examination and was selected as a Hanlin Bachelor (shujishi 翰林士). He assisted in the compilation of the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (The Yongle Encyclopaedia). In Zhengtong 正統 4 (1439) he retired from office, staying at home for more than twenty years until his death in Jingtai 景泰 2 (1451). See *Mingshi* 明史, ch. 161, p. 3b.


75. No information whatever can be found on him, nor on his father. The reference to his passing the examination is in any case suspect, since in the last sentence of the (continued on page 179.)
a native of Wuyang 五羊, who had passed the jinshi examination in Hongwu 17 洪武 (1384) went to Sichuan with his father Tian Bailu 天百禄 who took up an appointment there. He was a clever man and enjoyed himself in Chengdu. The year after his father wanted to send him back home. However, listening to the advice of his wife he was allowed to stay, and it was decided that he should engage in some private tutoring which would bring in money and at the same time further his studies. Suitable employment was found in a certain Zhang 張 family. Tuition began in the year bing-yin 冰浸. As the Zhangs lived a moderate distance away it was decided that the tutor should live in. Three months later when the flowers were blossoming Tian Zhu went home for a visit. He passed through a lonely peach grove that was in full bloom. Tian liked this and lingered on for a little while when he suddenly saw a beautiful woman beneath the trees. He left bashfully. From now on she was standing at the gate each time he past. One day he lost his money, but the woman's servant found it and returned it to him. Gratefully he went to the house to thank them. He was invited to come inside, and soon conversation turned to his employment. Really there

(continued from page 178.) story its year is given as jia-xu 甲戌, which is Hongwu 27 (1394).

76. Another name for Canton. The story goes that in the distant past five immortals arrived there riding five sheep (wuyang 五羊). See Panyu zaji 番禺雜記 (Miscellaneous Tales from Panyu), in Shuofu (Commercial Press ed.), ch. 4, p. 5b, compiled by Zheng Xiong 熊 of the Tang dynasty.

77. Hongwu 19 (1386) has that cyclical date. This would indicate a lapse on the writer's behalf when he records the examination two years earlier, as Tian Zhu is supposed to have sat for it after the events about to be told.
was no reason to thank her, she said, since the Zhangs were
distant relatives of her in any case. Questioned on this she
said her own name was Xue, that she was from Wenxiao and
that she had married Kang, the younger son of the Ping
family. Unhappily he died early. Tian then wanted to take
his leave, but the widow Ping urged him to stay on. At the
same time some wine was brought in. Then she spoke of the high
repute Tian was enjoying as a poet and confessed to have dabbled
in the art a little bit herself. She also showed him her books
containing poetry by Yuan Zhen, Du Mu and, particularly, Gao Plan.
These volumes looked so fresh that Tian was unable to put them
down. The sight of them, coupled with the taste of wine, had
whetted his appetite, and he composed a little poem in praise of
the woman. She then opined that though the poem was very good
it wasn't long enough, and that they should compose a poem on the
topic "Falling Blossoms" (luo hua 落花) together. Tian
agreed, and on completion it was committed to paper. By that
time the night was far advanced, and the two retired to enjoy
together the pleasures of the sleeping quarters. In the morning
she gave him a jade paperweight in the shape of a sleeping lion,
saw him off and reminded him that, should he be able to spare the
time, he might like to call in again. Tian subsequently told his
patron that his mother was very worried about him, and that they
deemed it wiser for him to go home in the evenings. From now on
Tian often stayed with her. Six months went by unnoticed, and
they enjoyed a thoroughly pleasant time. One evening the woman
said that in the Tang dynasty people often wrote huwen 回文,

A form of poetry that could be read backwards and forwards
(continued on page 181.)
but that now that kind of verse was seldom seen. Tian raised a slight objection, but in the end he agreed on a poem about the four seasons. That being completed he offered another one. The woman opined that though they were very nice their rhymes could be made a little more difficult. Tian said that Sichuan was well known for the beautiful talent it had produced, citing Zhaojun 王昭君, Wenjun 文君 and Xue Tao as proof. The woman made light of this. Tian then told her the story dealt with above that is contained in the Jiyi-lu, and they concluded the evening on a happy note. Sometime later Tian's mother grew ill, and she did not get well for three months. The woman fretted over this, but afterwards Tian went back to her, and the result was another poem of considerable proportions. It so happened that one Mr. Zhang asked the elder Tian why his son tired himself out so much by going home every night. Tian was astonished, but he did not know anything about this. That night Zhang sent a servant after the younger Tian, but he soon lost track of him. The elder Tian ventured that he might have gone to a brothel, but on reflection, there weren't any around here. Zhang

(continued from page 180.) (boustrophedonic). Because of its difficulties it was seldom used, and its origines are obscure. See Siku quanshu zongmu, ch. 197, pp. 13a-14a.

then cornered Tian Zhu, and the whole matter came out into the open. He showed his father and Zhang the paperweight the woman had given him. It bore the inscription "From the studio of Mr. Gao from Bohai". They then went to look at the place where the woman lived but couldn't find anything. Zhang told them that Xue Tao had been buried there, and that the name Ping Kang really had been the name of the brothel area in Tang times. The name Wenxiaofang was not a real one either, but if the characters wen and xiao were combined, the result would be jiaofang which again was a place where singing girls lived in Tang times. As for Mr. Gao, this simply referred to Gao Pian. Thus Mr. Zhang unravelled the whole problem. Tian Zhu now set about learning in earnest, and he even became magistrate of Cao district (in mod. Shandong).

80. Bohai is in mod. Hebei.
81. This again cannot be verified.
On Stone Births

Stone births are almost universal in history, and they can be found over a time span of several millenia. The Greeks held that

"following a deluge, all men were destroyed, save only Prometheus' son Deukalion and his wife Pyrrha, who were anxious to have children . . . Zeus told Deukalion first to cover his face and then take up stones and throw them over his head, and the stones Deukalion threw became men, and the stones Pyrrha threw became women."¹

Similar tales were told about the origin of the Lithuanians, as well as the Fakaofa on Bowditch Island in the Pacific.² Sir J.G. Frazer notes that according to tradition stones have become men on the Gilbert Islands.³ Even further back goes a story about a man born of stone in the ancient Hittite civilization.⁴

The best researched stone birth stories are perhaps those related to the north-Caucasian area.⁵ According to K.E. Müller typically

2. Ibid., pp. 109-110.
5. Particularly useful is Müller, K.E., "Zur Problematik der kaukasischen Steingeburtsmythen", Anthropos, vol. 61 (continued on page 184.)
"the marvellous occurrence takes place in the world of the Nartes, and almost invariably next to a river where Santana (as we intend to describe the female rearer of the stone heroes in accordance with the Ossetes) washes her clothes. In the majority of cases she is observed from across the river by an (old) shepherd who, aroused by the splendour of her almost naked body, ejects his sperm on a stone. The stone then gets pregnant and bears a son with the aid of Santana". [my translation] 6

While this need not concern us further, an interesting variation on it may be found in the _Jun guo ji_ (A Record of the Territories) by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 306):

In Liangzhou 梁州 (in mod. Shanxi 陝西) there is a Nülang mountain _CTL_ (Young Woman's Mountain). Zhang Lu's 張魯 7 daughter was washing her clothes on a stone and then became pregnant. Zhang Lu pronounced this indecent and cast her out. Afterwards she gave birth to two dragons and died. On the day of her burial her coffin suddenly ascended this mountain, where she subsequently was buried. The


7. Zhang Lu was in command of an army in the last years of the Han dynasty. In Jianan 邢安 20 (215) he surrendered to Cao Cao 曹操 who subsequently enfeoffed him as a marquis. _Sanguozhi jjie_ 三國志集解, Wei shu 魏書, ch. 8, pp. 42b-48b. His daughter's grave is mentioned in the _Water Classic_ as being south of the Han river 漢水 on the Nülang mountain, and said to be marked by an inscription. _Shuijing zhu_ 水經注, _Sibu beiyao_ 四部備要 ed., ch. 27, p. 3b.
stone where she washed her clothes by the river still exists."\(^8\)

Whereas in the former story the stone gets pregnant after the woman washes her clothes, she herself gets pregnant in the latter. However, it can be seen that her pregnancy is in fact due to the magical properties of a stone.

That stones were used for bringing about fertility can be seen from another item in the _Jun guo ji_, again quoted in the _Taiping yulan_:

"There are stones used for begging for sons (qi zi shi 石子石) at the southern edge of Horse Lake (ma hu 馬湖, in Sichuan). A small stone is issuing from the belly of the eastern stone, and the western one is pregnant with a small stone also. Hence the people in the vicinity beg for sons there, with some results."\(^9\)

Sons were still sought by medium of stones in Ming times. Thus Zhu Guozhen 朱國鎮 \(^10\) recorded:

"In a village located in the eastern part of Guangping (in mod. Hebei 河北) there are two stone women. Commonly they are called the "old stone women" (shi popo 石婆婆). The villagers have it that a woman used to enter their houses at night to steal some broth. When a watchman hit her with a knife he had no idea what he had struck. In the morning the villagers

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8. Quoted in the Song encyclopaedic work _Taiping yulan_ 太平御覽, Bao Chongcheng's 鲍崇成 ed. of Jiaqing嘉慶 17 (1912), ch. 52, p. 4b. The _Jun guo ji_ 久國記, part of Sima Biao's 司馬彪 Xu Han shu 續漢書 (A continuation of the history of the Han dynasty) is now only extant in fragments preserved by other books.

