THE SUPERNATURAL IN T'ANG CH'UAN-CH'I TALES:
AN ARCHETYPAL VIEW

DISSERTATION

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* * * *

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The T'ang dynasty ch'uan-ch'i tales occupy a unique position in the history of Chinese fiction. They have been recognized not only as the first examples of consciously created fiction but also as the immediate or intermediate inspiration for many later literary creations. Ch'uan-ch'i tales persisted as a vital literary force well beyond the T'ang dynasty and as such continued to provide inspiration for works in other genres.

Although the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales have been the subject of a considerable number of scholarly studies, a great deal of work remains to be done, especially in the application of modern critical approaches. The use of a greater variety of critical approaches will help to generate broader knowledge of both the historical development of Chinese fiction and the principles which governed this development. Toward these ends the present study employs an archetypal approach, the basic theoretical sources for which are the works of James Frazer, Carl Jung, Joseph Campbell, Lord Fitzroy Raglan, and Northrop Frye.
A number of other works related to or based on archetypal theory, modern studies of the double for example,\textsuperscript{12} have been employed to supplement these basic sources. The use of theories from several different disciplines is advisable, first because of the heterogeneous nature of the Chinese language materials under consideration,\textsuperscript{13} and second because of the hazardous path of cross-cultural applications of such theories to non-Western literature. It should also be noted that in literary study especially, archetypal criticism is not without its detractors.\textsuperscript{14} Despite the presence of these problems the potential results of archetypal criticism are sufficient to justify the effort.

Archetypal criticism is to a large extent based on an understanding of the symbolic significance of certain images which have a prominent place in world literature. Northrop Frye defines an archetype as "a typical or recurring image ..., a symbol which connects one poem with another and thereby helps to unify and integrate our literary experience."\textsuperscript{15} Campbell refers to "symbolic language" and says that psychoanalysis is the tool best suited to learning the "grammar of the symbols."\textsuperscript{16} In this study the archetypal approach proceeds on two levels: one is the identification of the recurring symbols or archetypes in the subgenre of supernatural T'ang \textit{ch'uan-ch'i} tales; the other is the identification of the organizing principle that controls the formulation of these symbols into a narrative structure or
pattern, itself an archetype. This identifiable pattern in the T'ang ch'uàn-ch'i tales is structurally identical with the quest-myth\textsuperscript{17} or the monomyth.\textsuperscript{18} Frye also refers to this pattern as the "central myth of literature."\textsuperscript{19}

The symbols or archetypes are based on the psychoanalytic topology of the mind or psyche, including the id, ego, superego, unconscious, preconscious, and conscious as descriptive terms.\textsuperscript{20} The topology also includes Jung's important contribution of the concept of the collective unconscious.\textsuperscript{21} This latter concept is quite important in certain schemes of archetypal criticism since it places more emphasis on the universal realm of shared, timeless experience, while the Freudian approach emphasizes individual experience.\textsuperscript{22}

The process of literary creation, as based on these archetypes, is one of verbalizing a particular psychodynamic state in accordance with its established archetype. The surface transformations that appear and the metaphorical expressions employed are dictated by the individual circumstances surrounding the immediate experiences they reflect. The arrangement of the parts will demonstrate a gathering of verbal elements or motifs around a centrally dominating archetypal figure which is controlled by the central mythic pattern.\textsuperscript{23}

The presence of archetypal features structured in a mythic pattern serves as an important tool with which to
distinguish the classical tale, or romance in its longer form, and place it in a larger context. Frye, in a discussion of the forms of prose fiction, postulates an antithesis of men and heroes who appear in the novel and myth, respectively, and arranges the various forms of fiction on a sliding scale between these poles. As Frye in part describes them, "...the romance which deals with heroes, is intermediate between the novel, which deals with men, and myth, which deals with gods. Prose romance first appears as a late development of classical mythology...."24 This view of the development of the forms of Western fiction applies to the conditions found in the development of Chinese fiction,25 though in overall structure an important difference from the Western tradition is that the Chinese myths are so fragmentary and episodic that there can be no "integrated body of mythological materials" with which to formulate a systematic mythology.26

In Frye's terms ch'uan-ch'i fiction is equable with the Western tale and is found midway between the short story and myth. The following table, which uses the terms "short story" and "tale" in place of Frye's more frequent use of the terms "novel" and "romance," shows the correlation between these forms and their concepts of characterization.

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While ch'uan-ch'i fiction corresponds in general to the Western tale, the often mixed characterization of the supernatural ch'uan-ch'i tale would place it somewhere between the tale and myth. The realistic ch'uan-ch'i tale would then be somewhere between the short story and the tale. These distinctions are based in part on the relative degree of realism found in a number of ch'uan-ch'i tales, and in part on the technical devices employed by the author, one of which is exceptionally important.

The essential difference between novel and romance lies in the conception of characterization. The romancer does not attempt to create "real people" so much as stylized figures which expand into psychological archetypes. It is in the romance that we find Jung's libido, anima, and shadow reflected in the hero, heroine, and villain respectively.27

The use of conventional characters is an undeniable feature of the ch'uan-ch'i tales, especially the supernatural tales which are often directly or indirectly based on folktales, legend, or myth.28

The archetypes of both myth and fiction are often found to be in a pattern arranged according to well-established principles. These principles were first investigated and described by anthropologists and psychologists, most notably Frazer and Jung.29 Various schemes have been devised to portray these organizational principles and these are described in the following chapter. However one scheme, that of Northrop Frye, is especially important
for the study of literature and is summarized to provide a comprehensive view of the literary features of the archetypes.

Frye's scheme is arranged in four parts or phases which correspond to the yearly seasonal cycle. Thus, they mark a progression from spring through summer and autumn ending with winter. Each season has a corresponding mythos: comedy, romance, tragedy, and irony or satire.

Comedy, the mythos of spring, deals with the birth or resurrection of the hero and his defeat of the powers of darkness. This corresponds to the rebirth of the natural world in spring, the defeat of the phase of winter and death. The action often involves the hero's desire for a young woman and parental frustration of that desire. This sets up an opposition of youth against age with the former emerging victorious. Parents or corresponding figures are found as secondary characters.

Romance, the mythos of summer, is mainly concerned with adventure and in its fullest form the successful quest. It has a very strong element of wish-fulfillment found also in folktales and day-dreams. The goal of the quest is usually a bride, though sometimes she may be represented by a valuable treasure. There are often three main stages in the romance—journey, struggle, and apotheosis. Other characters are the enemy with whom the hero struggles and the
bride, the cause of the struggle. The hero and his bride often enter Paradise.

Tragedy, the mythos of autumn, portrays the hero's fall from a pinnacle of power and fortune. The death of the tragic hero is in many respects similar to rituals of sacrifice. When the hero does survive his fall it is to a life of physical or emotional suffering. A traitor or siren are two subordinate characters often found in this mythos.

Irony and satire, the mythos of winter, depict the triumph of the powers of darkness. This the least structured of the mythoi and is best treated as a parody of romance, presenting romantic features in a realistic context. The hero is in a state of bondage to his environment, is unwilling or unable to discern his situation, and repeatedly suffers humiliating defeats. The ironic hero is often the butt of ridicule, a victim of natural or cosmic catastrophe, or the object of divine damnation. Though the hero may engage in the romance theme of dragon-battle it invariably ends with his own defeat and disappearance. Other characters are the witch and the ogre.32

Despite the complexity of Frye's view of literature it is true that his materials are for the most part limited to the Western literary tradition. While this in no way denigrates his scheme it is sufficient warning that an unwary practitioner may inadvertently be influenced by cultural
bias. Therefore, in order to attain a broader theoretical base, this study has incorporated the works of the authors mentioned above on page one. Of these men Joseph Campbell is important to this study for his all-inclusive work The Hero with a Thousand Faces. This is because Campbell makes extensive use of theories of psychoanalysis, especially Jung's theory of archetypes. This latter point is of special importance since it is the theories of Carl Jung that can be most profitably applied to the mythos of summer, or romance, which, as is shown in this study, is the mythos most closely associated with the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tale.

Because the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales occupy such an important position in the history of Chinese fiction they have been the object of considerable scrutiny and comment. Many students of this material have studied not only the extant T'ang versions of various tales but have also shown their historical development, which sometimes covers many hundreds of years. These studies provide a basis for noting which stories have had the greatest appeal to Chinese authors and readers. Although a great many of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales were adapted or rewritten by later authors, a somewhat smaller number have both earlier and later versions. This smaller number is found to contain a great many pieces which fall into the so-called chih-kuai or supernatural classification of ch'uan-ch'i tales, which
of course is the main focus of this study. Many of these tales, such as "Liu I chuan" and "Pu Chiang Tsung po yüan chuan" have antecedents in the Six Dynasties material as well as varying amounts of contemporary related material. Thus, these stories obviously had great appeal to both the authors and readers of the T'ang dynasty. The continued appeal is shown in the many post-T'ang versions of the basic material, in dramatic as well as in narrative form.

The point of interest here is why certain anecdotes or story types should have been selected for literary treatment, not only as chih-kuai anecdotes and literary tales, but also as drama and vernacular stories. The most obvious reason is that these materials in someway appealed to some basic, i.e., subconscious factor of appreciation or comprehension. This, in fact, is part of the archetypal theory of literature, which claims that "the structural principles of literature are closely related to mythology and comparative religion." Some T'ang ch'uan-ch'i subjects appear to be, or are said to be, borrowed from contemporary social or political events. In fact, in such cases, the events of the times are chosen only to the extent that they also offer suitable images for the deeper and wider meaning of the tale. Heuscher notes that the fairy tale "Jack and the Beanstalk" was based on a contemporary event, and also notes that Freud's theory that dreams are created out of
fragments of the past day's events is analogous. Thus, however tempting it is to read fiction as social document, such a view tends to overlook the central meaning of what is essentially a creative process rather than a journalistic one.

The total amount of T'ang dynasty material which can be subsumed under the rubric of the supernatural tale is vast indeed, and for purposes of discussion an objective process of selection is mandatory. The underlying theory for a process of selection has been mentioned above and four principles of selection have been derived from it. This process selects: 1. tales which have forerunners in earlier material, such as anecdotes, legends, or myths; 2. tales which were adapted in other genres by later writers; 3. tales which reflect current intellectual trends or modes of thought, such as Buddhist or Taoist tales or superstition; and 4. tales which have frequently been included in collections or commented upon by critics and scholars.

The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, compiled in A.D. 978, is the great repository of medieval Chinese fiction, and, consequently, has been a primary source for many modern collections and studies. However, in addition to having certain textual problems, it does not contain all of the tales included in this study. Therefore, collections such as the Yu-yang tsa-tsu and the T'ang-tai ts'ung-shu have also been utilized, as have
certain modern reconstructions of early collections. Other sources are indicated in the footnotes and Bibliography.

The material in the following chapters have been arranged to provide a basis for postulating a model for the life pattern of the Chinese archetypal hero as found in the T'ang supernatural ch'uan-ch'i tales. Chapter Two lays the groundwork for archetypal analysis by examining the symbolic significance of the characters and the spheres in which they function. The former are described first in terms of their correspondence with universal models and then in terms of their portrayal within the parameter of Chinese culture. The latter are described as supernatural settings for the heroic quest. This chapter also introduces a suitable scheme for the description of the pattern of the heroic life.

Chapter Three examines the symbolic and archetypal significance of the Chinese dragon, especially that of the dragon-woman as goal of the heroic quest. The evolution of the related literary materials is demonstrated in order to prove the native Chinese origin of the medieval dragon-woman, attributed to foreign influence by some scholars.

In Chapter Four the investigation first centers on the dating and authorship of the well-known tale "Po yüan chuan," arguing that it is unlikely to be an early ch'uan-ch'i tale, as has been suggested. Examined objectively,
the various elements of the tale suggest that it is perhaps as late as the ninth century and that it is the product of a long development from a variety of sources rather than one of political motivation. The prominent feature of ritual sacrifice of a sacred king as archetypal behavior is analysed to show the correspondence with a universal pattern.

Chapter Five shows that the search for the elixir of immortality as portrayed in these tales is closely related to the quest-myth, not only in structure but also in imagery and symbolism. The art of alchemy is seen as a struggle with powerful forces for possession of the elixir of immortality, which is shown to be a symbol of world fertility as well.

Chapter Six presents in detail the archetypal images and motifs of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tale structured in the pattern of the heroic life. This material demonstrates the characteristic features of the Chinese archetypal hero and then compares them with the Western archetypal pattern. This chapter is the focal point of all the previous material as it shows that the first known examples of Chinese creative fiction drew upon a fund of slowly developing native materials and shaped their literary treatment with a structure of universal significance.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1The term ch'uan-ch'i was first noted as having generic significance in the Sung dynasty, A.D. 960-1279, when Ch'en Shih-tao 陈師道, A.D. 1054-1116, wrote in his Hou-shan shih-hua 後山詩話 that Yin Shih-lu 殷師魯 said that a certain text was in the "ch'uan-ch'i style" 传奇体. In his book-length study of the ch'uan-ch'i tales titled T'ang-tai ch'uan-ch'i yen-chiu 唐代传奇研究 (Taipei: Chung-hua, 1957), pp. 6-7, Chu Hsiu-hsia 踇秀侠 claims on that this has specific reference to P'ei Hang's (fl. 878) collection of tales titled Ch'uan-ch'i. But Y.W. Ma 馬幼垣 in his article "Prose Writings of Han Yü and ch'uan-ch'i literature" (Journal of Oriental Studies, v. 7, n. 2, 1969), pp. 196-97 notes that Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫 in referring to Yin Shih-lu's comment adds that, "...styles change with the times, so success of the internal organization is most important. How could [Yin Shih-lu] have said Fan Wen-cheng's 陳文正 work was coeval with ch'uan-ch'i?" 文甄隨時, 要之, 理勝為貴, 文正可與傳奇同日語哉? Ma concludes that Ch'en Shih-tao was using ch'uan-ch'i as a generic term.

2This point was first made by Hu Ying-lin 朱應麟 (ca. 1590) of the Ming dynasty who said that, "Tales of miracles and the other world were popular during the Six Dynasties, but these were not entirely imaginary: most of them were based on hearsay and false reports. The T'ang dynasty scholars, on the other hand, deliberately invented strange adventures and wrote them as fiction." English translation of Shao-shih shan-fang pi-ts'ung, 36, from Lu Hsüin, A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, Yang Hsien-yi, tr., (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1959), p. 85.

3Some T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales, such as "Ying-ying chuan" 懐英傳 (T'ai-p'ing kung-chi, 488. Hereafter TPKC. See note 41 of this chapter for bibliographical details.) and "Ch'iu-jan k'o chuan" 虬髯客傳 (TPKC, 193), have no known literary precursors while some, such as "Li Wa chuan" 劉娃傳 (TPKC, 484), are known to have been part of an oral tradition. This is mentioned in Liu Wu-chi 柳思 贞, An Introduction to Chinese Literature, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p. 149. Other tales, such as "Liu I chuan" 柳毅傳 (TPKC, 492) and "Pu Chiang Tsung po yüan chuan" 普江頌白馬傳 (TPKC, 444), are shown in the following chapters to have been based on earlier literary materials, if not on a contemporary oral tradition as well. Several modern scholars have listed the T'ang
tales and their related versions in other genres, i.e., anecdotes, vernacular stories 論敍, or drama. Especially useful are T'an Cheng-pi 謝正賢, Hua-yen yu ku-chi 話本異曲 (Peking: Ku-tien wen-hsüan, 1957), pp. 61-92; Liu K'ai-jung 劉開宗 T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo yen-chiu 唐代小說研究 (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1947; reprint Taipei: Shangwu, 1966), pp. 137-156; and Wang P'i-chiang 汪歧航 T'ang-jen hsiao-shuo 腹人小說, reprinted as T'ang-jen ch'uan-ch'i hsiao-shuo (Taipei: Shih-chieh, 1969). In the latter text the information is given following the individual tales discussed. There is also a chart showing much of this information in Meng Yao 孟 瑢 Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih 中國小說史, 4 vols. (Taipei: Chuan-chi, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 92-97.


5The two book-length studies of Chu Hsiu-hsia and Liu K'ai-jung were mentioned in note 3. In addition, there is Chang Ch'ang-kung's 張長弓 T'ang Sung ch'uan-ch'i tso-che chi ch'i shih-tai 唐宋小說作者及其時代 (Peking: Shangwu, 1951). The many fine articles on T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales are numerous to mention here, but those dealing with supernatural tales are mentioned in the Bibliography. The only comment necessary is that traditional Chinese scholarship shows a distinct preference for textual and biographical studies rather than analytical ones.


demonstrates the affinity of the archetype of the sacred 
king with a broad range of literature.

8Carl G. Jung's works have been published in The 
tinent references are "Psychology and Literature," in vol. 
15; Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, vol. 9; and 
Part II of Symbols of Transformation, vol. 5.

9Joseph Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, 

10Lord Fitzroy Raglin, The Hero: A Study in Tra- 

11Northrop Frye has published a prodigious amount of 
pertinent material, however his main work of theory is 
Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays (Princeton: Princeton 
University Press, 1957) and a companion work of practical 
criticism in Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythol- 

12There are a number of full length studies available: 
among them Robert Rogers, A Psychoanalytic Study of the 
Double in Literature (Detroit: Wayne State University 
Press, 1970) and Ralph Tymms, The Double in Literary Psy- 

13These materials range all the way from brief anec- 
dotes with no literary pretensions whatsoever, to highly 
developed novellas replete with a great many sophisticated 
literary devices.

14Rene Wellek in his Concepts of Criticism (New Haven: 
Yale University Press, 1963) p. 361, is somewhat disparag- 
ing of "myth criticism" in general and Northrop Frye in 
particular when he says, "The Anatomy [of Criticism] aims 
at an all-embracing theory of literature of the most grandi- 
ose pretensions. A more modest view of the function of 
criticism seems to me wiser." Recently, and more sympathet- 
ically, it seems, in commenting on a collection of essays 
assessing the theories and work of Northrop Frye, Murray 
Krieger remarked to the effect that while Anatomy of Critic- 
ism transcends the inhibiting, finite critical views of 
T. E. Hulme and T. S. Eliot, critical studies by both Frye 
and his followers are somewhat less successful than the 
theory might suggest. Murray Krieger, "Northrop Frye and 
Contemporary Criticism: Ariel and the Spirit of Gravity,"


17 Frye, Fables of Identity, p. 17.

18 Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, pp. 3-46.

19 Frye, Fables of Identity, p. 18.

20 There are numerous available descriptions of these terms, some of which Freud employed as early as 1923. For their application in literary studies see Frederick J. Hoffmann, Freudianism and the Literary Mind, 2d. ed. (n.p., Louisiana State University Press, 1957).

21 The collective unconscious has been defined as "the aggregate of the traditions, conventions, customs, prejudices, rules, and norms of a human collectivity which give the consciousness of the group as a whole its direction, and by which the individuals of this group consciously but quite unreflectingly live." Jolande Jacobi, The Psychology of C. G. Jung: An Introduction with Illustrations (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 29. It should also be noted that Frye has stated his belief that the collective unconscious is an unnecessary feature for literary criticism. Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 112.


23 This discussion is in part based on Hoffmann, Freudianism and the Literary Mind, p. 329.

24 Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 306. A full discussion of this scheme appears on pp. 303-314. It should be noted that the terms tale and romance refer only to a difference in length, as do the terms short story and novel.

25 This process is described at length by Lo Chin-t'ang in "Hsiao-shuo k'ao-yüan" (小説考源) Symposium on Chinese Studies Commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the University of Hong Kong 1911-1961 (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 337-367.


28Statements to this effect can be found in any number of works--general histories especially--on Chinese fiction. However, few scholars actually provide much in the way of concrete examples. One notable exception is Uchida Michio's article "Ryuki den ni tsuite."

29See notes 7 and 8 above.

30It should be pointed out that Frye has made some alterations in the correspondences of the seasons and the mythoi. In the earlier (1957) Anatomy of Criticism, pp. 158-239, he used the arrangement described in this study, but in the later (1963) Fables of Identity, p. 16, he described the mythos of spring as romance and the mythos of summer as comedy. The reason for this change appears to be that the Western romance often treats the birth and early life of the hero, which has a greater correspondence with the season of spring. However, for the study of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tale the earlier scheme is preferable, since these tales invariably treat only the early adulthood of the hero.

32This summary is based upon two sources: Fables of Identity, p. 16; and Anatomy of Criticism, pp. 150-239. The former represents the distilled essence of the latter, though with the changes mentioned in note 31. This summary does not encompass the full complexity of the mythoi as presented in Anatomy of Criticism, but will serve the purposes of this discussion.


34For a discussion of the development of the concept of "archetype" see Campbell, ibid., note 18, pp. 17-18.


36See note 3 above. Probably the most helpful and generally available text is that of Wang P'i-chiang, T'ang-jen hsiao-shuo, which lists in convenient form the various related literary materials.
37 See note 3.

38 For just one example of the classification of T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales see Chu Hsiu-hsia, T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo yen-chiu. His six-way classification system is more detailed than those of other scholars. He uses the term shen-kual for the supernatural classification, for which see pp. 73-93.


40 Julius E. Heuscher, A Psychiatric Study of Myths and Fairy Tales p. 37.

41 The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi was compiled in 500 chüan under Imperial auspices by a group of scholars under the direction of Li Fang 李昉 (A. D. 924-995).

42 A number of incorrect readings have been noticed in addition to a great many variant readings. These are pointed out in such works as Wang Meng-ou's 文學叢考 T'ang-jen hsiao-shuo yen-chiu, 3 vols. (Taipei: I-wen, 1974). Wang lists the preferable readings following each tale.

43 Compiled by Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式 (Died A. D. 863), SPTK ed.


45 Wang Meng-ou, see note 40, has restored several previously incomplete collections. Lu Hsün 魯迅 also has gleaned many fragments of fiction from a wide variety of sources. See his Ku hsiao-shuo kou-ch'en 古小說钩沉 (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh, 1951), for examples.
CHAPTER TWO

FORMAL FEATURES OF CH'UAN-CH'I TALES

The T'ang dynasty ch'uan-ch'i tales are generally considered to be the earliest examples of creative fiction in China. As one commentator said,

Tales of miracles and the other world were popular during the Six Dynasties, but these were not entirely imaginary: most of them were based on hearsay and false reports. The T'ang dynasty scholars, on the other hand, deliberately invented strange adventures and wrote them as fiction.¹

The Six Dynasties tales in both form and content made important contributions to the development of creative fiction in the T'ang dynasty. The Six Dynasties material is generally divided into two categories: one anecdotes, often humorous, about real people chih-jen 志人, for example, the Shih-shuo hsin-yü by Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶 (A.D. 403-444) of the Liu Sung 劉宋 dynasty; the other records of marvels chih-kuai such as the Sou shen chi 搜神記 by Kan Pao 千寶 (4th c. A.D.) of the Chin 晉 dynasty. These pieces lacked full use of the range of narrative qualities (described below) which become associated with fiction of the T'ang and later dynasties.

