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E V O L U T I O N  O F  T H E  T H E M E  O F  T O U O YÜAN

D I S S E R T A T I O N

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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1974

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The evolution of the story of Tou Q from the Han dynasty to the present day exemplifies both in form and content the two streams of creative work in written as well as oral tradition. This study attempts to discuss both the oral tradition as an integral part of literary scholarship and the contribution of written works to folk literature through tracing the evolution of the theme of Tou Q Yüan.

The Introduction surveys the story of Tou Q in various literary and oral forms, and explains the didactic elements which Tou Q Yüan possesses. It also describes the experience the present writer had in collecting the Taiwanese opera materials for the part of the oral tradition.

Chapter I discusses the controversial views of Tou Q Yüan as a tragedy. An analytical study of the play confirms the tragic elements which Tou Q Yüan possesses according to the Aristotelian theory of tragedy.
The borrowing of plots has been a common practice in the traditional Chinese drama. They can be categorized mainly into four types. The Chin-so chi, an adaptation of Tou O Yuan, is closely examined in Chapter II for its art of modification.

Chapter III is a comparative study of the versions of the story of Tou O of the Peking opera, the Cantonese opera and the Taiwanese opera. The process of how an illiterate performer is able to succeed in his (or her) role is also examined.

None of the plays in the traditional Chinese drama have been so thoroughly studied than Tou O Yuan. The traditional critical study of this Yuan tsa-chü has been solely centered on the concept of kung-an chü (crime and lawsuit play). The non-traditional Chinese approach to the theme of Tou O Yuan is based on the Western theory of drama. The Communists view the heroine Tou O as the "struggling" symbol. Chapter IV examines these diversified viewpoints with critical comments.

One important fact revealed by the evolution of the story of Tou O is that all the versions are written for performing purposes except for Chin-so chi of the Ming period which serves a dual purpose of performance and literary exhibition. Among all the versions that have been examined in this thesis, Chin-so chi is considered best qualified as a dramatic work. The popularity of Kuan Han-ch'ing's Tou O Yuan lies more in
its dramatic achievements. Other versions are typical of the folk art -- too loosely constructed to meet the form of literary drama.
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I feel indescribably obliged to my husband Chang-Jang, who has been a sympathetic and discerning critic. His cons-
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to the pleasure I have had in putting these chapters toget­
ther. And, his writing the Chinese characters for this thesis
is dearly treasured.

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving mother.
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INTRODUCTION

Seeking through the process of imitation to recreate the human experience, great drama strengthens and enriches man's image of himself. Each play in its own way is a valid dramatic representation of a time and place. The sense of shared expression of life is what makes the drama a viable and dynamic art form. But the paths of communication have been many and varied, and while the ultimate value of drama lies in a heightened awareness of human existence, its immediate significance can be grasped only in terms of expectations arising from tradition. Even the modern emphasis on originality cannot deny convention its due. Far from abandoning past traditions, the present-day dramatist strive for new truths in a selected distortion of custom. But the dramatic impact continues to express itself in form. There are few places in the world where the relationship between form and idea has been so vital and so closely linked as in the dramatic tradition of China. The Chinese cherish a dramatic art that is notable for its unique conventions and styles by means of which it creates its own special vision of life.

The Chinese drama did not develop until relatively late.
Not until the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) did the drama achieve influence in the Chinese cultural scheme. When the Mongols conquered China in the thirteenth century, they destroyed or suppressed much of the existing culture while contributing little in return. Ironically, however, they were in part responsible for the growth of drama. Attempting to enforce their domination, they distrusted the Chinese literati who had for centuries constituted the ruling elite and whose loyalty to the new regime was therefore suspected. As a result, the previously all important civil-service examinations were abolished and the traditional path to success was effectively blocked. Thus scholars were forced to seek other means of making a living and exposing their talents. Playwriting, though despised as beneath the dignity of educated men, beckoned with the possibility of livelihood and emotional outlet. Lending their talents to the theater, quite a few of these displaced members of literati and officials brought Chinese drama to a new level of development, carried it to its highest perfection and saw it flourish in their time.

The Yuan drama or tsa-chü belongs to the North. Another tradition was slowly developing in the South, but it did not become prominent until later. As the Yuan drama is
one of the few literary records of the thoughts and tastes of the Chinese populace, the plays naturally reveal the aspects of the common man. (5) Like the medival man in the West, the Chinese saw "every man as a fitting subject for their drama." (6) Consequently, the plays reflect the time and society in which the dramatists found themselves. Themes which deal with the Confucian moral virtues including filial piety, brotherly devotion, friendship, conjugal affection and loyalty are favorably accepted. The adherence to virtue in the face of obstacles allows the hero and the heroine to triumph over opposition. And equally popular are plays dealing with good bandits who, like knights-errant, ride out to thwart the machinations of evil officialdom and right social wrongs. (7)

Many of the Yüan plays find their fountain head in the ancient classics, historical records, legends and literary works. (8) Among the 161 extant Yüan plays, Tou O Yüan (The Grievances of Tou O) is one which has enjoyed popularity throughout the ages in China, and has favored by people in many parts of the world since the late 19th century. (9) Like many plays of the same period, Tou O Yüan has its earlier versions. Its origin appears to have been an incident which is described in Han shu: 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty). (10) A filial woman of Tung-hai 東海 (11) was
accused of murdering her mother-in-law, and for this crime was put to death by the Prefect, despite of the earnest protest of an official, Lord Yü. After the execution of the filial woman, the district was attacked by a severe drought which was believed to be Heaven's disapproval of the injustice done to her. When Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92) wrote Han shu, he recorded this social event in the biography of Yü Ting-kuo as an illustration to praise the just, upright and honorable personality of his father, Lord Yü.

Kan Pao (flourished 323) of the Chin dynasty, moved by the strange events he encountered, collected from ancient and contemporary records of the supernatural, a number of awe-inspiring anomalies and transformations in men and creatures. Together with the other stories which he borrowed from historical records and the classics of the previous ages -- making little changes -- he compiled a work in twenty chüan entitled Sou-shen chi (Records of the Supernatural). Pan Ku's version of the filial woman is also found in this collection. Kan Pao ended the story with some supernatural elements transmitted by the elderly people of his time. These elements mark the greatest difference from Pan Ku's version, and have set tone to the conclusion.
of the story in various styles of Chinese drama.

It is possible that the story of the filial woman of Tung-hai might have been transmitted orally and became a popular folk tale during the Yuan dynasty. The playwright Kuan Han-ch'ing (1210?-1297?) boldly developed this event into a play entitled Tou O Yuan which called for a complicated plot and characters of different social levels in the Yuan times. He concluded his play with the reunion of the soul of the filial woman (known as Tou O in the play) and her father who later took revenge for her. The last act of the play has aroused controversial opinions among the Yuan drama enthusiasts as to whether Tou O Yuan can be regarded as a tragedy -- a problem of the Chinese drama yet to be solved.

The question so often posed is whether pain and suffering are a necessary part of the human condition, or whether they are mainly a consequence of social environment. There is an underlying assumption that the natural order is good, and the evil will be punished. Therefore, much of the Chinese drama deals with the conflict of the good and innocent with the evil forces of society. Dramatic interest is focused on the workings of justice. Reward and punishment meted out by an impersonal cosmic force resolve all conflicts. The Chinese drama is not
a drama of ideas. It is somewhat limited in scope, and it usually concedes to the audience's desire for a happy ending. This theatrical convention was deep-rooted in the Ming period (1368-1644) and is still closely observed at the present time. A play with a sad ending was considered taboo and was banished from the Ming stage. Well-known and touching stories of earlier times with sad endings were twisted to end with some forms of a reunion, victory, success or reward under the brushes of the Ming playwrights. (19)

The Ming playwright Yeh Tsien-tsu 畢憲祖 (1566-1641) adopted the story of Tou 0 Yuan and wrote a play entitled Chin-so chi 金鎖記 (The Golden Locket). He extended the story into a 33-act ch'uan ch'i 传奇 (a term for the Ming southern drama) by inserting a highly imaginative fairy-tale marriage which was arranged in the previous life between Tou 0's husband and the Sea Dragon King's daughter. This brief happy union of the ts'ai-tzu chia-ien 才子佳人 (a talented scholar and a beautiful girl) in contrast to the sufferings of the wife, Tou 0, back home is a stereotype of the Ming ch'uan-ch'i 奇 which Yeh had designed to represent the type of his time. To conclude his play, he skillfully adopted the technique of the deus-ex-machina by having an unseasonable snowfall at the moment when Tou 0 was to be executed.
The concept of the supernatural power of Heaven, the traditional thought of filial piety, the sense of justice, and the belief in retribution are all crystalized in the last part of this version. When the *ch'ai-ch'ü* (selected episodes) prevailed in the later periods, the scene of the execution with the manifestation of the snowfall became one of the favourite scenes on stage. It is entitled *Liu-yüeh hsüeh* 六月雪 (Snow in Mid-Summer), *Tou Q Yuan*, *Chin-so chi* or *Chan Tou Q* 斬竇娥 (*The Execution of Tou Q*) in various local dramas such as: *Tien chü* 滇劇, *Han chü* 漢劇, *Hui chü* 徽劇, *Ching chü* 京劇 (better known as the Peking opera), *Hsiang chü* 湘劇, *P'ing chü* 詠劇, *Ch'in ch'ieng* 燕腔, *Chin chü* 晉劇, *Yü chü* 畝劇, *Kuei chü* 桂劇, *Yüeh chü* 粵劇, *ko-ts'ai hsi* 歌仔戲, *Ho-pei pang-tzu* 河北梆子, *P'iu-chou pang-tzu* 河北梆子, *Ho-chou pang-tzu* 河北梆子 and *Shang-tang lao* 上黨落. Its popularity also spread far and wide in the Southeast Asian countries to which many southerners migrated from the provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. 

While tracing the evolution of the story of *Tou Q*, it is to be viewed from three major and popular dramatic styles, namely, the Peking opera, the Cantonese opera and the *ko-ts'ai hsi*. Being the apex of traditional theater of the twentieth century, the Peking opera is recognised as the Chinese
national theater today both in Taiwan and on the Mainland. Hence, *Liu-yüeh hsüeh* as a version in Peking opera will be entered into the main stream of the Chinese drama for discussion. The Cantonese version while in keeping with the traditional versions, is filled with modern romantic thoughts, this tendency in clinging to the tradition and at the same time engaging in the avant garde creation is typical of the folk literature. As for the *ko-tsai hsi*, the Taiwanese version transmits the virtues of Tou 0 through the oral tradition, which is an important part of a national literature. The techniques and methods in training for performance of this form of art will be dealt with later in this thesis.

The episodes of the story of Tou 0 appear in the collections of *Na-shu ying* 續書極, *Chui pai-ch'iu* 翡白裘, *Tsui i-ch'ing* 醉怡情 and *Chi-ch'eng ch'ü-p'u* 集集成曲谱 of the late Ming and early Ch'ing periods serve as links between the Ming period and the present time. The playwrights of these episodes still remain anonymous. Most of the episodes in the above-mentioned collections are of the same dramatic situations. They will be taken up for comparative studies in the following chapter to explore the characteristics of oral transmission. It is believed that many more "selected episodes have been performed on stage but have not been
published. In some collections of regional plays, we find
only the titles such as "Fu-shih 走市 (Heading for the Exe-
cution Ground)" in Hsin chien ch'u-hsiao tien-pan ch'ang-
t'ou pai-lien erh-chi (six chüan) 新鑄出像點板纏頭百錄二集
(edited by Ch'ung-ho Chü-shih of the late Ming and "Mai Yao 賣藥 (Selling Drug)", "Chü-wen 鞠問 (In-
quision)", "T'an-yü 探狱 (Visiting the Prison)" and "Fu-shih" included in Wen-fu ch'ing-yin ko-lin shih-ts'ui 文府清音歌
林拾翠.

Drama alone has not monopolized the story of Tou 0. Other
forms of folk literature such as the t'än-tzu 弹词, pao-chüan
寶卷 and tzu-ti shu 子弟書 have retold the story through the
chiang-ch'ang 講唱 (chanting-narration) techniques. From the
titles Liu-yüeh hsüeh t'an-tzu 六月雪彈詞, Tou 0 pao-
chüan 宝娥宝卷, Chin-so chi pao-chüan 金鎖記宝卷 and the
tzu-ti shu version Yen-tien hsüeh 炎天雪 or Chan Tou 0 斬寶娥
it is noted that more than one version of the Tou 0 story
have been performed under the same form of oral tradition.

Nonetheless, the evolution of the story of Tou 0 ex-
emplifies both in form and content the two strong streams
of creative work in written as well as oral tradition. The
clear affinities between written and oral traditions will
be shown in my investigation on Tou 0 Yüan which originated
in a written text. It might have become a folk tale before Kuan wrote the play. Also, the evidences t' an-tz'u, pao-chüan and tzü-ti shu have recorded and the ko-tsai hsi has currently performed show that the story of Tou D has gone through the oral tradition process and is still being orally transmitted, while some playwrights are re-creating the story. Folk art, when widely accepted by the populace, very often tends to attract the attention of the literati who take great interest in collecting them and including them into the scope of literary works. There are also the chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh (the chanting-narration form) of the Sung and Yüan periods, including many of the classical plays and novels which find their origins in Han shu, Shih chi (23) the classics as well as the T'ang ch'uan-ch'i (literary tales of the T'ang dynasty). (24) They were transmitted orally in a simple, crude and vulgar fashion at the beginning and eventually recorded and polished by the literati. Henceforth, the written and the oral form rotate. This continuous interaction will be explored through the evolution of the themes of Tou D Yüan. The present study will discuss both the oral tradition as an integral part of literary heritage and the contribution of written works to folk literature.
Not all folk artists are dependent on written texts, but rather the contrary is true, and that oral tradition, although denied recognition by literati in the past, forms a valuable part of Chinese literature. Hu Shih asserts that, be it in the past or present, literature in every country has its new form emerging from the common people. The villagers, the peasants, the lads and lasses are true creators of the new forms. The section of "Kuo-feng (Popular songs)" in Shih Ching (The Book of Songs), "Chiu ko (The Nine Songs)" in Chu Tzu, the yüeh fu of the Six Dynasties, the tz'u of the Sung dynasty, and the ch'ü of the Yuan period, and even the novels of the Ming and Ch'ing periods all emerged from the unlettered. This is true only for the forms of literature. As for the themes, many find their origin in written texts. It is through both the deliberate effort of the lettered and the spontaneous expressions of the unlettered that the tremendous volume of Chinese literature has been created.

Regardless of the theory of literary history which views the evolution of literary genre in terms of growth, proliferation, blossoming, maturing, hardening and final dissolution, the themes of literary works persist through centuries, periodically appearing in new forms or even being
re-created with uniqueness from one genre to another, and from one generation to the next. (26) While dealing with each version of the story of Tou 0, this writer observes that there is a sense of timelessness about such a literary theme as to give unity to the whole evolution from the earliest written to the present oral tradition.

Despite the strong impact of the West after the May Fourth Movement (1919) and despite the Communists' attack on Tou 0 Yüan as a play filled with feudal thoughts and superstitious elements, (27) there still remains a continuous interest in both the performance and the literary study of Tou 0 Yüan. The quality within the play which endows the literary achievements with significance not limited to a particular time and place is the main reason for its survival. The capacity of this work is to reveal human nature as well as the problems of man so as to make him recognize the truth contained within.

The deep-rooted concept that the function of literature is didactic is one of the major factors which give breath to the continuous interest in the story of Tou 0. It is characteristic of the Chinese literati that they deal mainly with the great and inexhaustible which they call life, and the greatest of them deal with it widely, powerfully and
profoundly. With life, they treat it with a moral attitude; for to them human life is moral to the very core.

All through the centuries, the Chinese have been appealing for, hoping for and living with a sense of justice. Back in the Han dynasty, Pan Ku recorded the event of the filial woman for the promotion of justice. Under the Mongolian regime, Tou O cried for justice. In the present era, we still hear the voice of Tou O appealing for justice. It is believed that when justice fails, Heaven will take action. The myth that Tou O is able to move Heaven and shake the Earth confirms the idea that Heaven has supernatural power. It has heard the voice of Tou O and recognized her virtues. The concept that Heaven at the appropriate time will redress wrongs and punish the wicked is well accepted by the common people. The sense of justice, the fear of Heavenly power, the consciousness of human virtues and the belief in poetic justice are all intrinsic means of arousing and directing moral conducts and ideals which didactic literary works favor, and 

Not until the emergence of the Kung-an School 防安派 led by Yuan Hung-tao 袁宏道 (1568-1610) of the Ming period were Chinese drama and fiction treated on an equal footing with the classics and other forms of literature. Prior to this,
although there were scholars who showed interest in the "Yuan chü", they were merely compilers who made no serious study of the works. (30) However, their effort in compiling has laid a good foundation for our study of the Yuan plays.

For centuries the Chinese literati have considered Chinese drama an inferior form of literature, not dignified enough to be studied along with the classics. Hence, very little research was done during the Ming and Ch'ing periods. The first scholar who made a serious study of the Yuan drama, thus inspiring other scholars to enter this field of study, was Wang Kuo-wei (1877-1922). For the past decades, there has been an increasing interest in the research on Chinese drama. After the May Fourth Movement, the Western theory of drama for the first time crept into the realm of the Yuan plays and opened a wider scope for their study. Western and Japanese scholars have contributed much to this field of study.

The qualities of Tou O Yuan as a masterpiece by one of the leading playwrights of the Yuan dynasty, its high literary value, its great dramatic forces, its unique tragic structure and its universal appeal have enabled scholars to deal with the play from diversified viewpoints. Research interest has not descended upon the Ming play Chin-so chi besides its
being only briefly mentioned in the history of Chinese literature and the history of Chinese drama. The selected episodes collected in Chui pai-ch’iu, Na-shu ying, Tsui i-ch’ing, and Chi-ch’eng ch’ü-p’u are not even being included in the field of literary studies. Although the scripts of other versions of the story of Tou 0 in local drama currently being performed are still in circulation, they may just vanish after the performances are over. To preserve the scripts of this declining oral tradition is a goal worthy of our effort. The present writer has for the past few years tried in every possible way to collect materials within the oral tradition to help trace the evolution of the story of Tou 0. In Taiwan, the present writer interviewed the directors, the stage managers and the performers of the ko-tsai hsi troupes for information and materials relevant to the story of Tou 0, and managed to get hold of a copy of the complete version of Liu-yüeh hsüeh which was written by the director himself. (31) Cantonese operas are popularly sung in the Southeast Asian countries. They are transmitted to the populace through mass media (records, television, radio and the movie) and stage performances. Four versions of the lyrics and one version of the complete story of Tou 0 are included in this thesis. As for the Peking opera, due to its conservative tradition,
the versions being currently performed are not too different from the versions already in print in the Peking opera collections such as the Ching hsi k'ao 京戲考 and Ching hsi ta-kuan 京戲大覌. One valuable version hand-written by an amateur Kao Hua 高華 who plays the role of Tou 0 marks the bridge between the early Peking opera and the present form.