9. Ibid., ch. 52, p. 4a.

saw the stone women, one of them cut in half at the waist. They thought this was odd. All came to beseech them for sons. On New Year's Day they apply thick powder on them, burn incense and pray, with some results...

The reason for ascribing magical qualities to stones perhaps, according to the Chinese, is the fact that the "most refined qi of heaven and earth coagulates as stones". The basis for this could be Yang Quan's 楊泉 (p. 265) Wuli lun 物理論 which says that

"it is the essence of earth that becomes stones. Stones are kernels of the soil's qi. Thus the matter of the qi giving birth to stones is rather like that of human sinews and blood-vessels producing teeth and nails."

Perhaps because stones were supposed to be of such a refined essence they also became associated with immortality, though sometimes only in an indirect way, as the following passages from the Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals) which dates to the third to fourth century AD, shows:

"Jie Xiang 介象, zì Yuanze 元則, a man from Kuaiji 開稷, went into the mountains in search of deities. In a valley he saw purple stones the size of a chicken egg. Jie Xiang picked up two of

11. Yongchuang xiaopin 湯幢小品 (Biji xiaoshuo daguan 筆記小說大觀 ed.), ch. 15, p. 12b.
14. An immortal "versed in all the arts" who was active in the state of Wu during the Three Kingdom period. Sanguozhi jijie, Wu shu 紹書, ch. 18, p. 8a.
them, when he saw a woman dressed in clothes of five colours. Jie Xiang kowtowed and asked for immortality. She said: 'Quickly return the things in your hands to the place where you found them'. He did so, and on his return the woman gave him a prescription for a reviving pill.'

Rather earlier is the story of a stone that was able to talk. The item is completely self-explanatory, and no further comment is given:

"This spring, a stone spoke in Wei-yu 魏榆 of T'ain 亭. The marquis asked the music-master Kwang (Shi Kuang 聲鑑) why it was that it did so, and was answered: "Stones cannot speak. Perhaps this was possessed by a spirit. And yet I have heard, that when things are done out of season, and discontent and complaints are stirring among the people, then speechless things do speak... Is it not right that in such circumstances stones should speak?".

Stones could also be used for breaking a drought or stopping rain. In the case in question two stones were used. One of them represented the yin, and it always was moist. The other one represented the yang, and it always was dry. When rain was desired, whipping the yin stone was indicated, for a dry spell the yang stone. The author points out that both of them worked.

15. Ge Hong 神仙傳 (ca. 250-330), Shenxian-zhuan 神仙傳, Han-Wei congshu 漢魏叢書, 1911 ec., pp. 24a-b. The text quoted here is the summary given in Taiping yulan, ch. 51, p. 6a.

16. Legge, J., The Chinese Classics, Hongkong, reprint of 1939, vol. VIII, p. 622, "The Ch'ün Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen, Book X (Eighth year of the Duke of Shao 公). My attention was drawn to this by Professor Liu.

17. Lu Yinglong 樂應龍, Gua yi zhi 搵兪志 (A Digest of (continued on page 188.)
The preceding paragraphs deal mainly with stones that are passive. Sometimes, however, stones come to life, particularly after they have been carved into statues. A few of these examples are given here, and the first one deals with stone men that developed a penchant for gambling:

"At Leizhou (in mod. Guangdong) twelve stone men stand in front of the magistrate's building. They hold flats on either side as it happens in military stations nowadays. Suddenly one night the guard detachment heard some men gambling and raising their voices. They hurried outside to look at them. The stone men had indeed obtained several thousand coins. The next morning they reported it to their commander who inspected the treasury. Lock and key were untouched, but the money missing tallied with the amount the stone men used for their gambling. The commander now separated the stone men, some on the city wall, some in mountain temples and elsewhere. Thereafter the strange occurrences stopped."¹⁸

In the next example children make merry in the middle of the night:

At the northern gate of Jiahe there is a Children's Bridge (har qiao). It derives its name from the children that are carved on the four ends of the railings. I don't know when it was built, but it must have been a long

(continued from page 187) Oddities Picked up), Guangbaichuan xuehai ed., p. 28a. According to the Siku quanshu zongmu the book was compiled in Chunyou jiashen, but the Chunyou period (1241-1252) does not contain that cyclic year. The nearest likely date is Jiading 17 (1224), which is the last year before the reign of Lizong, the reign given by the editors. (See page 189 for Footnote 18.)
time ago. Then something odd occurred. Sometimes they frolicked at the market place on moonlit nights. This was seen by many people. On night a plucky fellow waited carefully into the night and saw that indeed two or three stone children were slowly descending from the bridge. He shouted out 'Ghosts!', and pursued them with a knife. Catching up he cut down and beheaded them. These odd occurrences then stopped.\textsuperscript{19}

We are left to wonder whether some stone children were missing from the bridge afterwards. From Biandu 比部, or Kaifeng 开封, as it is also known, comes the story of "a stone man who could play tricks. When the people encountered him they addressed him as a teacher Lu 魯校書 or Captain Shi (Stone) (Shi yaya 石押衙).\textsuperscript{20} The next item quoted is about a miraculous transformation:

In the Chunxi years (1174-1189) a stone mason in Kunshan 淵山 district\textsuperscript{21} quarried an excellent rock, but it dropped and crushed him.

(continued from page 188.)

20. Qian Yi 錢易 (fl. ca. 1017, see biography in Song shi 宋史 ch. 317, pp. 9a-11a), Dongwei zhi 渤微志, quoted in Yuanjian leihan 沈鑑類編, , Taiwan reprint of Kangxi 49 (1710) edition, ch. 26 p.35b. According to Des Rotours, R., Traite des fonctionnaires et de l'armée, Leiden, 1947, vol. 1, p. 225 "l'expression yaya désigne un nom de fonctionnaire, vraisemblablement 'celui qui garde un édifice servant à une administration'.

21. Kunshan, In Pingjian 平江 prefecture was well known for its red and white stones, valued by many. See Yunlin shipu, ch. 1, p. 5a.
Three years later, in the sixth month, another mason heard the stone call out that he should report this to his family. After the stone had been dug out [and carried to his former home] he looked pleased at his former wife, saying: 'At last I get some wind after being locked up so long. I'm bursting hungry'. Then he dropped his voice, shivered a little, spoke no more and changed into a stone man. His appearance was most lifelike.  

The same story also appears in the *Taiping qinghua* (Yarns in times of peace). In this version, which must be later, but possibly based on a common source, the event takes place in Shaoxing 1 (1131), and on Mount Saddle (Maan 马鞍). Otherwise it is identical. Lastly follows the account of a stone woman in a novel:

22. Fang Feng 方鳳, *Wu yi kao* 物異考 (An Inquiry into the Differences of Things), Guangbaichuan xuehai ed., p. 5a. Though this is listed as a Song 宋 work, the editors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 諸史全書總目 put it down as the work of a Ming writer (ch. 131, p. 17a) which, based on internal evidence, no doubt is correct. On p. 2a the reign period Tianshun (1457–1464) is mentioned. The Ming writer Fang Feng passed as a jinshi in Zhengde 正德 3 (1508). (*Huang Ming jinshi dengke kao* 皇明進士登科考, reprint of a *Jiajing* 修建 ed., by Xuesheng shuju 学生書局, Taipei, 1970, ch. 10, p. 15a) and was a native of Kunshan, the place mentioned in the quotation. The Song dynasty Fang Feng (1240–1321), *ming* Jingshan 景山, *zi* Shaofu 誥父, retired at the end of the dynasty and did not serve in government again. Lu Xinyuan 魯心源 (1834–1894), *Song shi yi* 宋史翼, Wenhai chubanshe 文海出版社, Taipei, 1967, ch. 35, p. 14a-b.

23. Baoyantang miji 賓顏堂秘笈 ed., ch. 4, p. 9a. The *Taiping qinghua* was compiled by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639).
Wang Bodang and Li Mi had covered a few miles when insensibly it grew dark. At a temple further on they rested until the fifth watch (4 a.m.) when they again set off on their journey beneath the moon and the stars. Now, they saw a woman standing by a brook and talking to herself: 'Further on are Mount Xinggong and the Duanmi torrent (the torrent that cuts off Mi)'. On hearing this Li Mi thought; I was enfeoffed as Duke of Xing by the Tang dynasty, and my ming also is Mi. Why does she talk about the Duanmi torrent at Mount Xinggong? Perhaps I'll meet my death there'. Li Mi hurried closer and asked: 'What is that further on?' Though he asked several times she did not answer again. Li Mi grew annoyed: 'When I don't ask you, you keep on talking to yourself. When I do ask you, you don't reply'. Then he said 'Bo-dang, bring your waist sword over here!'. Bo-dang gave it to him. Li Mi hit her with the sword, but it broke in two. The woman did not budge. Li Mi was astonished. Upon having a closer look she turned out to be a stone woman. He emitted a long sign and recited the following poem to the woman:

A boulder lay in a mountain forest.
Clever artisans and good labour fashioned it into human form.
Frost covers the plain face as though powder had been spread on it.
When the sun melts the snow, she seems to be bathed in sweat.