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The main differences between the Six Dynasties and T'ang materials can be described as: 1. the portrayal of actual beliefs as opposed to the conscious creation or recreation of events, and 2. the incidental recording of a minor event as opposed to the depiction of a complex and interrelated set of events. In an article on this subject Lu Hsün discussed the differences in terms of authorial attitude: the Six Dynasties material historical and factual, the T'ang material creative and imaginative; the Six Dynasties material incidental, fragmentary, and lacking further purpose, the T'ang material self-contained, structured, and with a definite purpose.²

The products of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i authors were successful to a previously unrealized degree, even winning from the Sung critic Hung Mai 洪邇 (A.D. 1124-1203) mention along with T'ang poetry:

We must study the T'ang stories. Even small incidents are exquisitely moving, and often--without realizing it themselves--the authors are inspired. These stories and the T'ang poetry are the wonder of their age.³

Whatever the ultimate origins of the contents of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales, namely, folklore, hearsay, tradition, or invention, they were essentially a "class literature," written by and for members of the educated elite. This agrees with Frye's contention that,

"In every age the ruling social or intellectual class tends to project its ideals in some form of romance, where the virtuous heroes and beautiful heroines represent the ideals and the villians the threats to their ascendancy."⁴
These were in part written as displays of the authors' literary skills, sometimes with the goal of obtaining political preferment.\(^5\)

Most general descriptions of the T'ang ch'uan-châ'i tales refer to the relationship of certain formal features of the tales with the practice of the candidates in the triennial capital examinations in presenting literary samples to the examiners. These literary samples were called hsing-chüan 行卷 and wen-chüan 漫卷, and the latter especially were composed in great number to be left at the gates of the examiner's homes. These formal features have been classed by scholars under the three categories of historical talents shih-ts'ai 史才, poetic composition shih-pi 詩筆, and moral judgment i-lun 議論.\(^6\)

Other authors render these terms as narration, versification, and exposition;\(^7\) or as historical knowledge, poetic approach, and logical criticism.\(^8\)

Within the category of historical talents the writer would display his knowledge of official ranks and functions, his narrative abilities, and his skills in composing in various documentary styles. For example, in the tale "Chen-chung chi" 桓中記 there is a written exchange between king and minister, which reads in part,

"Your liege servant...started out in life as a humble scholar of Shantung, who occupied himself with farming and gardening, but through imperial patronage was able to enter the government service. He was promoted beyond his deserts and received many honors from the throne...."\(^9\)
An additional feature of the historical style is the verification, which is intended to take the tale out of the realm of fanciful creation by citing a purported source, such as a relative or acquaintance who had personal knowledge of the truth of the events described. For example, in the ending of the tale "Jen shih chuan" (TPKC, 452/49) the author lists the current date, his reasons for the journey he is on, names his traveling companions, and says that,

As we floated down the Ying and Huai Rivers in our boat, feasting by day and conversing at night, each of us told of some strange happenings. When these gentlemen heard the story of Jen, they were deeply moved and greatly astonished; and because they asked me to record this strange tale, I have written this narrative.¹⁰

Poetry was one of the expected accomplishments of the educated class and would be displayed in the ch'uan-ch'i tales sometimes to recapitulate an event, or to veil the more delicate, sometimes erotic, parts of the tale, should there be any. In the love stories especially poetry is frequently used as a vehicle for communication between lovers, or as in "P'ei Hang" (TPKC, 50/16) as a man's suggestive advances and a woman's decisive rejection.¹¹ For the most part the supernatural tales do not contain much poetry,¹² but examples of most poetic forms do appear in the more sophisticated tales, "Liu I chuan" and "Lo Shen chuan"¹³ for example. The following poem from "Liu I chuan" was sung and danced to by the Dragon
King after the rescue of his daughter from an unfortunate situation. In it the Dragon King recapitulates some of the action of the narrative as he sings,

Wide the earth and grey the sky,
Who can hear a distant cry?
The fox lies snugly in his lair,
But thunderbolts can reach him there.
A true man, who upholds the right,
Restored my daughter to my sight.
Such a service how can we requite?14

In "K'un-lun nu" the young man Ts'ui is entranced by the beauty of an older man's maidservant, and while longing for her chants a poem,

Led by chance to a fairy mountain,
I gazed into star-bright eyes.
Through a red door the moon is shining,
There a forlorn white beauty lies.15

Ssu-ma Ch'ien began the practice of appending personal comments or evaluations, that is, "T'ai-shih Kung yâeh...." 太史公曰 "The Grand Historian says...", to the biographical material in his work the Shih chi 史記, and Chinese historians continued the practice.16 The ability to make correct moral judgments was a desirable requirement for potential officials and for this reason such comments were incorporated into the literary samples. This was important not only in the tales which contained material of a dubious moral nature, but also in those tales which engaged in religious or political polemics. By making this evaluation the author could demonstrate to the examiner that he was also morally qualified to hold office.
The ending of the tale "Jen shih chuan" reads in part, "It is sad to think that a beast assuming human form should resist violation and remain chaste and faithful to her lord till death, while few women nowadays are equal to this." This statement shows the writer's appreciation of good moral conduct and, at the same time, incorporates social criticism. It is possible to combine poetry and moral judgment as does the ending of the tale "Nan-k'o T'ai-shou chuan" 南柯太守傳 (TPKC, 475/32),

They have climbed all the heights: wealth, fame, and honour,
And their power destroys cities and countrysides.
But the wise man looks at them and says:
Are they not like ants in their bustling industry?  

These three features—historical talent, poetic composition and moral judgment—were not included in all tales, not even in all wen-ch’üan 'literary samples,' and thus are inadequate for describing the full range of features found in the T'ang ch’üan-ch‘i tales. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a description in archetypal terms of the settings and characters found in the supernatural ch’üan-ch‘i tales. (The plots or narrative structures are described in Chapters Three through Five.)

The settings of supernatural fiction are of considerable importance since much of the literary effect of the events described depends on the creation of the correct atmosphere. A convincing description of supernatural
surroundings or background for the supernatural beings is found in the majority of works selected by the process described above. The descriptive powers of the ch'uan-ch'i authors are considerable, no doubt a result of their training in poetry, and there is also an element of the historian's penchant for detail. These two factors worked together to produce the illusion of veracity and bold description necessary for the supernatural tale.

It is conventional for T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales to begin with a few lines describing, among other things, the larger setting of the tale. This serves to locate the narrative in space and time, often with a great deal of specificity. These larger settings are important in a number of ways; they can evoke a particular atmosphere associated with the period, such as the chaos which accompanies dynastic change. Again, a particular reign name may have reference to specific historical events which figure in the ch'uan-ch'i tale, for example the tale "Wu-shuang chuan" is set in the T'ang Chien-chung period (A.D. 780-783) when rebels entered Ch'ang-an. This event then figures largely in the development of the plot. Furthermore, certain geographical areas may have particular overtones. A South China setting, a relatively strange and distant region in T'ang times, evokes images of barbarians, strange plants and foods, and exotic animals. Such a setting is found in the opening of the tale "Po yüan chuan":
In the year 545, during the Liang dynasty, the emperor sent General Lan Ching on an expedition to the South. He went as far as Kuei-lin and wiped out the rebel forces of Li Shih-ku and Ch'en Ch'e. At the same time his lieutenant Ou-yang Hei (Ho) found his way as far as Ch'ang-lo, conquering all the cave-dwellers there and leading his army deep into difficult terrain.19

The use of the expressions "cave-dwellers" and difficult terrain" creates an impression of primitive, barbarian surroundings and customs. The T'ang tale "Jen shih chuan" on the other hand has a primarily urban setting which is established in the lines which demarcate the larger setting: "In the sixth month of the ninth year of the T'ien-pao period (A.D. 750) Wei and Cheng were walking together through the streets of Ch'ang-an to a drinking party..."20

When properly employed, the larger settings prepare the reader for a smooth transition from the everyday world into the supernatural worlds so often found in the chih-kuai tales. The first example given above, "Po y'dan chuan," is a case in point. The South China location with the chaos associated with war prepares the reader for the mysterious disappearance of Ou-yang's wife and the dangerous expedition to rescue her. In the other example "Jen shih chuan" the urban setting provides the necessary background for a demonstration of her exceptional moral standards and manifold talents, the latter feature nearly turning the piece into a thematic tale.21

Immediate settings are usually not described in any great detail until a particular atmosphere is to be
established. As it turns out, the detailed, immediate settings are usually those of grandeur and majesty. They are found in a considerable number of tales, most often upon the hero's first entrance into the supernatural world. The T'ang ch'uan-ch'ı tales abound with descriptions of fantastic, mind-boggling palaces inhabited by assorted supernatural beings, for example, in the palace of the Dragon King described in "Liu I chuan":

... they reached a great palace where he saw clustered towers and pavilions, millions of gates and arches, and all the rare plants and trees of the world. The warrior asked him to wait at the corner of a great hall.

"What place is this?" asked Liu.
"The Palace of the Divine Void."

Looking around, Liu saw that this palace was filled with every precious object known to man. The pillars were of white jade; the steps of jasper; the couches of coral; the screens of crystal; the emerald lintels were set with cut glass, while the rainbow-colored beams were inlaid with amber. And the whole created an impression of strange beauty and unfathomable depth which defied descriptive.²²

This passage has much the same atmosphere as that generated by the description of the supernatural world found in the ch'uan-ch'ı tale "Nan-k'o T'ai-shou chuan":

The scenery along the road--the mountains and rivers, trees, and plants--looked different from the world of men. The climate too had changed ... They entered a great city through a turreted red gate over which was inscribed in letters of gold "The Great Kingdom of Ashendon...." Ch'un-yu saw a gate in from swing open, and alighting from the carriage he passed through it. Here were brightly painted and finely carved balustrades and pilasters among terraces of blossoming trees and rare fruits, while tables and rugs, cushions and screens had been set ready in the hall where a rich feast was laid out.²³
Such descriptions serve to create an appropriate atmosphere for the nature of the events that follow, both in that royalty is involved and that the events are specifically and pointedly supernatural. (This latter point is in direct contrast to the events in the dream world described in "Chen-chung chi." Therein there are no supernatural events described as such; all are straightforward depictions of a realistic series of events, though of course somewhat exaggerated.) In the tale "Po yān chuan" there is also a description of a supernatural setting, and it differs only in that it apparently can be reached by ordinary, namely non-magical means. This is not quite the case, however, since not only does the simian say that it is only by Heaven's will that his enemies gain access to his domain, but a close examination of the material quoted below shows that the beast's lair, one of relative splendor, is actually located in a supernatural realm:

...After another ten days, they reached a place about seventy miles from their camp where they could see a green, tree-clad mountain to the south which towered above the other hills. When they came to the foot of this mountain, they found it surrounded by a deep stream, which they had to build a little bridge to cross. Between the emerald precipices and emerald bamboos they caught glimpses of colored dresses and heard the sound of women talking and laughing. When they pulled themselves up the cliffs by vines and ropes, they found green trees planted in rows with rare flowers between them, and a verdant meadow fresh and soft as a carpet. It was a quiet, unearthly, secluded retreat. There was a gate to the east, hewn in the rock, through which
several dozen women could be seen passing--singing and laughing as they went.24

The towering mountain fastness surrounded by water, found only after a long search, and accessible only via a long arduous route is a staple of adventure stories, but furthermore has a solid foundation in archetypal themes. Such a setting represents in psychological criterion the innermost reaches of the mind, and as such is found metaphorically in myth, legend, and the fairy tale.25 In this context, this and the other two settings mentioned above have the same function in archetypal terms. They serve to locate the hero away from his everyday world in a situation that is first one of great potential danger and then one of great potential reward.

A final example of the use of setting is taken from the ch'uan-ch'i tale "Chang Feng" 張逢 (TPKC, 429) which describes the transformation of a man into a were-tiger:

In the latter years of the Yüan-ho period (A.D. 806-821) Chang Feng of Nan-yang traveling through Lin-piao once stopped at the Heng-shan Inn at Fu-t'ang District of Ju-chou [in modern Fukien Provience]. It was near dusk and the skies had just cleared, showing the fresh mountain vegetation through a fine mist. Taking up his staff Chang set out looking for scenic spots, and,unawares, had gone a great distance. Suddenly he came upon a broad expanse of slender grass of a charming and refreshing color. On the side there was a small grove where he removed and hung up his clothes and leaned his staff. Then, throwing himself unto the grass he rolled and twisted about this way and that. Just when it was most pleasurable, rolling about in beast fashion he became aware of his feet thrashing in the air.
He arose and saw that his body had become that of a tiger with blazing stripes. He knew that with his sharp claws and powerful body he was peerless on earth.  

This setting and the attendant transformation are excellent examples of archetypal features. The broad expanse of grass is a region of the unknown, "a free field for the projection of unconscious content." Unknown or unknowable regions, e.g., the desert, sea, or deep forests are comparable to the subconscious part of the mind wherein lie the drives that are normally repressed by the preconscious. Entry into such an area is a signal for release of subconscious drives.

The relationship of the larger and immediate settings then can be seen as a structural progression. First there is the factual and realistic description of space and time, a set of concrete factors that create an illusion of reality and veracity. Next there is a transition into the supernatural world, which is not limited by the logical restraints of the everyday world.

The archetypal material in its complete or more nearly complete form is predicated upon the interactions of a particular group of figures. These figures may be identified as the hero, his doubles or shadows, a goddess or her debased human avatars, a wise old man, and an enemy (of the hero). Although the representation of these figures in literature is at times somewhat obscure, the archetypal patterns have been thoroughly demonstrated on a nearly
universal level in several disciplines, especially anthro-
pology, folklore, mythography, and psychology. 29

The first figure to be discussed is the hero. The life of the hero invariably follows a particular pattern, that of a journey or quest, and the hero invariably has or acquires a distinctive set of heroic characteristics. These two features—journey and heroic characteristics—have been described in convenient form by several scholars. The most complex in terms of features described, though not the earliest, is Raglan's. 30

1. The hero's mother is a royal virgin;
2. His father is a king, and
3. Often a near relative of his mother, but
4. The circumstances of his conception are unusual, and
5. He is also reputed to be the son of a god.
6. At birth an attempt is made, usually by his father or maternal grandfather, to kill him, but
7. He is spirited away, and
8. Reared by foster parents in a far country.
9. We are told nothing of his childhood, but
10. On reaching manhood he returns or goes to his future kingdom.
11. After a victory over the king and/or a giant, dragon, or wild beast,
12. He marries a princess, often the daughter of his predecessor, and
14. For a time he reigns uneventfully, and
15. Prescribes laws, but
16. Later he loses favor with the gods and/or his subjects, and
17. Is driven from the throne and city, after which
18. He meets with a mysterious death,
19. Often at the top of a hill.
20. His children, if any, do not succeed him.
21. His body is not buried, but nevertheless
22. He has one or more holy sepulchres. 31
Despite the considerable detail of his scheme, Raglan states that he has not included all possible characteristics, and it may be noted in particular that he has not included the hero's weapon, which often is inseparable from the hero or at least strongly identified with his person.

To avoid the elaborate detail of Raglan's scheme De Vries subsumes several of the items under a general rubric and then employs a listing of secondary features to distinguish the sub-types. The secondary features, as given by De Vries, are not listed here since they often suffer from the same elaborate detail he faults in Raglan's scheme; rather, when appropriate, they are restated in general terms and placed in parentheses.

I. The begetting of the hero. (The father is a supernatural being and the mother is in some way uncommon.)
II. The birth of the hero. (The birth is unnatural).
III. The youth of the hero is threatened.
IV. The way in which the hero is brought up. (The hero is of exceptional strength or courage, or, on the other hand, he may at first appear to be unpromising.)
V. The hero often acquires invulnerability.
VI. One of the most common heroic deeds is the fight with a dragon or another monster.
VII. The hero wins a maiden, usually after overcoming great dangers.
VIII. The hero makes an expedition to the underworld.
IX. When the hero is banished in his youth he returns later and is victorious over his enemies. In some cases he has to leave the realm again which he has won with such great difficulty.
X. The death of the hero. (The hero must die.)

This scheme makes certain improvements over Raglan's, especially in the increased generality of the main head
ings, which then permits the inclusion of more disparate examples. Unfortunately, De Vries chose only a slightly broader basis for selection of materials than did Raglan when he included some Persian and Indian myths and legends. In both schemes presented above, although the fundamental pattern is obvious, they still lack the generalization or universality that is appropriate at this stage of such an investigation. This problem has been recognized and even answered to a certain extent by Joseph Campbell in his work *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. In the preface to this book Campbell outlines his perception of an appropriate approach:

> It is the purpose of the present book to uncover some of the truths disguised for us under the figures of religion and mythology by bringing together a multitude of not-too-difficult examples and letting the ancient meaning become apparent of itself.... But first we must learn the grammar of the symbols, and as a key to this mystery I know of no better modern tool than psychoanalysis. Without regarding this as the last word on the subject, one can nevertheless permit it to serve as an approach. The second step will be then to bring together a host of myths and folk tales from every corner of the world, and to let the symbols speak for themselves. The parallels will be immediately apparent....

Campbell's realization of his goal, in outline form, has three main stages and seventeen processes.

**The Adventure of the Hero**

A. Departure
1. The Call to Adventure
2. The Refusal of the Call
3. Supernatural Aid
4. The Crossing of the First Threshold
5. The Belly of the Whale
B. Initiation
1. The Road of Trials
2. The Meeting with the Goddess
3. Woman as Temptress
4. Atonement with the Father
5. Apotheosis
6. The Ultimate Boon

C. Return
1. Refusal of the Return
2. The Magic Flight
3. Rescue from Without
4. The Crossing of the Return Threshold
5. Master of Two Worlds
6. Freedom to Live

Campbell further summarizes the entire process:

A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.

Campbell admits that his methodology tends to overlook "the differences between the various Oriental and Occidental, modern, ancient, and primitive traditions," but further states that his book is about similarities, not about differences. However, all writers, Campbell included, always append to their presentations the caveat that not all heroes found in the materials used demonstrate the complete pattern of the heroic life. This is very much the case in fiction and especially so in the short story where length necessarily limits the scope of the narrative. A close look at these idealized schemes and a brief comparison with the patterns of several T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales (described below) shows that in Raglan's scheme items after number eight are most applicable, while in the scheme of De Vries
items V through X are most applicable. Campbell's scheme, with its broad basis in psychoanalysis and a nearly universal selection of myth and folk tale, achieves the least culturally biased description of the hero and the heroic pattern. For this reason Campbell's scheme and the related materials in psychology form the basis for most of the theoretical points in the following discussion.

In describing the hero of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i one must take into account certain considerations and narrative conventions closely associated with this type of fiction. One consideration is that ch'uan-ch'i tales are, in a manner of speaking, a "class literature" in that they were written by and for persons who shared rather similar social, economic, and educational backgrounds. This group was essentially elitist and highly conscious of that fact. Membership was established by successfully passing a series of difficult examinations based upon specialized knowledge and abilities. Thus, a scholar by definition is an outstanding man, one who sees himself, or is seen by others, as destined for an extraordinary life.

Another factor influencing the portrayal of the hero is the techniques of characterization in this genre. Comparatively speaking, modern Western fiction (or even Chinese vernacular fiction) tends to place greater emphasis upon the delineation of the protagonist as a unique individual. This is accomplished through a variety of highly
developed techniques, many of which are not employed in
the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales. \(^{37}\) Ch'uan-ch'i authors tend
to operate in a more categorical fashion as regards
characterization, but this does not mean that they employ
mere stereotypes or purely symbolic characters, even though
there is no real effort to create "real people." \(^{38}\) Rather,
what happens is that general expectations are established
by relegating a fictional character to a certain social
niche; individuality is then established as required in
the development of the narrative. W. L. Idema notes the
distinction of "individuals" and "types," the former
characteristic of modern fiction, the latter of traditional
fiction. This, he says, is a feature also true of
much Western literature as well. \(^{39}\)

An adequate description of the Chinese hero as port-
rayed in the ch'uan-ch'i tales must take some additional
characteristics into consideration. These characteristics
are derived from certain qualities which are generally
identified with the educated class, the literati, and which
find expression in the literature it produces.

Typically the scholar-hero the T'ang ch'uan ch'i
tale is well versed in the poetic skills and thoroughly
imbued with the Confucian virtues of righteousness, filial
piety, loyalty, and friendship. Although he is a man of
great moral courage, willing to endanger his life when his
principles are at stake, yet he is not given to vain
bravado in the face of overwhelming danger. An example of the scholar-hero's response to a dangerous, or potentially dangerous situation is found in the tale "Liu I chuan." It describes his reaction to the sudden appearance of a rampaging dragon.

Panic-stricken, Liu had fallen to the ground. But now the king himself helped him up, urging, "Have no fear! All is well."

After a long time, Liu recovered a little. And when calm enough he asked leave to withdraw. "I had better go while I can," he explained. "I couldn't survive another experience like that." 40

Although Liu eventually demonstrates his superiority over the dragon, his reaction to such a display of unrestrained, brute power is defined, in part, by the Confucian virtue of resorting to violence only after all other solutions to a dangerous situation have been exhausted. 41 This, then, is a heroism of wen 文 or cultivated eloquence rather than the heroism of wu 武 or martial power. 42

There is also a certain amount of wu or martial power to be found in some of the ch'uan ch'i tales. Professor J.Y. Liu has examined the martial side of the Chinese character as it is presented in the concept of knighth-errantry of hsia 侠. 43 This type of martial behavior is usually associated with righting wrongs, correcting injustices, and revenge.

There is another sort of behavior that conceivably could be called martial but which is better described with
Fontenrose's concept of "dragon-battle." This term describes a conflict between light and dark, order and chaos, or any of a number of antithetical pairs. An excellent example of this type of martial behavior is found in the tale "Pu Chiang Tsung po ydan chuan." Ou-yang Ho is a victorious military officer whose wife is abducted by a supernatural simian. After a long, hard search Ou-yang locates and destroys the simian, thereby regaining his wife. (The tale is analysed in detail below.) The tracking and slaying of the simian is vividly described in the text and Ou-yang is noted as a military man of some accomplishment. However, it is actually rare for the scholar-hero to personally engage in such combat even though it is an essential part of the archetypal pattern. Dragon combat is found in some T'ai-ping kuang-chi stories, such as "T'ao Hsien" (TPKC 420/28) and "Chou Han" (TPKC 422/36). In these stories there is underwater combat between the servant of a scholar-hero and a dragon. Here the combat is over treasure, a symbol of fertility, and, viewed in this context, the recovery of Ou-yang's wife is also the recovery of a fertility figure from the enemy Chaos. (The arguments for this interpretation are detailed below.)

A hero usually has a weapon of some sort and the Chinese scholar-hero is not exception. However, since he is precluded by Confucian restraints from a life of
violence, yet must overcome his opponents, his main recourse is to a non-violent weapon—words. The scholar's power with words—spoken or written—is a symbol of his manhood and an extension of his inner being. While words are often magical when used in a ritual manner or as spells (as in "Jen Hsü" 仪埓, TPKC, 421/33, for example) their use by the scholar-hero is rather a manifestation of his personal moral force. The word wen 詞, a highly elastic term, is at once the concrete expression of the man and a vehicle for the employment of his moral cultivation against the enemy. When Liu I is confronted with the sudden appearance of a rampaging dragon (described above), actually the younger brother of the Dragon King, his reaction seems anything but heroic. Liu I then meets the dragon again, this time in human form, as they continued to celebrate after the safe return of the Dragon King's daughter. While they eat and drink, the dragon—the Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang—forcefully suggests to Liu that he marry the Dragon King's recently widowed daughter. Liu, for reasons of decorum, cannot and rebukes the Prince for both the manner and the nature of his suggestion. The Prince sees his error and apologizes.