Evidently, without the efforts of the folk-theater, there is no classical Chinese drama in this era. The literati have not shared in the creative process in this form of art. It is the folk-theater that has kept alive the history of Chinese drama since the Ch'ing dynasty. To preserve this continuity, it is the responsibility of the literati to undertake the task of collecting the scripts and preserving relevant information for future study. Only by adopting the practices of earlier playwrights trained in the folk-theater can the later dramatists hope to prepare plays capable of holding the interest of the unlettered. The drama can hope to flourish as a form of poetry only when the play-goers and players and play-makers have long been accustomed to working together. We have the whole history of dramatic literature to bear witness to this assertion that the poetic drama can be born with a chance of survival only when the literati are
willing to take over the simple, crude, vulgar and formless type wrought out by the humble play-maker of the folk-theater. The literati may refine upon what they borrow, they may even in time re-make it; but they must begin where the earlier craftsman left off.

The great dramatists have ever been glad to accept the mold used by their immediate predecessors, even though this mold was soon to be cracked by their purer metal and cast aside. Wang Shih-fu 王實甫 (1250?-?), Kao Ming 高明 (1345-1375) and Hung Sheng 洪昇 (1695-1955) each inherited a traditional type of play and accepted it unhesitatingly. The mastery of their art and their mightier endowment enabled them later to make over anew the traditional form they had assimilated early and to stamp it with their own image and superscription, and to pass it along to their successors to enlarge and to enrich. Like the architects of genius, these dramatists of genius began where their uninspired contemporaries left off; and probably the dramatists felt the necessity of accepting the current traditional way of doing things, even more than the architects, for whereas the architect might be dependent only on a single patron, and might therefore persuade him to permit a violent departure from the customary practice, the dramatists dared not risk any-
thing freakish or abnormal since their appeal is to the public as a whole, and the public as a whole is inexpugnably conservative. It is the privilege of the unlettered playwright who provides the program of the folk-theater to be educating a public for the later and more literary dramatists who are going to supersede him. There is no great dramatist except when the drama has once been the passion of the people. And it ought to be evident that the drama can never become the passion of the people unless the unliterary playwright of the folk-theater has gone before training the players, making the theater and, above all, arousing the interest and expectancy of the public.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION


4. Two overlapping lists of Yüan plays, one by Chung Ssu-ch'eng 鍾嗣成 containing 452 titles in his Lu-kuei pu 錄鬼簿 and one by Chu Ch'üan 朱權 of 535 titles in his T'ai-ho cheng-yin p'u 太和正音譜 indicate the popularity of Yüan drama.


7. Chu, Ch'üan, T'ai-ho cheng-yin p'u, Peking, 1959, pp. 11-12.


10. Pan, Ku 班固, Han shu 漢書, Po-na ed.

11. Tung-hai 東海 was a county southwest of the T' an-ch'eng
Prefecture in Shantung during the Han period.


12 According to Han shu (chuan 71), Yü Ting-kuo was a native of T'any., When he was young, he studied law from his father. After the death of his father, he took over his position as a gaoler.

13 Han shu, chüan 71.

14 Absorbed in the cult of the Yin-yang school and in folklore as so many contemporaries of his were, he was deeply moved by the death and coming to life again of his father's bonded maid-servants. Later on, his older brother also came to life again after apparent physical death and told weird stories of having met the Heavenly spirits.

15 Sou-shen chi, chüan 11.

16 The filial woman made two oaths before her death which were manifest soon after her execution.


18 Seaton, P. Jerome, A Critical Study of Kuan Han-ch'ing (unpublished dissertation), Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1969.

19 The more popular stories such as The Story of Ying-ying 燎 元 by Yün Chen元 in the T'ang ch'üan-ch'ü (short stories of the T'ang period), the Yüan drama, Autumn in the Han Palace 漢宮秋 by Pai P'u 白樸 all evolved into the form of happy reunion in the Ming and Ch'ing drama.

20 The Ming drama has developed into a form of drama.
which was more suitable for literary appreciation than the practical purpose for performance. A good solution has emerged during the last decades of the Ming period to revive the performance, i.e., certain popular episodes are selected for performance, known as the chai-ch’u.

21 The Fukienese and the Cantonese are found migrated mostly to the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore.

22 The present writer has collected six versions of the Peking opera, four versions of the Cantonese opera and one version of the Taiwanese ko-tai hsi of the Tou O story.


24 Yuan tsa-chü yen-chiu 元雜劇研究, pp. 178-190.


26 This is especially true of fiction and drama in Chinese literature. The same story has been re-created each in its own uniqueness from one genre to another.


28 The Three versions of Tou O Yuan are entitled "Kan-t’ien tung-ti Tou O Yuan 感天動地桃花源" which is its title in full. It is believed that the injustice done to Tou O and her virtues have moved the Heaven and shaken the Earth.

29 The Kung-an School 公安派 was led by Yuan Hung-tao 袁宏道 who started a literary movement objecting the imitation of all ancient writings. For the first time, fiction and drama were considered to have equivalent value to many of the
ancient writings.

30. Chung Ssu-ch'eng 鍾嗣成 who compiled Lu-k'uei pu 六鬼簿 has only a brief account of each playwright and the title of the works. Besides, there are nine collections of Yuan tsa-chü during the Ming period: Yuan-k'ian san-shih chung 元刊三十種 Mai-wang kwan ch'ao-pen ku-chin tsa-chü 脈望館鈔本古今雜劇 Tsa-chü hsüan 雜劇選, Yang-ch'un tsou 陽春奏, Ku ming-chia tsa-chü 古名家雜劇, Yuan-chü hsüan 元曲選 and Ku-chin ming-chü ho-hsüan 古今名劇合選.

31. The concept of copyright did not seem to occur in the director's mind. The copy which he gave to the present writer was his only and last copy. He told the writer that soon after the performance was over, the script would not mean anything to him any more. He would write a new one should the troupe plan to have another performance of the story of Tou O Yuan. Such attitude marks the greatest difference between a regular playwright from the playwright of a wandering troupe.
The story of Tou O finds its taproot in the biography of Yu Ting-kuo in Han shu. It is a record of a filial woman who had been diligently serving her mother-in-law since the death of her husband and son. Her refusal of a second marriage advised by the mother-in-law resulted in the latter killing herself after telling her neighbors that her existence would steal away the youth of her daughter-in-law. Hence, the filial woman was accused by her sister-in-law of the death of her mother and was brought to court. Under the pressure of the prefect, she was forced to plea guilty. When Lord Yu heard of the case, he defended the filial woman by reasoning with the prefect that in the light of the filial attitude of the woman to her mother-in-law for the past ten years, she could not have committed such a crime. Having failed to convince the prefect, Lord Yu bitterly resigned from his post, making the excuse that he was physically disabled. The filial woman was executed. For the following three years, the district was in the grip of a severe drought. When the new prefect took over, he tried to seek divination.
for the cause of the calamity. At this juncture, Lord Yü confirmed to the prefect of the injustice done to the filial woman. A cow was then slaughtered and an offering made to the filial woman. The ceremony was attended by the prefect personally. A monument was also erected in praise of her virtues. Instantly, it began to rain. It was a year of good harvest.

"The Filial Woman of Tung-hai" appears in the "Lieh-chuan 列傳 (Biography)" section of Han shu which contains the biographies of the statesmen, officials, military leaders and many other prominent figures. These characters are delineated to act upon reasons which seem good to them, in those instances they act upon impulses which are fascinating to discover when discovery is possible. The common people mentioned in the biographies mostly serve to justify deeds of the prominent figures. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are treated as secondary and their names are not even mentioned. In this particular event, the filial woman, the mother-in-law and the sister-in-law are nameless.

As it is a tradition for the historian to investigate the background of the ancestors of the figure he is to evaluate, Pan Ku in his biography of Yü Ting-kuo begins with an account of his highly respected father Lord Yü, a gaoler of the district, who is well known for his sense of justice and
uprightness in dealing with criminal cases without arousing any resentment. The case of the filial woman is the only example taken to illustrate his virtues. Pan Ku employs the theory of "events mold personality" in his writing. Obviously, he is more interested in praising the virtues of Lord Yü than in recording an "uncommon event," nor is he trying to promote the thought of filial piety through the insertion of the incident. A man of the period worth recording must be like Lord Yü who possesses high moral principles. His retreat in the eyes of the historian is proper and normal. When the voice of justice is not heard, silent protest is the usual practice of a "cultivated" man.

Though the account in the biography is centered upon Lord Yü, the effects of this historical record are manifold. The incident reflects a social phenomenon which is not common to us. That the mother-in-law persuades the daughter-in-law to re-marry is—a peculiar concept especially during the Han dynasty when Confucian morality was closely observed. Moreover, to give up her life in order to pave the way for the daughter-in-law to start a new life is beyond the boundary of what an average person can do. This incredible sacrifice can only be explained by the fact that, being deeply touched by the filial attitude of the daughter-in-law and the great
love she has for her son's wife. Filial piety was regarded as the root of all virtues in that age. Lord Yü, on the basis of the woman's filial reputation, defends her with great confidence. Such defence exhibits Lord Yü's courage, resolution and independence of judgement — a model of high moral standards which Pan Ku aims to display.

The incident also reveals to us that the reliance on the supernatural power practiced by the official during the Shang (1751-1112 B.C.) and Chou (1111-256 B.C.) periods still existed in the Han dynasty. The new prefect has to seek divination when it is all beyond the human power to solve the problem of the famine. Between Heaven and the common people, it is believed, there are the officials to see to the order of society and to show concern and love to the people. Heaven offers portents when its benevolent order is disturbed by corrupted men, and it is left in the hands of better men to right the wrongs to which Heaven has called their attention by these portents. The personal attendance of the prefect at making sacrifices to the filial woman signifies the humbleness and respect that a man of high authority would show to his people when necessary.

The erection of the monument is a symbol to encourage the living to treasure the virtue of filial piety. It also
stands as a symbol to remind those of authority that justice should be performed. Mankind needs the stimulus of example, the inspiration of sterling character subjected to strain and proving its quality. This brief historical account of Lord Yü has not only served this purpose but also becomes the offspring of folk literature.

The respect for Lord Yü has persisted for generations. The Yuan playwright Wang Shih-fu 王实甫 (1250?-?) wrote a play to laud his virtues and commemorate him. Unfortunately, the play has been lost and the title is only seen in the Lu-kuei pu. Much more popularly accepted and widely circulated is the incident of the filial woman. During the Chin dynasty, the elderly people transmitted the story with some details not included in Han shu: "The filial woman is named Chou Ch'ing 周青. At her execution, she makes a vow that her blood would splash up to the banner tied to a ten chang 丈 long pole drawn in a cart."(2) Kan Pao adopted very closely the version of Han shu and combined it with this oral transmission. Treating this as a miraculous tale, he inserted it into his 20 chüan collection known as the Sou-shen chi.

No title is given to the story of the filial woman of Tung-hai in Sou-shen chi. The content of the language and the story are very close to those in Han shu except for the
consultation of divination, Lord Yü's excuse for resignation and the sacrifice of the cow. The naturalism of Chuang-tzu, the escapism of Lao-tzu, and the integration of Buddhism in the Chin dynasty were less interested in the divination practice. All these trends are possible causes in the abandonment of the superstitious belief. The sacrifice of the cow has been omitted which can be explained away by Buddhist respect for the sacred animal. Pan Ku in delineating Lord Yü as the central figure in the biography of Yü Ting-kuo is careful with the activities involved. Pan Ku states in detail "Lord Yü left his position with the excuse that he was ill." (3) Sou-shen chi, a record of incidents, is more interested in Chou Ch'ing and the supernatural elements which occurred. The shift of emphasis from Lord Yü to Chou Ch'ing has changed the focus of the story. Henceforth, Chou Ch'ing, later known as Tou D, has dominated the stage and the scene of execution has gained much applause from the audience for over a thousand years.

There are no traces of the story of Chou Ch'ing recorded after the Sou-shen chi till the Yüan dynasty when Kuan Han-ch'ing, trying to project women from all walks of life, picked up the tale and developed it into a play entitled Tou D Yüan. (4) There is no evidence that Kuan had thumbed
through either Han shu or Sou-shen chi for source materials. The story might have already become a popular folk tale during his time.\(^{(5)}\)

As seen in Tsang Mao-hsun's version,\(^{(6)}\) Kuan's play is arranged into four acts and a hsieh-tzu (literally translated as 'wedge'). The hsieh-tzu of this play is used to introduce an event which precedes the drama proper. The father of Tou O, Tou T'ien-chang, a poor scholar, owes Mrs. Ts'ai twenty talents of silver. As he is unable to pay this debt, and because he needs money to go to the capital to take the official examinations, he leaves his seven-year old daughter Tou O (originally named Tuan-yin) with Mrs. Ts'ai to serve her and to eventually marry her son. It is a cruel act, but in all fairness, there is every reason to expect that the girl could look forward to a happy and comfortable life in Mrs. Ts'ai's home. The father leaves for the capital in search of fame and fortune as a successful and high-ranking official.

The play proper begins thirteen years later. By now Tou O is a young woman. She had married Mrs. Ts'ai's son but he died soon after. Act I opens with a humorous note with the entrance of the quack doctor Sai Lu-i.\(^{(7)}\) Sai Lu-i introduces himself with the ironic comments:
"To practice medicine takes careful deliberation.
And prescriptions are based on the book of herbs
The dead cannot be brought to life,
But the living can be made dead.
My name is Lu. People say that I am a good doctor, so
they call me Sai Lu-i."

This form of introduction is a notable practice in the Yüan drama. Immediately upon entering, the characters introduce themselves to the audience, explaining their background and personality, adding whatever information is needed to keep the action moving, and to enlighten the audience as to motivation in the course of events. Here, Sai Lu-i is delineated as unscrupulous and incompetent. Because he owes Mrs. Ts'ai money, he attempts to strangle her, but he is stopped by the timely arrival of the two Changs, father and son.

The Changs, quick to seize on an opportunity for profit and personal gain, force a promise from the rich and widowed Mrs. Ts'ai that she and her eligible daughter-in-law will marry them as a reward for having saved her life. Mrs. Ts'ai reluctantly agrees. However, the strong-willed and eminently virtuous Tou O refuses to have anything to do with either the wedding plans or the Changs. Act I ends with the Young Chang promising revenge for her high-handed and contemptuous attitude.
The motifs of the plot — corruption, murder and greed coupled by righteousness and revenge — are all introduced in this act. In the construction of the single plot line, these will consistently be the motivating elements. While theunities of time and place are not found in Chinese drama, unity of action is usually practised. Another important feature to note in this act is the manner in which Kuan handles his villains. They are comic buffoons. This approach does not seriously lessen the menace or suspense involved, but it does impede the development of any real conflict in Tou 0's character. She is neither fighting against heroic desires, nor resisting an antagonist of equal weight and measure. The playwright's attitude is that value is of itself ennobling. Evil, on the other hand, is proper to humor.

Act II also begins with the appearance of Sai Lu-i. He is about to make an escape because of his unsuccessful attempt on Mrs. Ts'ai's life, as he quotes the old saying, "Of the thirty-six tricks, the best is to run away." But the younger Chang enters at that point and demands that Sai Lu-i sell him some poison or he will report Sai Lu-i to the authorities. Chang hopes to do away with Mrs. Ts'ai and then Tou 0 alone and unprotected, will have to marry him. However, his plans go awry. Through an unexpected gestures on the
mother-in-law's part, the poison bowl comes to the lips of the villain's father. The heroine is thereupon given a choice of being accused of the murder or accepting a hateful marriage. Tou 0 stoutly refuses the marriage and trusts that a just court will exonerate.

Unfortunately, the magistrate is a corrupt and supercilious incompetent. He accepts the villain's account of the matter aided by a bribe. He orders Tou 0 to be beaten to extract a confession from her, "People are like cheap animals. If they are beaten, they won't ever confess." However, when Tou 0 refuses to make a false admission, the magistrate orders Mrs. Ts'ai to be beaten, hoping to make someone, or anyone, confess. Tou 0, wishing to spare her mother-in-law the punishment of such torture, admits the crime. She is immediately sentenced to death. Tou 0 acts not only from human motives, she also magnifies the virtue of filial piety, the highest moral value in the Confucian scheme. This act is comparatively long and offers not only the event of the trial. Both matters are carried out swiftly with abruptness and economy. The pace keeps increasing, and there is little pause for reflection or subtlety. And while such scenes contain vast dramatic possibilities, the technique involved is to attain such a high momentum of emotion and outrage that it
quite literally seems to reach to the very Heaven.

Act III must sustain this high pitch of human appeal, and probably for this reason, it is fairly short. The act opens with Tou O being led to the execution ground. It is a compelling scene. The contradictions of human conditions are touchingly and knowingly presented. And although Kuan wastes no time in dispatching the murder and the trial, he lingers in this scene, allowing the alternate moods of resignation and despair to fight for supremacy in Tou O. As she goes along, she cries out against Heaven and Earth for permitting such a miscarriage of justice, "Those who do evil enjoy wealth and a long life. Even Heaven and Earth are afraid of the strong and oppress the weak."

But although Tou O cries out and moans her fate, she nevertheless believes that "The resentment of injustice reaches Heaven." And she blames "Her doom on bad luck and ill fortune." At last, on the scaffold, she invokes Heaven to show justice to the wrathful sentence done to her. The heroine makes a triple prophecy: if she is innocent, she declares that at her decapitation, her blood will spurn the ground and rise to stain the white silk high up on the pole; if she is innocent, though the season is summer, there will be a fall of snow burying the earth to the depth of three feet; and, if she is innocent, there will be a visit of
drought for three years. Consequently, all these come true. With these occurrences, the climax of the play has been reached. The suspense in this case has not been whether Tou O would be saved, but rather would Heaven be moved to react to the injustice of her fate. The blood on the silk, and the falling snow provide the answer.

The fourth and the last act begins with the return of Tou O's long separated father. Successful in his examinations, and now a person of rank and responsibility, he is in charge of checking the efficiency and honesty of the officials in the government. His duties have brought him back to the area where he once lived with his daughter. Three years have passed since Tou O's execution, and as she predicted, the district has been in the grip of a severe drought. The act begins with a long recapitulation of the plot by Tou T'ien-chang who says that he has not seen his daughter since sixteen years ago. He has over the years sent messengers to look for her, but curiously, they found no traces of Tou O or Mrs. Ts'ai.