24 Li Mi was one of the contenders for the empire at the end of the Sui dynasty, and Wang Bo-dang his faithful follower. They were killed at the same time in an ambush at the foot of Mount Xinggong. When this happened in Wude 1 (618), Li Mi was thirty-seven years old. See Biography of Li Mi, Sui shu, ch. 70, Jiu Tang shu, ch. 53, and Xin Tang shu, ch. 84.
Nobody combs her hair, but it stays tidy for a thousand years.
Leisurely painted eyebrows remain fresh through the ages.
For a long time she has been standing by the brook without disturbance.
Indeed, she ought to be the one looking for her husband. 25

In the Can-Tang Wudaishi yanyi-zhuan (The Tale of the Five Dynasties) one of eight stonemen (shiren) at the imperial tombs (huangling) takes a human wife. Afterwards she becomes pregnant, and the offspring is the famous hero of Chinese fiction Li Cunxiao. 26

The purpose of the preceding introduction was to give an indication of the supernatural qualities stones may have. Given the tendency of the author of the Voyage to the Western Ocean to record and make up fantastic events, it is hardly surprising that he too has included a stone birth. Here follows the novel's

25. Zhu Shenglin 諾聖隸, Da Tang Qinwang cihua 大唐秦王詞話, Wenxue guji kanxingshe 古籍刊行社, Shanghai, 1955, pp. 368-9. The last line refers to "a stone in Fengxin district in Wuchang that resembles a woman looking out for her husband. The story goes that a long time ago a woman whose husband had been conscripted into service in times of difficulty saw him off. After she had been standing there for a long time she changed into stone . . ." Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519-581), Yudi 興地記, quoted in Taiping yulan, ch. 48, p. 3a. His biography appears in Chen shu 陳書, ch. 30, p. 4b-6a.

26. Ch. 2, pp. 5a-6a. Microfilm of the Ming edition in Chinese Rare Book series. Concerning the problem of the authorship, traditionally Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, see Liu Ts'un-yan, "Sur l'authenticité des romans historiques de Lo Guanzhong", in Mélanges de Sinologie Offerts à (continued on page 193.)
version of how it all happened:

"Before heaven and earth came into being this stone did exist already. After Pan-gu had divided heaven and earth this stone made a sound, an ordinary sound, and from it issued the True Ram's Head Lord of the Way and the Virtue (yang-jue dao-de zhen jun 羊角道德真君). Afterwards he cultivated his mind and purified his nature, acquiring the Way and the Virtue. The people called him the Ram's Head Lord of the Way and the Virtue. He had been sitting in this stone and grown up in this stone. When he was hungry he ate the moss on the stone. When he was thirsty he drank the water on the stone. Nü-gua 女媧 borrowed the stone to patch up the firmament. The First Emperor of Qin took it to stop the sea. This stone is both refined and magic, and he can grow and shrink.

A few pages later this account occurs once more, slightly amplified. The additions are that when he was born he had two ram's horns on his head. At that time writing wasn't known yet, nor were names and surnames in use, so the people called him "The True Lord with the Ram's Horns" (yang jue zhen jun 羊角真君).

Later on, when he had acquired the Way and the Virtue, and when________________________


29. Xiyang ji, p. 143.
writing had been invented, the people called him the True Ram's Head Lord of the Way and the Virtue. He is said to reside in Ram's Horn Cave (yang jue dong 羊角洞) on Ram's Horn Mountain (yang jue shan 羊角山) .

Since this account does not seem to appear anywhere else the following remarks are to be taken as suggestions about the origins of this episode. The ram's horns are perhaps easiest to ascribe to another source. The *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (shan hai jing 山海经) notes that on the nine mountains that lie between Mount Shi-hu 十虎 and Mount Wu gao 五皋 the people all have human bodies but ram's horns on their heads. There can be little doubt that Luo Mao-deng received his inspiration for the True Ram's Head of the Way and the Virtue from here.

Ram's Head Mountain presents a trickier problem, as several of them are in existence. The first one is north-west of Shan-zhou city 漯城 in Henan. It does not appear to be possessed of any special characteristics. The issue is complicated, however, by the fact that Wen-xiang 溫鄉 district in Shan-zhou is connected with Nü-gua:

"Since Qin and Han times Nü-gua's grave had always been attended with due ceremony. Then, in the second year of the Qian-yuan 乾元 reign period (759) of the Tang dynasty the prefect of Guo-zhou 蓟州, Wang Qi-guang 王奇光 memorialized

30. Ibid., p. 147.
31. Shanhaijing jianshu 山海经等疏 (The Annotated Classic of Mountains and Seas), ascribed to Guo Pu 郭璞 (276-324), annotated by Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757-1825), Guangxu 光緒 7 (1881), ed., ch. 4, p. 9a.
32. Li Xian 李賢 et al., Da Ming yitong zhi 大明一統志, 1588, ed., no place, ch. 29, p. 6b.
33. I have no further information on him.
that the grave of Nu gua in the vicinity of
Wen xiang had been lost in the last years of the
Tian-bao reign period (742-755). Suddenly
during one night this month thunder and wind was
heard near the river, and in the morning the grave
had reappeared, flanked by two willows beneath
which was a huge stone. The willows were each
more than one zhang (about ten feet) tall.”

Entertaining as it is, it can hardly be considered sufficient for
the purpose in hand. Two Ram's Horns Mountains are located in
Pingyang prefecture in Shanxi. The former is thirty east of Yi-cheng district and is named so because of its
shape. the latter consists of two opposing peaks thirtyfive
east of Fu-shan district . They were known as Ram's
Horns Mountains until sometime in the Wu-de reign period
(618-626) in the Tang dynasty. At that time an immortal was seen
on it, and its name was changed to Dragon's Horns Mountain (longjue shan ). It contains a cave, called Zhen-zhu dong
(Pearl Cave). Lastly there is the Ram's Horn
Peak located in Yuan-zhou in Jiangxi. Nothing
extraordinary is known about it. If one were to make a choice
of a mountain, it probably would have to be either the one in
Shanzhou or the second example given for Ping yang prefecture.

34. Le Shi 太平寰宇記 , Taiping huanyu ji 太平寰宇記 ,
1963 reprint of Jiaqing 8 (1803) ed. by Wenhai chubanshe 友海
出版社, Taipei, ch. 6, p. 16a. First compiled in the
reign of Emperor Taizong 太宗 of the Song dynasty
(r. 976-997). Siku quanshu zongmu, ch. 68, pp. 6b-7b.)
35. Da Ming Yitong zhi, ch. 20, p. 7a.
36. Ibid., p. 7b.
37. Ibid., ch. 57, p. 16b.
However, the evidence is too scanty even for this.

Concerning Nu gua the evidence is of course much stronger. Professor Karlgren has already pointed out that Nu gua is not connected with any stones in the texts of the pre-Han period. The *Huainanzi* however notes that because 'heaven was not completely covered . . . Nü-gua patched up the sky with stones of five colours'. The same passage also occurs in the *Lie-zi*. This part of the source material is rather well known, and it is not necessary to dwell on it. Nonetheless, one example adducing the marvellous qualities of Nü-gua's stones may be adduced:

The stones at Guimei mountain are of variegated cinnabar and ochre colours. They are looking beautiful even at night, and they are called Nü-gua's stones. When after strong winds and heavy rains the air is clear and silent the sound of music can be heard.

Next, the idea of the stone birth proper needs some discussion. This again is of reasonable antiquity. The source is once more the *Huainanzi* where it is stated that Emperor Yu was

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41. See also Maspero, H., "Légendes mythologiques dans le chou-king", Journal Asiatique, vol. CCIV (1924), pp. 52-54. Also Erkes, E., op. cit., which tends to be rather deterministic.
born of a stone. Luo Maodeng must have been aware of this. Mention may be made here that in Yongjia 永嘉 (in Zhejiang) a stone was said to embody the spirit of Yao 尧.

There can be no doubt, however, concerning the immediate inspiration for the stone birth in the Voyage to the Western Ocean. In Wu Chengen's Xiyou ji 西遊記 (The Journey to the West) Monkey is also born of a stone. However, the stone first gives birth to a stone egg. Out of that a stone monkey is born that eventually develops into a monkey of flesh and blood. It is therefore not a true stonebirth. It is also well known that in later years the idea of a stone birth was taken up once more in Cao Xueqin's 曹雪芹 (1715(?)-1764(?)) Hongloumeng 紅樓夢. Here the stone is described as one that was

43. For a critical analysis of this part of the Huainanzi see Karlgren, B., op. cit., pp. 307-8. Here he takes issue with Maspero, H., op. cit., p. 50 where Maspero accepts as genuine the description by Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155) of a passage in his Chuci buzhu 楚辭補注 as a fragment of the Huainanzi. (Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, Taipei, 1966, ch. 3, p. 11a). This passage is far more detailed, but Professor Karlgren shows it to be part of a Tang dynasty commentary.

44. Yongjia zhi 永嘉志, quoted in Taiping yulan, ch. 52, p. 7b.


rejected by Nugua when she was mending the heavens. No connection with her occurs in the Journey to the West. In both cases the stone can expand and shrink.