Liu's rebuke of the Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang is a model of righteousness as well as an effective weapon against overwhelming and potentially dangerous force, despite the somewhat improbable nature of the prince's threat. Liu's
sense of justice will not permit him to marry a woman after having partially caused her husband's death. Therefore, his diction is characterized by concepts such as "human relationships," "ways of men," "honor," "host and guest," and "harmony." These concepts, with the full weight of the Confucian tradition behind them, far exceed the mere physical might of the Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang. Thus, the combination of a scholar-hero's moral convictions and the persuasive power of his words demonstrate the superiority of virtue and eloquence over strength and violence.

The scholar-hero of the T'ang tales did of course employ other types of weapons. Various magical objects were used along with genuine weapons, though some of the latter also had significant magical properties. One well-known example of a magical object functioning as a weapon comes from a piece of fiction which pre-dates the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales, the "Ku-ching chi" 古鏡記 (TPKC, 230/31). The following is but one of many similar episodes in the narrative:

That autumn (Wang) Tu became magistrate of Jui. In front of the magistry there was a jujube tree several yards around, and unknown hundreds of years old. The previous magistrates had all worshipped this tree, since otherwise calamity soon occurred. Tu thought that a demon was thus attracted by people and that these improper sacrifices should be discontinued. The district officials all pleaded with Tu and he had no recourse but to make the sacrifice. Yet he thought to himself that there must be a demon dwelling in the tree and that because people could not exorcise it this situation had come about. Thereupon he secretly hung the mirror
on the tree. That night at about the second drum a thunderous sound came from in front of the courtyard. He arose and saw that dark winds and rain surrounded the tree and lightning flashed above and below. At dawn a huge dead snake was in the tree, its body covered with wounds. It had purple scales, a red tail, a green head, white horns, and the character wang ḫ "king" on its forehead. Tu took down the mirror and ordered the officials to remove the snake and burn it in front of the district gate. Then they excavated the tree which they found to have a hole which led to a larger hole in the ground below. The marks of a huge snake were in it. They covered it over and the demonic activities ceased.⁴⁶

Although the scholar-hero is not a man of violence, yet when violence is necessary it frequently is accomplished through the medium of a double, also called shadow or doppleganger.⁴⁷ The presence of such a figure was long ago noted by E. D. Edwards who wrote,

"In place of the knight of Western story and legend, whose life was spent in rescuing maidens in distress, there is in many Chinese tales a secondary hero whose business it is to solve the problems and difficulties of the situation and make everything easy for the hero and his lady."⁴⁸

This secondary figure is, of course, a double in psychological terminology. The concept of the double is explicable to a certain extent in psychological theory but "is embarrassingly vague, as used in literary criticism."⁴⁹ This problem is caused by the highly elastic nature of the term and its application to the greatly disparate host of such phenomena found in literature. To achieve a minimal measure of clarity the term will be used here to indicate the embodiment and display of impulses subconsciously ex-
perceived by the scholar-hero and which are denied or beyond personal expression. These include primarily various expressions of the subconscious drives _destrudo_ and _libido_.

An excellent example of the complexity of expression found in this phenomenon in literature is demonstrated in the T'ang tale "Liu I" in the relationship between the Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang and the main, or title, character. The archetypal pattern depicts a hero battling and destroying the enemy and restoring world fertility, often symbolized by a woman with whom the hero has sexual union. In Northrop Frye's words,

"...the reward of the quest usually is or includes a bride.... She is often found in a perilous, forbidden, or tabooed place...and she is, of course, often rescued from the unwelcome embraces of another and generally older male, or from giants or bandits or other usurpers."

Liu I as hero of the tale accomplishes both these deeds. The destruction of the enemy is actually carried out by the Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang, yet while the merit of the deed is accorded to Liu I the violence is laid to the prince, as is shown in his report to the king,

"How many did you kill?" asked the king.
"Six hundred thousand."
"Did you destroy any fields?"
"About three hundred miles."
"Where is that scoundrel, her husband?"
"I ate him."

In psychological terms the prince is a projection of Liu I's destructive impulses, triggered by his desire to rescue the
Dragon King's daughter, but also restrained by the force of Liu's Confucian value system.53

The natural consequence of the rescue is sexual union with the woman; this again is denied outward expression by Liu's moral code. Nonetheless, the tension is present and finds expression in the prince's near-ultimatum that Liu I wive the Dragon King's daughter. Liu I is properly horrified and later explains that he, "could hardly marry the woman whose husband's death I had caused," which of course is exactly what he eventually does.54 Thus, the Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang is an extension of the character of Liu I in fulfilling the expression of the primary subconscious impulses of libido and destrudo.

Another example of the double is found in a particular character type, a dark-skinned foreigner of small, but powerful stature who possesses various miraculous powers. The basic relationship is between a scholar and his devoted servant, the latter performing for the former a number of difficult or hazardous acts. Perhaps the best-known T'ang example of this type is found in the tale "K'un-lun nu," (TPKC, 194/24). In this tale a young scholar named Ts'ui forms an attachment with a concubine of an old general. The K'un-lun slave, called Mo-lo, performs a number of super-human feats to help Ts'ui carry the girl off. In the tale "T'ao Hsien" the title character is a wealthy scholar who spends his time traveling about on a boat with
his three treasures—sword, ring, and K'un-lun slave, Mo-k'o . Stopping his boat at various places, he throws the sword and ring into the water and commands Mo-k'o to retrieve them. Finally the treasures are captured by a dragon which also kills Mo-k'o, and T'ao Hsien then retires. Another tale, "Chou Han" has essentially the same characters (the slave is a foreigner named Shui-ching 水精) and the same pattern, only slightly more elaborate in execution, and with a Buddhist moral tacked on.

The basic theme underlying the last two examples is dragon-combat to restore world fertility which is symbolized by the treasures. In the first example, "K'un-lun nu," the pattern though less obvious (and more realistic) is still apparent and essentially fits the quest theme. As Northrop Frye says,

"...in the secular quest-romances...obvious motives and rewards for the quest are...common. Often the dragon guards a hoard: the quest for buried treasure has been a central theme of romance from the Siegfried cycle to Nostromo, and is unlikely to be exhausted yet."55

Combat is always a necessary feature in the recovery of treasure and the outcome of the combat is not always in favor of the hero. Though he is triumphant in the full archetypal pattern, many extant narratives portray only the temporary defeat of the hero (sparagmos). This is the case in the two dragon-combat tales mentioned above: the defeat of the double is the symbolic defeat of the hero, who then retires from further activity.
At some point in his journey the hero may meet with some figure who helps him through the trials of the adventure. This person is superior in wisdom and knowledge to the hero and is an experienced initiate who understands what is to be done and how it is to be done. The help given the hero may be in the form of tendering good advice, the provision of a magical weapon or implement, or the performance of a magical deed. The help comes at a time of particular need, especially when the hero is about to cross a dangerous threshold of life that requires changes in both the conscious and subconscious levels of the mind. A figure that renders such assistance is designated as a Wise Old Man.

In most T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales, as in most other literatures, the role of the Wise Old Man is relatively small, especially in terms of direct action. Examples of such figures are the priest in "Chen-chung chi," Wang Sui-chung in "Wu-shuang chuan," Hou in "Ku-ching chi," and Li Kung-tso in "Hsieh Hsiao-o chuan." The services rendered are various but still of a particular type. In the tale "Ku-ching chi" Hou provides Wang Tu with a magic mirror which can destroy all evil; in the tale "Chen-chung chi" the Taoist priest provides Lu with a magic pillow which leads the hero toward the right path. This figure is also found as the Buddhist priest in the story "Ying-t'ao ch'ing-i" (TPKC, 281) whose preaching puts the hero into a
trance wherein he attains enlightenment. In the tale "Hsieh Hsiao-o chuan" the author Li Kung-tso fills the role of the Wise Old Man by riddling the pun which conceals and contains the names of the murderers of the heroine's father and husband, thus permitting her to avenge their deaths. In the tale "Cheng Te-lin," the old boatman-peddler is also King of the Underwater Palace. When Cheng's beloved is drowned the King, whom he had earlier befriended, pities the lovers and restores her to life.

From these examples it can be seen that the figure of the Wise Old Man is older than the hero, of greater wisdom, and is often associated with a social class or occupation that suggests a different type of understanding than that of the hero. Priests represent the great body of learning or insight often associated with great religions.

In the consideration of this figure there is at times the possibility of confusion with two other figures—the double and the helper. In this study the double is understood as an extension of the hero's inner being, an extension which performs deeds which for some reason are beyond his capabilities. The Wise Old Man seldom performs actual deeds and furthermore represents a level of understanding which is superior to that of the hero. The helper is usually a minor figure and often is an agent of the Wise Old Man or a sign of divine sympathy for the quest.

The goal of the heroic journey is union with a female figure. In the tales which have a stronger base in the
subconscious mind or in mythology this archetypal figure
is a goddess who combines all the qualities of mother,
sister, mistress, and bride. The qualities may be em-
bodied in the same person or, more commonly, found in two
or more characters. They are not always benevolent or
loving figures though and may, in psychological terms,
represent forbidden, unattainable, grasping, or punishing
mother figures. Such negative figures when found in
T'ang stories are usually represented by role-types such
as the vitality-draining revenant or fox-fairy or chiao
type of dragon.

These female characters are either supernatural crea-
tures in human form or, as in the more realistic stories,
are purely human. But even as supernatural creatures they
have few of the goddess attributes of their prototypes
Nü Kua 女媧, Lo Shen 洛神, or Shen Nü 神女, and instead
may demonstrate the qualities of either daughters of good
families or the benevolent type of fox-fairy. Exceptions
are found in the two tales attributed to Hsüeh Ying 薛瑛, titled "Tung-t'ing shan-hsüeh" 洞庭山穴 and "Lo Shen chuan" 洛神傳. The first records the quest for treasure--
dragon pearls--into the dragon's underground palace.
Though the structure is essentially that of the archetypal
quest the tale reads more like an exchange of gifts be-
tween two potentates. The second records the encounter of
a mortal with the Spirit of the Lo. She is entranced by
his lute-playing and they carry on a refined discussion upon a variety of subjects from her relationship with Prince Ssu of Ch'en (Ts'ao Chih)--she claims to be the ghost of Empress Chen as well--to the realities of dragon lore.

In the characters nearest to the archetype the goddesses appear as an object to be won through victory in a series of trials. Examples are Hung-hsiao in "K'un-lun nu," the Dragon King's daughter in "Liu I chuan," and Liu Wu-shuang in "Wu-shuang chuan." Except for the last example these women are all unnamed in the tales, which in part is a result of their primarily symbolic significance as a goal of the adventure and in part a formal characteristic of ch'uan-ch'i tales. In each case the women are stunning beauties and the captives, so to speak, of an older adversary or adversary-like figure. They may or may not be involved in the development of the action of the tale. In "K'un-lun nu" Hung- hsiao personally initiates her own rescue by signaling her willingness to Ts'ui, but in "Po yüan chuan" Ou-yang's wife is an actual captive of the simian.

Another type of supernatural figure is the fox-fairy. These are somewhat seductive and of relatively easy access. They may be encountered as ostensible humans and only later be revealed as supernatural beings. Examples are Fan-jen in "Hsiang-chung yüan chieh", Jen in "Jen shih chuan", and Yüan in "Sun K'o". These figures are regularly found in tales which represent only part of
the archetypal pattern—the union of hero and goddess—and which frequently end in a disappointing fashion for the hero, since the goddess proves to be ultimately unattainable. This demonstrates the difference from the fuller archetypal pattern which shows that by proving his heroic status through success in the trials the hero is entitled to keep his prize.

The tale "Hsiang-chung yüan chieh" exemplifies this pattern. Cheng finds a woman sobbing under a bridge. She tells him her troubles and he takes her home. She is a great beauty, skilled in poetry, and of some financial means. After several years of life together she finally tells him that she was banished from the Hsiang-chung chiao palace and is now free to return there. She leaves despite his pleadings. This type of tale has a certain affinity with the type of king and goddess meeting described in the Preface to the "Kao-t'ang fu" by Sung Yü and ultimately is related to the shaman-goddess relationship of early religious practice. Its appearance in the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales is further evidence of the influence of early thought, religion, and literature on the T'ang authors.

As mentioned above, there is another aspect to the female figure—the woman as temptress. In psychological theory this aspect is a manifestation of the repressed fears and desires found in the so-called Oedipal complex.
The woman then becomes a symbol of such fears and is looked upon with dread and revulsion. This aspect achieves literary expression as the vampirish chiao that lure men to their death with seductive charms, as in "Lao chiao" 老蛟 (TPKC, 425/29), or as murderous snake demons, as in "Li Huang" 李黃 (TPKC, 458/19).

The last major figure of the adventure to be considered herein is the enemy: he stands in an adversary relationship with the hero in a struggle over possession of the goddess. In an anthropological analysis this figure represents the death of the natural world in winter, while in the schemes of Raglan or De Vries this figure is described as a dragon, monster, or a king. Campbell's scheme refers only to fabulous forces to be overcome, but within his psychoanalytical framework this refers to the successful mastery of the various stages of psychological development.62

In the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales there are a number of different types of characters representing the enemy. In several tales there is a dragon which possesses either a human goddess-figure or a treasure sought by the questing hero. An example is the husband of the Dragon King's daughter, the second son of the king of the Ching River, who mistreated his wife and, together with his parents, banished her to a lonely spot. Other draconic examples are found in several TPKC entries, such as "T'ao Hsien" and "Chou Han." In the first example the dragon is described
in terms applicable to a human being, while in the latter examples the creature is purely draconic. In the tale "Po yün chuan" the simian is also an enemy figure since he steals away the hero's wife and is slain in the ensuing combat engaged in to recover her (though for the complexities involved in identifying this creature see Chapter IV). In these tales the identification of the enemy as such is made with comparative ease, though this is not always the case, especially when he appears in human form only.

When the enemy appears only in human form he is usually an older man of considerable social or political or financial power. This conforms to the archetype or stereotype of youth against old age in the struggle for immortality, personal or universal, which is present in much literature. There are several examples in the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales; "Wu-shuang chuan," in particular, exemplifies the character of the enemy in the person of an older figure, more powerful than the hero. First the hero Wang Hsien-k'o attempts to win Wu-shuang away from his uncle but fails; then Wu-shuang is taken into the palace and the challenge is even greater, but after a long period the hero, with considerable help, finally succeeds in stealing her away, but only at the cost of three lives. This then shows the pattern of temporary defeat but final victory with blood spilled. In this particular scene the enemy has become the emperor himself (a dragon!), the girl
is won by trickery, and the blood shed is that of Wang Hsien-k'o's helpers. A less obvious example of the enemy is the official identified as I-p'in in the tale "K'un-lun nu." Although I-p'in is a friend of the hero Ts'iu's father and is very kind to Ts'ui, the girl says that she was forced to be I-p'in's concubine and feels herself a prisoner. She describes her situation to Ts'ui:

"I came from the northern borderland and my family used to be rich," the girl told Ts'ui. "But my present master was commander there and forced me to be his concubine. I am ashamed that I could not kill myself and had to live on in disgrace." 63

In citing this example E. D. Edwards notes that,

During the T'ang period men of power and wealth often took women into their households by force, so that there were always beautiful women in trouble and young men anxious to rescue them. 64

In the above examples we see that the enemy is either in monster form (dragon or ape) or in human form as an older male superior to the hero in some way. The goddesses, debased or otherwise, are held captive against their will and welcome the younger rescuer. Though the details of the individual tales differ greatly, the underlying features obtained, thus demonstrating the pervasive nature of the archetype.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1Hu Ying-lin, 胡應麟 Shao-shih shan-fang pi-ts'ung, 少室山房筆乘 36, in Lu Hsün, A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, p. 85.

2Lu Hsün, "Liu-ch'ao hsiao-shuo ho T'ang ch'uan-ch'i-wen yu tsen-yang ti ch'i-pieh?" in Ch'ieh-chieh t'ing tsa-wen, erh-chi, pp. 106-108.

3Hung Mai, Jung-chai sui-pi 容齋隨筆, in DKD, p. ii.


5Hightower notes that ch'uan-ch'i tales could have been composed by T'ang writers without the stimulus of a practical goal. Topics in Chinese Literature, p. 77.


7Hightower, Topics in Chinese Literature, p. 77.


10"Jen the Fox Fairy" in The Dragon King's Daughter, p. 16.


12For example, "Po yüan chuan" and "Jen shih chuan" contain no poetry whatsoever.

13This can be found in the T'ang-tai ts'ung-shu, p. 612.


17"Jen the Fox Fairy," in The Dragon King's Daughter, p. 16.


21This by way of loosely borrowing Hanan's use of the term describing the "purpose of this kind of story[which is] to demonstrate a moral example, to drive home a lesson." P. D. Hanan, "The Early Chinese Short Story: A Critical Theory in Outline," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 27 (1967) p. 191.


25"This point is developed throughout Campbell, Hero with a Thousand Faces, but for concrete representation of the correspondences compare the charts on p. 245 and p. 266. Of course, mountain tops are often points of epiphany, but here the location in the remote jungle reached only after an arduous journey and the crossing of many barriers is the clue. Jungles, the desert, and the ocean are common symbols for the subconscious mind.


27Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, p. 79.

In anthropology the standard work is Frazer's *Golden Bough*; in folklore Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, in mythology Jane Harrison's *Themis*, Raglan's *The Hero*, and De Vries' *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*; in psychology Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* and Jung's *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*. The description of such material as Chinese folktale types has been accomplished by Chung Ching-wen 鍾敬文 in his "Chung-kuo min-chien ku-shih hsing shih", reprinted in Min-su-hsêh chi-chüan, 民俗學集錦 1, 7, (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1972) pp. 353-74, and by Wolfram Eberhard in his monograph "Typen Chinesischer Volksmärchen" (F. P. Communications, Vol. 56, no. 120, Helsinki, 1937).

The earliest description of the material in this fashion appears to be that of J. G. von Hahn, whose scheme consisted of thirteen motifs. His work *Sagenwissenschaftliche Studien* was printed in 1876. For an evaluation of this and Raglan's scheme see De Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, pp. 210-11.


Jan De Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, pp. 211-216.


Campbell, *Ibid.* p. 30. This is perhaps the most economical statement available of this process. For a slightly more elaborate description with some helpful explanation, see pages 245-46 of the same work.


Discussions on the methods of characterization employed or not employed, as the case may be, may be found in Li Hsi fan, 李希凡 "Ku-tien hsiao-shuo jen-wu ch'üang-tsao man-t' an san t' i," 古典小說人物創作漫談三題 and "Hsing-ko, ch' ing-chieh, chieh-kou ho jen-wu ti ch' u-ch' ang," 性格、情節、結構和人物的出場 both essays in Lun Chung-kuo ku-tien hsiao-shuo ti i-shu hsing hsiang; 論中國古典小說的人物形成 W. L. Idena, *Story Telling and the Short Story in China*; and P. D. Hanan, "The Early Chinese Short Story: A Critical Theory in Outline". These articles are primarily concerned with vernacular fiction, the exceptions being Hanan's comparison of the narrative devices
found in the classical tale and the vernacular story, pp. 172-78 and Idema's discussion of ch'uan-ch'i influences on vernacular stories. His comments on the use of poetry are specially interesting.

38 Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 304.


41 Creel, Chinese Thought: From Confucius to Mao Tse-tung, p. 30.


44 J. Fontenrose, Python; the myth is summed up on pp. 465-66. This concept did not originate with Fontenrose but his work on this topic is the most extensive.

45 In a hua pen version of this or similar material (Ch'ing-p'ing shan-t'ang hua-pen 清平山堂話本, 13 and Ku-chin hsiao-shuo 古今小說 20), even though the scholar-hero is equally versed in the literary and martial arts, and proves the latter in a battle, he nonetheless requires supernatural aid to overcome the ape.

46 TPKC, 230/31.


50 Campbell, Hero with a Thousand Faces, p. 6.


53 For a discussion of the values of the Confucian scholar in the present context see J. Y. Liu, *The Chinese Knight-Errant*, pp. 7-9.

54 "The Dragon King's Daughter," in *The Dragon King's Daughter*, p. 29.


57 Campbell, *Ibid.*, p. 10. Campbell also notes that initiation rites or rites of passage are supervised by such figures.


60 Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, p. 9.

61 Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, p. 120 ff.

62 This matter is discussed by Campbell in Chapter II of the *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*; page 136 has a specially clear explanation of this process.


64 Edwards, *Chinese Prose Literature*, Vol. 2, p. 26. Another example of this is found in the T'ang-tai ts'ung-shu tale, "P'ei Tu," p. 548, which has the captured damsel, the suffering hero, but instead of a wicked enemy, a benevolent one who returns the young lady to the hero when his suffering is noticed.
CHAPTER THREE

THE EMERGING PATTERN

The tale "Liu I chuan"\(^1\) has been noted as "an outstanding and sophisticated example of a T'ang novella,"\(^2\) and judging by the number of later literary adaptations this evaluation is certainly justified.\(^3\) Not only is this tale a notable literary achievement, it also incorporates a remarkable amount of extant literary and folkloric material from a variety of disparate sources (see examples below). Thus, it follows the well established pattern of many Chinese masterpieces, such as Hsi-yu chi 西遊記 and Chin P'ing Mei 金瓶梅, which draw in varying fashions, upon material already circulating in some form, and then further transform it into an individual work of art.\(^4\) The author's skillful combination of archetypal material and literary arts has produced a highly regarded and frequently imitated tale.

Summary

In the I-feng 儀鳳 period (A.D. 676–79) the failed scholar Liu I 柳毅 is returning home to the Hsiang River Valley when a rising bird causes his horse to bolt and take him several miles off his course before finally coming to...
a stop near a beautiful young woman tending sheep. Liu notices her sad expression and asks the reason. She explains that she is the youngest daughter of the Dragon King of Tung-t'ing Lake and that she has been banished to this lonely spot by the doting parents of her churlish husband.

The Dragon King's daughter then begs Liu I to take a letter to her parents as she herself cannot communicate with them. Liu I proclaims his good intentions with righteous indignation and she then tells him how to contact her parents. He is to proceed to the bank of Tung-t'ing Lake where he will find a sacred orange tree. He is to change belts, knock on the tree three times, and a guide will appear. Somewhat over a month later Liu I reaches home and goes to Tung-t'ing Lake where he carries out his instructions and is soon standing before the Dragon King in his luxurious underwater palace. Liu I reveals his mission and soon the whole palace is lamenting this misfortune. The Dragon King warns Liu I that his information should be kept from his younger brother the Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang who has a reputation for being overbold and destructive. However, his warning is in vain,

He had scarcely finish speaking when there came a great crash, as if both heaven and earth had been torn asunder. The palace shook and mist seethed as in burst a crimson dragon more than a thousand feet long, dragging after it a jade pillar to which its neck had been fashioned by a gold chain. Its eyes were bright as lightning, its tongue red as blood, and it had scarlet scales and a fiery mane. Thunder crashed and
lightning flashed around it, then snow and hail fell thick and fast, after which it soared up into the azure sky.  

The Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang rescues his niece, and returns to report that he killed six hundred thousand people, laid waste to three hundred miles of land, and ate his niece's husband. A great celebration follows and Liu I is honored with many gifts and much praise. The Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang during the course of the festivities suggests rather forcefully to Liu I that he is just the right person to marry his niece. Liu I's reply is a model of Confucian righteousness:

For a moment Liu looked grave. Then he rejoined with a laugh, "I never thought the Prince of Ch'ien-t'ang would have such unworthy ideas. I have heard that once when you crossed nine continents, you shook the five mountains to give vent to your anger; and I have seen you break the golden chain and drag the jade piller after you to rescue your niece. I thought there was no one as brave and just as you, who dared risk death to right a wrong, and would sacrifice your life for those you love. These are the true marks of greatness. Yet now, while music is being played and host and guest are in harmony, you try to force me to do your will in defiance of honour. I would never have expected this of you! If I met you on the angry sea or among dark mountains, with your fins and beard flying and mist and rain all around, though you threatened me with death I should consider you a mere beast and not count it against you. But now you are in human garb. You talk of manners and show a profound understanding of human relationships and the ways of men. You have a nicer sense of propriety than many gallants in the world of men, not to say monsters of the deep. Yet you try to use your strength and temper--while pretending to be drunk--to force me to agree to your proposal. This is hardly right. Although small enough to hide under one of your scales, I am not afraid of your anger. I hope you will reconsider your proposal."
Then the prince apologized. "Brought up in the palace, I was never taught etiquette," he said. "Just now I spoke wildly and offended you--your rebuke was well deserved. Don't let this spoil our friendship."  

The next day Liu I takes leave of the Dragon Palace, but not without some wistful thoughts of the Dragon King's daughter. He returns to his home and becomes wealthy by selling merely a portion of the gifts presented to him by the dragons. After two marriages, both of which end in the death of his wives, a go-between successfully proposes a match with a girl who turns out to bear a strong resemblance to the Dragon King's daughter. When he recounts to her his underwater adventures she at first ignores the matter, but finally, after successfully bearing a child, she admits her saurine origins. She claims that she is repaying his kindness and that she would truly be grateful if he would keep her. He protests his love for her, saying that their union must have been fated. She offers to share her immortality with him and they return to Tung-t'ing Lake for a visit. After forty years (some say twenty) of princely life on land they make a final return to the Lake and only appear to mortals once thereafter. The disputation expounds upon draconic virtues.

The English word dragon is usually employed as the standard equivalent of the Chinese term 虫 虫 . At times, however, the word dragon may also represent a creature known in Chinese as the 蹼 蹼 , which is usually described as a "hornless dragon." There are distinct
qualitative differences between the two creatures and there are no observable phonological or graphic cognations in the words and graphs. In general the chiao is not a benevolent or auspicious creature, and, in comparison with the lung, is much more likely to bring harm to whoever encounters one.

As to the specific characteristics of the chiao, the Shuo wen 説文 mentions that "it is in the dragon category, the leader of the three thousand types of pond fish ch'ih-yu 池魚, capable of flight and commands fish. It flees when nets are placed in the water." The Shan hai ching 山海經 says that "Large chiao are ten plus measures in circumference, have eggs (the size of) one or two stone crocks, and are capable of swallowing men." The Shu i chi 述異記 says, "Tigers and fish when old become chiao."

Descriptions of the chiao vary. Once an official in pursuit of chiao skins for drum covers obtained a description from a certain southern monk who said that chiao have the form of a leech and are covered with a foul-smelling, sticky slime. The head is rodent-like and has a white spot.

The chiao was not an overly popular creature with the writers of the early tales. It figures in only thirteen T'ai-p'ing kuang'chi entries under the chiao category (though it does appear elsewhere in the collection) and did not find its way into the "popular prose novella."
In a discussion of the chiao or kraken Edward Schafer refers to them as "a dreadful kind of dragon ... serpentine draculas, thirsting for human blood."

In this discussion Schafer evolves an antithesis of benevolent and malevolent "dragons," lung and chiao respectively, and this indeed appears to represent the weight of opinion, or, at least, the tendency on the part of the writer of depicting or reflecting a moral dualism. However, a reading of the thirteen T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi entries under the rubric chiao presents a somewhat less concrete case against this creature. From the point of view of the quality of relationships with humans the chiao in these tales can be judged as beneficial (one tale), neutral (six tales) and harmful (five tales). Thus, the preponderance of material, at least that recorded in the TPKC, does not conform to the popular conception of this creature.

One story, interestingly enough, presents an entirely unconventional picture of the chiao. The Confucian scholar Wang Chih 楊震, while traveling by boat, is approached by two men who reveal themselves as heavenly emissaries and say that they are on a mission to destroy two rapacious merchants. Wang Chih is advised to change his present mooring which is where the punishment is scheduled to take place. He does so and next day witnesses the destruction of the two merchants in a sudden storm. Several hundred other witnesses were present and someone among them upon hearing Wang's story explained that in this place a pair
of chiao were at times seen. They further ventured that the chiao had drowned the merchants in accordance with a heavenly decree.

An interesting feature of this piece is that during the first meeting between Wang Chih and the two chiao there is a dialogue on the meaning of the Confucian sayings, "The Master did not speak of gods and marvels" and "Revere the ghosts and gods yet keep them at a distance." On being challenged to defend these principles Wang explains that the former is to avoid any misconceptions about the classical teachings and that the latter is to protect normal human relationships. The two chiao (always in human form) then said that they were neither ghosts nor mortals and announced the highly righteous purpose of their visit. Thus the piece is in part of persuasion that, in this instance at least, the chiao in carrying out the destruction of mortals are actually performing a righteous deed upon heavenly command.

The chiao were not always so fortunate in their relations with humans. In one piece titled "Han Wu and the white chiao," Emperor Wu-ti of the Han while boating at night catches a chiao about three to four chang long and has it minced. The flavor tastes unlike anything else. In another brief piece "Hung Chen" a chiao transforms itself into a replica of a man and makes off with his intended a month before the wedding. When the bridegroom finally comes to fetch the bride the truth
outs and he sets off on revenge. He succeeds in killing
the chiao, still in human form, but finds that his wife is
now also a chiao.13

From these examples we see that the chiao is a complex
creature, at times powerful and at times rather helpless.
While they undoubtably have magical powers they can also
be killed and even eaten by humans. The distinction be-
tween being powerful and powerless is made along moral or
ethical lines. Thus, Emperor Wu-ti of the Han had great
tei 德, or virtue while the cuckolded would-be bridegroom
had the power of moral indignation among his resources.
On the contrary, those men falling victim to the chiao
inevitably responded to their ostensibly seductive ad-
vances and thus exhibited a fatal moral laxity.

The main features of the chiao were described above.
In addition it should be mentioned that they have power
over the storm elements including thunder and lightning;
however, they are in no way associated with the all-
important fertilizing rains, as in the lung. They are also
capable of various transformations and, in one case,
flight.14 They frequent such places as rocky lairs and
stone bridges, though they often appear in various shapes
lurking in or near the water. Though we have demonstrated
that they are not always depicted as manifest evil, the
fact remains that the chiao is not merely inferior to the
lung but also is its very antithesis. This interesting
polarity is not mere happenstance; rather it involves a
juxtaposition of opposing moral qualities in these two
 draconic counterparts, the one an embodiment of a complex
 of positive qualities, the other no more than a scapegoat
 for various aquatic or meteorological catastrophes.

The most commonly known "dragon" creature is the
lung. This is an exceptionally complex figure with a be-
wildering array of powers, transformations and attributes.
Its closest relative in nature, and perhaps the ultimate
model is most likely the snake, or, if not, then some
lizard-like, serpentine creature. This conclusion is
based on the physical resemblance of the pictorial repre-
sentations available.\textsuperscript{15} The early graphs show a legless,
serpentine body with what apparently are horns or, at least,
are said to be horns or else fleshy protrubances. The
shell and bone inscriptions have minimal hornlike repre-
sentations while the drawings of later periods are more
elaborate.\textsuperscript{16} According to one authority the bone or bronze
inscriptions picture nothing more than large mouthed
snakes.\textsuperscript{17} Despite this rather prosaic beginning the lung
was soon noted not only for its distinctive appearance but
also for its manifold powers. Quotations in pre-Ch'in
works invest the lung with powers to submerge in water and
fly\textsuperscript{18} and produce sunlight.\textsuperscript{19}

By the end of the Han Dynasty the capabilities as-
scribed to the lung multiplied several times over and were
described by many of the leading writers and thinkers of
the times. The following quotations are to a great extent
overlapping, and of course may represent widely disparate
periods, but in fact they serve to emphasize the particular
symbolic values associated with this creature.

The dragon coalesces and attains form, dis-
perses and achieves variegation; it rides upon
clouds and nourishes on yin and yang. (Chuang
Tzu, "T'ien yün p'ien")

Dragons are born in water, wear the Five
Colors and roam; therefore they are gods. Con-
tracting they transform into silkworms, expand-
ing they fill the earth, ascending they rise to
the clouds, descending they enter deep springs.
The transformations occur regardless of the time,
and the ascents and descents occur regardless of
the season, this is called godly. (Kuan Tzu,
"Shui ti p'ien")

The god-dragon is capable of ascending or
descending, expanding or contracting, darkening
or brightening, shortening or lengthening.
(Shuo yüan, "Pien wu p'ien")

Senior among the scaled creatures,
Capable of occultation—capable of illumina-
tion,
Capable of slimness—capable of hugeness,
Capable of contraction—capable of extension,
It climbs to the sky at spring's division,
It plunges in the gulf at fall's division.
(Shuo-wen)

This then is why the dragon is a god; be-
cause it can retract or extend its body, and mani-
fest or demanifest its form. (Lun-heng, "Lung-hsü
p'ien")

But the reason why the dragon is looked upon
as a spirit is because it can expand and contract
its body, make itself visible or invisible.
(Lun Heng, "Lung-hsu p'ien")

These passages list several additional capabilities of
the lung, but the most persistent idea that runs through
them is that of change or transformation. The dragon is
described in some detail in terms of its ability to change
at will its size or shape or even disappear. The subject of change was of great interest to some early Chinese thinkers, especially the Taoists, Naturalists, and Logicians. In the above examples the types of change are described through a cataloguing of antithetical attributes, such as expansion and contraction, manifestation and demanifestation, occultation and illumination. The possession of such capabilities is one of the features which defines the dragon as a god (shen .shader), and this also appears to be one of the requisite attributes of the supernatural being.

The items listed in the above quotations all portray the dragon as a divine creature endowed with a great variety of supernatural powers. Whatever size and shape the dragon assumed it was invariably regarded with awe. Its associations with the rainbow, clouds, mist, and rain are important aspects of the dragon as a fertility symbol. Though this is true in both North and South China, in the latter area the importance of water transportation with its attendant dangers and the dragon's strong associations with the water element then added to the complexity of the feelings with which its powers were regarded. However, the phenomena associated with the dragon were not always beneficial. The connection with meteorological phenomena also extended to such calamities as thunderstorms, tempests, whirlwinds, and floods, which were brought about by great battles between dragons.
Because the dragon had achieved such a high level of complexity and broad range of symbolic values at such an early point in time the writers of later works had a great mass of legend, myth, and anecdote to draw upon. That they put this wealth of information and material to extensive use is shown by the many entries in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, altogether eighty-one titles in the lung section. Although the individual items collected in the TPKC are drawn from sources covering a great range of time, a plotting of the treatment of dragon figures does not reveal any noticeable differences in their symbolic significance or in the attitudes toward them. There was a free selection from the complex of features which were present by the end of the Han Dynasty.

However, there are two noticeable changes: human transformations are more apparent in later periods, and Indian and Buddhist influences have extensively influenced some materials. An example of the latter is a Brahman chant which changes a man-eating dragon into a person, namely a personification of evil. This then would be a Naga or Indian snake demon which is duly exorcised by Indian magic.

The human transformations of non-Indian dragons are considerably more important since they demonstrate the decline of divine draconic figures, women usually, such as Nü Kua, Shen Nü and Lo Shen into less exalted creatures with a noticeable decrease in symbolic and mythological
significance. This is to say that the human avatars of the dragon were originally confined to deities in human form, but that later the human manifestations often were quite mundane, sometimes even subject to mortal will or requiring human aid, though such help may not always be useful, as is shown in the tale "Li Ching" \( \frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{2} \).

While out hunting Li Ching encounters a dragon mother who has just been ordered to produce a certain amount of rain for an area. Because the dragon-riders are away she asks Li to substitute for them and he agrees. When he bungles the assignment she is punished with a canguing.\(^\text{25}\)

The most common function or association of the dragons in the TPKC entries has to do with rain-making, or with wind, rain and clouds. Dragons can cause rain when plied with the appropriate prayers and sacrifices, or, as frequently, when they have been accidentally or purposefully disturbed. They can even be capture, bottled, and sold as rainmakers.\(^\text{26}\) They can cause or control storms, again as a response to a human transgression\(^\text{27}\) or need. A human or non-human figure may transform into a dragon and produce rain and wind. Dragons may also appear in somewhat strange dragon-like forms yet not reveal their draconic nature even unto death.\(^\text{28}\) The simple appearance of a dragon may be taken as an auspicious sign and such reports might be re-
warded.\(^\text{29}\) As virile water creatures dragons may impregnate women who venture near streams or rivers.\(^\text{30}\) The progeny usually manifest a draconic appearance but are endowed with
the human quality of filial piety.

Another function or association of the dragon is in the role of chaos in the cosmic combat myth. In this role a draconic figure steals away the fertility of the world and thus is responsible for the annual seasonal decline in autumn and winter. Fertility is restored only by engaging the dragon in combat and thus permitting the continuation of the seasonal cycle. Though this seems antithetical to the characteristics mentioned above, in the logic of myths the merger or twin identity of otherwise antithetical phenomena are in no way contradictory; there is even a certain economy of expression. Since fertility is often symbolized by treasures, dragons standing guard over treasure are manifestations of chaos or the powers of darkness, which must be engaged in combat to secure the release of the treasure. By upsetting the natural cycle a dragon may cause flooding, and when the dragon is engaged in combat and vanquished the flooding will then cease.

For some literary works the various materials which have contributed to the more sophisticated versions can be shown to have followed a certain pattern of development or to have been combined along definite lines. This is particularly noticable in "Pu Chiang Tsung po yüan chuan," as shown above, which shows, in the literary remains at least, a fairly clear line of development. This is not the case with the material which contributed to the making of the T'ang dynasty tales about dragons, especially the tale
"Liu I chuan." The primary reason for this situation is the multiplicity of sources which contributed to the development of this tale.

Scholars who have considered this question have determined that the main features of "Liu I chuan" are derived from Six Dynasties folktale motifs. The pattern is as follows:

1) A man saves the Dragon King's daughter,
2) To repay this good deed the hero is invited to the dragon palace,
3) The son or daughter of the Dragon King secretly instructs the hero to seek a favor of the Dragon King, and
4) The hero receives a beautiful wife and, sometimes, a great treasure.\textsuperscript{33}

It is true that these four elements are all present in the tale "Liu I chuan" and that they are prominent in the later versions of this same material. In this sense they correspond with a universal pattern of folktale.\textsuperscript{34} The problem, however, is to determine when these various motifs actually were first found in the chih-kuai tradition.

The first item, the rescue of the Dragon King's daughter, or son, does not appear in literary records until the late T'ang dynasty. Although this certainly does not exclude the possibility of an oral tradition current in the T'ang dynasty, without some concrete evidence such judgments are premature. Furthermore, social conditions are
a factor to be considered and the well-established practice for the T'ang scholars to acquire social status through advantageous marriages argues for the origin of this feature as a literary response to a social condition.\textsuperscript{35} As a corollary of this proposition it is notable that marriages and/or matings between humans and dragons are not a feature of pre-T'ang chih-kuai materials.\textsuperscript{36} This feature, the scholar-beauty theme, is actually a resurgence of an ancient pattern that is found in comparatively early works, only with a different set of characters. This pattern is basically a fertility ritual which had its origins in the mating of the magician-king with a female fertility symbol, or an equally powerful figure.\textsuperscript{37} The archetype has been blurred both by passage of time and by the various literary treatments of the material. Separate traditions, namely, northern and southern, also contribute to the particular admixture of materials found in these tales.\textsuperscript{38} Despite the grave dangers potentially inherent in such disarming generalizations there is a certain value in hypothesizing such an underlying structure. In the present case the universal appeal of the scholar-beauty alliance which played such an important part in post-T'ang literature obviously has roots in both myth and folklore, as was shown in Chapter One. The emergence of this archetypal pattern in literature during the T'ang dynasty is a result of both literary and social conditions. The literary conditions have been stated thoroughly by Ma Yau-woon and
may be summed up as the development of an effective prose style created expressly as a vehicle to serve a didactic purpose. Another factor is the well-known practice of hsing-chüan and wen-chüan. A further consideration and one which reflects important social changes is the breakup in the latter part of the T'ang dynasty of the powerful aristocratic family cliques which had dominated the upper echelons of government and society for a considerable period of time. This important development in the relative social and bureaucratic opportunities made available to this group of men contributed a psychological stimulus to their imagination. The possibility of forming an alliance with such hitherto unapproachable mates achieved literary expression in both fantasy and realism. This process was not one of the development of a new type of literary content but rather the re-emergence of an archtype pattern in a new milieu of social freedom.

In the examination of the possible sources for the material for "Liu I chuan" one discovers that there are prototypes for the narrative pattern in other genres, but that the highly complex association attributed to the dragon figure nearly defy attempts to find a clearcut prototype. Even the identification of the model in nature is unclear because the creature, very likely the snake, is already transformed beyond positive identification in the earliest graphic renditions now available. Even in these early records the dragon had already become a
supernatural creature and as such readily acquired various manifestations and special qualities.

Despite the complexity of the material available on the dragon creature, it is possible to trace certain lines of development which led to the tale "Liu I chuan." This tale as well as contemporary and later tales share a set of features which, because of their individual nature and established relationships within the complex of archetypal features, are consequently self-defining as a sub-type.

A considerable number of T'ang and pre-T'ang tales share a notable proportion of these common features. Among these features are such characters as the scholar-official hero, the draconic beauty, the dragon king; the motif of a mortal rendering aid to a dragon (usually female); reward for services rendered; and such minor motifs as the delivery of a letter, knocking on a tree to announce arrival, an excursion underwater, and the underwater palace.

One of the least embellished pieces which demonstrates these shared features describes the adventures of Cheng Jung.

In the thirty-sixth year of the Ch'in dynasty (211 B.C.) the emissary Cheng Jung was carrying a letter from Kuangtung to Kuanghsi. Upon arriving at the northern side of Mt. Hua he saw a plain carriage drawn by white horses descend Mt. Hua. Suspecting [they] were non-human he stopped and waited. They arrived and inquired of Cheng, "Where to?" He replied, "Hsien-yang." The charioteer said, "I am a Mt. Hua emissary and wish to entrust you with a letter for the Lord of Hao-ch'ih Shih池. Your road to
Hsien-yang passes Hao-ch'ih where you will see a large catalpa tree. With a patterned stone knock on the tree and someone will respond. Just give the letter to him. Jung carried out the instructions and with a stone hit the catalpa tree. Indeed someone came to fetch the letter. Next year the Ancestral Dragon (Ch'in Shin huang-ti) died.43

The features of the emissary, the letter, the knocking on the tree, and the response from the submarine world are all primary features of this story type, and will be noted in the following examples. The presence of the plain carriage is peculiar to this story and probably stems from the nature of the mission: the announcement of the death of the emperor.

Additional examples demonstrate that there is an obvious pattern of mutual influence or common borrowing at work. The repeated occurrence of similar features employed in such similar narratives can only be ascribed to a common source or sources. Although a pattern of influences could be hypothesized by dating the texts involved, this would not account for the highly likely presence of oral sources or of texts which are no longer existant. This next example demonstrates the great similarity that exists within a small number of stories:

In the middle of the Chin-\(\frac{25}{6}\) dynasty a man from the District of Chung-su went on a mission to Lo-yang. He completed his business and was about to return when suddenly a person entrusted him with a letter saying that his home was in front of Kuan-ch'i where among the stones there stood a cane tree. "[You] simply rap on the cane tree and then some person will fetch [the letter]." The emissary followed the instructions completely and indeed two persons emerged
to receive the letter. Moreover, they invited him to enter the aquatic palace. His clothes were not wet. He said that this was unreal. Thus it is that in transformations there is nothing which cannot be.44

Here again we find the man on a mission being entrusted with the delivery of a message to an aquatic address. The announcement of his arrival by rapping on a tree is repeated; the main addition is the invitation to enter the aquatic environment. This is an important step since it permits a mere mortal to enter a supernatural realm without personal danger and without any magical prerequisites, such as those performed by shamans. (The practice of knocking on the tree has an obvious source in magical practices, but is obscured in this story-type).

The piece "Kuan-t'ing chiang-shen" 賣亭沃神 "The River God at the Observation Pavilion" demonstrates the already established set of common features:

During the Ch'in period in Chung-su hsien there was an altar to the River God of the Thousand Mile Pavilion. Passers-by if disrespectful, became mad, ran off into the mountains and transformed into tigers. A person of Chung-su on his way to Lo-yang met a traveler who entrusted him with a letter saying, "My home is in front of the Pavilion Temple, right where a cane tree grows among the stones. You but rap on the cane tree and someone will respond." The Chung-su man then returned and followed these instructions. It turned out that two persons emerged from the water, took the letter and submerged. They subsequently returned and said, "The Lord of the River desires to see you." Not realizing how, he followed them. He saw that the buildings were exquisite and beautiful. He ate and drank of delicious aromatic foods and engaged in discussions. It was not different from the world of men.45
This piece demonstrates a greater attention to detail than did any of the preceding pieces. There are a number of similarities with the examples mentioned above. First, there is the historian's device of a location in space and time made with dynastic and place names, the man away from home who is entrusted with a letter and a mission by a stranger, the collocation of the traveler's home and the stranger's goal, the location of the goal near a tree, the special technique for summoning someone, and the visit to the underwater palace. The location of the river pavilion is shown to be of important magical significance and the activities of the underwater palace are demonstrated to be essentially the same as those of mortals.

At this stage of development this story-type is little more or perhaps no more than a chih-kuai anecdote. Although it has or may have a multitude of details the characters are undeveloped and without motivation while the events are uncomplicated and lack narrative interest. Indeed, the only points of interest are non-literary—the supernatural phenomena. From a consideration of the wealth of detail expended on this particular aspect it is obvious that the illustration of supernatural phenomena is the main concern of the piece. In order to provide more dramatic appeal for the readers certain other features are necessary. In this particular type of tale (i.e., "Liu I chuan") the elements of a "maiden in distress" and material reward for services rendered are added in various
ways. The results are twofold: there is a definite movement toward a more aesthetically satisfying pattern of events and character relationships; there is also an emergence of archetypal patterns of behavior.

One main step forward in the development of this story type is the reward for services rendered, usually the delivery of a letter. In one story, "Hu-mu Pan", the elements present in the early versions all appear, and in addition, there is the added feature of a reward. A summary follows:

Near Mount T'ai Hu-mu Pan encounters a servant who leads him to an underwater palace where the host first entertains him and then asks that he deliver a letter to his son-in-law, Ho Po the Spirit of the Yellow River. Hu-mu is told to take a boat to the center of the Yellow River knock on the side of the boat and someone will appear. This all takes place, and he is eventually invited to the underwater palace. "He need only close his eyes and will then arrive there." After a feast he is presented with a pair of cloth shoes and he then returns to the upper world. A year later he again finds himself at the side of Mount T'ai and again gains entrance to the underwater palace on a tree near the water. After visiting with Ho Po, Hu-mu Pan goes to the toilet and sees his father walking in chains. He is told that this punishment can be alleviated by building a shrine. Although Ho Po advises against interfering with the nether world Hu-mu Pan disregards this
advice. The result is that his sons and grandsons all die off. He makes another visit to Ho Po and is told to make the proper sacrifices in order to promote the well-being of his posterity.\(^{46}\)

The shared features are the unexplained request to deliver a message, the type of place to which the visit is made, the method of announcing oneself, and the underwater visit. The reward of a pair of green silk shoes actually goes largely unnoticed in this piece since the greater reward is Ho Po's advice regarding the preservation of Hu-mu Pan's posterity. The feature of material reward is fully developed in the T'ang tales but actually has several sources in the earlier Six Dynasties pieces. The motif of a great treasure guarded by a dangerous dragon or of great wealth possessed by an underwater creature, usually draconic, is not uncommon in world literature and had a relatively early introduction in Chinese literature, as is shown here in the Liang dynasty tale "Chen-tse tung" 霧澤洞.