He begins to review the cases that have passed through the court over the recent years, and he comes across that of Tou O. But since Mrs. Ts'ai changed the girl's name from Tuan-yün to Tou O, he does not know that the file in front of
him involves his daughter. With the miracles at the close of the third act, the action has enlarged to include the supernatural. And so it is with no real surprise that the ghost of Tou O appears before him, explaining the events, and crying out to her father for vengeance:

I look from the Home-viewing Tower. (14)
Anxiously awaiting my enemy,
Slowly walking in darkness,
Swiftly coming in a whirlwind,
Buried in the clouds,
Hidden in the fog,
As a ghost I move quite swiftly. (15)

It is the dramatic device of the ghost, appearing and disappearing, seen by some and not by others, that keeps the act alive and moving with suspense.

The principals in the case are summoned, and the spirit of Tou O bears witness against them. The magistrate who originally sentenced Tou O has in the meantime been promoted to higher office. Due to his previous mistrial, he is dismissed with no possibility of entering government service again. Sai Lu-i is banished from the country to the perils of the frontier. The elderly Mrs. Ts'ai is invited to live with Tou O's father. As the judgement is rendered, Heaven is satisfied, the drought clears, and rain begins to fall. The play ends
with the lines spoken by Tou T'ien-chang, "One should believe that a person's vows can move Heaven. Today I have reviewed and corrected a legal document, to show that the imperial laws are not intended to bring injustice to the people." (16)

The scripts add a summation of the t'ī-mu 题目 and cheng-ming 正名 (loosely translated here as Theme and Topic):

Theme: According to the principle of fairness, the investigator upholds the law.

Topic: Heaven-moving and earth-shaking are the grievances of Tou D.

From this brief outline, it can be seen that the plot is simple and direct. The action is limited to a few characters, and the main events occur on the stage. The story involves the supernatural world brought into the human world. And like the Western theater of antiquity, "the dramatic occurrences of human life are seen predominately in the form of a change of fortune breaking in upon man from without and from above." (18) The tragic elements and the humorous elements are not integrated into the whole, but rather alternate one after another. And while the tragic relates to the individual, the comic is directed at society. They are conceived by the playwright as being inimical. The concentration is on the ethical and social aspects of the human condition itself. Evil is not a part of man's make-up. It is something
from the outside, something distorted and humorously diabolic. The aim is to restore harmony through a restoration of the natural order. Once this has been done, the drama has been played to its rightful, inevitable conclusion, and the audience is satisfied.

In a sense, the experience that the actors and audience have shared in a Yuan play is known and familiar. The characters, in spite of extraordinary events, are ordinary people drawn from everyday life. While this might be supposed to lend a certain realism to the proceedings, these characters are in fact stylized types rather than individualized chiao-se 角色 "role system." The importance of this practice lies in the substitution of type for the individual. The actor presents personality types whose specific qualities are taken for granted.

In Tou 0 Yuan, Tou 0 is the tan 坦 type (as the leading lady), her father Tou T'ien-chang, the mo 末 type (as the leading male character). In the Yuan theater, there is an interesting mixture of elements. While the story involves the individual not the type, but representative of the many. The specific type itself is portrayed in the most non-literal terms possible, further divorcing the character from reality and raising it to the level of an arbitrary and highly
selective symbolism.

This is not to suggest that the characters are dull or monotonous, which is certainly not the case. But working from a concept of type, the playwright depicts his people with the common denominator in mind. His range of choice is limited and his freedom to experiment with the possibilities of the human personality hampered by the preconceptions inherent in such a system. However, communication between actor and audience is considerably eased. Deviations from the conventional are quickly noted and can be assumed to be especially meaningful. Also, the system of type leads a certain distance between actor and audience, and to express themselves in monologues and asides without destroying the dramatic illusion of the event as established by the playwright. And although there is a close continuing relationship between character and audience, it is not expressed in intimate terms. The conventions of the Yuan drama simply do not permit small idiosyncracies of behavior necessary to satisfy the modern ideal of psychological realism.

That Wang Kuo-wei considered Tou 0 Yüan a great pei-chü (19) of China, comparable to the greatest tragedies of the world, has given the enthusiasts a keen interest in studying the Chinese plays on the basis of the Western theory of tragedy. (20) Ch'ien Chung-shu 錢鍾書, James Liu 劉若愚
and Yao Hsin-nung 姚莘農 deny Tou 0 Yuan to be called a tragedy. \(21\) Herbert Muller explains through anthropological and philosophical analyses the absence of tragedy in China. \(22\) Modern Chinese scholars have borrowed the term "tragedy" loosely for the sake of convenient in their interpretations of traditional Chinese drama.

Whether Tou 0 Yuan is to be regarded as a tragedy or not, the fact remains that the story has a sad-ending. \(23\) The definition for the term "tragedy" is a problem in itself. \(24\) No tragedies observe the original meaning of the word "tragedy." \(25\) Aristotle, inspired by Plato, has given frame to the theory of tragedy. \(26\) There is a truism that all critics or playwrights recognize, but not all remember, that Aristotle was an ancient Greek. He was addressing his fellow Greeks, not all mankind; he was analyzing Greek tragedy, the only kind he knew of. We can fully appreciate his contribution only if we keep in mind that he did not say the last word about tragedy. The obvious question remains: to what extent may his analysis be considered permanently, universally valid? There is no external idea of tragedy which exists independently. Nor is there any such thing as typical Greek. Granted that Aristotle's judgement is in general remarkably sound, we at once bring up the fact that most Greek dramas did not meet his
specifications. He derived his ideal largely from the practice of Sophocles, in particular *Oedipus Rex*.\(^{27}\) He was critical of the different practice of Euripides, even though calling him the most tragic of all poets. He drew almost no example from Aeschylus whose trilogies often had happy endings and so failed to meet his basic requirement. Later writers have generally agreed with Aristotle, but it is about the only thing they have agreed upon. Shakespeare, Racine and Ibsen differ as widely from one another as from Sophocles. As for modern literature, it is a jungle growth of "isms" that cut across all the traditional genres. The tragic spirit now finds expression in the novel as well as in the drama. Both forms include many serious works that are neither pure tragedies nor pure comedies and cannot be adequately described as tragic-comedies either.\(^{28}\) Hence, in a historical view, the clue to its essence is not form but content and purpose. Ultimately, it is the tragic spirit, the tragic sense of life that is important in a tragedy. It is this tragic sense of life which *Tou O Yüan* possesses that we are to admit.

From the heroine's first appearance as Tuan-yün in the *hsieh-tzu*, the playwright has designed on her a sequence of sufferings: the death of her mother, the separation from her father, the loss of her husband, the force to marriage by the
ruffian and the charge of murder. Tou O helplessly bears them all with a belief that such is her fate. Such fate, she believes, is destined by the wrongs she had done in her previous life. (29) It is a mode of punishment that she has to face and accept with no other alternatives. Fate is inescapable. It is all Heaven's decree and will. It is all beyond the human power to act against what has been predestined. Since the heroine leads a life with no incentive, we find in her no obvious struggling of inner conflicts. Nevertheless, she does moan and groan over her fate. We hear only the bitter voice crying, "Oh, Tou O, what a miserable life you are leading." (30) We hear also about her feelings, "Sorrow such as this, when will it end?" (31) This is merely a psychological yearning. Still, she is human. She does hope for a miracle or deus-ex-machina to save her from her distress. Man, as we perceive here is given no freedom to choose his own destiny. Freedom is never with men when Fate is in control. This mood of tragic sense of life is strongly felt in the songs and dialogue in Act III.

Kuan Han-ch'ing accumulates in Tou O all the worst of a woman's sufferings and at the same time bestows upon her all the virtues of a woman. She is pictured as an obedient daughter, a filial daughter-in-law and a faithful wife to
her late husband. Her filial piety is shown obviously through her thoughtfulness and care by serving her mother-in-law. (32) However, she does not gain the Chinese audience's admiration on this basis which is merely a duty of the daughter-in-law according to the traditional moral code. Her sublimity is greatly admired through her self-sacrifice in order to save the mother-in-law from beating. Such lofty stature is the most sensational, respectable and noble and is regarded as one of the highest moral values one could achieve.

Kuan succeeds in grasping the mood of the play which transmits to the audience a kind of feeling of "pity and fear" (to borrow Aristotle's term) which is the effect of tragedy. However, from Aristotle's point of view, Kuan has not fulfilled what the theory of "pity and fear" calls for. In his Chapter XIII of the Poetics, which says most about pity and fear in tragedy, Aristotle also makes two references to "Philanthropia." (33) Aristotle is discussing the kind of character and the kind of reversal of fortune suitable for a tragic hero. The spectacle of a wholly good man brought low from prosperity to disaster, he says, is neither pitiful nor terrible but only "shocking." That of a bad man raised up from adversity to success has none of the necessary tragic qualities: it is neither "philanthropic" nor pitiful nor terrible. The
downfall of a man will not do either, for while it is philan­
thropic, it does not arouse pity and fear. This remains
only the moderately good man, brought to disaster not by vice
but by some hamartia (flaw) and he is, in Aristotle's opi­
nion, the ideal tragic hero.

Such doctrine of carthasis is an answer to Plato's cri­
ticism of dramatic art in the Republic. (34) Tragic drama calls
forth for the distress of its heroes (or heroines) and this
Plato thinks will render us liable to self-pity instead of
endurance when we meet misfortune ourselves. Pity is there­
fore antonistic to virtue and the attempt to control pity
requires the banishment of the art that fosters it. Aristotle
seeks to defend tragedy while retaining Plato's criterion of
justification. Harmful emotions must have some outlet; better
let them boil up at mere representations, and then the soul
will be less troubled by them on real occasions of misfortune.
Aristotle disagrees with Plato about the psychological effect
of exciting emotion. In opposition to Plato's view that the
capacity for emotions grows with exercise, Aristotle puts for­
ward the spacious doctrine that when our feelings are stirred,
we blow off steam and so are "purged."

According to Aristotle, the downfall of a completely
virtuous man is rejected as unsuitable for tragedy because
it arouses neither pity nor fear but is shocking. One might well question Aristotle's conclusion about pity. It is commonly acknowledged by later critics that Aristotle is wrong to reject the downfall of virtue as a subject unsuitable for tragedy. Kuan Han-ch'ing and Wang Kuo-wei may be more inclined to agree with W. Macneille Dixon that the suffering of a blameless person is the most tragic type. Tou 0 is delineated for this type and is universally accepted and particularly favored by the orthodox Chinese.

The play would have ended with Act III where Tou 0 is executed and the three prophecies realized. However, the playwright allows the heroine to move on to a higher level -- to come back to the human world in the form of a ghost to deal with the living. Obviously, Kuan aims at poetic justice which is an essential convention of the literary form of his age. The conclusion of the play with such poetic justice has invited much unfavorable criticism in that it weakens the play as a tragedy. Such, however, is but a superficial evaluation. In fact, the last act contributes to the story a continuation of the tragic sense of life. It emerges in this act a touching scene of the interview between father and daughter, it is a moment full of promises to the Ts'ais and the Tous. Tou T'ien-chang is heading for a new prospective future -- to
possess a fame and name which is the highest ideal hierarchy of values, the mastery of Confucian scholarship and learning. Tuan-yün (as Tou O was originally named) has found a home for her future — a shelter which would provide her with a secure living. Mother Ts'ai should be contented to have a daughter-in-law from a well-educated and well-mannered family to attend on her, and the son should be happy to have a wife and a family. The separation, though bitter, brings hope. Now that the re-appearance of father and daughter in the forms of a human and a ghost is an ironical scene for the "reunion." Tou T'ien-chang's success, his status and his power that he has attained through "selling" his daughter to pay his way to them are effective now only to review the case of his daughter's undeserved death. This scene reminds us of the one in Hamlet. The purpose of the appearance of the ghost is similar. Hamlet's father reveals the murder to his son, leaving Hamlet so outrageous and frustrated that finally he risks his life to avenge his father's death. The injustice done to Tou O has left her soul wander. (39) In order to have her soul pacified, she has come back to her father for help. She pleads for clarification of the injustice. The poetic justice in the punishment of the vice evidently does not heighten the tragic event. However, the tragic sense is intensified through the conversation between the father and the daughter of the two suffering worlds.
simultaneously in existence. This results in a strong feeling of pity and fear.

Insomuch as the unstressed inner conflict and tragic flaw in Tou O do not qualify *Tou O Yüan* as a tragedy in the Greek theory, she is yet fit to be called a tragic heroine. If we examine the tragic hero (as seen in all literary forms in a broader sense) of all periods, he is 1) strongly individualistic; 2) an extremist; 3) generally superior to the average man; and 4) a representative of mankind. The first quality probably implies the second; for a man who goes his own way will seem, to most other men, an extremist. The third quality is balanced by the fourth; taken together these two traits insure the distinction of the hero while protecting him from peculiarity. We may say that Tou O fits in with these two traits in that she has gone into extremity in her sense of responsibility, duty and filial piety. (40) Obviously, it is all against her wish to die. (If there is any inner conflict in Tou O, it is this that we encounter in the play. Unfortunately, the playwright fails to grasp it.) This is reflected in her helpless attitude in accepting her fate on the one hand and her appeals to Heaven for justice on the other. It is also reflected in the three oaths she made before the execution and the appearance in the form of a ghost. They
symbolize her protests against the injustice as well as her unwillingness to die. Also, she gains the audience's recognition of being far more superior to an average woman. She would rather die than go against her will to marry someone whom she dislikes. She would rather be tormented to death than deceive herself by making compromise to admit the false accusation. She would rather die than see with her own eyes the mother-in-law being tortured. Nonetheless, she is yet a representative figure of mankind (or rather, womankind). She is a typical ideal woman whom the playwright tries to portray. Her faithfulness, her uprightness as well as her sense of responsibility and duty are qualities of such type. If we are to compare her with other tragic heroes in Chinese history and literature, such as Ch'ü Yüan屈原 or Hsiang Yu項羽, we would naturally interpret these tragic heroes based on the aboved mentioned four elements, though in a different light and nature. The nature of the two elements, of "extremity" and "superiority," marks the difference. Obviously, the writer of Tou O Yüan 這些 a protagonist whom he can admire, who seems to him an impressive symbol of the individual's effort to come to terms with himself and with the world.

This is a form of tragic life as seen by Kuan Han-ch'ing. For him, the most vivid kind of reality is the reality of the
person controlled by fate and destroyed by social evils. Like
the personal realist in philosophy, the dramatist sets forth
in his own way the dynamism of human life. If Kuan is a
thinker, he does not think like a technical philosopher. His
road to truth might rather be called the method of poetic
sense — a mingling of observation, intuition and imagina-
tion. The dramatist sees the most painful phases of conflict,
both temporal and timeless, and dwells upon them for drama-
tic creation even though he later resolves them.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Han-shu. chüan 71, pp. 5b-6a.

2. Sou-shen chi. chüan 11, p. 84.


5. Han-shu, chüan 71, p. 6a.

6. Kuan Han-ch'ing is well known for his excellent portrayal of women from all walks of life especially those of the lower class. There are the singsong girls, the maids, the widows and typical mothers of example. Most of the women he tries to portray are of strong characters who are bold and independent.

7. As indicated in the Sou-shen chi, the elderly people were already spreading the tale of the filial woman in the Chin dynasty. In Act I of Kuan's Tou O Yüan, he casually quoted the title of the filial woman of Tung-hai without going into any further explanation. This reflects the popularity and familiarity of the story to the populace at his time.

8. The structure of the Yüan drama having four acts and one or more hsiieh-tzu is not the original form of the Yüan drama. A comparison between the earliest version of the Yüan tsa-chü entitled Yüan k'än san-shih-chung 元列三十種 (ed. by Cheng Ch'ien, Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962) and all the versions compiled during the Ming period prove that the original structure of the Yüan drama is not quite similar to the later versions on which all the theories of drama are based on. See: Cheng Ch'ien "Tsang Mao-hsün kai-ting Yüan tsa-chü n'ing-i 委懋改訂元雜劇評議," Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao 文史哲學報 Aug. 1961, pp. 1-13 and his Preface to Yüan k'än san-shih-chung.

9. Sai Lu-i is a term often used ironically for incompe-
tent physician in the Yüan plays. "Sai" means to "be equal to" "Lu-i" refers to the famous physician Pien Chüeh 扁鹊 of the Dukedom of Lu 魯 in the Warring States period (Shih chi 史記 chüan 105, la).


11 Ibid., p. 6269, "三十六計，走為上計。"

12 Ibid., p. 6284, "人是幾蟲，不打不招。"

13 Ibid., p. 6289, "為善者受福窮更命短，造惡的享富貴又延壽，天地也做得箇怕硬欺軟。"

14 Ibid., p. 6293, "怨氣沖天。"

15 Ibid., p. 6295, "這都是我做寶娥的沒時沒運。"

16 According to the Chinese folklore, there is a terrace in the nether world for the dead to ascend to watch their families in the human world.

17 Yüan-ch'ü hsüan, pp. 6301-6302, "我每每哭哭啼啼守住望壇台，急煎煎把仇人等待，慢騰騰地裡走，足律律旋風中來。"

18 Ibid., pp. 6325-6326, "今日個將文卷重行改正，方顯得王家法不使民憤。"

19 Ibid., p. 6326, 頭目: 楊鑑持衡秦訪法
正名: 感天動地寶娥冤

20 Mimesis, p. 279.

21 Pei-chü is literally translated as "a play with a sad-ending." This is a term loosely used by modern Chinese scholars for "tragedy" without taking in its Western theories for consideration.


25 Herbert Muller defines tragedy as "a dramatic composition of serious or sober character with an unhappy ending." (The Spirit of Tragedy, p.3).

26 Ibid. pp.3-14.

27 The origin of the term 'tragedy' is not certainly known. The Greek word tragoidia means literally 'goat song' and of several conjectures that which derives Aristotle's usage from the fact that at the Greek Dionysia at Athens a goat was the prize of the winning tragedian may well be correct for the ritual origin.


30 Henry W. Wells attempts to discuss Chinese plays under the classifications: Oriental Tragedy, Tragicomedy and The Comic Touch. Despite the effort, he is still unable to draw a distinctive line between each category. (See: The Classical Drama of the Orient, New York: Asia Publishing House, 1965, pp.52-95.)

31 Tou O Yuan, p.6256, "莫不是八字兒該載着一世憂."
The concept of the good is to be rewarded and the evil to be punished originated from the Buddhist thought. Later, it has become a formula in the works of Chinese especially in fiction and drama.


The Communist critics tend to put the blame on the traditional bond of filial piety that has destroyed Tou O. (See Leung Pui Kam's Kuan Han-ch'ing yen-chiu lün-wen chi-ch'eng)

Tou O has not gone through any emotional conflict to turn down the ruffian. She disliked him from the very beginning and was even more disgusted with him as time went on.
CHAPTER TWO

The THEME OF TOU O YÜAN: ITS ADAPTATION

During the 13th century when the northern drama ruled supreme in the Yüan dynasty, the southern drama suffering in technique and spheres of influences was kept alive through the efforts of the common people in the south where Mongolian domination was delayed for over four decades. (1) Since the southern drama was written by and for the common people, the dialogue as well as the interspersed songs were simple and colloquial and the stories folksy. (2)

On account of the scantiness of historical materials, we are unable to describe in detail what the early southern plays were alike. However, from the cullings of anecdotes, it is safe to assume that at least 150 of the southern plays existed before the end of the Yüan dynasty. (3) The Yung-lo ta-tien 永樂大典 (The Great Collectanea of Yung-lo) recorded more than twenty plays, and the Nan chiu-kung p'u 南九宮譜 (The Southern Musical Tunes) recorded more than ten, while Hsü Wei 徐渭 (1521-1593) listed 107 examples of the southern drama written from the Sung to his own time.