In conclusion it can be said that both stone men and stonebirths are recorded in China as early as the Han dynasty. Writers of fiction made use of it on several occasions before Luo Maodeng recorded one in his novel. While it is not possible to link Luo's version with any of the previous ones, it still seems most probable that one or the other of them formed an indirect source for his stonebirth.

On Zhang Sanfeng's reported visit to the Ming Court.

Zhang Sanfeng, a Taoist immortal said to have lived at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, has been the subject of many supernatural tales. One of these, a visit to the Ming Court during the reign of the Yongle emperor, is told in chapters 56-58 of the Voyage to the Western Ocean. The present chapter deals with this and some ancillary matters.

Recently, some aspects of Zhang Sanfeng have been analyzed by Dr. A. Seidel, and this paragraph is based on her work. Zhang Sanfeng 张三丰 was from Yizhou in Liaodong 遼東. His ming 名 was Quanyi or Junbao 功寛. He was supposed to have been born early in the thirteenth century. He was then said to have studied Buddhism with Chan master Haiyun 海雲 (1201-56). Later he established himself on Wudang 武當 mountain in Hubei. The date of his death is not known.


2. Ming shi 明史, ch. 299, p. 8a. In other sources it may be found as 三丰, or, as in the novel 三乘. Dr. Seidel, op. cit., pp. 498-508, has shown that these alternative readings in fact belonged to people originally different. However, for the purpose of the novel account is taken only of the composite person as it was current towards the end of the Ming dynasty.

In the Voyage to the Western Ocean Zhang makes his entry under yet another name. This time it is Zhang Shoucheng 張守成 and he is said to have been a clerk earlier in his life in Jurong 北容 district (in mod. Jiangsu). This name has almost certainly been made up by the author, for it does not seem to appear anywhere else.

The story of Zhang Sanfeng's visit to Court begins in Safa-land 拔發國, where the fleet is tied down by four gods, all of them extremely warlike. Their original function is that of guardians of the Northern Heavenly Gate 北天門. The first of them, the Black-faced Full-bearded Marshal (heilian douxu da yuanshuai 黑臉兜鬚大元帥) is of little importance. It appears that he was made up by the author.

The next two, the Sacred Water Marshal from Danling (Danling sheng shui da yuanshuai 丹陵聖水大元帥), and the Sacred Fire Marshal from Danling (Danling sheng huo da yuanshuai 丹陵聖火大元帥) can be traced to another novel, the

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4. Xiyang ji, p. 325.

5. Loose Hair Country (also Sanfa-guo 散髪國). Though the name Safa-guo does not appear anywhere else, it may in fact be derived by the author from the hairstyle of the Dark God Zhenwu (see below). Evidence that Zhenwu carried loose or dishevelled hair (pifa 披髪) can be found, inter alia, in Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu 去天上帝起聖錄, Daozang 道藏, no. 606, liu shang 流上, ch. 1, p. 12b; and the Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiyingtu lu 大明天上帝瑞應圖錄, Daozang, no. 608, liu xia 流下, p. 18a. I am indebted to Professor Liu for drawing my attention to this.

6. The entrance to the Northern Heaven 北天.
Pilgrimage to the North (Beiyou ji 北遊記), the earliest extant copy of which is dated 1602. There the story is told of how the turtle monster (guiguai 龜怪) that lived in a water cave and a snake monster (sheguai 蛇怪) that lived in a fire cave, were subdued by the Dark Emperor (Xuandi 玄帝) and afterwards enfeoffed as Water and Fire Generals respectively. The two then became the Dark Emperor's constant companions. Luo Maodeng gave them more exalted titles by linking them with Danling 丹陵, the birthplace of Yao 堯.

However, it is the fourth member of the group, the Golden-haired Taoist (Jinmao daozhang 金毛道長) that causes most of the problems. In his usual capacity he is the Irresistible Marshal Who Governs the World (zhishi wudang da yuanshuai 周世無當大元帥) at the court of the Dark Emperor. During this emperor's sojourn to earth (to be dealt with below), the Marshal has stolen his Seven-starred Flag (qixing qi 七星旗). This is a very potent weapon indeed, for if it is waved three times, the whole world changes into brown water. The immediate origin of this Seven-starred Flag derives again from the Pilgrimage to the North. There we read, for instance, that the Dark Emperor

9. See Xu Zongyuan 徐宗元, Diwang shiji jicun 當世紀輯存, Peking, 1964, p. 32. First compiled by Huangfu Mi 黃馥 at the beginning of the Jin dynasty (265-419).
10. Xiyang ji, p. 324.
11. Ibid., p. 325.
"resorted to his Seven-starred Flag which brought confusion and terror upon Huaguang." An almost identical passage can be found in the *Pilgrimage to the South* (Nanyou ji 南遊記). It reads:

[Prince Huaguang] raised his golden brick (jinzhuan 金磚) and hit, but it was caught by the Seven-starred Flag held in the Dark Emperor's hands. Huaguang was annoyed and threw a wind dragon and a fire dragon, but both were caught by the Emperor's Seven-starred Flag. Prince Huaguang was confused and terrified. . . ."

From these two examples it can be seen that the Seven-starred Flag is associated with the Dark Emperor. A short explanatory digression is therefore necessary.

The Dark Emperor has long been the Emperor of the North. He is known under a large bevy of names in traditional Chinese fiction. In the *Da Tang Qinwang cihua* 大唐秦王詞話 by Zhu Shenglin 諸聖隴 he appears variously as Zhenwu 真武 or Xuantian zhenwu di 玄天真武帝, or Xuantian zhenwu di (The True Warrior Emperor

of the Black Heaven). Another version, that of Xuantian shangdi (The Supreme Lord of the Black Pavilions of Heaven (Professor Liu Ts’un-yan's translation)) had its origin in the Song dynasty.\(^{18}\) He also appears under this name in the *Voyage to the Western Ocean*.\(^{19}\) In the Song dynasty the Huizong emperor (r. 1101-1125) bestowed upon him the title Sacred and Protecting True Lord of the North Pole (*Beiji yousheng zhenjun* 北極佑聖真君),\(^{20}\) a title later used in Feng Menglong's revision of the Pingyao-zhuan 平妖傳. In the *Journey to the West* (Monkey) this is abbreviated to Yousheng zhenjun (Sacred and Protecting True Lord).\(^{22}\) One of

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his titles in the *Pilgrimage to the North* also emphasizes the northerly aspect of this god. It is: Northern Supreme Emperor of the Black Heaven and True Warrior General (Beifang xuantian shangdi zhenwu jiangjun 北方玄天上帝真武將軍). Variations on these titles are prolific, and the above are merely meant to be a selection. However, mention of three more specific titles must be made. Professor Liu has already listed and translated a title bestowed on the Dark Emperor by the Jade Emperor in ch. 23 of the *Pilgrimage to the North*. It is: Hun Yuan jiu Tian Wan Fa jiao-zhu (混元九天法教主 The Patriarch of Myriad Law in the Nine-Heaven of the Noumenon and Unity); Yu xu shi xiang (玉虛師相 Master and Premier of Jade Abstraction); Tian Tang Mo Tian Zun (天壇摩天尊 The Celestial Honoured Demon-destroyer). To these may now be added two titles handed out by the author of the *Voyage to the Western Ocean*. He first offers: Supreme Emperor of Abundant Benevolence of the North Pole Governing Heaven and True Warrior of Black Heaven (Beiji zhentian zhenwu xuantian renying shangdi 北極鎮天真武玄天仁應上帝). In the second title a slight change is made to this, so that "Abundant Benevolence 仁願" reads "Overawing Benevolence (renwei 仁威)".

The Seven-starred Flage is undoubtedly derived from the constellation Xuanwu 玄武, comprising parts of Sagittarius, Aquarius and Pegasus. It shape was thought to be like that of

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26. Ibid., p. 332.
27. Schlegel, G., *Uranographie chinoise*, Leiden, 1875, p. 64.
a tortoise, and it consists of seven Chinese constellations.

So we read in the Romance of the Three Kingdoms:

[Zhuge] Kongming 諸葛孔明  and Lu Su 魯肃 then mounted their horses and went to Nanping 南平 mountain to measure the ground. He ordered the soldiers to build with red earth from the south-eastern aspect an altar twenty-four zhang 周 in diameter (one zhang equals about ten feet), and three levels each of three feet in height, making altogether nine feet. On the lowest level were inserted flags denoting the twenty-eight constellations: to the east were seven blue flags . . . in the form of Canglong 藍龍 (Blue Dragon), in the north seven black flags (zao qi 紫旗), these being dou 斗 (Dipper), niu 牛 (ox), nü 女 (Girl), xu 虚 (Emptiness), wei 危 (Rooftop), shi 星 (House), and bi 营 (Encampment), in the form of [the constellation] Xuanwu (Dark Warrior), i.e., the Dark Emperor); in the west there were seven white flags . . . signifying the might of the crouching White Tiger (bai hu 白虎 ), and in the south there were seven red flags . . . in the form of the Scarlet Bird (zhu que 紅雀 ).