While wandering about south of Mount Tung-t'ing, Yang Kung 雲公 falls into a deep pit and at the bottom discovers a path that leads to a dragon palace, where he stays for over one hundred days. (It is later explained that the scent of wax on his clothes protects him from harm.) After Yang manages to leave the pit Emperor Wu-ti of the Liang dynasty (502-549) hears of his exploit and seeks information from Chieh Kung 邱公, who reports
that dragons possess great treasures. Chieh Kung further provides detailed information on the various dragons now made accessible by the discovery of this cave. The emperor instructs Chieh Kung to mount a campaign to secure dragon treasure, which he does with considerable success.

Tse-ch'ün entered the cave and reached the dragon palace; the chiao gatekeeper smelled the wax on his clothes and could only bow in obeisance. Tse-ch'ün presented him with one hundred fried swallows and had his presence announced. He presented the best of the fried swallows to the dragon woman, who tasted them and was greatly delighted. He further presented a jade missive (imperial communication) and glaucous earthenware, following in detail the emperor's orders. In the cave there was a thousand-year old dragon capable of effecting a human transformation and entering the world of men. Thus he was good at translating the common speech of the times. When the dragon lady became aware of the emperor's homage she repaid it with three large pearls, seven small pearls, and a shih of assorted pearls. She then commanded Tse-ch'ün to ride a dragon and carry the pearls back to his native country.... The emperor showed the pearls to Chieh Kung, who said that of the three large pearls one was an inferior grade of the Heavenly Emperor's Lucky Pearls 金丸, and that the other two were middle-grade black-dragon pearls. Of the seven pearls two were insect pearls and five were a high grade of sea oyster pearls. 47

Obviously there are great gains to be made if one ventures into the dragon's realm with the proper preparations. Other aspirants to such gain were not always so fortunate, as is shown in a pair of rather similar stories "T'ao hsien" by Shen Chi-chi 48 and "Chou Han" by P'ei Hsing 49.

In both stories a scholar acquires a non-Chinese slave who is skilled at diving underwater. These scholars spend their time traveling about on boats and at times
throwing valuables into the water and ordering the slaves to retrieve them. In the tale by Shen Chi-chi the treasures are captured by a dragon who kills the slave Mo-K'o. In the tale by P'ei Hsing the treasures are lost to a monster and the slave later loses his life while attempting to steal treasure from a dragon down a deep well. 50

Another line of development that contributed to the Liu I tale is the common device of a woman—a dragon woman—in distress. Typically, she is not in any immediate physical danger but rather is unable to personally extricate herself from a difficult situation and therefore wishes to communicate with someone, usually a member of her family. A mortal serves as her messenger and she thereby incurs a debt to him (the sexes are conventionally so apportioned). Though the motif of the message was present from the beginning, at this point logical motivation is finally introduced.

The origin of the woman-in-distress motif is related to the seasonal cycle and in this cycle the loss of fertility is associated with winter. A fertility figure or symbol thereof is supposedly stolen away by another figure representing chaos, i.e., the disruption of a proper natural seasonal cycle. A heroic figure then engages this enemy in mortal combat in order to restore fertility to the community.
In "Liu I chuan" the dragon woman is easily recognizable as a fertility figure because of the sheep-like creatures entrusted to her care. They actually are rainmakers, "such as thunder and lightening."\textsuperscript{51} This information then sheds light upon the events of the two related stories mentioned immediately above which collocate precious objects with dragons. In symbolic terms precious objects of various types represent fertility, so the struggle with the dragon over such treasures is a variant of the cosmic combat myth that appears in euhemerized form in the \textit{Shu ching}\textsuperscript{52}.

The appearance of the fertility figure in such a role is the product of two pervading trends. One is the gradual debasement of the divine figures previously portrayed in the material based on the archetypal pattern. For example, the ancient water goddesses—sometime dragon women—were for the most part self-reliant and, though seductive at times, generally aloof. Such beings as Lo Shen, Shen Nü, and Nü Kua could hardly have displayed any weakness which would require mortal aid.\textsuperscript{53} The theme of the mortal woman-in-distress appeared in fiction also in the T'ang Dynasty, most prominently in the tale "Ying-ying chuan," but more importantly in the "Po yüan chuan." There is an obvious relationship between the myth of dragon-battle, transmogrified of course, and the loss of a fertility symbol. (The details are discussed in the section following.)
The second trend is the emergence of an archetypal pattern in fiction coincidental with the development of creative fiction. The essence of this dual development is that a member of the literati, in writing of himself, chose a flattering self-image, that of an ancient magician-king, such as that of Ch'ü Hsiang-wang in the "Kao-t'ang fu," and utilized the archetypal pattern of a sacred king meeting a fertility goddess. In order to appeal to a contemporary readership the figures were cast in the scholar-beauty roles, with certain supernatural variants for the beauty. The scholar-centered nature of these stories (an heroic pattern) is further emphasized in that he personally aquires magical powers, such as transcendence, only in the final portions of the narratives.

Both Wolfram Eberhard and Uchida Michio, working independently it seems, identify the Liu I tale, and hence the underlying pattern, as a folktale type. Folktales, of course, are based on the same archetypal patterns that underly myth and legend. The different analysis is, for the most part, a different reading of the symbolism underlying the imagery. The folklorist may see the dragon's gifts as only economic reward while the mythographer may see it as fertility. The folklorist may see an evil dragon as a wicked uncle while the mythographer may see it as the enemy Chaos.

There is also another factor to consider, that of outside influence, especially from India. Indian religious beliefs enable Brahmans to have power over
magical beings by means of magic spells. A T'ang example of this theme is recorded by Chang Tu 張倜 who lived somewhat later than Li Ch'ao-wei. Chang records that a hermit Jen Hsü 仇驥 was visited by an old man claiming to be a dragon and in need of his help. Because of his wisdom and virtue Jen Hsü qualifies for such a task. The dragon avatar teaches Jen Hsü a magic spell and asks him to go to a certain pond two days hence. Arriving at the pond Jen Hsü discovers a Taoist uttering a spell which drains the pool and thus threatens the dragon's life. The counterspell uttered by Jen Hsü proves superior to the Taoist's magic and after three futile attempts with his spell the Taoist finally leaves. The dragon promised Jen Hsü a great reward; this turns out to be a valuable pearl which is eventually sold to a foreigner for a great price.

The valuable lesson demonstrated in this piece is that a mortal can be of assistance to a supernatural creature; it further demonstrates that the supernatural creature will exhibit gratitude in terms of material reward. Of course, it also demonstrates that a dragon can be endangered even by a creature in human form, and thus presumably human. An early date for Indian influence is shown in a very short piece, purportedly from the Northern Wei Dynasty, titled "Sung Yûn."

On a mission to the Western regions Sung Yûn comes upon a pool inhabited by a poisonous dragon which had
previously eaten some five hundred merchants. The King of the country, Ch'ih, upon hearing of this, abdicates the throne and studies Brahman magic spells for four years; after finally mastering the techniques he subdues the wayward dragon, which then assumes human form and repents of its evil ways. The use of Indian terms such as Brahman (P'o-lo-men 景羅門), and poisonous dragon (tu-lung 毒龍) constitute direct internal evidence for foreign influences. Indian nagas, snake demons, often indistinguishable from dragons, were as likely to be evil as good and were subject to the powerful spells of the Brahmins.

A closely related theme is the union of the mortal rescuer with the rescued dragoness. This particular type of union, mortal with supernatural being, has a great many variations and finds expression in both literary and oral traditions. The literary tradition probably can be traced back to the practices of the shamans who transport themselves into an ecstatic state and experience a spiritual union. This was sometimes believed by some to be an actual physical union with a divine being, though only the allegorical expression of this practice found its way into literature, and that as an unsuccessful quest. This relationship between shaman and divine being is a theme peculiar to and highly developed in the poetic tradition. The Ch'u Tzu offers the first examples of literary treatment, and later treatments of the same theme are found in
the Kao-t'ang fu" and the "Shen-nü fu." 61

Finally, in the T'ang dynasty this archetype achieved
expression in two forms: one poetic, as in the mytho-
poeic outpourings of Li Ho 李賀 (790-816); the other,
prose narrations describing the union of scholar-hero and
supernatural women (such as dragon women or fox fairies,
or, in a realistic vein, tales of the Ts'ai-tzu chia-jen
才女 俠女 scholar-beauty type. 62

The features of the prime prose examples of this
archetype are discussed in the following section. Before
going on to that here is one final example of the degree
of realism that gradually crept into this archetype.

Liu Tzu-hua of the T'ang dynasty was the
magistrate of Ch'eng-tu. One day about noon a
calf-drawn carriage appeared unexpectedly. In
front and behind, as escort and suite, were
women on horseback. They came directly to the
place of audience, and sent a messenger to an-
nounce to Liu, "The dragon-woman will come to
you now." Shortly she descended from the car-
rriage and, escorted by guards to left and
right, ascended the staircase and appeared be-
fore Tzu-hua. "Pre-determined destiny," she
said, "has joined me with milord as match and
mate." So she stayed and he ordered wine and
music. After concluding the formalities with the
utmost joy, she departed. Thereafter their
comings and goings were customary, and everyone
far and near knew of them. Tzu-hua gave up his
regular duties. It is not known where he went,
but the vulgar say that he entered a dragon
palace and attained the status of a transcen-
dent being [immortal] of the water. 63

The most notable feature of this piece is the except-
ionally commonplace quality of both the characters de-
scribed and the events narrated. In fact, without her
description as a dragon woman and his reputed attainment
of transcendence the characters and events are all too human. The dry-land setting, means of transportation, and essentially non-draconic behavior tend to set this piece apart from most other dragon tales. This is about as unadorned and prosaic as a dragon story can be and still be considered as a member of this sub-class. The point is though that the humanization of supernatural creatures was so thorough that the author felt no need to demonstrate her draconic nature and his heroic status with more substantial evidence. While this fact might possibly be ascribed to a lack of creative skills or imagination it nonetheless does reflect the increasing emergence of realism in T'ang tales.

The material presented in this chapter has shown the increasing complexity accorded the dragon motif from the earliest fictional, i.e., anecdotal presentation to the literary presentation first appearing in the T'ang dynasty. Although all of the material reflects some elements of the quest-myth, often in symbolic form only, the most productive archetypal analysis would focus upon the tales produced by the T'ang authors.

Within the seasonal cycle of the theory of myths\textsuperscript{64} this group of tales comes under the category of the mythos of summer, which corresponds to the romance and the tale.\textsuperscript{65} In its complete form the romance is the successful quest, which has three main stages: journey, struggle, and recognition of the hero.\textsuperscript{66} In these tales the emphasis
is upon the hero's struggle for possession of the female figure. Even in the earliest related literary materials the emphasis was on action, or the accomplishment of heroic deed. It was noted above that a female as goal of the quest did not appear until the T'ang dynasty, even though the sacred king and fertility goddess theme was given poetic treatment hundreds of years earlier.

The emphasis on the struggle phase is also demonstrated in the relative lack of development of the subordinate figure of the bride in these tales. They are often nameless and frequently featureless; they are the most symbolic of the characters found in the tales. This is an especially important point since the traditional view of this material as "love stories" tends to persist even today. However, the tales invariably dwell at length upon the surmounting of the many barriers to their relationship rather than upon the relationship itself.

We then recognize the life pattern of the typical hero in these tales as the third phase of the quest-myth, and also note the frequent travel to an underwater domain, a favorite of this hero-type. A careful consideration of the literary material related to this pattern shows that a definite and observable process has taken place over the many hundreds of years separating the earliest and latest pieces. This process is the gradual addition of significant details to a basic idea. This basic idea can be described as the mission of a mortal man to the
supernatural world. The details at first seem merely fortuitous, yet as the material develops these seemingly unimportant details often attain great significance; for example, the delivery of the message appears to lack a logical basis but in fact the obligation incurred by such an act provides the surface logic for the development of the rest of the story.

In attempting to understand the process of development that has taken place it is necessary to hypothesize that guiding forces have in some fashion been operative, or that certain models were imitated, or both. There has been some speculation that outside, foreign influences may have contributed a great deal to the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales in general and to dragon tales in particular, especially "Liu I chuan." In a recent article, T'ai Ching-nung says that "Although China was not without dragons, the dragon story in Chinese literature is both of foreign origin and of recent development." T'ai quotes a number of works (I-ching, Shih chi, and Tso chuan) which depict the lung, dragon, as a majestic creature and, he says, typify this as the Chinese dragon per se. He also says that the dragon could be ridden, but except for one example of a dragon capable of human language, it had no human transformations or qualities. He makes no mention of the dragon as a fertility symbol. T'ai then traces the emergence of the lung nü or "dragon woman" in China to the translation of a Buddhist text into Chinese in the year
A.D. 416, and further states that marriage between mortal and dragon could only be an imported idea.\textsuperscript{71} In some respect the theoretical basis from which T'ai argues comes very close to the single-origin theory held by Otto Rank, who argues that individual myths are based on elemental ideas which migrate from an original community to all parts of the world.\textsuperscript{72} This is in direct contradiction to the Freudian and Jungian approach to the archetypes which supposes that the essentially similar biological experiences shared by mankind are responsible for the presence of such universal phenomena.

The problem with T'ai's argument, aside from the incomplete description of the dragon, is that first it restricts the reader to a literal reading of the text, and then does not include related material in other genres, or even all relevant material. A non-literal reading is the essential methodology of this study, so that need not be pursued here. Furthermore, this reading does not take into account the obvious identification in the Preface to the "Kao-t'ang fu" of the cloud-spirit as a fertility goddess and therefore of draconic affinities. Wen I-to also notes that his female fertility figure possesses unlimited transformations, a feature commonly ascribed to dragons, also fertility figures.\textsuperscript{73}

This being the case, one can only agree with Northrop Frye that literatures do indeed all reveal a basis in the quest-myth.\textsuperscript{74} In regard to the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales
this basis may be described as a case of cross-generic borrowing, namely, from poetry to prose, of certain literary conceits, such as the mating of a hero with a goddess, by a class of writers with both the background and predilection for the expression of such sentiments, and as a case of subconscious factors controlling the creative impulse and thereby impelling the writer toward the fuller expression of the archetypal pattern.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. The original title of the tale as found in the I-wen chi and the TPKC lacks the character chuan 傳. Later authorities such as Hu Ying-lin refer to the work both with or without the character chuan.


3. Later adaptations or imitations include T'ang tales such as "Liu Kuan-tzu" 劉涓 詞 (TPKC, 421) and "Ling ying chuan" 建應傳 (TPKC, 492); the (lost) Chin dynasty chu kung t'ao 諸處明 "Liu I chuan shu" 柳傳傳善; the Sung dynasty kuan pen tsa chu 官本雜劇 "Liu I ta-sheng yeh 柳發大貢樂; the Yuan drama "Tung-t'ing hu Liu I ch'uan shu" 湖庭湖柳傳傳善; and the Ming dynasty ch'uan-ch'i 傳奇 dramas "Chu-p'yu chi" 紅 europé and "Lung-hsiao chi" 龍養記. The Yüan drama "Chang-sheng chu hai" 長生遊海 and the Ch'ing drama "Sheng-chung Lou" 神中樓 share the feature of love between mortal man and dragon woman but otherwise are rather different, involving primarily the concepts of pre-destined love and banished immortals (che hsien 謝仙). Further discussion of the literary influences of the "Liu I chuan" on later works can be found in T'ang-jen hsiao-shuo 唐人小說 by Wang P'i-chiang 汪詠疆, p. 69; Hua-pen yeh ku-chü 華磐 兇竹 by T'an Cheng-pi 潘至璧, pp. 67-68; Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih 中國小說史 by Meng Yao 梁堯, Vol. i, p. 93: A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, by Lu Hsun, p. 110; and "Ryûki den ni tsuite" 柳歌傳について by Uchida Michio 内田道夫, p. 133.


5. Dragon King's Daughter, pp. 21-22.


7. Shuo-wen chieh-tzu, 說文解字 Hsü Shen 許慎 (Hong Kong: T'ai-p'ing Shu-chü, 1966), 13a/21.

9 "Fa chiao" TPKC, 425/49.
10 Schafer, The Divine Woman, p. 20.
11 Ibid, p. 20.
12 TPKC, 425/46.
14 "Wang Shu" TPKC, 425/47.
18 Tu Erh-wei quoting the "Ch'ien kua" of the I ching in FLKLKS, p. 121.
19 Tu Erh-wei quoting the Ch'u Tz'u in FLKLKS, p. 124.
20 Translated by Edward Schafer, The Divine Woman, p. 15.
22 K'ang P'ei-ch'u, "Shuo lung", p. 27.
23 Fontenrose, Python, pp. 491-92.
24 "Sung Yun" TPKC, 418/20.
25 "Li Ching" TPKC, 418/21.
26 "Kan Tsung" TPKC, 418/18.
27 "Wei Ssu-kung" TPKC, 422/36.
28 "Tzu-chou lung" TPKC, 422/36.
29 "Ts'ao Feng" TPKC, 417/17.
30 "Chang Lu nü" 張魯女, TPKC, 417/17.

31 "Chen-tse tung" 陳澤洞, TPKC, 418/18, and "T'ao

32 "Sha-chou Hei-ho" 沙州黑河, TPKC, 420/29.

33 These elements of the archetypal folktale were
first listed by Chung Ching-wen 鍾敬文 in his Chung-kuo
min-t'an hsing-shih 中國氏族氏 and are quoted by Uchida
Michio in his "Ryūki den ni tsuite," p. 119. Uchida
accepts this folktale type as the probable antecedent
for the T'ang tale "Liu I chuan."

34 Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature,
revised edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,
1955-58) v. 5, pp. 186-200. This section on deeds and re-
wards is especially valuable.

35 Yüan Chen, 元稹 a well-known ch'uan-ch'i author, is
example of an ambitious scholar marrying to secure both
financial support and official patronage. James R.
Hightower, "Yüan Chen and 'The Story of Ying-ying,'"
(Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 33, 1973) pp. 104-
105, p. 119.

36 Simian-human intercourse is a special type which
presents a different set of underlying circumstances, and
is discussed in the following chapter.


38 Although Eberhard has managed to isolate a number
of local cultures in geographical China (see his Local
Cultures in South and East China, passim and his History
of China, pp. 10-12), exchanges of culture resources
obviously took place at a very early date. David Hawkes,
in his Che Tzu: The Songs of the South, notes that a
number of pieces in the "Ch'iu ko" have widely
separate geographical origins. See pp. 35-36.

39 Ma Yau-woon, "Prose Writings of Han Yu and Ch'uan-
ch'i Literature", Journal of Oriental Studies, Vol. 7,

40 See Chapter Two.

41 This long-recognized phenomenon has been thoroughly
researched by scholars such as Ch'en Yin-k'o, but for a
succinct yet thorough survey of more recent scholarship
see the review by Denis Twitchett, Asia Major, New Series,
Vol. 13 (1967), pp. 242-244.
There is a resemblance to the slave Molo in the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tale "K'un-lun nu," not only in the ability to perform superhuman feats but also in the relationship between master and slave. The nature of this relationship was discussed in Chapter Two.


Fontenrose, Python, p. 494.

For the identification of Nü Kua as a draconic figure see illustrations in Robert Des Rotours, "Culte des cinq dragons" (618-907) in Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M. Paul Demieville, following page 280. A listing of her other attributes may be found in Bodde, "Myths of Ancient China," Mythologies of the Ancient World, pp. 386-89.

Uchida apparently based his conclusions on Wen Chung-i's article on the structure of Chinese folktales.


61 Discussions of this material can be found in Schafer The Divine Woman, pp. 34-42; Wen I-to, "Kao-t'ang shen-nà ch'uan-shuo chih fen-hsi," 那神女傳
62 For a discussion of the display of this archetype in Li Ho's works see Schafer, The Divine Woman, pp. 70-103.


64 This is described in Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, pp. 158-262, and Fables of Identity, p. 16.


66 Ibid., p. 187. However, it should be noted that there is equal if not stronger stress upon the union of hero and goddess than upon the struggle for possession of her. This latter feature is often emphasized in the romance while the former is emphasized in comedy, the mythos of spring. In terms of Frye's archetypal theory, there is a contradiction here between Chinese and Western literary expression. The characters of the mythos of spring--the hero and heroine--are found together with the action of the mythos of summer--journey and struggle.

67 See the examples quoted above, e.g., Cheng Jung (SSC, 4, 4) which describes the descent, for no apparent reason, of the hero underwater.


70 Ibid., pp. 39-41.

71 Ibid., p. 42.


74 Frye, Fables of Identity, p. 17.
CHAPTER FOUR

RITUAL SACRIFICE

Simians have long been fascinating to mankind not only as a comical mirror of human behavior and appearance but also as a creature supposedly blessed, or cursed, with some of man's mental and moral qualities. Various disparate cultures have well-known literary works with treat monkeys or various simian creatures as much more than a dumb beast. The Indian epic *Ramayana* and the Chinese novel *Hsi yu chi* are world famous examples of simians in supernatural roles. Yet, in the West simian creatures became a target of religious abuse in the role of *Figura Diaboli*. In Egypt the ape was worshipped as one of the animals associated with the movements of celestial bodies, while in Japan the ape was, and still is, a fertility figure.

A comparison of the Western and Eastern traditions shows a distinct difference. Western tradition generally treats simians as debased humanity or as quasi-humans possessing the faults but lacking the virtues of mankind. This concept when incorporated into Christian symbolism first found expression as a devil figure and later, in the Middle Ages, became a symbol of wanton female sexuality.
In the Eastern tradition the ape generally has phallic or fertility associations, though with none of the moral condemnation of the Western tradition. The ape was also a road-god, a deity of vegetation, i.e., fertility, and of sickness as well, because both threats to the crops and illness are believed to move along roads like travelers. This situation is especially clear in Japan where local traditions have often persisted without official repression into modern times. In China the original features of the simian cults were obscured by the pervasive force of the Confucian tradition which actively carried out a policy of repressing such local and minority superstitions. The tale "Po yüan chuan" has been selected as the focal point for this chapter and is summarized below:

In A.D. 545 Ou-yang Ho, under the command of General Lin Ch'in, fought victoriously in the difficult terrain near Ch'ang-lo in South China (in modern day Fukien Province):

Now Ou-yang's wife had a white skin and was very beautiful and delicate.

"You should not have brought such a beautiful wife here," his men told him. "There is a god in these parts who carries off young women, especially good-looking ones. You had better guard her carefully."