Despite the effort of Chu Ch'üan 朱權 (?-1448) and many
other nobles who continued to rejuvenate the northern drama, obvious signs of decline occurred. The vogue for writing southern plays soon spread afar. The southern drama, better known as ch'uan-ch'i 傳奇 in the Ming period, which was once the sole entertainment for the illiterate and the lower classes, became highly appreciated by the nobility and literati.

By the second half of the 16th century, southern drama of the ch'uan-ch'i type had attained full maturity. It had become the principal literary type, in which the greatest authors of the ages showed no hesitation in investing their talents both in rhetoric and in technique of dramatic composition among a larger number of dramatists. The unlimited number of acts encourage the ch'uan-ch'i writers to try their skills on a wider range of themes. Some plots of the play were original, whereas many were borrowed from various sources.

The borrowing of plots has been a common practice in the traditional Chinese drama. Historical events, literary tales, legendary stories in records or tales, having gone through several changes and proved their value as popular entertainment, were absorbed and appropriated by the Yüan dramatists. An investigation into the overlapping lists
of the titles in Lu-kuei pu and T'ai-ho cheng-yin p'u 太和正音譜 (9) and the bulk of the extant Yüan plays indicates that the Yüan playwrights were not concerned with originality in the stories they constructed. Barred from officialdom and frustrated over their social position deprived by the foreign regime, the Yüan geniuses found further reward in remolding stories of previous ages for satirical purposes. (10) The format of the Yüan stage was enriched by earlier theatrical and other folk elements; it is not surprising that the popular tales were included in the inherited materials. Moreover, the audience of the Yüan tsa-chü consisted mostly of the common people, (11) stories of familiar themes were naturally much more appealing.

Despite an entirely different political climate and an eventual development of the southern drama from the populace to the literati level, the ch'üan-ch'i writer showed no obvious attempts to create stories of their own. While many of the plots were borrowed from the Yüan tsa-chü, the Ming playwrights also tried to display their scholarship through drawing unusual, interesting and dramatic tales from the literary works.

The stories of these two styles of drama that have been borrowed can be classified into four categories, namely,
Dramatization, Modification, Based-upon and Suggested-by. (12)

(1) Dramatization The dramatization of historical events, oral transmission and the T'ang literary tales has been a fashionable device in the traditional Chinese drama. The playwrights adopted from the various sources possessing dramatic life and breathed into them the necessary ingredients for dramatic effects. Such art of retelling and reshaping a story in terms of the theater is best exemplified in the Yüan plays Chou-kung she-cheng 周公攝政, Mien-ch'iu hui 漢池會, Ch'i Ying Pu 楚英布 and Lung-hu feng-yün hui 龍虎風雲會. These plays were dramatized directly from the records in Shang shu 尚書 (Classic of Documents), Shih chi 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), and Sung shih 宋史 (History of the Sung Dynasty). Other historical figures and events of the Yüan plays entitled Chieh Chih-t'uei 介之推, Ch'ü Chao-kung 楚昭公, Lien-huan chi 連環記, Tan-pien to-shuo 竇鞅奪糊 were dramatized through the form of chiang-shih 講史 (narrated history) in Ch'i-kuo chiang-shih 七國講史, (The Narrated History of the Seven Kingdoms), (13) Liao-Han chiang-shih 唐漢講史 (The Narrated History of the Former and Later Han Dynasties), (14) and Sui-T'ang chiang-shih 隋唐講史 (The Narrated History of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties). (15) Several modifications had been made from its original
records by the story-tellers during the course of the evolutionary process before they came to the hands of the dramatists. The T'ang classical tales strode across the Chinese stage during the Yüan dynasty with a romantic flair. Shih Chün-pao 黄君璧 dramatized Li Wa chuan 李娃传 (The Story of Li Wa) by Pai Hsing-chien 白行简 with great success. Kuang-tsü 關元 with his dramatic skills brought Li-hun chi 離魂記 (The Separation of the Soul) to stage with glimpses of the macabre. (16) Ma Chih-yüan 馬致遠 entertained the Yüan theater-goers with Huang-liang meng 黃粱夢 (The Millet Dream) which was a dramatization of Shen Chi-chi's 沈既濟 Chen-chung chi 枕中記 (Events Inside the Pillow). (17) The tragic romance of the T'ang emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 and his imperial consort Yang Kuei-fei 楊貴妃, was intensified by the dripping of the rain on the wu-t'ung 梧桐 tree at the end of the Yüan play entitled Wu-t'ung yü 梧桐雨 by Pai P'ü 白樸. (18)

(2) Modification  In the sphere of the Chinese dramatic creation, successful adaptation has proven its effect of placing an existing body of oral and written material in conditions which warrant its survival. This literary process accounts for both the continuity and the variety of dramatic creation throughout the ages. Unlike dramatization which
simply transfers the story to a different medium of expression, modification necessitates a certain extent of alteration of the original: a change of emphasis, a fashion in the taste or style or the incidence of a new set of ideas which requires corresponding modifications in the original theme. However, the modifications are limited to peripheral elements. The adaptation of *Hsi-hsuan chi* 西廂記 (The West Chamber) by Wang Shih-fu from Yuan Chen's *Ying-ying chuan* 雙鶯傳 (The Story of Ying-ying) had Hung-niang 紅娘 the maid as the active character, whereas in *Ying-ying chuan*, Ying-ying was much more vividly portrayed. When the *k'un-ch'u* adapted one of the episodes from the play, Hung-niang 紅娘 dominated the stage and was thus entitled *K'ao Hung-niang* 持紅娘.

*Han-kung ch'iu* 漢宮秋 (Autumn in the Han Palace) by Ma Chih-yüan 馬致遠 was another product of modification. The historical event of Chao-ch'un 趙充 married to the barbarian Shan-yü 畢于 is seen recorded in *Han shu*. Since then, many forms of literature have adopted this story. Poets of the *T'ang* and Sung periods composed songs praising the virtues of Chao-Chün. The *T'ang pien-wen* 变文 has *Ming-fei chuan* 明妃傳. Kuan Han-ch'ing wrote a play entitled *Yüan-t'i k'u* Chao-ch'un 元帝哭昭君. Unfortunately, the play is lost. Yet, the title suggests the deep feelings of the Han emperor toward
Chao-chün. A comparative study of the historical record and Ma Chih-yüan's play shows that Ma has followed the true event to a certain extent, but has also inserted some new episodes and concluded the play in a more effective way from the dramatic point of view.

The adaptation of a play from a T'ang tale, historical sources, the oral tradition or another play has been the most favorable device which a Chinese playwright has employed. Most of the Yüan tsa-chü works were adaptations of the first three types, whereas the Ming ch'uan-ch'i works were mostly adapted from the nan-hsi南戯 of the preceding age and the Yüan tsa-chü, P'î-p'a chi琵琶記 (The Lute) was adapted from Ts'ai Erh-lang Chao Chen-nü 蔡二郎趙貞女 of the Sung-Yüan nan-hsi 宋元南戯. Other plays such as Pa-i chi 八義記 (21), Lien-huan chi 連環記 (22), Ch'ien-chin chi 千金記 were all either of the Yüan origin or the nan-hsi creation.

(3) Based-upon Some of the traditional Chinese plays are constructed with portions of an original story and its characters as a base. More liberal changes in plot, character and theme have been made in accordance with the purpose of the playwright. Based upon the poem of Pai Chü-i entitled "Ching-ti yin yin-p'ing 井底引銀瓶," (23) the Yüan playwright Pai P'u wrote Ch'iang-t'ou ma-shang 牛頭馬上 (From top of the
Wall and on Horseback). This title of the play was part of a line in the poem. [24] Pai P'u constructed the play with the Secretary P'ei Shao-chün 裴少俊 who character of the State Secretary r·ei shao-chun 裴少俊 who secretly kept his sweetheart Ch'ien-chin 千金 at his home.

Having given birth to two children, the girl was discovered and ordered to be dismissed by Pei's father. The play concludes with the reunion of P'ei and his sweetheart who later was accepted by his father being touched by her faithfulness.

The nan-hsi of the Sung-Yuan period has a title P'ei Shao-chün ch'iang-t'ou ma-shang 裴少俊牆頭馬上. [25] It is now lost and there is no evidence that the Yuan play is an adaptation of the nan-hsi. However, a comparative study of the Yuan play and the T'ang poem indicates a certain basis which Pai P'u has drawn upon. The line "To be married through a formal ceremony is regarded as a wife, while to be married without a formal ceremony is regarded as a concubine." [26] is borrowed directly from the original poem. The love at first sight as the girl leaning on top of the wall and P'ei on horseback is further elaborated by the playwright with an exchange of poems, then followed by a rendezvous. Thereafter, she lives with him secretly for several years. The poem concludes with his parents' discovery of her stay. She is ordered to leave. Pai Chü-i ends the poem by conveying
a message to the young girls in love. "Be cautious, do not let yourself off easily." (27) Pai P'u treats the story with a more romantic and human touch. When Ch'ien-chin returns home, her parents have already passed away. Years later, when P'ei becomes an official, she is invited home to re-unite with her husband and children.

The *Sung shih* (History of the Sung Dynasty) has no record of the life of Liu Yung. However, his fame spread so far and wide during his time that he has been quite well recorded in literary works such as *Neng-k'ai chai man-lu* 能改齋漫錄, *Hua-man lu* 畫漫錄 *Hou-shan shih-hua* 後山詩話, *Shih-lin pi-shu lu-hua* 石林避暑錄話, *Ch'ing-shih* 情史, *Shan-t'ang ssu-k'ao* 山堂肆考, *Ch'ing-p'ing shan-t'ang hua-pen* 清平山堂話本, *Hsin-pien tsui-weng t'an-lu* 新編醉翁談錄 and *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo* 古今小說. The poems of Liu Yung also reveal some of his activities in life including his romantic adventures with singsong girls. The romance of Liu Yung and the singsong girl Hsieh T'ien-hsiang 謝天香 is reconstructed by the Yuan playwright Kuan Han-ch'ing, based upon the above mentioned literary pieces.

The pleasure which Tu Mu had in Yang-chou had been a dream not only for Tu himself but also a fantasy which many of the Yuan playwrights had been dreaming for.
Based upon T' u's poem of Yang-chou, Ch'iao Chi wrote Yang-chou meng (Dream of Yang-chou). His play was later adapted by Hsi Yung-jen of the Ch'ing dynasty who wrote a ch'uan ch'i bearing the same title.

Similar device has been employed by many other playwrights to elaborately incorporate into a play an interesting event mentioned in a poem or some information on a popular figure.

(4) Suggested-by The play Ch'ing-shan lei derives its title from the concluding lines of Pai Chu-i's famous poem "P'i-p'a hsing (Song of the Lute)." It was originally a very touching poem narrating the feelings of Pai Chü-i toward the river merchant's wife, formerly a singsong girl, when he was watching her playing the lute.

Suggested by the idea of the poem, the Yuan playwright amplified it with interesting complications and claimed that Pai and the singsong girl were deeply in love once. During Pai's banishment to Chiang-chou, the singsong girl was forced to marry a rich businessman. She was now on her way to her new home with the businessman, passing by Chiang-chou when she happened to meet Pai again. She then realized that she was deceived by the false letter sent to her regarding the death of Pai. Embittered by the situation, she took out her lute
and sang out her sorrows. This inspired Pai to write the sentimental poem "P'î-p'a hsing."

The Chinese dramatists are skillful in grasping certain ideas, adding some of their imaginations, very often popular plots of the ts'ai-tzu chia-jen type, and blending them into their own plays. Other examples such as Hu-tieh meng (The Dream of the Butterfly) and Tung-p'o meng (The Dream of Tung-p'o) turn out to be successful plays and have been adapted by playwrights for generations.

Like many of the Ming playwrights, Yeh Hsien-tsu adapted Tou 0 Yüan in his own fashion. Based on the first three acts of Kuan's story of Tou 0, Yeh expanded it into a 33-scene Ming ch'uan-ch'i. As a matter of convention, Yeh began with a summary of the whole story in the first scene entitled "Piao-lüeh (Outline of the Story)". The story proper opens with Ch'ang-tsung revealing his high ambition in scholarly achievements. Unlike in the Yüan version, the son of Mrs. Ts'ai, whose existence and death are only mentioned between lines, is portrayed as the hero of the play -- ambitious, dutiful, industrious, talented and full of righteousness.

The third scene opens with Mrs. Ts'ai, a typical virtuous Chinese widow who compares herself to the mother of Mencius 孟母, striving with all methods to educate and encourage
her only son to head for success. His marriage is also her responsibility. As in Kuan's version, under the same circumstances, she accepts Tuan-yün, daughter of a humble scholar as her future daughter-in-law. The hsieh-tzu of the Yüan drama is split up into two scenes by Yeh in having Tou T'ien-chang introduce himself and disclose his arrangement with Mrs. Ts'ai to his daughter in the fourth scene, and sending Tuan-yün off to join the Ts'ais in the sixth scene. Tuan-yün of the Ming play is thirteen years of age. Having been brought up in a scholarly family, she has by now accomplished refined skills in embroidery, acquired elegant manners and studied classics. She is far more mature than the seven-year old Tuan-yün in the Yüan version. The departure scene is bitter and touching in both the Yüan and Ming plays. There is a great deal of resentment when T'ien-chang of the tsa-chü takes his daughter by his hand saying, "I have the feeling that I am selling my daughter to the Ts'ais instead of taking her to be the daughter-in-law." (30) However, in the Ming play, it is all out of the gratitude for Mrs. Ts'ai that T'ien-chang is willing to give his daughter away. When they arrive at the Ts'ais, Ch'ang-tsung has already left for his tutor. Tuan-yün does not get to meet her husband-to-be.

Ironically, there is a pre-arranged marriage before life
between Ch'ang-tsung and the Dragon King's third daughter. A storm is designed to occur to take Ch'ang-tsung to the Yellow River. There he is united with his new wife and is destined to stay with her for nineteen days at sea which are equivalent to three years on earth.

The events happening during the three years for the Ts'ai in Yeh's version are similar to those of Kuan's. Mrs. Ts'ai is nearly strangled to death by Sai Lui when she goes to him to collect the debt. Rescued by Donkey Chang and his mother, Mrs. Ts'ai agrees to repay them by taking them home as housekeepers. The first part of Act I in the Yuan play has Father Chang to force marriage upon Mrs. Ts'ai. Mrs. Ts'ai's consent causes Tou O to abuse her mother-in-law for not being faithful enough to her late father-in-law. Yeh does not touch upon Tou O's reaction to her mother-in-law's decision. Instead, the story moves on to the scene of the temple where Tou O is disturbed by Donkey Chang when she is praying to the gods for a quick recovery of her mother-in-law. Tou O dashes out of the temple without knowing that she has lost the golden locket which belongs to Ch'ang-tsung. It is now picked up by Donkey Chang.

To possess Tou O should be possible if she is left all alone in this world. When such thought enters into Donkey
Chang's mind, he goes to Sai Lu-i for the poison. This twist in the story originates from Kuan's version. Yeh too has adopted this device as the turning point of the story.

In Act III of Kuan's version, Tou 0 cries to Heaven for justice and makes the three vows that are to be manifested after her death. Here, Yeh leaves the power to the gods who are sympathetic with Tou 0's situation. The Heavenly god sends the goddess of wind and the goddess of snow on the mission. The unseasonable snowfall instantly stops the execution. While Tou 0 is at the execution ground, Ch'ang-tsung and the Dragon King's daughter are having a farewell party — a scene filled with sentiments.

The return of T'ien-chang marks the return to peaceful days. Yeh has modified Kuan's last act of the play in having his deceased wife's soul appear in his dream. The case is reviewed: Donkey Chang is convinced of murder and is sentenced to death; the callous judge is to be executed; and Sai Lu-i is assigned to military service in a perilous region.

The Yüan play concludes its story by having T'ien-chang invite Mrs. Ts'ai to live with him. Yeh does not wind up the story at this point. Ch'ang-tsung has by now fulfilled his ambition. He is on his way home crossing the River Huai. By the arrangement of gods, Ch'ang-tsung's boat collides with
T'ien-chang's. This provides the opportunity for the whole family to reunite in the river.

The flexibility in the number of scenes in the Ming play enables Yeh to elaborate the story at considerable length, adding romantic elements to the realistic origin. Incidents which are briefly mentioned in between lines in the Yuan version are magnified with lively dramatic actions building up complications to the development of the play. Most of the major characters are designed to introduce themselves in separate scenes and thus allow for a more penetrating portrayal of each character of its type. The Ming play is also lengthened through the insertion of new episodes which mark a distinctive feature from that of its predecessor. Moreover, Yeh also employs the dramatic devices of surprise and suspense which the Yuan play has failed to grasp. Basically, Kuan's framework is adapted but Yeh re-creates the story with originality in the aspects explained below which deserve our notice:

(1) Each incident is singled out as an independent scene. The separation between T'ien-chang and his daughter Tuan-yün which appears in the last part of the prologue in the Yuan play is elaborated into a scene entitled "Ts'ung-ku 從姑" in the Ming version. The dialogue is burdened with the delicate feelings that the father and daughter have for each other and
the exchange of compliments between T'ien-chang and Mrs. Ts'ai on their children. This typical dramatic device employed by the Ming playwright is to reveal the two families' background—respectable and educated.

The events of Mrs. Ts'ai's going to Sai Lu-i to collect the debt, of her rescue by Donkey Chang and his mother, and of Tou Q alone moaning over her fate are all re-arranged by Yeh into three separate scenes. Tou Q appears before Mrs. Ts'ai sets out for the debtor's house. She is making sacrifice to her late husband in private. Songs interspersed with dialogue occupy the first half of the scene. The second half of the scene when she is joined by Mrs. Ts'ai intensifies the sorrowful by designing a scene of a mother crying for her lost son and a wife for her late husband. In the Yuan play, Kuan has this scene lifted to a higher level. He has Tou Q alone singing her loneliness and bitterness in a series of songs. The lyrical expressions, as Kuan recognizes, are much more powerful and effective than plain narration.