In the actual constellation Xuanwu dou formed the head of the tortoise and bi the tail.\textsuperscript{29} The constellation generally indicated north, and therefore winter.\textsuperscript{30} However, the Seven-starred Flat is not the only one the Dark Emperor owns. In the Journey to the West he is credited with owning a Black Vulture Flag (zaodiao qi 鲁鷲旗) which, when spread out, can cover up the sun, the moon and all constellations.\textsuperscript{31} Mention should also be made of two more seven-starred objects of war, both of them also occurring in the same novel. In chapter 25 can be found a Seven-starred Whip (qixing bian 七星鞭) made of the skin of a dragon.\textsuperscript{32} The other weapon, the Seven-starred Sword, (qixing jian 七星剑) which has its origin in the chapter of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms cited above, occurs rather frequently in Chinese popular novels.\textsuperscript{33}

The story can now be resumed. The guoshi 国师 (National Teacher), intent on removing the threat of the Seven-starred Flag, goes to the Changgan monastery 长干寺 which is in Yingtian prefecture 廷天府 (mod. Nanking). There he is greeted by the city god who breaks the news that the capital has been moved north to Beiping city 北平城 and renamed

\textsuperscript{29} Schlegel, G., op. cit., p. 65.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 64.
\textsuperscript{31} Xiyou ji, p. 385.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 288.
\textsuperscript{33} See for instance, ibid., pp. 373, 379, 393-4, 402. More could be listed. See also Da Tang Qinwang cihua, p. 460. For the origin of the Seven-starred Sword see Sanguo yanyi, ch. 49, p. 389.
Beijing 北京. 34 The guoshi now thought: The emperor is the Dark Emperor Zhenwu incarnate, so naturally he likes to be up north". 35

This again seems to be a suggestion of the author of the novel. He is, however, building on a solid basis, for the Yongle emperor himself acknowledged the debt he owed to the Dark Emperor in his campaign to gain the throne:

All my successes in the empire have been due to the Dark Forces. It is therefore fitting to recompense them. This is the one principle between Heaven and man. However, the North Pole Supreme Emperor of Black Heaven and True Warrior General (北極玄天上帝真武) has the greatest merit in my state. Some time ago, when my late father Taizu 太祖 was carried to power and pacified the earth, although the civil and military officials helped him to accomplish it, he was in fact assisted by the Dark Emperor]. Thus, when I severely crushed the internal difficulties, 36 though I was also assisted

34. "On February 1, 1403 (永樂元年正月辛卯) the name of Beiping 北平 was changed to Beijing 北京. (Mingshi, ch. 6, p. 1a). Beiping was the domain of the Yongle emperor while he was still the Prince of Yan 燕王. "On October 28, 1420 (永樂十八年九月丁亥) the Emperor proclaimed that from next year the name of the Capital would be changed to Nanjing 南京. (Southern Capital) and Beijing would be known as the Capital." (Ibid., ch. 7, p. 6b). "On December 8, 1420 (十一月 戊辰) the Capital was transferred to Beijing". (ibid., ch. 7, p. 7a.) The name Beiping of course is a very old one. See for instance Shiji, ch. 111, p. 10b.

35. Xiyang ji, p. 325.

36. This refers to his revolt of 1398 and subsequent succession to the throne. A detailed account of this may be found in Chan, D.B., The Usurpation of the Prince of Yen, (continued on page 208.)
unequivocally by the civil and military officials, when we were madly rushing to and fro I was secretly under the aegis of the [Dark Emperor], and met with his silent approbation. His controlling power hastened on the great change with routing flashes and whipping thunder, like raging winds driving the clouds... lavish in his movements, overflowing, bustling, shiny and dazzling, the efficacy of the way of Heaven cannot be exaggerated... Looking on Beijing as the Capital of the empire, it is the place where the [Dark Emperor] assisted me in times of difficulty. As it was without a temple where he could have rested I gave him a placed used by the people for shelter. Then I ordered the construction of this temple. It is a new structure, exalted and lofty, of a vast scale...".  

A later work also states: "When Chengzu 成祖 (the Yongle emperor) suppressed the difficulties, the Dark Emperor Zhenwu 真武玄帝 often assisted him with a show of strength. The emperor was deeply aware of this divine blessing and erected a temple for him at Wudang 武當 (in Hubei)." The connection


38. He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠, Mingshan cang 少山藏, Fangwai ji 方外記, p. 4b. He Qiaoyuan died shortly after 1631 at the age of seventy-three, but this work was not published until after his death, and it carries a preface by Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664), dated 1640. For bibliographical details see Pelliot, P., "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-kien", T'oung pao, vol. XXII (1923), pp. 195-196. My attention was drawn to this passage through Chen Jiaoyou 陳教友 (1823-1881), Changchun dao jiao yuan liu 長春道教源流, in Yan Yiping 楊一萍, Dao jiao yan jiu ziliao 道教研究資料, vol. 2, Taipei, 1974, p. 330. For a more (continued on page 209.)
between the Yongle emperor and the Dark Emperor having been established, the story may now be continued.

The guoshi is now told by the city god of an outstanding person, that being Zhang Sanfeng, also named Zhang Lata 張籣 (Filthy Zhang). 39 He is quickly summoned from the Qiunghua (Hortensia) monastery 瓊花寺 in Yangzhou 扬州, and Luo Maodeng quotes a poem in praise of hortensia flowers, attributed to Zhang Sanfeng. This poem is also included in Cao Xuan's 曹霑 Qiunghua ji 瓊花集 (An anthology on hortensias). It is this version that is offered here in translation, since it is the earlier one. 40

(continued from page 208.) detailed account of the construction of the temple at Wudang see Seidel, A., op. cit., pp. 492-496.

39. This latter was actually a different person. Ibid., p. 501.

40. Ch. 2, p. 13a. Contained in Yangzhou congke 扬州叢刻, compiled by Chen Henghe 陈恒和, 1935 woodblock ed., no place. According to Cao Xuan's preface the Qiunghua ji was compiled in Jiajing yiwei 嘉靖 (1535). The poem is included in the Collected Works of Zhang Sanfeng (see below, n. 92), in Xuanyao pian 玄要篇, p. 28a. It agrees with Cao Xuan's version, except in line 6, which is the same as the novel).

Traditionally the Hortensia Monastery in Yangzhou derives its name from the visit of the emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty (隋炀帝) paid to that place. However, Cao Xuan notes in his preface that upon examining it he found this to be wrong, and the name may have a later origin. (p. 1a). Yang Yi 杨仪, a jinshi of Jiajing 5 (1526), in his Gaopo yizuan(高坡異纂) (An anthology of oddities from the high bank), Gujin shuobu congshu ed., 古今說部叢書, ch. 1, pp. 2a-b, merely mentions that Zhang Sanfeng went to Yangzhou and wrote this poem. No further details are given, and it is possible that Yang (continued on page 210.)
Hortensia branches and trees of jade belong to the immortals.\(^{41}\)

I am not aware that they exist among the common people. Pure, they are not moistened by rain and dew. Lofty, they seem to touch the ancient mists and clouds.\(^{42}\)

Though they have lived through the ages they are not yet old.

To say there is nothing like this on earth is no exaggeration (不為誇).\(^{43}\)

So I want to take one with me up to Heaven Intending to follow Bowang by borrowing a divine raft (靈槎).\(^{44}\)

(continued from page 209.) assumed that Zhang went to Yangzhou after having seen this poem, since no other biography available to me mentions that he went there.

\(^{41}\) The novel has "Jade branches and Hortensia trees belong to the immortals". Xiyang ji, p. 325.

\(^{42}\) The novel has "they are always in the ancient mists and clouds". Ibid.

\(^{43}\) The novel has "To say there is nothing like this on earth is no reckless talk". Ibid.

\(^{44}\) The novel has "I almost". Ibid.

\(^{45}\) The novel has xi instead of jie. Ibid.

\(^{46}\) Bowang refers to the famous Zhang Qian, Marquis of Bowang, who in the second century BC travelled far into the western regions, partly in search of the source of the Yellow River, partly for political reasons. Biographies in Shi ji, ch. 123, and in Han shu汉書, ch. 61, pp. 1a-9b. See also Needham, op. cit., pp. 522-3. Wu Lai (1297-1340) has the following two lines in his poem Puyang shi jing shi (A poem about ten aspects of Puyang), Yuanying Wu xiansheng 文賢先儒之集, Sibu Congkan ed., ch. 3, p. 146: 清washer or 清潔 "imperial tomb, secluded, as if a place to search for Bowang's raft. (continued on page 211.)
Whether this poem is genuine is another matter. In any case, one Ming dynasty writer observed: "He (Zhang Sanfeng) once wrote a poem about the hoertensias found in Yangzhou, but all of it is self-aggrandizement (皆自况也)." This poem is followed in the same collection by one entitled "Matching Zhang Sanfeng (張三丰)." The author is a certain Qiu Kerong (邱克容) .

The first two lines read:

The immortal [Zhang Lata] is at home everywhere.
In the Fanli monastery (蕃釐) he looked at hortensia flowers.

... (continued from page 210.)

Hu Kui 胡奎

a poet who lived towards the end of the Song dynasty (960-1278), but whose dates cannot be ascertained, also wrote

馬援梁中無著衣 張騫槎上有葡萄
No pearl barley is left in the bags carried by the horses.

Zhang Qian's raft carries grapes.

Contained in Qian Qianyi 筆談弈 (Liechao shijì 列朝詩集 part jia, ch. 17, p. 33b., edition of 1910 by Shenzhou Guoguang she 神州國光社).