Ou-yang took fright. That night he set guards around the house, and hid his wife in a closely guarded inner chamber with a dozen maidservants on watch. During the night a high wind sprang up and the sky turned dark, but nothing untoward happened and shortly before dawn the exhausted guards
dozed off. Suddenly, however, they were startled from their sleep to find that Ou-yang's wife had disappeared. The door was still locked, and no one knew how she had left. They started looking outside on the steep hillside, but a thick fog blotted out everything at one yard's distance, making it impossible to continue the search. Then dawn came, but still they could find no trace of her.

Ou-yang mobilizes his troops and mounts an intensive search for his wife, but after a month of constant endeavour they only discover one of her embroidered slippers. Then, ten days later, they come upon a remote mountain fastness seventy miles from the place of the abduction. Making their way to the top, Ou-yang and his troops discover a number of women living in splendid surroundings. Ou-yang explains his presence and is told that his wife indeed is there, but ill. She declines to see her husband, and the women explain to him,

"Some of us have been here for ten years already," the other women told him, "while your wife has only just arrived. This is where the monster lives. He is a mankiller, a match for even a hundred warriors. You had better slip away before he comes back. If you will let us have forty gallons of potent wine, ten dogs for him to eat, and several dozen catties of hemp, we shall be able to kill him. Come at noon, not earlier, ten days from now."

Ou-yang returns on the appointed day with the wine, dogs, and hemp. The women propose to satiate the simian with wine, food, and sex and then bind him with strong hempen rope—he is in the habit of testing his strength in this fashion—thus giving Ou-yang and his men an opportunity to attack his weak spot three inches below the
navel. Ou-yang and his men conceal themselves while the women carry out the plan.

After a long time the women came out to summon the men, who went in carrying their weapons. They saw a huge white monkey fastened by its four paws on the couch. At the sight of the men it recoiled and struggled in vain to release itself, and its furious eyes flickered like lightning. Ou-yang and his men fell on it, only to find its body like iron or stone. But when they stabbed at its belly under the navel, their swords sank in and red blood spurted out. The monkey gave a long sigh and said to Ou-yang, "This must be the will of heaven—for otherwise you would not have been able to kill me. Your wife has conceived. Don't kill the child born to her, for he will grow up to serve a great monarch and your family will prosper." With these words he died.

The simian kept about thirty women,

all exquisite beauties, some of whom had been there for ten years. They said that when women grew old they were taken away, to what fate no one knew. The simian was the only one to enjoy the women, for he had no followers.

Besides the women the simian possessed a great number of treasures of all kinds, and regularly studies tablets inscribed with strange graphs. The simian is covered with white fur several inches long, and wears white hat, collar and gown in all seasons. Although an omnivore he is partial to nuts and dogs, the blood of the latter being especially prized. He is capable of flight and human transformation.

The turning point in the simian's career comes with the pregnancy of Ou-yang's wife,
"I have lived a thousand years but never had a child," he said despondently. "Now this woman is with child, it means my death is near." Running his eyes over the women he wept for a while. "This mountain is secluded and steep, and no man has set foot here before," he went on. "Looking down from the peaks I have seen packs of wolves with tigers and other wild beasts at the foot of the mountain, while not even a woodcutter has appeared on the heights. If it were not the will of heaven, how could men have come here?"

The tale ends with a description of the issue resulting from the mating,

Ou-yang then went back taking the jade, precious stones and beautiful treasures as well as all the women, some of whom were able to find their own homes. In a year's time Ou-yang's wife gave birth to a son, and the child took after the simian. Later Ou-yang was condemned to death by Emperor Wu of the Ch'en Dynasty. But an old friend of his, Chiang Tsung was partial to Ou-yang's son on account of his outstanding intelligence and took him into his house. Thus the boy escaped death. He grew up to become a good writer and calligrapher and a well-known figure in his time.7

The most complete title for this tale is "Pu Chiang Tsung Po-yüan chuan" or "Chiang Tsung's White Simian Tale, Reconstructed." According to Hu Ying-lin this is also the original title.8 While the title in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi is simply "Ou-yang Ho,"9 the title found in the Ch'ung-wen ts'ung-mu is "Po yüan chuan."10 The title found in the Hsin T'ang shu supports Hu Ying-lin's contention that the fullest title is the correct one.11 The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi further lists "Hsiö Chiang Shih chuan," as the source for the tale, but this work is not extant. Whatever the
original title, if any, was devised by the author is perhaps now beyond discovery; however, the implications of the above versions are interesting indications of either the author's intent or the interpretation given the story as an attempt to discredit Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢, the son of Ou-yang Hsüo. Despite centuries of speculation and investigation the authorship of this tale has not been established. The earliest known mention of this problem is found in the Sung composition Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu of Wang Yao-ch'ên 王堯臣. He ventures the supposition that some T'ang person wrote the tale to vilify Ou-yang Hsün. The basis for such speculation is found in such works as the Pen-shih shih 杜詩 and the Sui T'ang chia-hua 隋唐嘉話. These two texts relate a poetic exchange between Ou-yang Hsün and Chang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌, in which the latter satirized Hsün's simian appearance. Another potential author of such a slanderous attack on Ou-yang Hsün is Hsiao Yu 蕭瑀, whose inept archery was humorously revealed in a poem by Ou-yang Hsün. A final candidate is Hsü Ching-tsung 許敬宗 who is reported to have laughed loudly at Ou-yang's absurd appearance while the latter was participating in ceremonies mourning the death of the Empress Wen-te 文德皇后. For this breach of etiquette Hsü was demoted to Hung-chou 洪州. As yet there is no concrete evidence by which to
assign the authorship, though there is general agreement that the motivation was to slander Ou-yang Hsün or his family. Lu Hsün writes, "Obviously some enemy of the Ou-yang family wrote this story. Evidently the tradition of inventing stories to slander people goes back to early times in Chinese fiction." This of course only repeats the suggestions of earlier writers, some of which are mentioned above. But we should also note, as does Hu Ying-lin, that the "full" title slanders not only Ou-yang Hsün but Chiang Tsung as well. Wang Meng-ou also concludes that the author of this tale "was in some special way concerned with Ou-yang Hsün, but not to any good intent." Wang P'i-chiang earlier offered this view of the tale and put it in the same category as "Chou Ch'in hsing-chi," which is well known for its political motivation.

Then, concerning the authorship of this tale, the weight of scholarly opinion strongly leans toward the theory of a personal attack on Ou-yang Hsün or his family. While such emnity is a possible explanation it does not follow that it could be the only motivation for writing the tale. Considering the general circulation of the elements of the ape-rape theme and the widespread knowledge of Ou-yang Hsün's physical appearance—virtually the whole population of the T'ang dynasty according to Ch'ao Kung-wu—the possibility that any of a large number of persons could have connected the two main elements is considerable.
Also considering the high level of literary technique demonstrated in this tale it is unlikely that a contemporary of Ou-yang Hsün's, however skilled, could have composed the text in its present form. That being the case, the more likely candidates are eliminated, leaving the field all too open for no more than mere speculation.

Since this tale relates the events, true or not, of historical figures the terminus post quem can be established by internal evidence; however, the terminus ante quem cannot be established except by the inclusion of the tale in a datable text, i.e., the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi (A.D. 978).

A number of authorities, beginning with Lu Hsün, have ventured that this is an early ch'uan-ch'i tale.\(^\text{21}\) Liu K'ai-jung, considering primarily the obvious technical skills of the author, places the date of composition between the Early and Flourishing T'ang periods and in the reign of Kao-tsung (r. A.D. 650-84). The technical skills to which Liu refers are: 1) the language, which he judges as equal to that of later ku-wen authors; 2) the structure, which first provides a background and then a logical development; and, finally, 3) the elements of tension and mystery. Liu concludes that this is the first ch'uan-ch'i work to fill the requirements of the modern short story, but, because of that very reason, he also concludes that it cannot be too early.\(^\text{22}\)

Another factor to which Liu gives much consideration
is what he describes as a strong Six Dynasties flavor. This, he says, "is not the fault of the author, but a factor of the times." This concentration of the whole piece on the recording of marvels to the neglect of realistic elements is, he says, an indicator of fiction written before mid-Eighth-century. It is, however, questionable if a Six Dynasties "flavor" is an accurate indicator of age. The so-called chih-kuai pieces are brief accounts of marvels with rudimentary narrative techniques, yet this type of writing continued well into the T'ang and beyond, existing side by side with highly developed ch'uan-ch'i and hua-pen fiction. It is thus obvious that the circumstantial evidence for this tale, in its present form, indicates a somewhat later date of composition, certainly no earlier than mid-Eighth-century, as suggested by Liu K'ai-jung.

Another opinion on the dating of this tale has been offered by Chang Ch'ang-kung 張長弓. He ventures that it was written after the Middle T'ang period (from A.D. 768 to A.D. 827), basing his arguments primarily on the contents, which, he says, reflect the struggle between the newly risen chin-shih 慶士 faction and the old aristocratic families, the latter of which the Ou-yang clan had been a member. In a wide-ranging article concerning the motifs, historical background, and language of the tale Uchiyama Chinari concludes that a number of Middle T'ang legends
and folktales provided the immediate source materials for the tale and that it thus dates from the Middle T'ang period. These factors do not deny the importance of the earlier versions of this tale (listed below) in establishing the development of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i version, but rather suggest that a combination of the presence of an oral tradition existing independent of the literary one and current political factors may have provided a part of the stimulus for the creation of this tale.

The T'ang tale "Pu Chiang Tsung po yüan chuan" has long been of interest to Chinese scholars because of the reference to the great calligrapher Ou-yang Hsün. The focus of most scholarship has been on the identification of the author and the establishment of the motivation for writing this tale. Yet, despite the thorough investigation performed by many serious scholars, no definitive answers have been reached, though the search continues. For the most part the previous scholarship on this tale provides a wealth of information on the various extant versions of the "Po yüan chuan" and demonstrates careful scholarship in comparing and authenticating the texts. The authors of these studies also show a complete awareness of the earlier and later literary materials which demonstrate a similar thematic concern.

In terms of scholarship the presumption that this tale was written expressly to slander Ou-yang Hsün and his
family has had two results: 1) the conclusion that the as yet unidentified author was a contemporary or near-contemporary of Ou-yang Hsün and that the story, therefore, dates from the Early or Flourishing T'ang; and 2) the detective-like efforts of most scholars in attempting to discover the author have neglected other equally important aspects of the tale, for example, the display of folklore elements, especially the function of monkeys as a fertility symbol and as a clan totem.

While the T'ang tale "Po yān chuan" is a notable literary accomplishment it nonetheless makes considerable use of previously composed material. This material may effectively be divided into two distinct types; 1) that showing the historical development of legend or folklore related to the supposed behavior of particular simian creatures, and 2) that showing the variety of T'ang dynasty materials attesting to the simian appearance of Ou-yang Hsün. The former set of materials first appears in written form in records dating from the first century B.C. and then undergoes considerable development and elaboration over the next eight to nine hundred years. The latter set of materials, that concerning Ou-yang Hsün, apparently attained widespread circulation even during his own lifetime (A.D. 557-645).

The material concerning the abduction of women by simians although brief is actually quite informative. The
single line found in the I lin 易林 consists of only eight graphs, yet it manifests the major features of the later tales. "A great chuēh 猴 or simian of Nan-shan abducted my beautiful wife." 南山大猴，盗我姻妻. The locale is fixed as Nan-shan, "South Mountain," perhaps Chung-nan-shan 紫南山 or Ch‘in-ling 金岭; the three main characters man, wife, and simian are introduced, as is the main theme—abduction. There is also the notice that the wife is beautiful; this feature is echoed in the T'ang version which carefully notes that Ou-yang H'o's wife is beautiful and that the simian prefers beautiful women.

Two pieces from the Six Dynasties demonstrate highly developed treatments of the basic materials described above and furthermore indicate considerable involvement with elements of folklore. These two pieces are from the Sou shen chi 搜神記 by Kan Pao 幹 (ca. 300) and the Po-wu chih 博物志 by Chang Hua 張華 (232-300). First the item from the Sou shen chi:

In Shu 蜀 on the high mountains to the southwest there are creatures like monkeys seven feet tall who can act like human beings and who like to chase people. They are variously named chia-kuo 猴國, ma-hua 马化, or chuēh-yǎn 猴眼. They wait for any pretty woman who may be on the road, and then they steal them away without letting the men know. If a traveler passes by their side they tie him with a long rope so that he cannot escape. These creatures can distinguish sex by smelling, therefore they get men and not women. When they capture a woman they cohabit with her. Those who do not produce
children stay for the rest of their lives. After ten years they have a monkey appearance, and their minds are so muddled they never again think of returning (home). Those who give birth immediately carry their children back to their homes. When the children are raised they look like humans. If one should not be cared for, the mother immediately dies. Therefore, because they are fearful, none of them dares to neglect (her child). When they grow up they are no different from humans, and they all have the surname Yang 楊. For that reason nearly all the Yangs in present-day southwestern Shu are descendents of hsia-kuo ma-hua.29

This piece is from the Po-wu chih:

In the high mountains to the south of Shu-shan 畿山 there is a creature like a mi-hou 猴, seven ch'ih tall, and capable of sturdily walking man-fashion. It is named hou-ch'eoh 猴猿, and one calls it hua 化 or calls it ch'ueh-yuan 猴猿. They spy out the pretty women traveling the roads and then abduct them without anyone becoming aware. The young ones (abducted women) never return home and after ten years their forms in all ways are of a kind with it (the simian); their thoughts also are confused and they do not again long to return [home]. Those with child are then returned to their families. The progeny in all ways are like humans. If any [offspring] are not nourished their mothers immediately die, therefore none were not taken and nourished. At maturity they do not differ from humans.30

Both of these pieces exhibit sufficient similarity to indicate an obvious relationship, though the exact sort of relationship may be more complex, such as a third written or oral source. Certain of these similar features are of particular interest. These are the roadside locale, the abduction of only women (sex is the basic motivation), the compulsory raising of any progeny, and the surname associated with the progeny.
One of the persistent features of this story type is the abduction of traveling women. Although the journey motif is a convention of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales, in this material a roadside location is obligatory because these simians are also road-gods. 31 This particular feature is related to a whole complex of other features which identify the simian as a fertility god whose duty it is to protect the crops from harmful influences and people from disease, both of which are believed to travel along roads. In performing this function the simian attains considerable power as a fertility symbol and at times is consequently the object of phallic rites. 32

Another feature of this material is the close identification of the surname Yang with simians; this is the relationship of a clan or tribe and its totem. 33 People of this surname, probably aboriginal tribes, would consider the simian to be their blood relation or remote ancestor and thus pay it the required veneration in the form of various taboos. This clearly explains the necessity of raising the progeny supposedly engendered by the simian and the abducted women.

The simians in the two Six Dynasties pieces demonstrate definite characteristics of both a universal fertility symbol and a clan totem. The fusion of these two functions in a single creature is a logical result because the well-being and fortune of a clan are related to the well-being or
fortune of its totem. The fertility of the fields is assured by a virile, active clan totem. These two functions of the simian may originally have been part of separate traditions but eventually fused when the livelihood of the clan changed from hunting and fishing to herding and farming.

The above material examines the "Po yüan chuan" from a number of perspectives. It can be seen as the product of a long development from a single recorded line into a complex, highly skilled short story. On the surface level it is a story of Ou-yang Ho's valiant effort to recapture his wife; on another level the story identifies the Yang clan totem. There is yet another level on which this story can be analysed and that has already been suggested by the identification of the ape as a fertility figure.

Chapter One of Frazer's _Golden Bough_ describes the personage of the sacred king. The diverse manifestations of his story are complex at best, but the following summary will serve for purposes of the present discussion. The sacred king is a repository of community fertility, and, by sympathetic magic the fertility of all the natural world. When the health of the king declines, because of age or any other cause, the well-being of the whole community is thereby endangered; fertility must then be restored. This is usually accomplished through the death of the old king, or his surrogate, and the installation of a new king.
This process involves either mortal combat (agon) or some form of ritual killing. Sometimes the king would be replaced on a regular basis and to secure this end he would be placed at a disadvantage, through drugs or wounding before engaging in combat with his replacement. Surrogate kings could also be chosen from among the general populace, given kingly privileges for a brief period and then killed. After this the old king could be reinstalled as permanent king, thus fulfilling the necessary cycle of death and rebirth. An important feature was the function of the clan totem, a sacred animal which was protected by the entire community except for a festival period during which it was ritually slaughtered and often consumed. This animal was an embodiment of fertility as well as a genitive ancestor. As is amply shown by Frazer in the list of variant features found in disparate cultures is nearly endless, though the fundamental pattern remains.

This pattern sheds considerable light upon the characters and events of the "Po yüan chuan." The simian is easily identified not only as a clan totem but as the permutation of a sacred king. His magical powers and immense vitality are symbols of his sacred function, and his death is predicted by the birth of a son—his replacement. Furthermore, his death was predicted in the autumn, the beginning of the seasonal decline, which by sympathetic magic signals the priest-king's decline. His slaying is
preceded first by placing him at a disadvantage through wine and sexual indulgence, then in the succeeding test of strength he is further handicapped, thus insuring his failure.

Within the anthropological framework of analysis Ou-yang Ho's wife fills the role of the partner in a sacred marriage. Such marriages are common throughout many parts of the world and have a variety of forms. The marriage may be purely symbolic, as between a human and a sacred image, or it may be acted out between magician and mortal bride, or it may be in the form of a human sacrifice. The story of the abduction of Ou-yang Ho's wife as well as the related earlier literary remains appears to be the folkloric remnants of a long forgotten sacred marriage between a human woman and some representative of the simian totem of the Yang clan, possibly a magician. The possibilities for speculation are manifold, and should be resisted, but the bulk of the evidence suggests that the sacred marriage was expected to produce progeny.

Although there is insufficient concrete evidence to demonstrate irrefutable conclusions about the original nature of the material (the social basis having disappeared) the universal aspect of the material as a fertility ritual is patently obvious. The remaining problem is to account for the merger of the fertility ritual with the rescue performed by Ou-yang Ho and, it should be added, the creation.
of such a highly developed narrative. It was suggested above that this tale was written by some unknown person sometime after the mid-Eighth-century. One important factor is the possible influence of contemporary fiction which depicted a somewhat similar pattern. By the time of the last half of the Ninth-century there already existed a considerable amount of material which represented the fictional hero enacting, in part or in full, the archetypal patterns described in the Introduction. The agreement of the basic plot of the "Po yüan chuan" with the feature of the archetypal pattern, especially as it pertains to the features peculiar to the Chinese tradition (described in Chapter Two), is quite strong.

Using Campbell's scheme we see that Ou-yang Ho leaves the ordinary world on his journey into the southern jungles, engaging in battles and thus proving his status as a hero. The theft of his wife is, in metaphorical terms, a summons to adventure as well as a temporary defeat. He continues his night journey penetrating deep into the jungle (a frequent symbol of the subconscious) and finally arriving at the nadir where he meets the goddess (his wife), receives supernatural aid (the other women weakening the simian), and destroys his enemy in combat. He then takes the elixir--wife and treasures--back to the ordinary world.

In conclusion, it may be said that the presence of the archetypal pattern strongly argues in favor of the
theory that the forces of the subconscious mind exert a controlling force on the shape of the literary product. In doing so it combines and arranges into an aesthetically, intellectually, or emotionally satisfying pattern a great many details, many of which may or may not have previously had any apparent relationship. Many of the details of the "Po yüan chuan" appear to have had rather different origins yet are found together in this highly successful classical tale. This matter has been investigated in considerable detail by Uchiyama Chinari. He divides the material into two main categories, the literary remains concerning the figure of the white simian and the historical material concerning the other characters. The material on the simian includes its clothing, fur and general physique, dwelling, magical powers, death (as a mountain spirit), physical and marital prowess, abduction of women, and sexual activity. What Uchiyama has done is to authenticate as many details of the tale as possible in various sources. To this end he has not only used such obvious references as the biographies in the dynastic histories, the T'ai-p'ing Kuang-chi, the Sou shen chi, the Po-wu chih, and the Shan hai ching, but has also gone to such texts as the Ta Tai li chi 大戴禮記 and the Shih chi. Such materials obviously have a great deal of value when one wishes to establish the possible sources available to the author of a specific literary work. In this case the only possible
objections are that we do not know the identity of the author and must hazard guesses as to the date of composition; furthermore, we cannot know what oral sources may have been in general circulation at the time.\textsuperscript{38} Nonetheless, one feature of the psychological theory of the creative process is that the imagination does not invent out of nothing, but rather rearranges material already present. The actual process is somewhat more complicated and is divided into two main categories, the psychological which draws upon the realm of human consciousness for its materials, and the visionary which is controlled by the primordial urges of the subconscious mind.\textsuperscript{39} With a basis in this theory we see that the details of the story, those collected and authenticated by Uchiyama, though with the above-mentioned reservations, constitute the psychological material of the story in that it is drawn from a great many sources in the conscious life of the author. The visionary level, the underlying archetypal pattern which is at once a blood ritual and a process of individuation, was shaped by the primordial urges of the subconscious mind, thus imparting to the material its universal quality.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1Horst Woldemar Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, (London: Warburg Institute, University of Long, 1952), see especially Chapter One.

2Ibid., p. 17


4Janson, Apes and Ape Lore, p. 262.


6Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. ii, p. 12. See also pp. 365, 386ff. for early and late examples of such practices.


9This, of course, follows the practice of titling each entry after the main character.


12Various anecdotes about Ou-yang Hsün were recorded in these and other texts, and are quoted or mentioned in virtually all of the books and articles which discuss the "Po yu'an chuan."

13Meng Ch'i 姜稚, Pen-shin shih 本事詩 "Ch'ao hsiao 喜笑 , no. 7, quoted in Liu K'ai-jung, T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo yen-chiu, p. 31.

14This episode is quoted in Liu K'ai-jung, Ibid., p. 32.
15 Quoted in Liu K'ai-jung, Ibid., p. 32.

16 Lu Hsün, A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, p. 87.

17 Quoted in Wang P'i-chiang, T'ang-jen hsiao-shuo, p. 18.


19 Wang P'i-chiang, T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo, p. 17.

20 Quoted in Wang Meng-ou, "Hsien hua 'Pu Chiang Tsung po y'dan chuan,'" p. 23.

21 Lu Hsün, A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, p. 8.


23 Ibid., p. 35.

24 Hightower, Topics in Chinese Literature, p. 76.


26 Uchiyama Chinari 内山知也 "Ho Kō Sō hakuenden'kō
補江緑白撰集 in Uchino hakase kanreki kinen to'yogaku ronshū 内野博士還暦記念演講集論集 (Tokyo, 1984, pp. 235-
260). Uchiyama's critiques of the earlier and later datings are found on pp. 237-241.

27 The term ch'ieh 義, frequently rendered as concubine, is here translated as wife in the sense of secondary wife.


30 Chang Hua, Po-wu chin 博物志, quoted in Wang P'i-chiang, T'ang-jen hsiao-shuo, p. 18.


32 Ibid., p. 23.

33 Ederhard, Local Cultures of South and East China, pp. 52-53.

Frazer notes that among the Akikuyu of East Africa medicine men as representatives of a snake-god copulate with a large number of young girls, some of whom consequently produce "children of God." See *The Golden Bough*, p. 168.

The tale "Chang T'ing," 張錦 (TPKC, 445/19) describes a host of monks, actually transformed simians 猿猿, living in surroundings much like those of the simian in "Po yōan chuan."