The scene entitled "Chieh-o 解厄 (The Rescue)" begins with Mrs. Ts'ai collecting debt from Sai Lu-i and ends with her taking Donkey Chang and Mother Chang home to repay them for saving her from the attempted murder by Sai Lu-i. In both versions, Sai Lu-i has been expecting Mrs. Ts'ai's arri-
val. Kuan makes a quick shift in his play. As soon as Mrs. Ts'ai arrives, Kuan has Lu Sai-i take her to a remote place. Yeh knits into the scene some realistic elements by having the debtor first deny payment, then make poor excuses and finally agree to pay Mrs. Ts'ai by taking her to see Wang Lo-yen whom she believes to be a real person, not realizing that it is a play of word with the name of Yen Lo Wang, the Buddhist King of Hell. As to the last part of the scene, Yeh follows very closely the original version.

"Kou-tu (The Purchase of Poison)" is the title of the scene in which Donkey Chang plans to murder Mrs. Ts'ai and possesses Tou O. A dramatic event occurs between Donkey Chang and Sai Lu-i. When Donkey Chang recognizes that Sai Lu-i is the man who tried to strangle Mrs. Ts'ai not long ago, he uses the knowledge of this attempted murder as a weapon to force Sai Lu-i into selling him poison. Equally witty, Sai Lu-i turns around and threatens Donkey Chang that he will report to the authority that he purchases poison with the intention to kill. Guilty of his own action, Donkey Chang begs Sai Lu-i not to let the cat out of the bag and agrees to exchange the golden locket for the poison. In this respect, Yeh is a better craftsman than Kuan, for he recognizes the use of an object to build up complications for the plot and
later has it serve as an evidence to help solve the murder case.

"T'an-chien" is a scene developed from Kuan's third act. In the Yuan tsa-chü, Mrs. Ts'ai's visit to the prison is brief and hasty. She has only the chance to response to her daughter-in-law's last request,

"Today I am going to the execution ground to be killed. Mother, in the future, during the winter season, on the New Year's and other festivals, and on the first and fifteenth of each month, if you have any spare gruel, pour half a bowl for me; and if you have Paper money to spare, burn some for me. Do this for the sake of the personal dignity of your late son." (31)

Yeh recognizes the significant meaning of this scene. He seizes this opportunity to project the love and concern the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law have for each other through the visit. Yeh has not included Tou O's request in his version, instead he has designed a more down-to-earth "rendezvous" between the two women. When she hears her mother-in-law coming, Tou O, like a child, cries out her fear of the atmosphere and the horrifying surroundings of the cell. However, Tou O is still being projected as a dutiful daughter-in-law in that she expresses her regrets again and again that she has caused her mother-in-law to suffer such a great deal. Helpless at the situation, Mrs. Ts'ai's reactions are only deep sighs and occasionally a few comforting words. Her only wish now is:
"Let's hope we shall meet justice soon." The sorrows of the visit is intensified by the announcement of the guard that the day of Tou O's execution has been set. This scene concludes with Tou O fainted to the ground and Mrs. Ts'ai clinging dearly to her daughter-in-law. The success on the elaboration of this scene of Yeh has gained much applause from the Chinese audience even to this day in the Peking opera version.

"Fu-shih" is an immortal scene which Yeh has accomplished. Yeh lets Tou O complain the injustice done to her at the execution ground but he eliminates the three vows which Kuan has designed for her. Instead, he makes the bold change by the device of deus-ex-machina to satisfy the psychological needs of his audience.

The fourth act of the Yüan play is re-modelled by Yeh into four scenes:

a. The return of Tou T'ien-chang. It is a short scene which comprises only one song sung by the judge who announces the return of Tou.

b. The manifestation of T'ien-chang's wife in his dream instead of the complaints of Tou O's ghost in the Yüan tsa-chü.

c. The review of the case. Yeh's version is much more
complicated than that of the Kuan's. Sai Lu-i is first called upon to witness the case when he submits the golden locket which serves as an evidence of Donkey Chang's plot of poisoning Mrs. Ts'ai.

(2) The elaboration of events which are merely mentioned through the mouth of Mrs. Ts'ai and in the songs of Tou O. Yeh makes Ch'ang-tsung play the leading character. He is projected as an ideal young man — well taken care of by his widowed mother, well-accomplished in his learning, having the luck to marry a virtuous woman, and gains the success and fame which every man strives for.

In the Yüan version, T'ien-chang only mentions that he is taking Mrs. Ts'ai home with him since she is all alone after Tou O's execution. Yeh values the statement made by T'ien-chang. To bring out the virtues of T'ien-chang, Yeh extends this into an independent scene. The invitation which T'ien-chang extends to Mrs. Ts'ai is done in a formal and official manner — a messenger is sent to receive both Mrs. Ts'ai and Tou O. Mrs. Ts'ai's kindness and generosity towards T'ien-chang is repaid.

(3) Each major character makes appearance in a separate scene.

Except for Tou O, the major characters such as Ch'ang-
and the Judge are each given a scene to expose his (or her) character and motivation in the play. Such a dramatic device is typical of the Ming ch'uan-ch'i which serves to give information without losing the magic of the theater.

(4) The insertion of new episodes

The pre-arranged marriage between the Dragon King's daughter and Ch'ang-tsung is a typical ts'ai-tzu chia-jen story which prevailed in the Ming period. This episode is spread out into four scenes. It begins with the scene "Ying yuan (Meeting of the Fated Lovers)" and ends with the farewell party given by the Dragon King's daughter before Ch'ang-tsung leaves. There are also the scenes that add links to the story such as "Ching-ni 警olve (The Shocks at the Drowning), "Wan-ta 晚達 (The Belated Success), and "I-so 遺鎖 (The Missing of the Golden Locket)."

The God of Heaven and other gods and goddesses play an important part in this story. Besides the God of the Sea who stirs up the storm, there is the God of Heaven who sends the goddess of wind and the goddess of snow to rescue Tou D by causing a strong wind and a heavy snowfall. The three scenes designed for these activities are "Ching-ni," "Shen-ch'ih 神劫 (Heaven's Decree)" and "Chieh-ping 借冰 (Borrowing
Four episodes are inserted to wind up the story. Ch'ang-tsung is announced first in the examination. This scene is entitled "T'ii-ming (The Announcement)." On his way home, Ch'ang-tsung visits his former tutor who at first takes Ch'ang-tsung as a ghost. This scene entitled "Yeh-shih (Paying a Visit to the Tutor)" is an amusing scene which balances the gloomy atmosphere of the preceding scenes. Before the concluding scene "Chou-yuan (The Reunion)," Yeh satisfies the audience by adding an episode in which Donkey Chang is struck by the thunder. He calls it "T'ien-chi (Heaven's Punishment)."

One distinctive feature found in the Ming play is the contrasting elements which Yeh successfully knit into his work for dramatic effects. Such contrasts essentially preserve the unity of the story. His art of recording the seemingly irreconcilable qualities of diversity and likeness makes the story a whole and achieve the purpose of the play.

The first remarkably contrasting element is found in the titles of the scenes which, when seen in pairs, also indicate the contrasting situations he has designed:

A. Tz'u-chen (Mother's Advice)
   Lien-chiao (Pitying the Delicate)
B. Ts'ung-ku 從姑 (Joining the Mother-in-law)
   Ying-yüan 迎緣 (Meeting of Fated Lovers)
C. Ch'i-ho 奇合 (A Strange Union)
   Wen-hsiung 閻凶 (On Hearing the Bad News)
D. Kou-tu 購毒 (The Purchase of Poison)
   Wu-shang 誤傷 (Poison by Mistake)
E. T'an-yü 探獄 (Visiting the Prison)
   Shen-ch'i'h 神勅 (Heaven's Decree)
F. Fu-shih 赴市 (Heading for the Execution Ground)
   Tsu-chien 祖筵 (Farewell Party)
G. T'ien-chi 天殛 (Heaven's Punishment)
   Chou-yüan 舟圓 (The Reunion)

In pair A, the widow's advice to her son on his studies and marriage is firm and determined, in contrast with the widower's uncertainty of his daughter's future and doubt of himself being a responsible father. In pair B, Tou 0 is brought by her father to join her mother-in-law-to-be and marry Ch'ang-tsung. However, in the next scene, there is the Dragon King's daughter receiving Ch'ang-tsung as her bridegroom. Pair C has the scene "Ch'i-ho" in contrast with the scene "Wen-hsiung". As the titles of the scenes suggest, one is an unexpected joy (at least to Ch'ang-tsung), whereas the other is an unexpected blow for Mrs. Ts'ai and Tou 0. Pair D
presents a reversal situation. "The Purchase of Poison" turns out to be "Poison by Mistake" — Donkey Chang has killed his own mother instead of Mrs. Ts'ai. Pair E has two contrasting scenes of the activities between Heaven and the Hell-like prison. Helpless and hopeless cries of Tou D and Mrs. Ts'ai are softened by the effort which the gods show to rescue Tou D. Pair F gives sharp contrast in having the scenes of Tou D being dragged to the execution ground and the Dragon King's daughter preparing a sentimental farewell party for Ch'ang-tsung. The scenes in Donkey Chang being striken by the thunder and the reunion on the boat in Pair G reveal the concept that the evil are punished and the good rewarded.

It is unquestioned that "sheng-li (separation in life)" and ssu-pieh (separation by death)" are two bitter experiences of man and Tou D has experienced both. On the other hand, the playwright also bestows upon our heroine "the joys of reunion" and the "joys of her husband's success" after her sufferings from separations.

It has been said that when a literary form reaches its peak, the writers who benefit by it care less for the stories they tell than for the way they tell them. Such is true of the traditional Chinese drama. It is through the device of dramatization, modification, suggested-by or based-upon that
the playwright concentrates on how it is presented rather than what he presents. For the Ming playwrights, this was even more so. During the Ming period, playwriting became a display of literary talents as well as an exhibition of "widely read" accomplishments. The effort results in a development of high literary quality in the Ming ch'uan-ch'i. However, a close investigation into the literary elements of each play reveals the fact that despite the creative impulse, the ch'uan-ch'i playwright falls into the general practice of conventional words as well as of verses in early works.

(1) Titles of the opening and concluding scenes

As in the Chin-so chi, the play begins with the scene "Piao-lüeh (A Brief Outline)" and concludes with "Chou-yüan." This set-up is typical of the structure of Ming ch'uan-ch'i -- to have the first scene as the summary of the story and the last scene a happy ending. An examination of the titles of the first and last scenes of the Ming ch'uan-ch'i reveals the effort which each dramatist made to create a new title to each scene in such a conventional set-up. It denotes in the examination that despite the creative impulse, the fact remains that there was the traditional bondage of format which very few playwrights had the courage to break. Thus, as a result, the adaptation of conventional words emerged.
The most commonly used titles for the opening scenes in the Ming ch'uan-ch'i are "kai-ch'ang", "piao-mu", "chia-men", "chia-men shih-chung" and "k'ai-tsung". Next to these are "t'i-kang", "chia-men tai". Characters which have the connotation of "brief" or "open" are exhaustively employed. In order to create a title different from other plays, the ch'uan-ch'i playwright tries in every possible way to arrange words into a compound or two compounds for a new title. As a result, we find "k'ai," "t'i," and "piao" mostly used for the first character of the title and "lush," "ying" and "tsung" as the second character. A combination of two-character titles into one is another technique to avoid duplication. Thus, we see "k'ai-ch'ang chia-men" as the title of the opening scene.

Similar technique is employed for the title of the concluding scene. "jung (Honor)," "tuan-yuan (Reunion)," "ho (Union)," "wan (Completing)" are characters which the Ming playwright adopts to meet the requirement of a happy ending of a play.

(2) Adaptation of verses

At the end of most scenes in the ch'uan-ch'i, there is a couplet which normally serves as a summary of the scene, very often serves as a report of the central theme of the in-
incident occurred; sometimes as a comment, or not unusually only as a tail dragged behind the scene which is entirely irrelevant to the contents of the scene. Some couplets are created by the playwright, whereas many are adapted from famous poems of preceding ages, with slight changes in one or two characters. (32) For some playwrights, verses at the end of the play are considered as merely ornamental. The same couplet could be found repeated in various scenes of the same play. (33)

(3) Formula

"Formula" is defined by Milman Parry as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea." (34) Parry's definition broadens "formula" within its scope more than the repeated "stock epithets." Further, the opprobrium attached to "cliches" and "stereotypes" has been removed. This term fits well into the repeated group words which appear in the Ming ch'uan-ch'i. When a character first appears on stage, it is a convention that he (she) introduces himself (herself) to the audience. Thus the formula is "hsing 姓 (surname), ming 名 (given name) tzu 字 (styled name) . . . " or for the more sophisticated one, "shih-chü 世界 (ancestral residence), yüan-shih 原是 (originally was) . . . " The lower class group would say,
"tzu-chia 自己 (myself) pien-shih 便是 (is)..." Expressions such as "hsien-hua hsiu-t'i 閻話休提 (patty talk may not go on)," and "hua hsiu hsü-fan 話休絮煩 (stop beating around the bush)" are used to give warning that the narration is about to shift to another character or locale, or to signify that the introduction is over and the next episode about to begin.

Equally prominent are the intrusions of the narrator in the form of rhetoric questions, imagery colloquies with the audience and digressions from the dialogue, such as the expressions "ch'i pu-wen 聲不聞 (Haven't you heard of...?)," "shuo pu-fang 說不妨 (It does not matter if I say...)."

The above-mentioned formulae together with many others undoubtedly have stemmed from an earlier period when the chiang-ch'ang style was prevailing during the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In fact, the colloquial short stories were then also burdened with similar formulae.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1 The nan-hsi 南戲 took its origin in Yung-chia 永嘉, also called Wen-chou 温州, in southern Chekiang 浙江 province at about the time the Sung was driven from North China. In view of the lack of references dating from the Sung, the precise time cannot be known; but Ming records claim that it began in the Hsian-ho 宣和 period (A.D. 1119-1126). It was first heard at court under Emperor Kuang-tsung 興宗 (A.D. 1190-1195). See: Hsü Wei 徐渭, Nan-tzu hu-su-ku 南曲叙錄 (Peking, 1959-1960), Vol. 3, p. 239 and Chu Yün-ming 虞冕, Wei-t'an 猿談 in Ku-chin shuo-ku pu-ts'un-shu 古今說部叢書, vol. 5, p. 4.

2 Through quotation in various early sources, extracts from many of the nan-hsi of the Sung and the Yuan have been collected together by the contemporary scholar Ch'ien Nan-yang 錢南揚. See, in particular, his most recent work Sung Yuan hsi-wen chi-i 宋元戲文輯佚 (Shanghai, 1956).

3 Some Ming writers seemed to have been under the impression that a new form had arisen and that the nan-hsi were completely extinct by the end of the Yuan period. One such author was Yeh Tzu-ch'í 葉子奇 who held that the nan-hsi had died out by that time and had been replaced entirely by the tsa-chü. See: Yeh Tzu-ch'í, Tsao-mu tzu 草木子 (1378 ed.), 4.106b.

4 During the Yuan, the tendency to mix elements of the nan-hsi and the tsa-chü became apparent. The very natural practice of using both northern and southern tunes in one drama was begun by the dramatist Shen Ho of the Yuan and later became commonly accepted. See: Chung Ssu-ch'í 鍾嗣成, Lu-kuei pu 錄鬼簿 in Chung-kuei ku-tien hsi-chü lun-chü chi-ch'íng 鍾離曲劇論文集, vol. 2, p. 32.

5 The term ch'üan-ch'í 傳奇 was first used to apply to a form of story in the T'ang dynasty. Wang Kuo-wei claims that the Yuan tsa-chü were also sometimes called ch'üan-ch'í. See: Sung Yuan hsi-chü k'ao 宋元戲曲考 in Wang Kuo-wei hsi-chü lun wen-chi, Peking, 1957, p. 137.
6. There were principally two kinds of organizations in the theater world of the Ming: The theatrical troupes owned by wealthy families, land-owners, merchants or nobles of the court were for the entertainment of the family and their guests or for the whole clan, and organized troupes were more numerous and more professional in nature.


9. Lu-kuei pu lists 452 titles, T'ai-ho cheng-vin p'u by Chu Chüan (朱官) of the early 15th century lists 500 titles (allegedly 535 titles, but only 418 in extant editions).


12. These terms are borrowed from Busfield, Roger, The Playwright's Art, New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1958, p. 199.

13. Plays other than Chieh-tzu-t'uei, Ch'ü Chao-kung in the Ch'i-kuo chiang-shih are Yü Jang t'un-t'an 孫張政, Wu-Yün ch'üi-hsiao 沃尹漱, Tung Su Ch'in 涌蘇秦, Ch'iu Hu hsi-ch'i 秋胡戲妻 and Chao-shih ku-eh 趙氏孤儿.

14. Ch'i-li t'an 七里灘 and Ko-chiang tou-chih 隔江閣志 are also from Liang-Han chiang-shih.

15. Appearing in the Sui-T'ang chiang-shih are also Hsiao
Besides the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi which records Ch'en Hsüan-yü's story Ch'ien-nü li-hun 倩女離魂, Lü-wen chí 異聞集 and Lü-ch'üang hsün-hua 綾窗新話 have also included this event into their collections.

Events Inside the Pillow is found recorded in T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi chüan 88. The Yuan playwright Li Shih-chung 李時中 wrote a play called K'ai-t'ao ts'an-chiao huang-liang meng tsa-chü 開遊闔教黃梁夢iłlvìt, attested in Ch'ü-hai tsun-mu t'ieh-yao 書海綸緝要 and Tu-ch'ü lei-kao 麥曲類橋. An anonymous playwright wrote Lü-weng chih hua Han-tan tien 劉翁之化邯鄲篇. This is recorded in Chin-yüeh k'ao-cheng 今樂考證, Ch'ü-lu 曲録 and Tu-ch'ü lei-kao. T'ang Hsien-ts'ü adapted the story and wrote Han-tan chi 鄭鶯記. Han-tan meng 鄭鶯夢 is one of the four plays on dream which Chu Jen-yüan 車堅遠 wrote. (See: Li To 李托 Yang-chou hua-fang lu 揚州畫舫錄, P'u Sung-ling 蒲松齡 of the Ch'ing dynasty included this story into his work Liao-ch'ai chih-i 蹂齧計異 which he calls "Hsü huang liang 繼黃粱.")

The story of Emperor Hsuan-tsung and his imperial consort Yang Kuei-fei was favorably accepted in the Yuan period. Kuan Han-ch'ing wrote T'ang Ming-huang k'u hsiao 唐 明皇哭香; Yüeh Po-ch'üan 壽伯川 wrote Yang Kuei-fei yüan 阮貴妃冤; Yü Chi-fu 夏吉甫 wrote Yang T'ai-ch'ên ni-shang yüan 陽太真 狂愛怨. These plays are all lost but the titles are seen in Lu-kuei pu and T'ai-ho cheng-yin p'u.

A contemporary of Ma Chih-yüan 馬致遠, Chang Shih-ch'i 張時起 adapted the story and wrote a play called Chao-ch'ün ch'ü-sai 蝶破齋. This was later adapted by the Ming playwright Ch'en Yü-chiao 陳與郊 who kept the same title.