The Shi ji (ch. 123, p. 3a.) notes that Zhang Qian brought back news of the existence of grapes and wine in Dayuan 大宛 (Ferghana).


48. Qiunghua ji, ch. 2, p. 13a-b

49. I have no further information on him.
This Fanli monastery also happens to be at Yangzhou, and it had long been famous for its hortensia flowers. While this does not make the situation much clearer, it is at least evidence that at the time the novel was written a connection between Zhang Sanfeng and Yangzhou did exist.

Zhang now introduces himself as Zhang Shoucheng. The guoshi asks him why he is so filthy. He replies: "It is difficult to get rid of this rotten bag (i.e., one's body)". The Buddha says: "Since you cannot get rid of the rotten bag, how can you attain future bliss (zheng guo)?". Zhang Shoucheng replies: "We immortals are made up of five different classes. They are: Heavenly Immortals (tianxian), Earthly Immortals (dixian), Human Immortals (renxian), Deified Immortals (shenxian) and Ghost Immortals (guixian). The ways of Heaven and Earth are both equally high and difficult to achieve. Once the right result has been obtained one's name is entered into a register of immortals above, but it still requires a letter of enfeoffment from a human emperor before one can take part at the Pantaohui. Even if the way is attained, and one isn't recommended by a human ruler, one

50. "The Houtu miao (Temple of the God of the Earth) has now been renamed Fanli guan. It has a reputation second to none in the empire for its hortensias. Their scent is like that of the lotus, and their fragrance most lovable." Wang Xiangzh!i, Yudi jisheng (A Record of Famous Places in the Empire), 1849 ed., ch. 37, p. 9a. Compiled in Jiading, 14 (1221). Cf. Siku weishou shu tiyao, ch. 5, p. 15a.

51. "The Flat-Peach party held on the third day of the third lunar month in honour of the goddess Mother Wang Mu (王母)." Liu, Ts'un-yan, Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels, p. 275.
can never ride to Heaven, but remains an Earthly Immortal." The Buddha now concludes that Zhang is an Earthly Immortal himself.  

For the division of immortals into five classes Luo Maodeng again was able to follow an earlier novel, the Dongyou ji 東遊記, known as The Eight Saints  

though this is not to claim that he actually used it. There the following conversation occurs between Lü Dongbin 洞真 and Zhongli Quan 紫陽, two of the eight saints:

As we have said before Lü Dongbin asked on the ridge: "Is it possible to become an immortal?". Zhongli Quan said: "With cultivation one becomes an immortal, without it a ghost. Among immortals there are five grades. In the Law (fa 法) there are three achievements. What better than practice and hold on to them as a human?" Lü asked: "What are the three achievements and the five grades?". Zhong-li replied: "In carrying out the law there is the difference between the small, the middle and the great achievement. Of the immortals there are five grades: Ghost Immortals, Earthly Immortals, Spirit Immortals, Heavenly Immortals and Human Immortals". Lü asked: What are Ghost Immortals?". Zhong-li replied: "They are the lowest of the five grades. They achieve eminence in the netherworld, their appearance is not known, at the Pass of Ghosts (gui guan 鬼關) they have no surname, at the

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52. Xiyang ji 奕陽記, p. 326.
53. Written by Wu Yuantai 吳元泰 in the Jiajing years (1522-1566).
54. Probably the Ghost Gate (gui men 鬼門) mentioned in Pei Yin's 裴駿 (fl. 440) commentary to the Shi ji 史記 where he says: "The Haiwaijing 海外經 (The classic on what is beyond the seas) states that there is a mountain in the Eastern Sea called Dusuo 度索. On it there are peach trees coiled around it like a snake. Three-thousand li to the south-east there is a gate (continued on page 214.)
Three Mountains (san shan 等山) they are nameless. Though they do not enter the Wheel of Existence, it is hard for them to achieve the Great Way. They have nowhere to turn to, and they can only obtain their release by being reborn into another existence". Lü asked: "By what methods and merits can Ghost Immortals arrive at that?". Zhong-li replied: "Even people who cultivate themselves steadfastly do not at first comprehend the Great Way. They merely seek to achieve it quickly. In form they are like dry wood, in colour like dead ashes. If they keep the divine knowledge single-mindedly within themselves so that nothing is scattered they issue forth as spirits of the yin in a state of quiescence, but they are pure and spiritual ghosts, not immortals of the pure yang. They strive single-mindedly not to scatter any of their yin spirit and are thus called Ghost Immortals". Lü asked: "What are Human Immortals?". They are those who cultivate themselves

(continued from page 213. ) called the Ghost Gate. This is where the myriad ghosts assemble". (Ch. 1, p. 8b).

The Shanhaijing 山海經 contains a part with the title Haiwaijing 海外經, but it is doubtful whether the work quoted in the Shiji was part of it. Modern editions of the Shanhaijing make no mention of either Dusuo or guimen.

55. The Three Mountains are Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈, and Yingzhou 漁州, all supposedly situated in the Gulf of Bohai 漢海. Shiji, ch. 6, p. 17b.

56. A commentary by Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520-c. 1601) on the first poem in the Book of Odes states in part: "An isolated yin can never produce and a single yang will not grow... People who fail to understand the theory of yin and yang thoroughly and have no grasp of the idea of creation, are generally those who hold the opinion that the Way means being pure and not doing anything...".

but do not comprehend the Great Way. In the Way they find the Law of the One, in the law they find the method of the One. They are hard-toiling, unfailing believers to the end of their days.

Their spirit (shen 神) and their Vital Breath (qi 氣) get clearer by the day. Their bodies grow stronger by the day so that human diseases cannot affect them. These are called Human Immortals". Lu asked: "What is an Earthly Immortal?". Zhongli replied: "This is the beginning. He follows the principle of the rising and falling of Heaven and Earth and adopts the progression of the waxing of sun and moon. For the cultivation of his body he compresses the waxing and waning of the yin and the yang throughout the year into one day. Through the day he applies the twelve time divisions. First he knows about sexual practices involving male (long 男) and female (hu 女). Next he matches the kan 光 and the li 光. He

57. On the importance of the qi see Liu Ts'Un-yan, "Taoist Self-Cultivation in Ming Thought", in De Bary, W.T., op.cit., p. 295.

58. This is treated in detail ibid., pp. 297-299; see also Lu K'uan-yu, Taoist Yoga, Alchemy and Immortality, Rider & Co., London, 1970, pp. 9-20.

59. This refers to the circulation of the qi within one's body. Liu Ts'un-yan, Taoist Self-Cultivation in Ming Thought, pp. 294-295.

60. Another reference to body cultivation. The following quotation from the Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i may illustrate this: "The moon is of the trigram kan which is a male, and the sun is of the trigram li which is a female. The sun dispenses its virtue, relying upon it the moon sheds its light. When the moon receives light from the sun, its body does not suffer from any injury. When the yang loses its proper function, its brightness will be invaded by the yin". Translated by Professor Liu in his Lu Hsi-hsing and his Commentaries on the Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i, p. 84.
distinguishes pure and impure sources\textsuperscript{61}, and he knows whether it is early or late for the purposes of regulating his qi.\textsuperscript{62} He observes Heaven and Earth (er yi 二仪), separates the four xiang (i.e. metal 金, wood 木, water 水 and fire 火), classifies the five elements (i.e. the four xiang plus earth 土), fixes the six time periods suitable for cultivating the qi, collects the Seven Treasures (sapta ratna 七宝\textsuperscript{63}), arranges the eight trigrams, carries out Nine on Five (jiu wu 九五\textsuperscript{64}), and perfects his breathing techniques. In this way he obtains immortality and hence is called an Earthly Immortal. Lü asked: "What is a Spirit Immortal?". Zhong-li replied: "A Spirit Immortal is one who as an Earthly Immortal detests a

\textsuperscript{61} A reference to the two types of qi in one's body. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 72-74.

\textsuperscript{62} The body is divided into twelve time periods, the first six ranging from 11 p.m. to 11 a.m., the second six from 11 a.m. to 11 p.m. The former half is considered to be more favourable. On the details of this see Liu Ts'un-yan, \textit{Taoist Self-Cultivation in Ming Thought}, pp. 297-299.

\textsuperscript{63} See footnote 56, in ch.3 on the makara, which refers to the Buddhist Seven Treasures. In Taoist philosophy the Seven Treasures refer to gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, rubies or red pearls and cornelian. See Liu Ts'un-yan, \textit{Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels}, p. 168.

\textsuperscript{64} The \textit{Classic of Changes}, under the hexagram qian 乾 states:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Nine in the fifth place mens:
  \item Flying dragons in the heaven.
\end{itemize}

It furthers one to see the great man. Here the great man has attained the sphere of heavenly beings. His influence spreads and becomes visible throughout the world. Everyone who sees him may count himself blessed". \textit{The I Ching or Book of Changes}, The Richard Wilhelm Translation Rendered Into English by Cary F. Baynes, London, 1951, vol. 1, p. 8. Hence the \textsuperscript{jiwu} 九五 is the yang at its strongest point.
permanent abode in the dust of the world. As yet lacking in merit he purifies the golden essence, the pill of immortality, and perfects his breathing to form the qi. When the five internal organs face the primaeval, and the three yang (i.e. sperm 精, vital breath 气, spirit 神) combine in his forehead, his merits are fulfilled, and he loses his shape. On becoming an immortal he transforms himself. His yin is exhausted, his yang pure. He has a body apart from his real body, for he is released from matter in his ascent to immortal. He transcends what is worldly and becomes a sage. Cutting himself off from the world he returns to the Three Mountains and is called an immortal.