An excellent example of this type of scholarship is found in John Livingstone Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927), which traces every idea and phrase of Coleridge's poems to something that Coleridge can be shown to have read.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GOAL OF THE SEARCH

At the nadir of his adventure the hero seeks to steal away from the gods the elixir of immortality. The elixir is jealously guarded and must be obtained as a boon, by trickery, or in combat. In the materials discussed above (in Chapters Two and Three), the correlative of immortality was usually a goddess or a treasure, while in the following materials the elixir, which signifies personal immortality, is usually found in the form of a magical potion. This potion may be simply given to the hero by the gods after he has attained a certain status, as in the tale "Liu I chuan," where the Dragon King's daughter shares her immortality (ten thousand years of life) with her mortal husband, who then in turn passes it on to his brother. Or, the hero may have to wrest the elixir away from a guardian dragon. The dragon combat found in the tales "T'ao Hsien" and "Chou Han" depicts the failure of the elixir theft, as both tales end with the deaths of the doubles or helpers of the hero, while the hero himself then goes into retirement.

In the following materials the focus is upon the production of the elixir by alchemy. This rather well-known
Chinese practice has been the subject of extensive and detailed investigations, the most recent of which strive for scientific understanding of the principles of the Chinese art of alchemy.² The following discussion does not attempt to describe the actual alchemical processes of the search for the elixir, but rather seeks to describe the marriage of this search with the archetypal heroic adventure in a narrative structure. From this point of view, essentially psychological, the search for the elixir is seen as a quest to overcome individual or human limitations.

This process is often described as the attainment of immortality by becoming a transcendent hsièn.³ A variety of methods were used to attain to this status, alchemy being only one of them.⁴ Cinnabar, one of the primary ingredients of alchemical prescriptions, has some interesting symbolic associations. For example, the bones of man in primitive burials were often smeared with cinnabar red or red ocher, and in Western alchemy, cinnabar has been associated with blood ritual and the concept of the immortal soul.⁵ Alchemy has a long history in China, and there are numerous accounts of practitioners who supposedly attained transcendence, though the techniques employed may not always have been limited to elixir production. The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi contains a great number of accounts of the use of cinnabar and other drugs to attain transcendence. For example, "Wei Po-yang" (TPKC, 2/7), "Hsü Fu" (TPKC, 4/15),
and "Huang Ch'u-p'ing" (TPKC, 7/25).

In archetypal criticism and in psychological theory, physical immortality is a goal which the subconscious mind derives from infantile fantasies. These fantasies emerge in myths, fairy tales, legends, religious teachings, and, of course, in literature. The primary symbols of alchemy are gold and cinnabar, an elixir, or sometimes a treasure of immense value. The primary concept underlying the process is that of transformation, a transformation into the state of physical immortality which is held in the infantile mind, and symbolized by the alchemical transformation of base materials. The goal of immortality, or its symbolic representations, can only be attained through a quest-adventure, and the attempt to produce the elixir of immortality in alchemy is also a quest, though on a somewhat different level, but only superficially so.

In these terms, the process by which the alchemist seeks to create the elixir is not simply a mechanical laboratory exercise; rather, it is a series of trials which prepare the questor both spiritually and physically for the great reward. Though the depiction of such phenomena in literature tends to abbreviate the entire process to a single episode, not without certain pre-conditions, in theory a lifetime of actual practice was necessary to achieve transcendence. The tale "Tu Tzu-ch'un" is the focal point of this chapter and is summarized below:
Tu Tzu-ch'un, who lived at the end of the Northern Chou Dynasty (557-581) and the beginning of the Sui Dynasty (581-617), was a young spendthrift who neglected his estate. Dissolute, fond of drinking and low pleasures, he soon squandered his fortune; and relatives whom he asked to take him in all turned him away because he refused to work. One winter day, ragged and hungry, he loitered till it was late at the west gate of the East Market, not knowing where to go.

Tu is then approached by a nameless old man, who for no apparent reason gives him three million cash. Tu is overjoyed and returns to his dissolute ways, but in a couple of years is again reduced to penury. Once again he meets the old man, only to receive an even greater amount of cash, and once again he renews his old lifestyle. The results are the same. The third time Tu meets the old man, he obtains thirty million cash, but uses it wisely, to benefit his relatives and the general public. To repay the old man's generosity, Tu volunteers to do whatever he desires. The old man arranges to meet Tu one year later.

He found the old man singing in the shade of the twin juniper trees, and together they set out for Yūn-tai Peak on Mount Hua. After they had walked about fifteen miles, they came to an imposing mansion which was obviously not the home of any common man. Bright clouds hovered over it and phoenixes and storks were flying there. In the central hall was a cauldron over nine feet high, in which drugs were being brewed, and the purple flame cast a bright light on the windows. Around the cauldron stood magic figures of the Jade Virgins, the Green Dragons and the White Tigers.

It was now nearly sunset, and the old man took off his ordinary dress and revealed himself as a priest in a yellow cap and red cape. He gave Tu three white marble pills and a goblet of wine, then made him sit on a tiger skin by the west wall,
facing east. "Be sure not to say a word!" he warned him. "Not even if you see deities, devils, vampires, wild beasts, the horrors of hell, or your relatives bound and in agony--it will all be an illusion. But you must neither speak nor stir. Have no fear, for no harm will come to you. At all costs, remember what I have said." With that he disappeared.

Tu then experiences a series of physical, emotional, and mental torments, all of which could be alleviated if he would but speak. He sees his wife sliced to pieces and refuses to speak despite her pleas and agony. He is then killed and sent to hell where he undergoes extreme physical torture, yet remains silent. Finally, he is reborn as a woman, grows up, and is eventually married, bears a child, remaining silent all the while. When the child is two years old, Tu's husband, in a fury over his wife's refusal to speak, kills the child, at which Tu moans aloud.

While the exclamation was still on Tu's lips, he found himself back on the seat in the hall, with the priest before him. It was dawn. Purple flames from the cauldron were shooting up through the roof to the sky, and fire was rising from all sides to burn the house to ashes.

"Look what you have done! You have spoilt my work, you silly fellow!" exclaimed the priest. Seizing him by the hair, he threw Tu into a jar of water. Then the fire was extinguished.

"You succeeded in mastering joy, anger, sorrow, fear, hate and desire," said the priest. "Only love you could not overcome. If you had not cried out, my elixir would have been completed and you could have become immortal too. How hard it is to find a man who can attain god-head! Still I can brew my elixir again, while you remain a mortal and lead your own life on earth. Farewell!" Then he pointed out to Tu his way back.
In examining tales which portray the full structure of the quest, the successful acquisition of the elixir, or its symbolic representation, is only one segment of the pattern, though of course this is the *raison d'être* for the quest. On the other hand, the art of alchemy as a laboratory exercise tends to focus upon the attainment of the goal without either the dangers (exclusive of poisoning) or the narrative interest of the full quest-myth. However, the fictional representation of the search for the elixir reveals that this process is more than the simple act of mixing drugs according to a magical prescription. Instead, it is an heroic adventure filled with many of the characters and events of the archetypal journey.

There are two main characters involved in the tale "Tu Tzu-ch'un"—the hero and the old man. Their relationship is that of novice and experienced initiate, or, in archetypal terms, hero and Wise Old Man. The old man acts as a mysterious benefactor when he provides great sums of badly-needed money, yet revealing neither his identity nor his purpose. Such help is a sign of divine protection and favor, one of the marks of the hero.\(^9\) Tu Tzu-ch'un then responds to this gesture by making a commitment to the old man, i.e., the adventure. His destiny is then moved from a social environment into the realm of the supernatural where all things are possible.\(^10\) Within this new realm the still mysterious old man is now the experienced initiate guiding
the novice through the dangers of the adventure.

Tu Tzu-ch'un is a typical archetypal hero in that he
is in a fashion marked for a great destiny. While some
heroes such as Liu I are marked for adventure by failure
in the exams, Tu is marked by his profligacy. In effect,
he is rejecting worldly values in the search for something
greater. This is emphasized in his use of the money given
him by the old man, since he finally uses great sums to
benefit his relatives and the general public before embarking
on his heroic adventure.

The mysterious old man fills a dual role in this tale,
first as supernatural helper in giving Tu the money, and
then as Wise Old Man in the series of trials undertaken to
secure the elixir. The function of the archetypal Wise Old
Man is to "assist the hero through the trials and terror of
the adventure."11 He provides Tu with the magic drug by
which he gains entrance to the supernatural world-- the sub-
conscious mind--and also provides him with a magic weapon--
perfect silence--which will subdue the monster therein.

The archetypal pattern is not complete without an
enemy of sorts, and in this tale, the enemy appears in the
form of the horrors of hell and then as the attractions of
family life. An allegorical interpretation is even provided
in the tale itself when the old man berates Tu for his
final failure and says, "You succeeded in mastering joy,
anger, sorrow, hate, and desire," said the priest. "Only
love you could not overcome"¹² The enemy then is seen as a projection of the self and the trials are a process of purification in which one cleanses oneself of mundane concerns.

The events of this tale depict the archetypal pattern, first establishing Tu Tzu-ch'un as a potential hero who answers the call to the adventure. He is instructed by a Wise Old Man and receives from him a weapon as well. The journey begins in a supernatural environment—the alchemist's mansion—and from there the hero crosses the threshold into the subconscious mind. The seven emotions encountered there represent personal limitations which must be engaged in combat and overcome to attain the goal to the quest.¹³ The hero proves victorious in all trials save one and thus fails to attain the goal. He then returns to the everyday world to live out his mortal life.¹⁴

In Chapters Three and Four of this study the goal of the quest was most often depicted as a female figure associated with the idea of universal fertility or as a goddess who possessed and could dispense immortality. On a psychological level these actually are symbolic representations and are to be understood as,

embodiments and custodians of the elixer of Imperishable Being, but not themselves the Ultimate in its primary state. What the hero seeks through his intercourse with them is therefore not finally themselves, but their grace, i.e., the power of their sustaining substance. This miraculous energy-substance and this alone is
the Imperishable; the names and forms of the
deities who everywhere embody, dispense, and
represent it come and go.\textsuperscript{15}

In these terms the search for the elixir is seen as an
try to attain immortality through a purification of the
self, an overcoming of personal limitations and the success-
ful attainment of maximal spiritual growth. The spiritual
aspect of alchemy was well understood by the Chinese alchem-
ists since the "success of the purely concrete, chemical ex-
periments of the alchemists was in any case thought to de-
pend upon his having subjected himself to severe spiritual
discipline."\textsuperscript{16} This aspect of alchemy has been described
in detail by the practicing alchemist Ko Hung in his
description of those who are destined for success in their
efforts:

\dots they settle far away, stay in hiding, con-
ceal their shinling scales, and veil their elegance.
They repress the eye's desire to see; banish the
beauties that weaken vision. They plug the ear's
very thought of sound; put far away the music
which only confuses hearing. They cleanse the
dark mirror of the mind, maintain a feminine ap-
proach and embrace Unity. Concentrating them-
steps upon the breaths to produce softness they
fortify themselves with calm and impartiality.
They dismiss the evils of joy and sadness; they
are alien to the glory and disgrace associated
with successes and failures; they lop away rich
living that later turns to poison. They silence
verbosity at the pole of all things. Listen-
ing in reverse, they hear most clearly; looking
inward, they see free of blemishes. They nurture
the roots of their inner powers on God (the Mystery
that is Creation); they dispel affection for the
things contacting them. By eschewing everything
shallow, governing through joy and love, and
acting through perfect freedom they maintain the
natural order intact.\textsuperscript{17}
This description is of great interest as it describes a process in many ways akin to that of the interior journey of the archetypal hero, especially that process which is found in yoga or in dreams. The first lines describe the crossing of the threshold into the unknown; next the forces of one's personal limitations are met and overcome. The final stage is the yoking of the self with the innermost powers of the subconscious level of the mind.  

The structure of the tale "Tu Tzu-ch'un" reflects these views exactly and bases the successful manufacturing of the elixir upon the spiritual discipline of the hero. There is an important analogy between the chemical purity of the elixir, often likened to gold which is imperishable, and the spiritual purity of the quest hero, who is seen as a True Man 真人. The failure to attain the elixir is based only on Tu's inability to maintain strict self-discipline.

As the ending of the tale "Tu Tzu-ch'un" suggests, failure in the search to produce the elixir of immortality is more common than success. While this is mostly true in attempts to produce the potion by alchemy it is also true to some extent in tales which relate the gift by the gods of such an elixir to a mortal man.

The tale "Wei Tzu-tung" 老子 (TPKC, 356/51); is similar in many respects to the tale "Tu Tzu-ch'un." This tale involves the cooperation of a Taoist priest and the hero Wei Tzu-tung to successfully brew the elixir.
Wei's task is to fight off witches and demons who interfere with the process, and for this service he is to be rewarded with a portion of the brew. Wei is to stand guard at the entrance to the Taoist's cave and fight off all who try to enter. Various creatures such as monster snakes and seductive women vanish like mirages when assailed by Wei's sword. Finally, just at dawn a Taoist master comes to see the successful completion of the brewing process. Wei allows him to enter then becomes suspicious and goes in to find that the elixir has again been ruined. Wei then retires to the mountains in shame.

In this tale the successful brewing of the elixer depends on the hero's ability to remain superior to the delusions confronting him. These trials are thus comparable to those portrayed in "Tu Tzu-ch'un" and failure in them yields the same results. In another type of tale about attaining immortality there is a different type of failure. That is the failure to place full trust in the goddess--always a ravishing beauty--who desires to bestow herself and the elixer of immortality upon some distrusting mortal. This is the case in the T'ang tales "Ts'ui shu-sheng" (TPKC, 63/6), "Feng Chih" 封禪 (TPKC, 68/3) and "Wei An-tao chuan" 魏安道傳 (TPKC, 299/25). There is an evident pattern in these examples; when the preparation of the elixir is an integral part of the tale, the characters involve a younger man and an older man who leads the way.
This is the archetypal situation of the Wise Old Man and questing hero, and failure in the trials, despite the proper advice, dooms the hero to his mortal fate. In the latter type of stories, the characters are goddess and questing hero, and it is his lack of faith in her divine status that determines the negative ending.

The quest for the elixir of immortality was not always futile though, and some tales depict the successful brewing of the elixir and the attainment of immortality. The tale "P'ei Hang" (TPKC, 50/2) describes the meeting of the failed scholar P'ei Hang and a woman while traveling by boat. P'ei's interest in her quickly abates when she announces that she is married, but when the boat arrives at Lan-chiao the woman disembarks and P'ei wanders ashore to stop at a stand for some broth. The old lady in charge has a beautiful daughter whose beauty entrances P'ei and he makes a generous proposal of marriage. The old lady agrees but only on the condition that within one hundred days he secure a jade mortar to grind some magic medicine of hers that will yield an elixir of immortality. After a long search P'ei exhausts his financial resources to purchase the mortar and manages to return within the specified time limit. They proceed to grind the medicine for another one hundred days and, when finished, the old lady drinks it down forthwith. Then, to fulfill the promise of marriage, they all repair to a mountain paradise where
P'ei Hang marries the girl and by taking an elixir also becomes an immortal. The woman he met on the boat turns out to be his new sister-in-law.

This tale retains the basic details and structure of the elixier quest. The hero is subjected to a trial—to secure the jade mortar—and there is frequent reference to his faith in their various promises to him. There is a goddess who bestows both herself and immortality upon the hero, and, to some extent, the old lady is analogous in role to the Taoist priests in "Tu Tzu-ch'un" and "Wei Tzu-tung." The movement of the piece as characterized by the settings and details also follows the typical pattern of a progression from the world of reality to the supernatural world.

The search for the elixir centers upon the production or acquisition of a magic potion which will transform whom-ever ingests it into a hsien, which is variously rendered as immortal or transcendent. The term hsien means "to age and not die: 老而不死, and has some interesting cognates that appear to relate the term to early shamanism.\textsuperscript{20} Shamans are also associated with the elixir of immortality as well as with other drug types,\textsuperscript{21} but seem to have either been incorporated into Taoism in T'ang times or relegated to secret societies.\textsuperscript{22} The Chinese concept of immortality has some characteristic features which differ greatly from those perhaps of Buddhism or Christianity. For example, in Confucianism there is no belief in either an immortal soul
or in any personal biological immortality; only through one's direct descendants or personal fame is it possible to transcend death.\textsuperscript{23} On the other hand the Taoist's conception of immortality is essentially a physical or biological immortality; there is no continued existence of a soul without a material component.\textsuperscript{24} In this sense the life to death transformations described in \textit{Chuang Tzu} (Chapter Six) are not immortality but rather the transcendence of a distinction between life and death.

Taoist physical immortality has a number of interesting characteristics. The term \textit{hsien} is explained in the K'ang-hsi \textit{tsu-tien} as "to age and not die," yet the description found in the T'ang \textit{ch'uan-ch'i} tales indicates that this means age in years and not in appearance. For example, in "Liu I chuan," Liu I's younger brother is described as appearing the elder of the two. In other words, the physical process of aging is halted or even reversed. Death, when it seemed to occur, was rather an escape to some earthly paradise with a material token left behind.\textsuperscript{25} The appearance of a simulacrum is noted in the tale "Ma Tzu-juan chuan." \textit{馬自然傳} (\textit{TPKC}, 33/12). Such phenomena is not commonly seen in the tales selected by the process described in the Introduction. In fact, the more arcane the material, the more it is confined to the anecdotal forms and the less it appears in the more fully developed narrative forms. Although immortality is believed to be most
often attained by alchemical processes, other methods were also used. Joseph Needham lists six methods altogether, including,

1. respiratory techniques,
2. heliotherapeutic techniques,
3. gymnastic techniques,
4. sexual techniques,
5. alchemical and pharmaceutical techniques, and
6. dietary techniques.²⁶

Only the last two listed are found to any degree in the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales and the use of number five—alchemical and pharmaceutical techniques—predominates to quite some degree. Dietary techniques are at times mentioned and in one tale "T'ao Yin erh chün" 阿由春 (TPKC, 40/35), a diet consisting exclusively of nuts, pine resins, and the like is advocated as superior to the chemical techniques. These techniques, except number three, appear to have respectably ancient origins in Han or earlier thought and practice, though in terms of received tradition more details date from somewhat later periods.²⁷

The Taoist concept of immortality must somehow be related to the concept of biological changes such as those noted in Chuang Tzu—fish become birds, insects become butterflies—and such observations would lead thinkers to deny that man alone is a fixed species. The techniques mentioned above are then active attempts to bring about these transformations.²⁸ Of course, by T'ang times transformations of all types found their way into the ch'uan-ch'i tales, as has been demonstrated in the material
covered in this chapter.

In conclusion, one may say that the search for the elixir is recognition of the existence of the Imperishable Being (Campbell's term) and an expression of the hope that it may be attained. This search is also recognized as both a spiritual and a material quest, which accurately reflects the Taoist belief that immortality requires the union of both the spiritual and material aspects of life—soul and substance. The importance of the elixir as the ultimate goal of the quest cannot be over-emphasized (despite the greater fictional attention to its symbolic representation in a female or goddess figure). The psychological motivation for the quest, which is derived from infantile desires, effectively locates the origins of such phenomena in universal experiences and hence provides a methodological basis for archetypal criticism.

The early pre-fictional expression of the concept of immortality is found in magic, especially the magical practices of the shamans who were entrusted with the preservation of natural fertility in the practices of rain-making and individual immortality. The relationship of magico-religious functions and political functions of shamans are expressed not only in such works as the "Li Sao," but also in the "Kao-t'ang fu." The establishment of Confucianism as the state cult effectively eliminated such practices from the political area and relegated
them to the realm of individual endeavor.

With the development of creative fiction in the T'ang dynasty, the elixer quest was a natural subject for fictional treatment, and it is noteworthy that in terms of plot resolution the narrative more frequently ends on a negative note. This is entirely consistent with the poetic renditions of the shaman's quest in the Ch'u songs, which have been noted as quest-type material. This similarity further identifies the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i version of the elixir quest as archetypal experience, and in terms of characters, setting and structure, the materials do follow the archetypal pattern. The hero, Wise Old Man, and the enemy provide the primary images, while the settings in the real and supernatural worlds are structured according to the sequence of events of the interior journey.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1 Campbell, Hero with a Thousand Faces, pp. 185-190, 245, 246.

2 An excellent introduction to T'ang Dynasty alchemy is Nathan Sivin's Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); earlier material is covered in James Ware's translation of the "Nei-p'ien" of Pao P'u Tzu titled Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320 (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1965); There is also valuable information in Needham, et. al., Science and Civilization in China, Vol. 11.

3 This word is part of a word family which has a primary etymon meaning "to move about, rise high, dance." See Karlgren, "Grammata Secrìca Recensa" 206.


5 Jung, Alchemical Studies, p. 195.

6 Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, p. 177.


8 "The Spendthrift and the Alchemist," in The Dragon King's Daughter, pp. 81-82, 82-83, 86.


10 Campbell, ibid., p. 58.

11 Campbell, ibid., pp. 8-9.

12 "The Spendthrift and the Alchemist," p. 86.


14 Li Fu-yen, the compiler of the collection, Hsü hšan-kuai lu 繼玄炫録, seems to have been interested in the ideas of adversity and failure. Four tales including "Hsüeh Wei" 謝偉 "Chang Feng" 張逢, "Li Wei-kung Ch'ing" 李鏜清 and the present tale show the hero either changing into a lower animal and thus coming to a bad end, or show him failing at some crucial task.


17 Ware, Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320, p. 99.

18 This corresponds to sexual union with a goddess—signifying totality of being. Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, p. 116.


21 Needham, Ibid., v. ii, p. 136.


30 Private experiments with alchemy were carried out by Po Chü-i (A.D. 772-846), whose attempt, apparently made in all seriousness, came to nothing. His experiment is recorded in a poem translated in Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i, pp. 127-128. See also Ch'en Kuo-fu 邱國符, Tao-tsang yün-liu kao 道藏源流考 2 Vols. (Peking: Chunghua shu-chü, 1963) Vol. 2, p. 339, for reference to this.

31 Hawkes, Ch'ü Tzu, p. 8.
CHAPTER SIX

THE ARCHETYPAL PATTERN

The material in the preceding chapters has demonstrated the primary motifs and patterns of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales. The purpose of this chapter is to display these motifs in a pattern which demonstrates their relationship with the universal pattern of the quest-myth.

Efforts of this sort for Western, Near Eastern, or universal materials, using various approaches—folklore, anthropology, genealogy, psychology, and mythology—have been made. This has also been done for Chinese folklore by both Chinese and Western scholars.¹

Archetypal behavior consists of a pattern of interrelated events, conditions, and actions. To fulfill the pattern of the archetype it is not necessary that these elements be displayed in a rigidly prescribed, unvarying manner; rather, what tends to occur is that some parts are transposed, emphasized or de-emphasized, or even omitted altogether, depending upon the literary or other requirements imposed by the circumstances which led to the recording of the material in an archetypal pattern. Fontenrose has discussed this phenomenon in connection
with his study of the Delphic myth. He notes six general types of changes in his material: 1) mutations of role and changes of rank, relationship, or class; 2) mutations in action; 3) a striking feature of one variant may be reduced in another to something less striking, or it may be disguised; 4) deeds or traits may be transferred from one character to another; 5) themes and roles may be combined or fused; 6) there may be expansion or doubling of themes, persons, or episodes. These are examples of the processes which affect the recreation of mythic and archetypal thought. They are not so readily evident in the pieces presented above because of the narrow process of selection employed and, more importantly, because examples of the archetypes are not taken beyond the T'ang dynasty. Even so, in a comparison of the stories of Liu I and Liu Tzu-hua (both given above in Chapter Three) the characters and actions differ remarkably, yet both are representatives of the same archetypal pattern. The tale "Ling ying chuan" (TPKC, 492) is again remarkably different in many features but still fulfills the archetypal pattern. The type and number of mutations and variations that occur often seem confusing and illogical. For example, in the tales related to "Liu I chuan," the earliest versions make no effort to provide a logical reason why a supernatural being should seek the help of a mortal; why a dragon should need the help of a mortal merely to deliver a message. This is the very
sort of phenomenon that is found both in dreams and in
debased mythical material and it is exactly in such de-
tails that the psychological or archetypal nature of the
material is revealed. In mythology such details are muta-
tions or remnants of misplaced or misunderstood, yet
primary, features of the fundamental pattern. Rather than
delete such details, however, strange to later minds, they
are transformed to preserve the substance of the archetype.
The problem then is not one of logical analysis but rather
one of discovering the logical connectives embodied in the
archetype.