Ma Chih-yüan made up the incident of how the emperor met Chao-ch'ün. The lute first served as a medium of the emperor's appreciation of the skill of the player. Moreover, the beauty of the player made him treasure her more. To intensify the sorrows of the situation at the end of the story, Ma concluded with Chao-ch'ün committed suicide in the river and the emperor being awakened by the shrieks of the wild geese from his sweet dream of his beauty.
21. *Pa-ji chi* 八義記 is written by the Ming playwright Hsü Chihs. It is adapted from the *nan-hsi* in the Sung Yuan periods entitled *Chao-shih ku-erh pao-yüan chi*. 趙氏孤儿報怨記.

22. *Lien-huan chi* is written by the Ming playwright Wang Chi. It is an adaptation of the Yuan play *Hu-lao kuan* by Cheng Kuang-tsu. The Peking opera today has two plays developed from its predecessor, entitled *Hu-lao kuan* and *Feng-i t'ing*. 凤儀亭.


24. "牆頭馬上遙相顧．"

25. *Nan-tz'u hsü-lu* in *Chung-kuo k'u-tien hsi-chü lun-chu chi-ch'eng*, vol. 3, p. 239.

26. "聘則為妻, 辭是妾．"

27. "寄言慇小人家女, 慎勿將身輕許人．"

28. The verse in Tu's poem is "Shih-nien i-chiao Yang-chou meng 十年一覺揚州夢", meaning the ten years in Yang-chou had been like a dream.

29. It comes from the verse "Tso-chung ch'i-hsia shui tsui tuo 座中泣下誰最多 蕭州司馬青衫濕．"


32. In *Chin-so chi* it is "T'ien-ch'ang ti-hiu yu shih chin, tsu hen mien-mien wu liao ch'i 長恨歌", but in *Pai chü-i* 's "Ch'ang-hen ko", it is "wu chüeh ch'i 無絕期．"
Couplets such as "Yen-wang chu-ting san-ching ssu, ping pu liu-jen tao ssu ching 闇王註定三更死, 並不留人到四更." are seen both in Ch'ien-chin chi and Chin-chung chi.

CHAPTER THREE

THE THEME OF TOU O YUAN: ITS ORAL TRADITION

Through the effort of Liang Ch'en-yü 梁辰魚 (1520-1580) and many other musicians, the music of K'un-ch'ü was brought to great perfection and eventual national eminence. (1) The new kind of melody took the nation by storm and in the span of fifty and sixty years, the K'un-ch'ü not only superceded all the other local tunes of the South, of which there were many, (2) but also encroached upon the domain of the tsa-chü in the North. While the K'un-ch'ü continued to be written in the Ming and early Ch'ing periods, it was mainly as a poetic exercise without much relevance to the theater. Shortly after the Ch'ing period, the national stage was taken over by the K'un-ch'ü whose popularity continued for another two hundred years, attaining the height of its development in the 17th century. (3)

Unlike the dramatists in the Yüan period, most K'un-ch'ü writers were prominent literary figures and officials, and official biographies of many of them appear in the Ming and Ch'ing dynastic histories. For these men, the desire for fame, not profit, provided the incentive for playwriting. More a
highly intellectual pastime than a professional occupation, the drama was written to convey the author's sentiments, to display his poetic talents, and to win the admiration of his friends who were at the same time his audience and critics. As a result, some playwrights distinguished themselves as great poets, and others only as prosodists and musicians. Least of all were those interested or proficient in the techniques of the theater. As to the actual staging of the plays, if it ever happened, it was left to unknown professionals.

These professionals were not creators, but merely imitators who borrowed closely the plot, the songs and the dialogue of some episodes from an original play and enlivened them on stage. Inevitably, from time to time and from stage to stage, there were apt to be alterations, omissions and insertions of new tunes and dialogue which mark the distinctive features of the selected episodes that appear in their collections of scripts. Not much attention has been paid to the preserving of these scripts. Only 16 collections that have been known to us were preserved in the Ch'ing period. Among these, five have recorded the selected episodes of Chin-so chi as shown in the following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Collection</th>
<th>Title of Scene</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Na-shu ying 納書楹</td>
<td>Ssu-ch'i 私祭 (Offering in Private)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chan Tou 斬uart (Executing Tou)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chui pai-ch'iu 綴白裘</td>
<td>Sung-nü 送女 (Seeing the Daughter off)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>T'an-chien 探監 (A Visit to the Prison)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Fa-ch'ang 法場 (The Execution Ground)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Ssu-ch'i 私祭</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ssu-fan 思飯 (Craving for Rice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yang-tu 羊肚 (The Lamb's Tripe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu-veh ch'ü-p'u 六也曲譜</td>
<td>Shuo-ch'iung 說窮 (The Complaints)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yang-tu 羊肚 (The Lamb's Tripe)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>T'an-chien 探監 (A Visit to the Prison)</td>
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<td>Chan O 斬oe (Executing O)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chi-ch'eng ch'ü-p'u 集成曲譜</td>
<td>Ssu-ch'i 私祭</td>
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<td>Chan O 斬oe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tsui i-ch'ing 醉怡情</td>
<td>Wu-shang 毒傷 (Poison by Mistake)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yuan-chü 宽鞫 (The Unfair Trial)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T'an-yü 探獄 (A Visit to the Prison)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fu-shih 赴市 (Heading for the Execution Ground)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One common feature which appears in the above four collections is the titles. They are all in 2 characters—a form which these collected scenes have in common with their predecessor, the Ming ch'uan-ch'ü. The episodes entitled "Wu-shang", "T'än-yü", "Fu-shih" and "Yüan-chü" in Tsui i-ch'ing are borrowed without any changes from the Ming version. These scenes which form the climax of the play emerge from the Third Act of the Yüan play. It is notable that the titles of the episodes in Chui pai-ch'iu are not in sequenced. Even when re-arranged in order, they do not indicate the performance of the story as a whole. This is due to the fact that each scene of a k'un-ch'ü is complete in itself and is fit for performance.

Taken together the titles of the collections of Tsui i-ch'ing, Chui pai-ch'iu, Na-shu ying and Chi-ch'eng ch'ü-p'ü, one notes that there is a tendency to create a new title by placing the emphasis on a different level. Both Chin-so chi and Tsui i-ch'ing consider the death of Donkey Chang's mother a mistake, thus, this scene is entitled "Wu-shang." However, in Chui pai-ch'iu, the turning point is the lamb's tripe. It is the tripe soup which Mrs. Ts'ai craves for that builds up the complications of the story. Hence, the scene is entitled "Yang-tu." That Chui pai-ch'iu focuses on the execution ground in Na-shu ying entitled "Executing Tou" or in
Chi-chen ch'u-p'u entitled "Executing O" reveals the emphasis on Tou 0 as the central figure. "Offering in Private" is a poetic and touching scene which projects Tou 0's faithfulness as a widow and dutifulness as a daughter-in-law. Yeh entitled it "Ssu-tien 私奠," whereas all the later versions have unanimously changed the second character from "tien" to "ch'i 祭" which has the same meaning.

The theme, structure and the plot of each scene in the four collections have originated from the Ming version. A close examination of the tunes and the dialogue reveals the following features:

(1) Similar tunes bearing different titles

The same tune in the episodes of "Wu-shang" entitled "T'ao-li cheng-ch'un 桃李爭春" in the Ming version Chin-so chi is entitled "T'ao-liu cheng-ch'un 桃柳爭春" in Tsui i-ch'ing. Chui pai-ch'iu has this same tune coming under "yin 音." The term is also used to substitute the tunes "Feng-ma-erh ch'ien 風馬邑前" and Feng-ma-erh hou 風馬邑後" of Chin-so chi in the episode of "Sung-nü." "T'ing-ch'ien liu 亭前柳" of the scene "Ssu-chi" in Chin-so chi is entitled "T'ing-ch'ien sung-pieh 亭前送別" in Chui pai-ch'iu.

(2) The omission of tunes

Almost all the tunes of each scene in the Chin-so chi
are preserved in the collections of Tsui i-ch'ing, Chui pai-ch'iu, Na-shu ying and Chi-ch'eng ch'ü-p'u except in a few scenes. In "Wu-shang," "Fu-shih" and Yüan-chü," the tunes "Ch'ien-ch'iang," "Ssu-pien chin" and "Yü pao-tu" have not been included. All the other versions of these scenes in Chui pai-ch'iu, Chi-ch'eng ch'ü-p'u and Na-shu ying have retained these songs with slight changes in the wordings. (5)

(3) The insertion of new tunes

Very rarely do we find new tunes inserted into a scene which has originated from the Ming version. An exceptional case is "T'ang hsiu-ts'ai" in "Fu-shih" of Tsui i-ch'ing. It is inserted between "Kun hsiu-ch'iu" and "T'ao-t'ao ling" — a song which intensifies the sorrowful atmosphere of the execution ground.

(4) Homonyms

One of the features which marks the characteristic of each scene is the homonyms. They occur in the title of the tune, the wording within the tune, and the dialogue. "I tuo-chiao" in "T'an-yü" of Tsui i-ch'ing is derived from the tune entitled "I tuo-chiao" of Chin-so chi. The characters "嫦" and "嫦" are homonyms. Another example is found in the variations of 'k'ai' and 'k'ài' in "Ssu"
tien" of Chin-so chi and the same scene in Chui pai-ch'iu. Homonyms appear within tunes and dialogue such as "i 倚" for the character "i 倚," "shih 事" for "shih 侍." Such changes make sense in the songs or dialogue, whereas some do not.

(5) Synonyms

Another characteristic of the divergent versions is synonyms. Tou D in the scene "Ssu-tien" sings "Ta ch'ueh yün-fen hsin-nei 他却怨心内." In Tsui i-ch'ing, "nei 内" is substituted by "chung 中" which connotes a similar meaning. Other examples such as "mu 萃" and "lao 老" are additional elements to mark the distinctive feature of each version.

(6) Pronouns

Pronouns are the most inconsistent of all the inherited elements. Pronouns such as "wo 我(I)," "ni 你(you)," "t'a 他 (he or she)" not found in the original version are often seen in the adapted versions. Sometimes, pronouns are not employed, instead common nouns such as "p'o-p'o 婆婆," "hsi-fu 媳婦" are employed in place of "ni".

(7) Exclamations

Exclamation is a form of expression which correlates with the emotional feelings. Such expressions are believed to be spontaneous response to the situation given. It does reveal
in a comparative study of the divergent scenes in the collections, the exclamations emerging from the same situation are quite fluid. In one version, it is "O Heaven天阿," another is "Ye, Heaven 天也," yet another "Ah, Heaven 天下." On the whole, the exclamations under the brush of Yeh Hsien-tsu are more restrained, compared to those other versions of K'Un-ch'ü.

The above comparative study throws light on the written text which may have originally developed from the oral tradition. The omissions and insertions of tunes can be due to the lapses of memory during the performance. The singing part has its rhyme scheme, and the occurrence of homonyms is a natural tendency especially when the performers are not well versed. The audience of the folk theater does not look for literary value at a performance. What is uttered on stage, as long as it makes sense and agrees with the dramatic situation, is acceptable. The liberty of expressing a thought with different words of the same meaning is a natural acceptance.

Regional distinctions in theatrical performances became more and more obvious as the Ming period progressed. Originated in the Sung dynasty but over-ruled by the tsa-chü of the Yüan, the nan-hsi made its first record in the dramatic history as the dominant stream of Chinese theater during the Ming period. Having lived among the common people for over
two dynasties, this southern drama was absorbed by all the
districts it had visited, but it eventually evolved into a
new style of drama. Consequently, regional dialect would
account for further variations, and the musicians of a particu-
lar district would alter ways of expression to suit the
taste of the local audience. Furthermore, the music of the
popular drama was transmitted orally and was subject to varia-
tions at the hands of the individual performers. During the
time when K'un-ch'ü prevails, other forms of regional drama
were also spreading far and wide. The most popular ones on
record are of Hai-yen 海盐, Yü-yao 颖姚 and I-yang 戊陽. The
development of K'un-ch'ü, and the dramatic forms of Hai-yen,
Yü-yao and I-yang into the many diversified type of re-
gional drama was through the transmission of the wandering
troupes which performed from one stage to another. Regional
drama spread even farther and faster after the inventions of
the mass media in the 20th century. There are up to date over
300 types of regional drama existing in China. Many still
station in their birth places, in villages and counties, while
others are enjoying their popularity in the cities. Those
that have reached the cities, especially the metropolitan
areas, have their performances through various channels.
Besides the conventional theatrical stage, the performances
are transmitted through the filmed form and the electronic form which includes television, radio and recording.

As is seen in the above brief survey of the historical background of the various main streams of regional drama, it is inevitable that one regional drama absorbs from another its skills, techniques, musical elements, including the tunes and instruments, without losing its local characteristics. With the same historical and cultural background, many of the themes are in common, whereas some are adapted through the visits of other types of regional drama. The story of Tou D is an example. Among its various dramatic forms are the Peking opera, the Cantonese opera and the Taiwanese opera. This will now be taken up for discussion in the following three aspects.

The story of Tou D must have been performed for countless times on the Peking opera stage. However, due to the indifference to preserving the scripts of each play performed, there is no record of how many versions are found in the collections of Ching-hsi ta-kuan 京戲大觀 and Ching-hsi k'ao 京戲考. Two other versions in the Peking opera are found with musical scores.
Sixteen scenes are designed to cover the story of *The Golden Locket* in *Ching-hsi ta-kuan*. It begins with Ch'ang-tsung who, having married Tou O, is all prepared for the civil service examination. Accompanied by Donkey Chang who for a long time has had an eye on Tou O, Ch'ang-tsung sets out for the capital. This provides Donkey Chang to carry out his plot. While crossing the River Huai, he pushes Ch'ang-tsung into the river and returns to Mrs. Ts'ai with the intention to marry Tou O as well as to possess the Ts'ais' property. However, Ch'ang-tsung has not died. He is brought to Shang-kuan Ch'i, who happens to be a colleague of his deceased father, and from whom he receives financial aid to reach the capital.

At home, when Mrs. Ts'ai hears the news of Ch'ang-tsung's death, she falls ill and craves for lamb's tripe soup. As in the original Ming version, Donkey Chang's mother (it is his father in the Yuan version) is poisoned by the soup. Out of sympathy, Mrs. Ts'ai accepts Donkey Chang as her adopted son. However, when she hears that Donkey Chang wants to take over the place of her son Ch'ang-tsung by possessing Tou O, she would rather settle the case of Mrs. Chang's death in court. Before Tou O leaves for the court, she announces the plot of Donkey Chang to the neighbors, hoping to secure support from them. This action is not seen in any of the preceding
versions. The Peking opera has this as a preparation for the homecoming scene of T'ien-chang in which the neighbors serve as witnesses for the review of the case.

The unseasonable snowfall which saves Tou O's life has soothed and comforted the Chinese audience since Yeh has turned Kuan's story into one with a happy ending. Its title Chin-so chi has been better known in the realm of K'un-ch'ü than its original title, Tou O Yüan. This can be explained by:

1) The version which appears in Ching-hsi k'ao begins with Mrs. Ts'ai visiting her daughter-in-law in the prison and concludes with the scene of the execution ground. There is no mention of the golden locket or its existence relevant to the selected episodes in this collection. To entitle it The Golden Locket would be incongruous. Hence, a new title is needed to suit the situation of the play. 2) The climax of the story is the moment when Tou O is to be executed. The sudden snowfall has changed the whole situation. It is the snow that brings hope to the disappointed audience. It symbolizes the justice of Heaven which the people cling to and believe in. The title Snow in Mid-Summer has served the purpose. 3) The titles Tou O Yüan and Chin-so chi have been employed for several hundred years. Since the Peking opera was established as the national drama, the selection of episodes
from many popular plays for performance has become a common practice. Attempts to inject new elements into the inherited tradition is a natural tendency of the adaptors. Since the version Snow in Mid-Summer is completely borrowed from Ching-hsi ta-kuan, the new title reflects its creative impulse.

As in the Ming ch'uan-ch'ü, some Peking opera scripts have a "summary" printed at the beginning of the play. The difference between the two types of play lies in that Ming ch'uan-ch'ü performs a complete story while the Peking opera, be it a complete form, a selected episode or only a few verses sung, the "summary" attached is not as rigid as in the Ming drama. The "summary" of the version in Ching-hsi k'ao in most part is based on the Ching-hsi ta-kuan version, but at the beginning it says,

"There is a filial woman of Tung-hai in the Han dynasty. Her husband left her before their marriage. Donkey Chang, a ruffian in the neighborhood has his eyes on Tou O. Through the acquaintance of his mother Mrs. Chang with Mrs. Ts'ai, he is provided with an opportunity to put poison into the lamb's tripe soup which Mrs. Ts'ai craves for when she is ill..." (9)

While the remaining details of the story are similar to that of Ching-hsi ta-kuan, we note that Tou O is claimed to be the "filial woman of Tung-hai," and her husband has left for "somewhere." It is obvious that the story of Tou O Yüan has been quite confused at this juncture. The filial woman of
Tung-hai is from the history of the Han dynasty, while Tou O is Kuan's creation. Donkey Chang and his parent first appear in Kuan's version as the savers of Mrs. Ts'ai, but the Peking opera in the Ching-hsi ta-kuan has skillfully omitted Mrs. Ts'ai's collection of debt and arranged Donkey Chang's and his mother's existences as the housekeepers of the Ts'ais in this version. Moreover, it is Tou O's father who leaves for the capital to take the civil service examination. Yeh makes Ch'ang-tsung have the same ambition. He leaves home for his tutor, but is brought to the undersea kingdom to marry the Dragon King's daughter. The Ching-hsi ta-kuan version does not resort to supernatural elements, instead, it emphasizes Donkey Chang's wickedness by the design to have him push Ch'ang-tsung into the river on their way to the tutor. Here in Ching-hsi k'ao, Ch'ang-tsung is said to have left home.

The following versions of the tune from Ching-hsi k'ao are also found in Ching-hsi ta-kuan. They are both the climax of the story which symbolizes filial piety, injustice, and the mandate of Heaven have been crystalized in various versions of verses successfully expressed by the renowned Peking opera performers Mei Lan-fang, Ch'eng Yench'iu, and the amateur Kao Hua.
Version A:

For no reason, I encounter such peril,
And suffer from such disaster. It seems
Heaven refuses to distinguish between
The wise and the fool.
Why are the good repaid by Heavenly punishment,
And the wicked have their lives prolonged? (10)

Version B:

For no reason, I encounter such punishment,
And suffer from such disaster. It seems that
Heaven is pushing the boat down with the current.
How is that life is shortened for good deeds done,
But prolonged for evil practiced? (11)

The above two versions are derived from the tunes "tuan-cheng hao" and "kun hsiu-ch'iu" in Act III of folk artists who straightforwardly borrow some phrases such as "mei lai-yu" and "tsao hsing-hsien" and "shun-shui t'ui-chou" from the original version, with the adapted ideas expressed the songs in their own words. The slight differences between Versions A and B show that the folk artists in their process of borrowing or adapting strive to be creative.