Lü asked: "What is a Heavenly Immortal?" Zhong-li replied: "A Heavenly Immortal detests staying on the Three Islands (san dao 三島) and propagates the Way among the people. The Way (dao 道) and Virtue (de 德) are possessed of merit, and when the Way is effected among the people, his merit has accumulated sufficiently for him to receive a heavenly missive allowing him to stay in the Thirty-six Cave Heavens (dong tian 洞天) and to return to the Eighty-one yang Heavens (yang tian 阳天). Once he has reached the eighty-second yang he returns to the Vacuous Natural World of the Triple Pure (san-qing xu-wu zi-ran zhi jie 三清虚無自然之界). Hence he is called a Heavenly Immortal.

65. Identical with the Three Mountains. See n. 55, above.
66. For the Thirty-six Cave Heavens, places administered by immortals, see Fu Qinjia 傳勤家, Zhongguo daojiao shi 中國道教史, in Zhongguo wenhua shi congshu 中國文化史叢書, ser. 2, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1937, pp. 110-114.
67. The Sanqing 三清 (Three Pure Ones) are three Taoist gods whose origin goes back to the sixth century. They are the Shangqing 上清, the Yuqing 玉清 and the Taiqing 太清, and they occupy the "Wonderful Realms of the Three Pure Ones (sanqing miaojing 三清妙境)". (continued on page 218.)
A short reference to the five classes of immortals also occurs in the Journey to the West, when Avalokiteśvara tells the Tathāgata: "In the whole of the universe there are five classes of immortals: Heavenly, Earthly, Spirit, Human and Ghost". While this is not an occasion for a more comprehensive analysis of the five classes of immortals, the previous paragraph shows that they were used in well-known novels written before the Journey to the Western Ocean.

The Buddha now invites Zhang Sanfeng to go with him to Beijing. On arrival he asks him whether he has any acquaintances or intimate friends in the city. Zhang replies that he has indeed one intimate friend, the President of the Board of Rites Hu. As we shall see presently, President Hu had been sent out by the Yongle emperor to search for Zhang. The Buddha now wants to know under what circumstances he has met him. Zhang explains that when Hu was still a child he once gave him a golden pill. Later in the novel, when the two actually meet, this is described more fully:

(continued from page 217.) The idea of the Three Pure Ones is of Buddhist origin. See Liu Ts' un-yen, Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels, pp. 130-134.

68. Dongyou ba xian quan chushen zhuan, ch. 35, pp. 37b-38b. In Si you ji, Huiyuanlou ed.
69. Xiyou ji, ch. 58, p. 673.
70. For a modern work on this see Zhang Yishang, Xian dao mantan, Taipei, 1970, esp. pp. 1-4.
71. Hu Ying 胡澄 (1375-1463), zi Yuanqi, was from Wujin and graduated as a Jinshi in 1400. Biography in Ming shi, ch. 169, pp. 2a-5a.
Some time ago, before Hu Ying had entered school, he was paralyzed on one side which gave him a huge fright. Later on he met Zhang Sanfeng who recognized that Hu was a heavenly constellation. So he did not dare being remiss and gave him a golden pill. As soon as it was applied Hu was cured. 72

Though Luo Maodeng has almost certainly made up this story, there is a tenuous link between the pill, Hu Ying and Zhang Lata, one of the Zhangs that helped to make up the composite picture of Zhang Sanfeng. This link has already been pointed out by Dr. Seidel:

A stranger remarkable for his bristling beard, his utter filthiness, and his strange manners appeared in the Yung-lo era in the western suburbs of Ch’angan. He said his name was Chang, whereupon people called him "Filthy Chang" (Chang La-t'a). He used to scrape the dirt off his body and roll it into pills which cured people's diseases. Liu Kua-t'ang (劉慕謙) roamed around with him ... Later, when Chang had disappeared, Liu described him to the high commissioner Hu Ying (Hu Yung), who told him that this man must have been Chang San-feng. 73

No doubt Luo knew of this story and changed it around to suit his own purposes. However, there is another connection between Hu Ying and Zhang Sanfeng. The Ming History records that:

when Huidi (i.e. the Jianwen) emperor overthrown by the Prince of Yan) died in the flames of the palace some said that he had in fact fled, and many officials had followed him. The

72. Xiyang ji, p. 329.
was suspicious about this, and in Yongle 5 (1407) sent out Hu Ying with the purpose of making known imperial letters and of visiting the immortal Zhang Lata. Hu Ying travelled far and wide through the provinces and towns of the empire, secretly searching for the whereabouts of the former emperor. For this reason he was away for a very long time, only returning in Yongle 14 (1416). Three years later he went out once more, travelling through the prefectures of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Hunan and Hubei, returning in Yongle 21 (1423). 74

When a few lines further down the Ming History also states that "word got around that the former emperor had fled across the seas. Thereupon the Emperor sent out the eunuch Zheng He several times down to the Western Ocean. Only then were the Emperor's suspicions dissolved", 75 one can see how the subplot dealing with Zhang Sanfeng and Hu Ying fits into the novel, though in reality the two never met.

The Buddha and Zhang Sanfeng then decide that the best way for Zhang to obtain an audience with the emperor would be by using the good offices of Hu Ying. Zhang duly goes to the Office of the Board of Rites and quickly creates a scene of utter confusion among the guards. The ensuing brawl wakes up Hu Ying who is determined to find out what has happened. Zhang, who until now has had the appearance of a filthy drunkard, now assumes the posture of an immortal. That, as stated by Luo, is "he sleeps in the shape of a bow, he stands erect like a pine, he walks as fast as the wind, and he has a voice like a bell". 76 Hu is pleased

74. Ming shi, ch. 169, p. 2b. For a critical analysis of the motives that might have impelled the emperor to send out Hu Ying see Seidel, A., op. cit., pp. 492-496.

75. Ibid.

to meet him and readily agrees to act as an intermediary in Zhang's efforts to meet the emperor. Hu is successful, Zhang is brought into the emperor's presence and introduced as an immortal from Da-luo 達羅天.\(^\text{77}\) The emperor is pleased with his appearance and promptly confers that name upon him as an official title.\(^\text{78}\) Upon this Zhang declaims: "I have heard that Your Majesty treats the people as if you were tending invalids, and you gaze at the Way as if you had never seen it before.\(^\text{79}\) Thus I have come to pay you obeisance". On hearing this the emperor thinks: "This Taoist is a disciple of the Three Teachings (Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism)\(^\text{80}\). The emperor expresses his regret that he is so far removed from the people, that he is not really aware of their sufferings. However, he cannot but help treating them as invalids. Zhang assures him that he is Yao and Shun reborn. The emperor now is of the opinion that it would be good if human beings could obtain release from these sufferings. Zhang replies that all can be put

\(^{77}\) The Daluo Heaven is the highest of the thirty-six heavens where the Jade emperor resides. Maspero, H., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 101. In popular literature Laozi 老子 also is an inhabitant of it. Liu Ts'un-yan, \textit{Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels}, p. 137.

\(^{78}\) \textit{Xiyang ji}, p. 329.

\(^{79}\) This is a quotation from \textit{Mencius}, Book iv, Part B: "King Wen treated the people as if he were tending invalids, and gazed at the Way as if he had never seen it before". Lau, D.C., trans., \textit{Mencius}, Penguin, 1970, p. 131.

\(^{80}\) "Zhang Sanfeng was very fond of discussing books dealing with the Three Teachings." Mingshan cang, Fangwai ji 方外記, shang, p. 3b. The connection of Ming dynasty immortals with the Three Teachings has been pointed out in Seidel, A., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 503.
down to cause and effect, but that people like him have only happy causes and happy effects. People of his kind have pure minds, their tracks are not obvious, all they need is a bowl of yellow millet a day to be satisfied, and they only have the moon as their companion. This is in contrast with those who have to sell new silk in February and buy new grain in May; or those who study till midnight and rise again when the cock crows. He mentions the hard work of artisans and merchants, the officials who spend a laborious day at court. Even the emperor is not excepted. He worries about the people when he goes to bed late at night and when he rises early in the morning. The emperor enquires whether it is possible to obtain release from hardships. Zhang replies that one must know sufficiency. The emperor sighs that knowing sufficiency is rather difficult. Zhang then says:

"If you do not know sufficiency something unusual might even happen to Your Majesty one morning". The emperor says: "It would be hard to say what that is". Zhang Sanfeng replies: "When Your Majesty returns to the palace today you will not be able to take in any food, nor will you be able to dress in your dragon robes. This might be some unusual happening". When the emperor heard this his face grew furious and he ordered the guard to throw this Taoist out, and he returned to the inner palace, his robes spread out in the imperial carriage.

Having obtained an indication of the emperor's true nature Zhang returns to the ships in Safa-land where, through the offices of the Buddha, the Dark God Zhenwu now disarms the Golden-haired Taoist, and the continued existence of the world is no longer threatened.