Some features of this archetypal pattern have already
been described above in terms of the mythological or folk-
loric sources and in terms of the literary precursors of
the tales. The following is a description of the material
in terms of the archetypal pattern.

The Status of the Hero

The Scholar Hero. The opening lines of a T'ang
ch'uan-ch'i tale identify the hero's station in life, and
most of the heros fall within a rather narrow range of pos-
sibilities: scholars, military officers, proligates, and
men of wealth and leisure, the latter two being somewhat
infrequently encountered. The largest group is undoubtably
that of the scholars and that group, too, is usually of a
particular type, often the failed scholar. The identifi-
cation of a character as a scholar is made according to
various set formulas, such as, "In the Yi-feng period (A.D. 676-679) the Confucian scholar Liu I had failed the capital examination and was returning to his native area Hsiang." ("Liu I chuan" TPKC, 419/22) "In the Ch'ang-ch'ing period (A.D. 821-825) the hsiu-ts'ai P'ei Hang, having failed the capital examination, was sojourning in Ao-chu where he called upon an old friend Ts'ui Hsiang-kuo." ("P'ei Hang," TPKC, 50/2) "[In A.D. 685] the National Academy chin-shih (or Presented Scholar) Cheng early one morning set out from Tung-shih Village crossing the Lo Bridge by the bright moonlight." ("Hsiang-chung yüan chieh" TPKC, 298/24)

Some heroes are identified as officials or as the scions of official families: "In the third year of T'ien-shou (A.D. 692) Chang Yi of Ch'ang-ho took up official residence in Heng-chou." ("Li-hun chi," TPKC, 358/4) "Wang Hsien-k'o was a nephew of the court minister Liu Chen." ("Wu-shuang chuan," TPKC, 486/19) "In the Chen-yüan period there was a certain Ts'ui Wei, son of the former Examiner Ts'ui Hsiang." ("Ts'ui Wei," TPKC, 34/15) Other tales such as "Ku-ching chi," (TPKC, 230/21) and "Yu hsien-k'u," (TJHS, pp. 3-9) are purportedly autobiographical and thus portray the scholar class.

Fighting Heroes. A considerably smaller group of heroes is composed of soldierly men: "Lieutenant Ou-yang Ho invaded as far as Ch'ang-lo pacifying all the cave-
dwellers there and entering deep into forbidding terrain." ("Po yün chuan," TPKC, 444/16) A related type of hero is the man noted for his valor: "In the Chen-yüan period there was a certain Wei Tzu-tung, a man of righteous and courageous principles." ("Wei Tzu-tung," TPKC, 356/51)

The hero may be a profligate or a man of wealth and leisure: "Tu Tzu-ch' un... was a young spendthrift who neglected his estate. Dissolute, fond of drinking and low pleasures, he soon squandered his fortune...." ("Tu Tzu-ch' un") "Ch'un-yü Fen... was fond of drinking, hot-tempered, and recklessly indifferent to conventions.... In a fit of drunkenness he offended his general and was dismissed. Then, in his disappointment, he let himself go and gave his days to drinking." ("Nan-k' o T'ai-shou chuan," TPKC, 475/32) "T'ao Hsien, a descendent of [the Magistrate of] P'eng-tse 彭澤 [T'ao Ch'ien], lived in the late K'ai-yüan 開元 period [A.D. 713-742] and resided at K'un-shan where he owned considerable land which was all entrusted to an honest and capable steward, while T'ao himself sailed the rivers and lakes going where he would." ("T'ao Hsien," TPKC, 420/28)

The Hero is Marked for Adventure

The heroic adventure does not devolve upon just anyone; the hero must be singled out and distinguished from his fellow men by particular circumstances which prepare him psychologically for the events to come. The
distinguishing marks often have an ostensibly negative value, but in fact these marks signify that the hero is material for a great destiny and he has, in effect, either been denied mundane success or has consciously rejected it.

These marks are of several types. In the Six Dynasties material associated with the tale "Liu I chuan" it was noted that the men selected to carry the messages of the supernatural beings were men already on official missions. This status, in effect, marked them as men suited for this new task. In the fully developed tales several other devices are used to mark the hero, among them failure in the triennial capital chin-shih examinations, a profligate lifestyle, and poverty. (The former two categories double as prerequisites or status indicators of the potential hero.) It should be noted that the negative features are more commonly associated with the supernatural tales, while the more realistic tales, such as "Li-wa chuan," employ a different set of features, if indeed any are employed.

Although the most frequently encountered circumstance which marks the hero is that of failure in the examinations, the two examples of Liu I and P'ei Hang mentioned in the material above describe the rather limited attention which it is given in the narrative. Yet, despite the disappointment which undoubtedly accompanied such a turn of events, no mention is made of the psychological condition of the hero. This, however, is consistent with the techniques of
characterization employed in ch'uan-ch'i tales, which call only for rather standard responses, such as moral indignation, to an immediate situation closely tied to the main action of the story.

Another negative mark of the hero is profligate life, exemplified by the tale "Tu Tzu-ch'un" mentioned above and analyzed in Chapter Four. This negative phase of the hero's life is comparable to the childhood cycle in the lives of many archetypal heroes,

....the child of destiny has to face a long period of obscurity. This is a time of extreme danger, impediment, or disgrace. He is thrown inward to his own depths or outward to the unknown: either way what he touches is a darkness unexplored.... The conclusion of the childhood cycle is the return or recognition of the hero, when, after a long period of obscurity, his true character is revealed.  

It is obvious that this feature of the heroic life--the period of childhood obscurity--appears in the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales transformed into such features as the failure of the scholar or the life of the profligate.

The Hero Is on a Journey

The journey is one of the most prevalent motifs of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales. In the tale "Liu I chuan" the hero is on a journey home on horseback, while in "Hsiang-chung yüan chieh" and "P'ei Häng" the heroes are traveling by boat. Variations are found in hunting expeditions and solitary walks in forests. In "Chang Chih-fang" (TPKCh, 455/1) the hero is on a hunting expedition in a deep forest and becomes
separated from his companions, losing his way in the unfamiliar terrain. In "Chang Feng" (TPKC, 429/10) the hero is on a journey in a strange district and while taking solitary walk is overtaken by night-fall in a deep forest.

There are innumerable examples of the journey motif in these tales, some of which appear to be merely formulaic, others more integrated with the narrative. The formulaic type of reference to a journey is exemplified in the opening line of the tale "Sun K'ō" (TPKC, 445/21) "During the Kuang-te period (唐德 A.D. 763-65) the hsiu-ts'ai Sun K'ō had failed the capital examination and was sojourn ing in Lo." The use of such bald and unadorned language is avoided in an unfortunately smaller number of tales, for example, in the opening lines to "T'ao Hsien" and "Hsiang-chung yüan chieh," both quoted above.

The prevalence of the journey motif is no doubt a reflection in part of the largely supernatural antecedents to the ch'uan-ch'i tales and the continued presence of supernatural concerns. The journey motif, however, is not simply a literary device.

From a spiritual point of view, the journey is never merely a passage through space, but rather an expression of the urgent desire for discovery and change that underlies the actual movement and experience of traveling.... Heroes are always travelers, in that they are restless. Traveling, Jung observes, is an image of aspiration, of an unsatisfied longing that never finds its goal, seek where it may."
In the material under consideration the journey motif often signifies that a major event in the life of the hero has taken place, or is about to, or both. It may also characterize to a certain extent the mental state of the hero depending upon the particular diction employed. For example, while a few tales use the term kuei 行 "to return," hsing 行 "to travel," or even tsu...chih...自...至... "from...to...," the majority of the tales use the word yu 遊/遊 "to sojourn, wander, roam." Of the first three only kuei has any particular connotation, that being the return to one's proper place or, somethimes, to retire, either from office or from the world of men. On the other hand, the latter words have rather pronounced connotations of a pleasure jaunt or aimless wandering. The relatively frequent use of the word yu in this connection is an indication of the underlying motivation of aspiration for new and profound experiences.

The Hero is Summoned to the Adventure

While on his journey the hero may receive a summons to the heroic adventure. These summons range from an apparent blunder or chance occurance to an everyday event. In the story "Ts'ui Wei" (TPKC, 34/15) the hero first happens to be a guest in a home that makes triennial sacrifices to a "single-legged spirit" 獨腳神. When Ts'ui learns that he is to be the sacrifice he escapes into the night only to fall into a deep well inhabited by a large snake, and thus
begins his heroic adventure. In the tale "Liu I chuan" the hero is traveling by horse when suddenly a bird flies up startling his horse which then runs wild to the riverside where the Dragon King's daughter appears to be waiting for someone. Other heroes lost in a forest or be-nighted while enroute somewhere may see the light of a mansion in some remote place and thus begin the adventure.

In Freudian and Jungian theory blunder and chance occurrences are not merely such, but rather "the result of suppressed desires and conflicts" or the product of synchronicity. The appearance of the herald or the summons to adventure is the signal for the beginning of a new stage of life; it predicts the crossing of the threshold into the supernatural world and may in this fashion precipitate a crisis of choice between two lines of action. The refusal of the call results in the lost chance for immortality, while answering the call promises great reward, but only at the risk of great dangers. Ts'ui shusheng (TPRC, 63/6) misses immortality because he refuses the call by having but little faith in the goddess who favors him.

The Hero Enters the Supernatural Realm

After responding to the call the hero then enters the supernatural realm, which may have correlatives in nature, either magical or not, or which may be on a purely symbolic nature such as a dream or trance. The supernatural realm
was described in quite some detail in Chapter Two under the topic of immediate settings. These settings were described as essentially scenes of grandeur and majesty or mystery with concrete locations underwater, underground, in remote rain forests, or in high mountains, which were then identified as symbolic representations of the subconscious mind. When a trance or dream state is described, as in "Chen-chung chi" (TPKC, 82/24) and "Ying-t'ao ch'ing-yi," (TPKC, 281/8) there may be less effort to portray a supernatural realm of magic and mystery. Instead, as befits the satirical or ironic intent of such tales, the transition into the dream state is de-emphasized and the development of such features as material and political success are depicted as realistically as possible.

The supernatural realm is a zone of extremes, extremes of power and danger, failure or success; yet, despite the uncertainty of the outcome, entry into this realm is invariably an affirmative act rather than escape or self-negation. This is demonstrated in the symbols of the supernatural realm which represent the powerful forces of the subconscious mind. Entry into this area provokes the potentially destructive energies of various powerful forces as well as the possibility of great reward from the gods.

The Hero Undergoes Trials

Having successfully gained entrance to the supernatural realm the hero then must undergo a trial or series of trials.
There are a great many possibilities for this motif, ranging from a simple service to a complex or dangerous task. The development of the trials motif in the dragon story material described in Chapter Three shows the evolution of the trial from the simple service of the delivery of a message to the message motif plus the subduing of an enemy and the restoration of fertility. In the tale "P'ei Hang" the hero must procure a rare jade mortar in order to secure the blessings of the gods. In "Li Wei-kung Ching" the task is to mount a flying horse and sprinkle a magical potion to cause rainfall. In "Tu Tzu-ch'un" the trial is one of faith and perseverance even in pain and suffering.

The purpose of the trials is to demonstrate that the hero is actually worthy of the goal of the quest, and to this end it is necessary that he be superior in degree to other men and to his environment. The nature of the trial is to a great extent governed by the particular characteristics of the Chinese scholar-hero, the dominant figure of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tale, whose general features were described in Chapter Two. The main features of the scholar-hero were described in terms of wen "cultivated eloquence" as opposed to wu "martial power." The trials reflect this facet of the Chinese hero in that they eschew personal involvement in violence. Thus, in the examples given above the scholar-heroes do not engage in acts of violence, though as in "Liu I chuan," a double of the hero may do so.
Failure in the trial is not unheard of. In tales describing the search for an elixir the hero's failure is perhaps a lack of resolve ("Tu Tzu-ch'un") or a lack of trust ("Ts'ui shu-sheng"). In "T'ao Hsien" and "Chou Han" failure of the heroes' doubles to defeat the draconic enemy then caused the heroes' own retirement.

The Hero Has a Double

The figure of the double was described in considerable detail in Chapter Two and nothing new need be added to that material. To repeat: the double in the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales is primarily a vehicle for the performance of deeds denied to the hero because of personal limitations or ethical restrictions. There is, as stated above, an apparent blending of the roles of double and supernatural helper. The problem of identification can be resolved to some extent by applying Jung's concept of the collective unconscious, which he postulates as a persona of the hero, and, again following Jung, by reading the Wise Old Man as a symbol of the collective unconscious. The collective unconscious, which Frye disregards as unnecessary for the study of literature, then links the hero to his agents in a double relationship. This is admittedly a tortuous path, yet it is not without a certain surface logic as well, since all actions and actors are directed toward a common goal.
The Hero Meets a Wise Old Man

The figure of the Wise Old Man was also described in quite some detail in Chapter Two and the only feature to add here is that a female figure may at times fill this role. A single example will suffice. In the tale "Ts'ui Wei" the title character is the scion of a distinguished family yet is reduced to poverty through his own extravagance. During a festival Ts'ui sees an old beggar woman being roundly cursed out for upsetting someone's food and wine and magnanimously offers his own coat, which is all he has, to cover the damages. To repay him the old lady gives Ts'ui some moxa of nearly magical potency. The moxa then serves Ts'ui as a weapon, as on the quest he is able to use it as a curative to mollify otherwise hostile forces. The old beggar woman then has the same relationship to Ts'ui Wei as, for example, Hou in "Ku-ching chi" has to Wang Tu in providing him with a magical mirror.

The Hero has a Weapon

The weapon of the hero was discussed in Chapter Two. The weapons break down into several types, none of them the conventional sword, staff, or bow and arrow of the military man. Even the warrior-hero Wei Tzu-tung does not use his sword on his quest, but rather is armed with a magical weapon—silence. It should also be noted that in "Po yu'an chuan" the weapons of the warrior Ou-yang Ho are barely mentioned and it is only knowledge of the simian's
weak point that makes the weapons effective. In contrast, the non-conventional weapons of the scholar-hero, e.g., moral force, wen (cultured eloquence), medicine, magical mirror, silence and magical spells are given particular attention when they appear in the texts. This contrast is consistent with both the supernatural basis of the tales and the scholar's reliance on non-violent means to an end.11

The Hero is Rewarded

At some point of the quest the hero receives a reward, or, he may receive several rewards. In "Liu I chuan" the rewards consisted first of assorted treasures and then of a wife—the Dragon Princess—and longevity. In the tale "Jen Hsiu" (TPKC, 421/33) a man aids a dragon in danger and is given a valuable pearl for the service. In "Tung-t'ing shan-hsūeh"洞庭山穴 (TTTS, pp. 613-614) dragon pearls are bestowed upon a treasure-seeking imperial emissary. In archetypal terms these actually are symbolic treasures. This is also true of the goddess who presents herself to a mortal man. The elixir of immortality is the actual goal of the quest and is the underlying value of these various representations.

The Hero Meets a Goddess

At some point of the journey the hero will meet a female figure, a goddess in the supernatural tales and a
human in the realistic tales. The result of the meetings vary from the beneficial to the dangerous or deadly. If the hero encounters a benevolent goddess material wealth and immortality may be his lot; yet if he encounters a dangerous supernatural being, as in "Lao chiao" 老蛟, he may meet his death (see Chapter Three). One feature of the meeting with the goddess is union, which may be symbolic or which may be actual. Sexual union with a goddess represents in anthropological terms the continuation of world fertility.\textsuperscript{12} In psychological terms sexual union with the goddess represents a union with the anima, the totality of the self and knowledge.\textsuperscript{13}

The Hero Leaves the World

Immortals seldom choose to live among men and in those tales which depict the fuller cycle of the mythical round the hero is often said to have left for some preferable place of abode. In the anti-climax of the tale "P'ei Hang," the hero, his bride (a goddess), and relatives all retire to a mountain paradise. Liu I first spent some time in the mortal world but finally permanently departed for the underwater demesne of the Dragon King.

In certain tales such as "Tu Tzu-ch'un" and "Wei Tzu-tung" the heroes fail the tests and are doomed to their mortality. Yet the endings of these tales also describe the heroes as disappearing from the world of men or retiring to a mountain fastness. Failure in the trials is comparable to
death, since one cannot reach total self-knowledge, or, in psychological terms, it is comparable to insanity or neurosis.\textsuperscript{14}

These twelve features describe the primary symbols and events of the life pattern of the composite Chinese hero. The relationship of these features their usual sequential appearance is shown in the following diagram:\textsuperscript{15}

As noted on the diagram there is a general correspondence between the progress of the hero's adventure and the
topology of the mind. The Everyday World corresponds to the ego and operates on a reality principle with reference to the observable world. The area above the line demarcating the Threshold of Adventure corresponds to the preconscious mind, a sort of buffer zone between the ego and the id, or subconscious mind, which provided the ego with potentially conscious material, though still subject to repression. The area below the line corresponds to the id, which is composed of the forces of the libido and destrudo.

In plotting the path of the typical T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tale we see that the hero, a man of a certain status, is on a journey when he is summoned to the adventure and meets a Wise Old Man who provides him with a weapon for use in the trials to come. After entering the supernatural realm the hero undergoes a trial, or trials, with the aid of the weapon and a double or helper. Failure leads to death, often symbolic. Success leads to reward—treasure, goddess, or elixir. The hero may return to the everyday world for a certain length of time before finally leaving the world to live in a paradise.

Three schemes of representation of the pattern of the heroic life—those of Raglan, De Vries, and Campbell—were given in Chapter Two. A comparison of these with the pattern of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tale reveals that there is a partial correspondence with the schemes of Raglan and De Vries and a general correspondence with that of Campbell.
Two factors account for this. One is that the schemes of the former are specific and culturally limited, while that of the latter is general and universal. The other factor is that the Chinese materials are based on a particular genre which has limitations of length and content, while the other schemes are based on a wider variety of materials.

The Chinese materials can be divided into three stages; the preliminaries, the action, and the conclusion. The preliminaries consist of the establishment of the hero as such and preparations for entry into the supernatural world. The action consists of the trials and the reward, events which take place in the supernatural world. The conclusion then disposes of the hero, usually by describing his final departure from the everyday world.

The T'ang ch'uan-ch'i materials show a definite emphasis on the second stage of the mythical round, that of the trials and the reward, which corresponds to Campbell's second stage--initiation\(^{16}\)--and to Frye's second stage--the mythos of summer\(^{17}\)--as well. The T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales have been recognized as the first consciously created Chinese fiction, which correlates with the view that the romance is older than the novel.\(^{18}\) Thus, it can be seen that these tales not only demonstrate universal archetypical features, they also conform to the general principles of the development of fiction.
NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1Chung Ching-wen has abstracted many folktale types as has Lou Tzu-k'uang (see Bibliography). Material of this nature has been collected in such series as the Min-su-hsüeh chi-chüan. Wolfram Eberhard's "Typen Chinesischer Volksmärchen" and his Lokalkulturen im alten China have organized such materials into distinctive patterns.

2Fontenrose, Python, pp. 7-8.

3Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, p. 37.

4Campbell, Ibid., pp. 328-329.


7Campbell, Ibid., pp. 8-10.

8Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 33.


10Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, pp. 111-12.

11Creel, Chinese Thought, p. 30.


14Campbell, Ibid., pp. 101-4.

15This diagram is based on that of Campbell, ibid., p. 245.

16Campbell, ibid., p. ix.


18This of course includes the tale and the short story in the same relationship. Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 306.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

The importance of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales in the development of Chinese creative fiction (including tale and romance, short story and novel) is a fact acknowledged by many scholars but investigated by relatively few of them. Of the studies that have been made, the historical method is most often applied, with the result that the information generated is related to literary influences, historical background, and literary biography. (The exceptions have been indicated throughout this study). No doubt one main reason for the relatively minor attention paid the ch'uan-ch'i tales is the admittedly wider appeal of the colloquial short stories and novels that appeared in later periods. It has, however, been acknowledged that the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales played an important part in the creation of this body of literature.1 If the origin of Chinese creative fiction is at all to be understood it is therefore imperative that the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales be thoroughly investigated, if only for their chronological importance.

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This study seeks to demonstrate first that the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales have a solid foundation in a body of universal symbols. These were described first in the Introduction and then elaborated upon when necessary in Chapters Two through Five. In these sections the following features were demonstrated: 1. The primary characters of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales are the scholar-hero, the goddess (debased or otherwise), and the enemy (sometimes a monster or supernatural being). The secondary characters include the doubles of the hero, the Wise Old Man, and his helpers. 2. The settings of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales follow a consistent pattern showing a progression from the real world to a supernatural one. This pattern conforms to that of the heroic adventure or interior journey. 3. The literary remains from earlier periods which are related to the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales provide evidence that the gradual development of the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales corresponds to the emergence of the more psychological aspects of the mythical round. 4. The T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales, as befitting the shorter forms of fiction, show only a partial correspondence to the monomyth. Notably the birth and youth of the hero are not described. This deletion of information on the early life of the hero may be related to the repression, conscious or otherwise, of features of the Oedipal conflict. However, there is no evidence available upon which to formulate any sound hypothesis regarding this matter. Studies such as "Hsüeh
Jen-kuei and Hsüeh Ting-shan: A Chinese Oedipal Conflict" by Yen Yüan-shu provide a preliminary look at this feature of Chinese society, but further research of a more extensive nature is necessary. 5. Though the Chinese Scholar-hero is unique as a type in literature he can be shown to conform to the universal hero type through the application of symbol and archetypal analysis. 6. The T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales are essentially a native Chinese development in terms of both form and content. This belies the contention of some scholars that foreign ideas, i.e., Buddhism, profoundly influenced the development of T'ang ch'uan-ch'i fiction.

These features demonstrate that not only do the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i tales conform to universal patterns of literary expression they also reflect a universal pattern of human experience, despite the isolated tradition within which they grew. An understanding of the universal pattern of these tales then isolates those features which are peculiar to the Chinese tradition, and provides valuable information on the development of the Chinese literary tradition and the nature of the Chinese experience.
NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1For descriptions of the influence of the ch'uan-ch'i tradition upon vernacular literature see W. L. Idema, "Storytelling and the Short Story in China," T'oung Pao, LIX (1975) pp. 12-17; and Patrick Hanan, The Chinese Short Story, pp. 121-24, 174-86.


3This is the thesis of T'ai Ch'ing-nung is his article "Fo-chiao ku-shih yu Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo," (Journal of Oriental Studies, Vol. 13, no. 1 (1975), pp. 28-56). See especially pp. 39-43.
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