The story of Tou 0 has been corrupted by the Cantonese opera but well knitted into a unique story which characterizes the boldness of folk art. With Tou 0 being accused of murder,
the trial and torture in court which are inherited from the 
Yüan version, the unseasonable snowfall and the reunion de-
derived from the Ming play, and Donkey Chang's plot in mur-
dering Ch'ang-tsung which owes its origin to the Peking opera, 
this work of art is a creation of its kind.

The story of Tou O in a span of seven hundred years has 
been very closely adapted by various forms of drama. The Can-
tonese opera boldly breaks with the tradition right from the 
very beginning. Here Tou O introduces herself as "precious 
and lovely as a jade leaf on a golden bough" (12) She is now 
the fiancée of Ch'ang-tsung without his knowledge. He has been 
away teaching and does not know that his mother has found a 
wife for him. When he returns, he is thrilled with such a 
talented, skillful and beautiful wife. They are married the 
day before Ch'ang-tsung sets out for the capital.

The whole story is divided into eight "turns" (sections) 
with an introduction which reads, "Snow in Mid-Summer composed 
by T'ang T'i-sheng 唐 Türkiye. This historical play has had ten 
performances. Each performance was fully seated with specta-
tors. The story and songs are both touching and the style is 
classical."

The love Tou O and Ch'ang-tsung has for each other is re-
vealed at the end of Section I and also in Sections II and III.
It is straightforward. "Tell me if you love me?" Ch'ang-tsung approaches Tou O as soon as the mother leaves them, having introduced Tou O to her son. Tou O assures him of her love by culling a lotus blossom from the pond and presenting it to him. The exchange of tokens in the wedding chamber on the eve of their departure reminds us of Ying-ying and Chang-sheng in the scene "Ch'ang-t'ing sung-pieh (Departure at the Posthouse)" in the West Chamber. Tou O has sewn her husband a scented purse with ten stiches, each stich with a symbolic meaning, and Ch'ang-tsung in turn presented her the golden locket. This scene has successfully distracted the audience from the traditional bound of the story. It also serves to prepare the illustration of the cruelty of Donkey Chang who conceives the plan to murder Ch'ang-tsung in order to possess Tou O. The existence of this scene helps heighten the climax of the scene of the execution ground and intensifies Tou O's sorrows.

To impress upon the audience the fidelity Tou O has for her husband, the Cantonese opera designs Mrs. Ts'ai to force Tou O on a second marriage. In Section IV, she blames Tou O for bringing misfortune to the Ts'ais. "Tou O, I wonder if it is your ill fate or mine to have brought the downfall of the Ts'ais. When you first stepped into the house, we became
poorer, then, in great debt. Poverty and debts are not of our concern. But now the Ts'ais' only seed (son) is dead. It is indeed your fault!"\(^{(14)}\) When Mrs. Ts'ai's proposition is refused, she threatens to hang herself. Tou 0's firmness finally convinces her mother-in-law. To twist the situation around as well as to protect the mother-in-law, the Cantonese playwright provides Mrs. Ts'ai with an opportunity to explain to her daughter-in-law that she thinks it all for Tou 0's good. If she kills herself, it would solve part of the financial problem, "When we have begged for a bowl of rice, it is just enough to keep one alive, but when shared by the two, neither will survive."\(^{(15)}\)

One outstanding feature of the Cantonese opera is the emphasis on human relationship. In this version, there is the relationship between husband and wife and the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. This feature is also illustrated in the recordings ATC289, ATC113 and LP130. The ATC289 has two episodes entitled "I-men wang 依門望 (Leaning against the Door Yearning)" and "T'ou-meng 托夢 (Visit in a Dream)." The episodes in ATC113 is "T'an-hsi 探媳 (A Visit with the Daughter-in-law)." The version in LP130 has the title "Tou 0 Yüan" and a subtitle "Snow in Mid-Summer" which records the episode of the execution.
Apparently, the Cantonese opera is one of a few types of regional drama which accept the tragic ending of Tou O as well as enjoys the happy reunion of Tou O and her loving husband. "T'an-hsi" is just another title for "T'an-chien" or "T'an-yü" in K'un-ch'ü. The relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law has been a problem in the Chinese family circle regardless of province. The kindness which the mother-in-law has showed to her daughter-in-law and the sacrifice which Tou O has made, appeal to the Chinese as a moral lesson. The Cantonese opera is able to grasp this for its educational purpose in order to fulfill its dramatic function.

Another regional drama which treasures the story of Tou O is the Taiwanese opera, popularly known as the ko-tsai hsi. The Taiwanese opera is a wandering folk art which has gone through certain reforms due to social changes. Not much has been explored in this style of drama. Through interviewing the stage managers, troupe leaders, directors cum playwright, the present writer manages to gather invaluable information regarding this theatrical form.

The ko-tsai hsi has originated from the ballads of the village of I-lan 宜蘭 on the eastern coast of Taiwan. It is said that the ballads were transmitted to Taipei, the capital city by the lumberjacks along the Tan-shui River 淡水河.
The performances first took place on the ground. Troupes wandered from one place to another for the celebration of festivals and thanksgiving to gods during the harvest season. There were no female performers. The man who played the female role held a handkerchief to distinguish "herself" from the man who had a fan.

The ko-tsai hsi is also known as lo-ti sào. It was purely a form of folk art before being commercialized. In 1914, a Peking opera troupe called the T'ien-hsien ching-pan from Shanghai came to Taipei. It was not well accepted and this led to a dismissal. A few of the Peking opera actors remained in Taiwan who were later employed by the ko-tsai hsi troupe. Some of the skills and techniques of the Peking opera were then introduced to the ko-tsai hsi. Nourished by the Peking opera, the ko-tsai hsi attained its maturity in early 20th century. The performance moved from the ground to the stage and finally into the indoor theater.

Before the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, there were over as many as 500 troupes. During the Sino-Japanese war, the ko-tsai hsi was banned by the Japanese authorities. It was revived by the Nationalist Chinese government after its restoration of Taiwan. However, with the retirement of the experienced older members of the troupes and the recruitment
of the younger generation, the ko-tsai hsi began to move away from its traditional form. In the recent years, with the encouragement of the Nationalist government, all the organizations of this art form have strived to maintain the characteristics of its classical style.

Currently, the troupes which are being invited to perform on radio and television are the leading troupes in Taiwan. The less superior troupes still make their tours from one stage to another. The performances take place both indoors and outdoors for which the Taiwanese terms are nei-t'ai hsi (The indoor opera) and wai-t'ai hsi (The outdoor opera). Like the Peking opera and other types of regional drama, it is divided mainly into two categories, namely, the wen-hsi (civil plays) and the wu-hsi (military plays). The fighting scenes owe much of their skills to the Peking opera. Many of the stories of the Taiwanese opera are imitations of the Peking opera. Even the songs and the dialogue are closely borrowed from the Peking opera. A thorough examination of the ko-tsai hsi version of Liu-yüeh hsüeh in comparing with the version in Ching-hsi ta kuan confirms this view.

The present version of Liu-yüeh hsüeh which the writer is referring to is written by the director cum playwright for a television production. According to him, the performers
are illiterate. It is through years of observation, hearing and practicing that an actor is capable of playing the major role. Through the interviews with the performers, the writer comes to a conclusion that although the actors are illiterate, they have been living in the plays. They start watching the same play repeatedly performed since their childhood years when they first joined the troupe. Remembering a story, learning by heart a song have become their only entertainment. Going through the process of learning how to read is not necessary. However, each character is given a script. During the rehearsals, when his memory lapses, he will go up to a literate (or the director) to read him the lines which are blocked in his mind. He is attuned to the music which accompanies the songs. As long as he is familiar with the story, he has very few worries about the dialogue. He can always improvise. This does not seem to be plausible but it is true. Among the many "trainees," the one who is placed to play the major role has his conditions. He needs a strong memory, a creative mind to improvise, and the ability and talent to act. Constant practice and penetrating observation are also important. He has to possess them all. He is almost like a "self-made" actor. The director can only train him to a certain extent. It is like what Ts'ao P'i says in his "Tien-lun
"Even between father and son, the transmission of talent is impossible." (17) The written and the oral traditions when they attain to their heights are the same.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE


5 Ibid., pp. 35-38.

6 Chü-lü, p. 117.


9 Yüan-ch'ü hsüan, p. 6294.

10 Kuan Han-ch'ing yen-chiu lun-wen chi-ch'eng 權漢卿研究論文集成, pp. 365-367.

11 Version B has the verses written with simplified Chinese musical notes. See: Kuan Han-ch'ing..., pp. 368-369.
12"我乃是金枝玉葉。"


14 Ibid., p. 478.

15"吃一碗飯夠一個人吃, 分開兩個人就活不成。"

16The names of these Peking opera actors are Chao Fu-kuei 趙福奎, Wang Ch'iu-fu 王秋甫, Liu Yung-hung 劉永紅 and Lü Chün-p'ei 呂君培。

17 Ts'ao P'i 曹丕, Tien-lun lun-wen in Wen-hsüan 文選 ed. by Hsiao T'ung 蕭統, Shanghai: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962, chüan 52.
CHAPTER FOUR

VARIOUS TREATMENTS OF THE THEME OF TOU O YÜAN

Tou O Yüan, being the most persistently popular play of all of Kuan's works, has been taken up for study from various aspects. The first non-Chinese scholar to approach this play was Antoinne Bazin who translated it into French along with many other Yüan ts'a-chü back in the 19th century. Half a century later Miyamoto Mimpei 宫本氏平 translated it into Japanese. The first translation is considered invaluable in terms of its merit as a play in French, and in terms of its fidelity to the spirit of its Chinese original, not as regards its literal or linguistic fidelity. The dialogue, simple in style and convenient for translation, has been translated with accuracy and eloquence. It is noted that Bazin translated the verses with some strenuous effort to make the French version poetic. By stern exercise of the imagination, the shrewd reader may possibly surmise the original qualities lying so well hidden beneath the entanglement of verbiage.

The Japanese reader can easily detect in the Miyamoto translation -- the fine shades of humor so skillfully cap-

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tured in Miyamoto's more deft and plain words. The translator inspires confidence not only in his knowledge of the Chinese language but in his well cultivated understanding of the spirit of the original. In general, the Japanese translation is usually too straightforward and at times less vigorous than the original version. What the reader loses comes from its failure to convey the quality of the more emotional and more lyrical or poetic passages.

A popular translation known to the English-speaking readers is Gladys Yang and Hsien-yi's *Snow in Mid-Summer*. It is translated along with Kuan's seven other plays to commemorate his 700th birthday. The Yangs has adopted the title of *Snow in Mid-Summer* from the Peking opera. The content, however, is based on the Ku ming-chia text. Both the dialogue and the songs have been only fairly rendered. The Yangs seem to be more interested in conveying the story of the play to their readers than to preserve the original structure of the play. The titles of all the tunes have been omitted. All the songs under the same tune title are strung together for a condensed translation. Moreover, the Yangs have the tendency to take it for granted that their readers are familiar with the allusions that occur in the text. They fail to supply footnotes for further explanation. However,
the verses and prose passages are generally harmonious with each other.

An outcome of a discussion on the teaching of Chinese language and literature at the Chinese Linguistics Conference at Princeton University in October, 1967, is a translation of Tou O Yuan by Shih Chung-wen. This work is designed in four stages: transliteration, a world-by-world translation, notes and a readable English version. With the four stages, Shih is able to make her translation close to possible accuracy and at the same time to keep up with the aesthetic effects.

Scholarly interest in Tou O Yuan also bends to the comparative study of the three different texts of Tou O Yuan. They are found in the collections of Ku ming-chia tsa-chü, Lo-chiang chi and Yuan-chü hsüan, all claiming to be the work of Kuan Han-ch'ing. A close examination of the three versions reveals the characteristics of each text which on the one hand has preserved in its own fashion the originality to a certain degree, but on the other hand, has distorted the genuine features of the folk art while making alterations and improvements.

In 1954, Prof. Cheng Ch'ien made a comparative study of the three texts, entitled "Kuan Han-ch'ing Tou O Yuan tsa-chü i-pen pi-chiao 閻漢卿竇娥冤雜劇異本比較 (A Comparative Study
of the Different Texts of the play of *Tou Q Yuan* by Kuan Han-ch'ing) -- an invaluable contribution to the study of *Tou Q Yuan*, Cheng compares each act in four separate sections, namely: 1) *kuan-mu* (topic); 2) *t'ao-shih* (series); 3) *pin-pai* (dialogue); and 4) *ch'ü-wen* (songs). With his profound knowledge of the background of the Mongolian society and his familiarity with the structure of *Yüan* drama, Cheng observes:

(1) In the *kuan-mu*, there is an erroneous calculation of the cash in silver shown in Tsang's version in *Yüan-ch'ü hsüan*. This reflects Tsang's ignorance of the Mongolian currency. Tsang obviously has over-looked the difference of the value of silver between the Mongolian period and the Ming dynasty.

(2) Tsang in his process in editing the plays has the tendency to elaborate some incidents -- a style not of the *Yüan tsa-chü* but of the Ming *ch'uan-ch'i*.

Of the four sections, Cheng centers his attention mostly on the wordings of the *ch'ü* (songs) -- a conventional approach to the study of this particular genre. Most of the differences in the songs are concerned with the *Ku ming-chia* and the Tsang texts. The Lo collection is mostly similar to that of Tsang. Cheng discovers in his comparison:
(1) Tsang uses cliche in place of the crude expressions which are the genuine features of the folk art. (6)

(2) The words which Tsang puts into the mouths of the characters are so literary and ornate that they do not fit into the role which they play. (7)

(3) Repetition is a characteristic feature of the oral tradition. In poetry, it serves as an aid to memorization as well as for musical purpose. (8) Tsang, however, with his intellectual background and ignorance of the device of the folk art, has thoughtlessly eliminated most of the repetitions in the ch'ü. (9)

(4) Tsang's alterations and eliminations have caused incongruity in the advancement of the plot. (10)

(5) In the Ku ming-chia collection, Tou T'ien-chang falls on his knees to Mrs. Ts'ai, pleading for her generosity in forgiving his daughter, should she cause any troubles. Cheng does not think that this is a proper behavior of a scholar. Tsang apparently recognizes too that a scholar has his dignity. In the Yuan-ch'ü hsüan text, Tsang does not include the action of Tou T'ien-chang falls on his knees to Mrs. Ts'ai.

In criticizing Tsang's effort in the re-writing of the text, Cheng considers Tsang's work "over-done." Though his lines are well written, when place together with the original
text, they seem to be often out of place.

The sections of pin-pai and t'ao-shih have been loosely compared. Cheng has given only one general statement on the pin-pai in each act: "The Tsang text has more dialogue than other versions." No further comparison has been given in this section. The t'ao-shih are compared only for the number and the titles of the tunes. The approach, though mechanical, is consistent. Cheng would have made a greater contribution, should he have made a more thorough comparative study of the two versions in terms of pin-pai and t'ao-shih.

Fifteen years after Cheng's work, an enthusiast in the study of Kuan Han-ch'ing, Leung Pui-kam 梁沛錦 treats the subject with a similar approach. The hsieh-tzu and the che are dealt separately in three sections. Treating the t'ao-shih and the kuan-mu with an approach similar to Cheng's, he combines the pin-pai and the ch'ü-wen into one section under the title of wen-tzu 文字 (wording). Leung has undertaken the work in a careful, word-by-word comparison for both the songs and the dialogue. Unlike Cheng, he has not missed out any songs. It is apparent that when making the attempt to compare the three versions, he has referred to Cheng's version. Perhaps Leung considers Cheng's remarks on the three versions the results of an exhaustive in-
vestigation that he keeps away from making any criticisms of or comments on them while doing his own comparative work. Hence, his study of the three texts has remained on the surface only a word-by-word comparison.

None of the works in traditional Chinese drama has been so thoroughly studied as Tou O Yuan. It first appeared in Lu-kuei pu as kung-an chü. (11) Henceforth, the historians of literature and drama have discussed Tou O Yuan from the kung-an chü point of view. The kung-an chü is one of the dramatic themes in the Yuan tsa-chü. Almost one tenth of the plays are listed in Lu kuei-pu in this category. The reasons for the popularity of this theme are manifold. During the Mongolian regime, much corruptions, injustice and bribery occured which created an extremely disorderly effect on the Chinese society. The Chinese, frustrated by such "barbaric" activities, revealed their agony through the media of writings and entertainments. Tou O Yuan is one of the examples. Other plays, such as Pao ta-chih chih chan Lu chai-lang 包待制智斬魯齋郎, Pao tai-chih chih p'an sheng-chin ko 包待制智判生金閣, Sha-kou ch'üan-fu 殺狗勛夫, Shen-nu erh ta-nao K'ai-feng-fu 神奴兒大鬧開封府 and Ting-ting tang p'eng-erh kuei 烏鴉蹲金兔 have similar situations.
The traditional critical study of Tou O Yüan has been solely centered on the concept of kung-an chü. There is, in fact, a good portion of Tou O Yüan that gives reason to the traditional critics to include the play into the kung-an chü category. It begins with the trial of Tou O and ends with T'ien-chang's return to review the case. It is typical of all kung-an-chü to have the judge introduce himself: I am a better official than many others. Whoever comes to file a suit is asked to pay in gold and silver. If a superior official comes to investigate, I stay at home, pretending to be under the weather."(12) His attitude is: "Those who come to file a suit are like my parents paying for my food and clothing,"(13) and his method is: "People are like cheap animals, they would not confess less they are beaten."(14) The death of Tou O is obviously caused by the judge's greed and irresponsibility. However, the kung-an chü does not end here. An "incorruptible, able, moderate and strong" personality like T'ien-chang is created to advance the plot of the story. This second level of the kung-an chü is to prove to the people that justice still exists. Through the song of Tou O, we hear the hope of the people, "Hereafter, the golden tally and the sword of authority are to be displayed prominently in the first place. They are to kill corrupt officials
and dishonest clerks, to relieve the Son of Heaven of his worries and to rid the people of evils."(15) The people are finally pacified by T'ien-chang's remark, "Today I shall correct the records to show that the emperor's law allows no one to suffer from injustice."(16)

One interesting aspect of the study of Tou O Yuan which has come to our attention since the mid 1930s is the non-traditional Chinese approach which bases its criticism on the Western theory of drama. This begins with Ch'ien Chung-shu whose article, "Tragedy in Old Chinese Drama,"(17) discusses Tou O Yuan along with Wu-t'ung yü 桐雨 written by Pai P'u and Chi Chun-hsiang's Chao-shih ku-erh 趙氏孤儿.