Meanwhile, back in the palace the emperor has been in a sad state. Neither can he eat nor unfold his dragon robe, as he is

without consciousness. Zhang Sanfeng is now spotted in the streets of the capital and immediately arrested. On protesting against this sort of treatment he is informed that he has been arrested on charges of high treason, because the emperor is in such poor condition. Zhang says:

"Let me take the emperor's dragon pulse, and he will be cured instantly and live to a very high age". This was transmitted to the inner chambers. Then an edict was handed down asking for volunteers from the assembled civil and military officials to stand as guarantors for Zhang, when he would be feeling the pulse. It was again the President of the Ministry of Rites Hu Ying who was willing. Then Hu Ying asked: "How do you propose to feel the dragon pulse?". Zhang Lata said: "I am dealing with the occult, but the emperor is the ruler of this world. Who would dare feeling his pulse with the hand? Call a eunuch here, and order him to bring a thick red silk thread, a hundred zhang long. Put one end into the emperor's hand and give the other one to me out here. I am not exaggerating when I say that I can cure him while I take his pulse, and he will live a long life". Hu Ying did everything as told, and he immediately called a eunuch who brought out some thick red silk. By these means Zhang Lata stroked the emperor's veins who, completely cured in the depths of his palace, was very pleased. 

With this Zhang Sanfeng's part in the novel is finished, and he returns to live in caves on famous mountains.

In writing the plot of Zhang Sanfeng's visit to the Court, his discussion with the emperor, and the emperor's subsequent illness and cure, Luo Maodeng has once more borrowed from two different sources. A story that must have supplied the outline

82. Ibid., p. 332-333.
of the plot appears in the *Mingshan cang* 83, where it is recorded that:

one day Junbao (Zhang Sanfeng) came to the Capital. Chengzu summoned him for an audience and asked him: "I wish to learn the Way. Which is the happiest one?". Zhang replied: "Eating good things and neglecting the common good is the happiest thing". The emperor pronounced him disrespectful and wanted to have him killed. Suddenly he had some suffering, and he was able neither to eat nor to empty the bowels. As he was pondering over this an emissary who had met Zhang on the way presented a few stalks of *cyperus* (suoi cao) 84 to the throne which, when applied warm, cured him forthwith. 85

A passage narrating the same act, though rather more crude in form, also occurs in the *Yilin* (A forest of oddities) by Xu Zhenqing (1479-1511). 86 On the other hand it is much earlier and therefore may not have undergone

83. The *Mingshan cang* itself cannot have been used by the author since it was not published until 1640, unless he saw it in manuscript form. However, Luo Maodeng and He Qiaoyuan appear to have had access to the same source.

84. Also known as Suocao (alternative writing 菊草). It is variously explained as *cyperus iria*, *cyperus rotundus* and *cyperus esculentes*. "Stimulant, tonic, stomachic, sedative, astringent and other properties are believed by the Chinese to reside in this drug, and it is prescribed for fluxes of all kinds, colds in every organ, post-partum difficulties, boils, abscesses, felons, and cancers". Stuart, G.A., *Chinese Materia Medica*, Taipei, 1969 (first published Shanghai, 1911), pp. 141-142. See also Li Shizhen (1596), *Bencao gangmu* (本草纲目), Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930, ch. 14, p. 44.


certain embellishments. It states that:

Zhang indeed went to Court. The emperor invited him to an audience and asked him: "What is the correct Way?". Zhang replied: "To be able to eat and to be able to empty the bowels is the correct Way". The emperor was not pleased. . . Later the emperor fell ill and was unable to eat. Now he understood Zhang's words for the first time and sighed: "Zhang is able to see my life and death in a mirror". Before this Zhang had given Mr. Hu a herb, saying: "Some day His Majesty will be gravely ill. With this he can be cured". Then the emperor made use of the herb and was indeed cured.  

An account similar to the one found in the Mingshan cang, though much abbreviated, can also be found in the Gujin tushu jicheng (Great Imperial Encyclopaedia). There the Jiangning fuzhi (Gazetteer of Jiangning Prefecture) is quoted thus:

"Early in the Yongle reign period the emperor sent [Zhang Sanfeng] several letters, asking him sincerely to visit him. So [Zhang] came to see him and opposed the imperial will. The emperor wanted to have him killed, but all of a sudden he could not be seen anywhere. Then the emperor fell ill. Thereafter an emissary who had met Zhang on the road presented a few stalks of cyperus to the throne which, when applied, cured him instantly".  

For a reference to taking the pulse by means of a silk thread we must turn again to Wu Chengen's Xiyou ji, where in

88. Shenyi dian , ch. 256, p. 61b (1)
The king of that country has been ill for a long time, but Monkey offers to cure him by pointing out to the assembled officials the importance of looking, listening, asking and feeling when diagnosing an illness. It so happened that:

"the Physician Royal was among the assembled officials. Upon hearing Monkey speak he said to the officials in praise of him: 'There is sense in what this monk says. Even if an immortal were to diagnose an illness he would need to look, listen, ask and feel and diligently combine them to produce the efficacious result.' The officials accordingly transmitted the following to the inner chambers: 'The abbot wants to use the principles of looking, listening, asking and feeling. Only then can he diagnose the illness and apply the right medicine'.

The king was resting on his dragon bed and cried out: 'Tell him to go! I can't look at the face of a stranger'. His attendants came out of the chamber to report: 'Monk, it is our king's will to order you to leave. He cannot look at the face of a stranger'. Monkey said: 'If he can't look at strangers I am conversant with the method of feeling the pulse from the distance through a thread'.

The officials were secretly pleased and said: 'Though we have heard of this, we have never seen it. Let us report it once more'.

The king then gives permission and Monkey makes his preparations:

Monkey then went with the attendants to the palace as far as the king's inner apartments. There he stood under the window of the bedchamber, gave one end of the gold silk thread to the attendants inside... while he held on to the other end outside.

Then followed a lengthy examination and an equally lengthy diagnosis which proves to be correct.

89. *Xiyou ji*, p. 781.

(See page 227 for Footnote 90.)
The preceding analysis attempts to show that Luo Maodeng's own contribution was very small indeed. He has made heavy use of the fact that the Yongle emperor was so grateful to the Dark God Zhenwu for assisting him in his campaigns to obtain the throne. Indeed, Zhenwu had been worshipped and offered sacrifices ever since the Yongle reign. But Luo goes a little further and makes the Yongle emperor and Zhenwu one and the same person. Since Zhenwu is the only one who can control the Seven-starred Flag, Zhang Sanfeng, at the instigation of the Buddha, in fact takes away the emperor's soul to enable him to retake his place temporarily among the Taoist gods. When the emergency is finally settled, the Buddha explains that he too has an interest in Zhenwu. It turns out that when Zhenwu first was born he became a Buddhist, and his name was Amida Buddha (Wuliangshou fo ).

Later followers of Zhang Sanfeng were not at all impressed with the plot as presented in the novel. The editor of the Collected Works of Zhang Sanfeng, Li Xiyue thought

90. (From page 226.) Ibid., p. 783. I am indebted to Professor Liu for the verbal information that this method was used in the old days when men and women were inhibited from meeting each other if they were strangers.

91. Here on is inevitably reminded of a similar plot in the novel Monkey (Xiyou ji or Journey to the West), where emperor Taizong is to all appearances dead, but who in reality went to the netherworld to atone for having allowed the killing of the dragon. See Arthur Waley's translation, chapters X and XI.

92. Xiyang ji, p. 332.

93. Li Xiyue 张三丰先生全集, in Daozang jiyao, 道藏輯要, section 轄要. On the Collected Works see also the forthcoming PhD thesis by Mr. Wong Shiu-hon already mentioned in note 1, above.
there wasn't "even enough substance in it for an actor to perform if on stage". This did not preclude him from recording another visit by Zhang Sanfeng to the Yongle emperor, the purpose of it apparently being to convince the reader that Zhang was not an imaginary immortal. One can only assume that the editor was upset about the fact that Zhang Sanfeng carried out his visit at the instigation of the Buddha, whereby he was forced to take second place.

94. Ibid., ch. 1, p. 22.
95. Ibid., p. 30a.
CONCLUSION

A thesis of this nature no doubt leaves a great many things unsaid. Nevertheless it can be seen now that it is very easy to overvalue the novel as a historical or literary source. This can be seen in all of the chapters, but particularly in the introduction and chapter 4: "Honglian seduces the monk Yutong". It is quite clear that the novel does not stand up to a rigorous textual analysis, and it probably is not the treasure chest full of undiscovered gems it once was assumed to be. However, it must be acknowledged that there may be gems still contained in the novel, though one would have to be wary of their authenticity in the light of what is known about some sources. Yet there may be value in the novel for those prepared to look for it. Supposing someone else were to do research along the lines of this thesis, choosing his own topics. He might choose different ones, but in general tenor they would be the same as mine, i.e. some would be from popular literature, some from Buddhist and some from Taoist fields, but all of them would have a supernatural component. It might therefore be worthwhile, as suggested by Hou Jian, to pay less attention to the textual problems found in the novel, and instead use it as a medium, perhaps only as a starting point, in the examination of Chinese myths. However, that must be the work of others.
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ADDENDUM