Ch'ien first pointed out that in Tou O Yuan, the poetic justice in the Fourth Act, though very soothing to our outraged feelings, does not heighten the tragic event. He further reasons, "Tou O's character which is so noble and flawless, her death so pathetic and the wrong done to her so outrageous that the Fourth Act is imperatively called for to adjust the balance. In other words, the playwright is bound to end in poetic justice and not in tragedy."(18) Speaking of the tragic conflict which has been presented in the play, Ch'ien considers it a "purely outward one."

Guided strictly by the theory of Greek tragedy, Ch'ien
rules out *Tou O Yuan* as a tragedy. From the general statement which appears in Ch'ien's article, it is obvious that he has not scrutinized into the core of the play for the exploration of the complexities involved within the plot and characterization. It is undeniable that a glance at *Tou O Yuan* one is easily deceived by the simple plot and arrives at Ch'ien's conclusion.

Jerome Seaton in his dissertation written in 1968 reopens the question with some new evidence for defense. He observes that Kuan's tragic effects are deeply dependent on the author's creation of complex and believable characters. He steps down from the Greek theory of tragedy and bases on the Elizabethan theory of tragedy which is less remote to the Chinese on the discussion of *Tou O Yuan*.

The conflict which denied by Ch'ien Chung-shu is taken up for study by Seaton. He contrives that there is the conflict between Tou O's sense of being wronged and her desire to believe that her wrong must be righted, the struggle within her between defiance and acceptance of her fate; and in her struggle toward a faith in the benevolence of the natural order. Nowhere do we find in the play any traces of Tou O defying her fate. On the contrary, she helplessly accept her fate, "Could it not my fate that has to endure this endless
grief?" and moans over her suffering life. The conflict, however, lies in her sense of duty as a daughter-in-law and her love for her life. Kuan does not give emphasis on this dramatic action but from the words Tou O says in the court when she is beaten by the attendant, "Mother, this indeed is your own doing; who else can be blamed?", we notice the feelings against the situation and her acceptance of the sacrifice as she says, "Oh mother, if I do not die, how can I save your life?"

Seaton centers upon the characters of T'ien-chang, Tou O and her mother-in-law to approach the tragic mode of the play. Each character is treated with deep insight. Unlike Ch'ien, Seaton accepts Tou O as a whole woman and a complex character. He says, "Her sacrifice is the more appreciated when the reader knows that Tou O is not simply a religious fanatic of some sort, but rather an intelligent, sensitive, if somewhat hubristic person." It is also well observed by Seaton that Mrs. Ts'ai is both "self-reliant and humane".

However, when studying in the two widows together, Seaton tends to use his far-fetched imagination. While commenting on the violent rejection of the impropriety of Mrs. Ts'ai's action in accepting the elder Chang, he says, "There
is an element of simple jealousy in her vehement re-
proaches. To support his statement, Seaton quoted the
song in the tune of "Hou-t'ing hua":

On the "lucky morn" I'll grieve for you
In the wedding hall I'll sorrow for you
With a hairdo that is snowy and frosty
How could you wear the rose-cloud wedding headdress?
No wonder it is said it's hard to keep a woman home
You are almost sixty
And at your age all such thoughts should stop
Yet you can cast aside your old love
And become a bride again
You'll make others break their jaws with laughter
Break their jaws with laughter
You take greater pleasure than that grave fanning widow
You are no longer young and tender as bamboo shoot
Yet you trim and paint your eyebrows
For another love. (25)

Tou 0 is disgusted at the situation rather than jealous
of her mother-in-law. It is to remember that a Yüan play was
written to entertain, to instruct and occasionally for sati-
rical purposes. The playwright here obviously is trying to
discourage elderly women to remarry through Tou 0's words.
The lines do not, however, suggest that Tou 0's original re-
proach, the contrasting of the old lady's appearance to that
of a bride of a more "proper" age, one of the age of Tou 0
herself, mirrors the jealousy that is a strong component of
the motivation of Tou 0's reproach. (26)

Under the Communist regime on the scene after the late
1940s, literary criticism has been marred with the ideology
of the Communist party. The Communists view *Tou O Yuan* as a play that vividly reflects the ideas of the working class. Drama and theater had played a vital role during the years of the Sino-Japanese war. The "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Arts and Literature" delivered by Mao Tse-tung in 1942 has set the direction. A political directive for writers and artists in Communist China, the "Talks" demanded that art and literature 1) serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and 2) expose evil while extolling good. "In the fighting years, the drama played an active part with the people's forces at the front in mobilizing the people to support the resistance." In spite of the success of this kind of drama -- in terms of both effective propaganda and popular participation by the peasants, there is evidence that by the end of the 1940s, the masses were beginning to tire of the numerous and similar war plays. Previously, they had been accustomed to the rich subject matter of the traditional operas and plays which were, of course, part of the "feudal" past and, therefore, condemned by the Communists as containing evil elements of "feudal dregs." While there was the demand for the return to the classical repertory, the Communist Party ease the situation by advocating the idea to "Weed through the old to let the new emerge." This slogan became the dictum for reform in all literature and
art and was officially used to determine whether or not a play was of "benefit to audience today." (30) Realistically then the main criterion for selection of a play was the political or ideological one; but Communist writers also claimed that they stressed "the artist criteria," including those technical points of stagecraft which are useful. However, they admit that some ideas in traditional plays are relatively harmless and easy to modify.

_Tou O Yüan_ was one of the representative traditional plays that were accepted during the mid 1950s. Critics such as Wang Chi-ssu 王季思, Chao Ching-shen 趙景深, Tai Pu-fan 戴不凡, Hsü Wen-tou 徐文斗, Li Shu-ssu 李束思 and Chen Chih-hsien 陳志憲 all enthusiastically wrote articles in praise of the boldness of Tou O and vehemently attacked the social conditions of their time.

The Communists' view of _Tou O Yüan_ can be summed up on two levels. First, the attack on the usurious interest rate of Mrs. Ts'ai on her debtors, the corrupted judge, the injustice done to Tou O, and the ruffians taking advantage of the women. Second, Tou O has become a symbol of the Communist "struggle" ideology. Her protest against injustice symbolizes women's courage and strength.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR


2The seven other plays translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang are: Tan-tao hui 箇刀會, K'u Is'un-hsiao 哭孝子, Yü ching-t'ai 王鏡台, Ch'en-mu chiao-tzu 鍾母教子, Hsieh T'ien-hsiang 謝天香, Hu-tieh meng 蝴蝶夢, and Chiu feng-ch'eng 戲風塵.

3The Yangs base their translation on the Ku minq-chia 古名家 text. The title, if faithfully followed, should be Tou O Yuan instead of Liu-yueh hsüeh.

4Allusions such as ch'ü-an ch'i-mei 香案齊眉 and wu shih 望夫石 have not been adequately translated.


7Ibid., p. 425.

8Ibid., p. 426.

9Ibid., p. 427.

10Ibid., p. 428.

11Chung, Ssu-ch'eng 鍾嗣成 and Chia Chung-ming 賈仲名.


13 Ibid., p. 6275.

14 Ibid., p. 6277.

15 Ibid., p. 6278.

16 Ibid., p. 6279.


18 Ibid., p. 42.


20 Ibid., p. 159.

21 Yuan-ch'ü hsüan, p. 6280.

22 Ibid., p. 162.

23 Ibid., p. 159.

24 Ibid., p. 161.

25 Seaton has translated from the Ku ming-chia text.

26 A Critical Study..., p. 162.


CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The word "drama" is used in two ways: first, to describe a literary work, the text of a play; and second, to describe the performance. The acts of writing a play and of performing it are clearly distinct, as are the experiences of reading a play and of watching its performance, yet the word "drama" is equally correct when applied to either. For the Western drama and the modern Chinese hua-chü (spoken drama), drama as a literary form is a work intended for performance and, similarly, the great majority of performances are of literary works. In so far as the traditional Chinese drama is concern, with the Ming and Ch'ing periods as exceptions, the writing of a play was never considered an act of literary effort. The scripts were ever free from academic criticisms.

Playwrights in the Yüan period were sheltered in the shu-hui (playwrights' guild) for writing plays. The shu-hui served an important function by bringing writers and actors together. Its purpose is the performance. The scanty information provided in Lu-kuei pu serves as an evidence that the playwrights were not in a prestigious position and

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their words and deeds were not seriously recorded.

The interest which Chu Ch'üan and Chu Yu-tun showed in the northern tsa-chü exerted a tremendous influence on the nobles and the literati in playwriting. The plays written during this period were both for performance and literary exhibition, and the playwrights were conscious of their fame and name in playwriting. However, the span of life of drama did not last long in the hands of the literati. During the Ch'ing dynasty, the rules for writing chü became too rigid and too ornate that drama was no longer suitable for performance. Moreover, with the new cultural movement in the early 20th century, advocating the use of colloquial language and with the influence of Western literature, the classical drama was overshadowed by the newly founded hua-chü. The enthusiastic spirit in writing classical plays by the literati came to a halt.

The survival and continuity of the classical drama depends on the wandering troupes which give life to many types of the regional drama. Ch'i Ju-shan 松山 has conceived that most of the plays in the late Ch'ing and the early Republic times were composed by the play-makers with some help from the lettered. (1) No one has claimed authorship is evidenced by the fact that most plays in the collections are anonymous.
Very often in the regional opera that the director himself is the playwright. His only concern is the performance and the public interest. The vanity of gaining a name through play-writing never occurs in his mind. Perhaps he does not even recognize himself as a playwright. Perhaps there is the inferiority complex in him that the wandering troupe is not sophisticated, professional organization. Those involved are mostly without a good educational background. The stories of the plays are mostly inherited or borrowed. There should not be any claim of originality or creativity. Such an attitude may help explain why most of the plays written in this category are without the author's name.

The audience of the folk-theater is indifferent to the authorship of the play. Unlike the Western drama and the hua-chü, the attraction of a play very often comes from the fame of the playwright, or a successfully written play can earn eternal fame for the writer. During the Yüan dynasty, the tsa-chü was attractive not only to the lower orders of the populace, soldiers and rustics but also to the Mongol rulers. Nowhere in the records is there a mention of the popularity of a particular playwright. The tsa-chü favored by the Ming aristocrats, changed the attitude of many scholars toward drama. As a result, these scholars in turn tried their skills
in writing ch'uan-ch'ī which prevailed during the Ming period. The popularity of the ch'uan-ch'ī survived on two levels: one of the literati, the nobles and the wealthy families, and the other of the populace. Criticism of classical drama emerged for the first time in the literary history. Critics and audience became increasingly sensitive not only to the performance as entertainment but also to the play itself as dramatic literature, although the emphasis was not so much on the dramatic elements as on the literary value. (3)

Since the early 20th century when the Peking opera was recognized as the national classical drama, new concepts crept into the folk-theaters which exerted a strong impact on many of the other types of regional drama. With the decline of K'un-ch'ū, the Peking opera dived in to meet the literati's taste as a form of entertainment. That the Peking opera is the national drama, representing the essence of Chinese culture, has created much chauvinistic interest and concern by the public. However, the applause for the Peking opera are centered more on the skills of the performance than on the play itself. Such is also true of other forms of regional drama.

Although the audience of the Peking opera consists of the scholar-gentry as well as the populace, this dramatic
form however, still not recognized by the literary world. The literati who watch the performance treat it as an entertainment without any literary value. Other forms of regional drama draw their audiences mostly from the same region, the common people who go to the performance with the purposes of worshipping god, celebrating a festival and enjoying an entertainment. They are far from the scholar class. Obviously, the sense of relating the performance to literary drama does not exist.

Except for Chin-so chi of the Ming period which serves a dual purpose of dramatic performance and literary exhibition, the evolution of the story of Tou O has revealed one fact that each version of the script was written for performing purposes. From the three versions of Tou O Yuan as seen in Yuan-ch'ü hsüan, Ku ming-chia tsa-chü and Lo-chiang chi the selected episodes in the collections of Na-shu ying, Chi-ch'eng ch'ü-p'u, Chui pai-ch'iu and Tsui i-ch'ing and the scripts of the Peking opera, the Cantonese opera and the Taiwanese opera, we note the following features:

1. The folk-theater is free from the concepts of the time and place of the story. It says in Ching-hsi k'ao, the story of Tou O has originated from the filial woman of Tung-hai in the Han dynasty. In the Cantonese version, T'ang ti-
sheng claims that is is a historical play but he neglects mentioning the period of time. The ko-tsai hsi playwright believes that this is a story of the Ming period.

2. The facts provided in the story very often do not agree with the time given. It is said in the Ching-hsi ta-kuan, "During the Han dynasty, there was a filial woman of Tung-hai whose name was Tou O ..." In Han shu, the story of the filial woman of Tung-hai was not given any name. There is another example in this same version. When Tou O is about to be executed, she cries, "Instantly, the cannon goes off and I shall be blown into pieces." The background of the story is Han dynasty. However, modern scientific invention is being drawn into the play which is not uncommon in the regional dramas.

3. Contradictory situations are often found in the regional drama. At the beginning of the Cantonese version, one gets the impression that the Ts'ais are of a wealthy family. However, when the news of the death of Ch'ang-tsung comes to Mrs. Ts'ai, she declares to commit suicide. Her reason is that there would not be enough to live by if both she and the daughter-in-law exist together. When Tou O is in prison, the guard asked Mrs. Ts'ai for tips and the latter cries, "I have lost all my wealth, please have some mercy on me."(4)
There is, however, nowhere in the play are we informed of the Ts'ai being stripped off their wealth. This kind of incongruity is typical of the regional drama.

4. The actions of the character are not agreeable with his status. In the Ku ming-chia version of the Tou O Yuan, T'ien-chang falls on his knees to thank Mrs. Ts'ai for her kindness. According to Cheng Ch'ien, a scholar would not show his humbleness in such extremity to a common old woman. Cheng views it from the scholar's point of view. As in the regional drama, this is a common practice. Therefore, the actions of the dramatis personae very often do not agree with their social positions. To have the mother-in-law comb Tou O's hair is all beyond Mrs. Ts'ai's dignity. However, the regional drama accepts it as a gesture of passion of Mrs. Ts'ai to her daughter-in-law.

5. The direct borrowing of the story, the episodes, the verses or certain expressions from one another is never condemned by the regional drama. The Peking opera versions boldly borrows the dialogue and verses from its predecessor, the Chin-so chi. The same songs and dialogue appearing in both the Cantonese and the Taiwanese versions reveal the fact that they may be based on the same version, which is a mixture of the Yuan version, the Ming version and the Peking
opera version. As long as the framework of the story is there, the viewers do not seem to care too much about the details of the story, nor do they care for the dramatic situations, actions or information which affect the logical sense of the play. The audience of the regional drama is more interested in how the play is performed than what it performs.

6. In the regional drama, the dialect and the local expressions add characteristics to its original. For a Chinese who does not speak the dialect would not have difficulties understanding the advancement of the plot. The language of the regional drama is crude and at times vulgar. It is not uncommon that quotations, allusions or some literary expressions are found misused. The sentence structure differs from one region to another. The local features of the oral tradition such as homonyms, synonyms, interrogatives and exclamations burden the play.

Comparing all the versions of the story of Tou Q, Yeh's Chin-so chi is considered best qualified as a dramatic work. The popularity of Kuan's Tou Q Yuan lies more in its literary values than in its dramatic achievements. Other versions are typical of the folk art -- too loosely constructed to meet the form of literary drama.

The 33 scenes of Yeh's version are well knitted. Yeh
threads all the episodes with such great skill that each scene becomes inseparable from the other and yet it is complete in itself. The "exposition, rising, action and resolution" pattern he employs is well presented. Yeh skillfully builds up a high degree of complexity and a good amount of detail for the construction of his play.

None of the regional opera is like the ch'uan-chi which has applied the techniques of contrast, surprise, suspense and irony so skillfully for dramatic effects. Yeh has provided his readers and audience with the complication of dramatic situations, contrast of dramatic personae and actions for excitement. The unanticipated intervention of the supernatural force to tie up the plot presents a world in which there is always fortuity. Yeh intelligently grasps this to capture the interest of his audience.

Within the 33 acts, there are the episodes such as "Chiu-p'ing (The Acceptance)," "Yeh-shih (Visiting the Tutor)". They are part of a cause to the development of the plot but they are in unity to the play as a whole. There is also the heavy use of foreshadowing in Yeh's play. Obvious hints of what will happen are given at the beginning of an episode, but very often the twists that emerge obscure the foreshadowing and thus create a great deal of suspense.
In general, Chin-so chi by Yeh Hsien tsu is more conscious of the consistency of action and characterization and the unity of the play as a whole.

To evaluate the folk art through the standards of the literati or to force the dramatic theory of the literati onto the natural development of the regional drama is unfair.

As the appreciation of the dramatic art belongs to all classes of the society, its value varies from one class to another.

It is evident that without the efforts of the folk theater, there can be no perpetuation in Chinese classical drama. However profitable it would be if we could trace the successive stages of the evolution of the folk-play into the poetic drama, we are foiled in the attempt by the scantiness of records the folk-theater has preserved. Having served its purpose, the folk-play passed out of men's memories, save for a few casual allusions here and there to be collected laboriously by the enthusiasts of drama.

Little is known of the performance of the classical drama prior to the Ch'ing period. Scripts of the regional drama that can be collected today are sparse considering the great popularity and the repertory of the folk-theater existing.\(^{(5)}\) Possible method to understand the unliterary drama of the past is to get familiar with the unliterary
drama of the present — with the crude melodrama of the cheap theaters, with the vigorous and violent farce of the variety shows, with the song and dance of the so-called vaudeville, and even with the performance of the critics of the circus clowns.

For political purposes, the Communists in the Chinese Mainland have advocated the return to the peasants, to the common people. The folk-theater is one of the art form which the Communists have praised. The collecting of local plays thus became one of the biggest projects in the 1950s. As a result, the bulk of dramatic materials has been increased as a political by-product. This effort of collecting plays involved a great deal of field work. The Communists have successfully achieved this purpose and have made a great contribution to the preservation of the regional drama.

The greatest work which the Communists have achieved during the 1950s was the 20-volume collection of regional plays edited by the Chung-kuo hsi-chü-chia hsieh-hui (The Chinese Dramatists' Society). All the volumes are entitled Chung-kuo ti-fang hsi-chü chi-ch'eng (A Collection of the Chinese Regional Plays). There are regional plays from Kiangsi, Canton, Shantung, Shanghai, Peking, Chekiang,
In order to obtain the scripts of local drama from each province, teams of scholars were sent out to collect from individual playwrights or from private collectors. For better and more efficient results, contests were held in each province for the best play performed. The Communists, however, did not care to keep the originality of the plays. Most of them were revised and edited to suit the doctrination of the political party.
NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1 Ch'i Ju-shan 齊如山, Ch'i Ju-shan ch'üan-chi 齊如山全集, Taiwan: Ch'i Ju-shan hsien-shen i-chu pien-yin wei-yüan hui 齊如山先生遺著編印委員會, 1964, vol. 5, p. 78.


7 Ibid., p. 13.
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