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The Authorship of the Fêng Shên Yen I

(Abstract)

Liu Tsun-Yan

The Fêng Shên Yen I is a novel written by an unknown writer in the later part of the 16th century(Ming dynasty). No modern scholar specializing in the history of Chinese literature, was able to identify the author of this novel. Quite recently a certain edition(Shu Tsai-yang's 舒載陽) printed in the Ming dynasty was found by Prof. Sun K'ai-ti(孫楷第) who discovered that the name of the author appears at the beginning of his 2nd vol. which reads "edited by Hsü Chung-lin(許仲琳), the Old Hermit of Chung-shan(鍾山逸史)". But most of other scholars, including Dr. Hu Shih(胡適), Dr. Tung Kang(董康) and myself, doubted this very much, and in 1935, we discovered from other sources that this novel was compiled by a Taoist Lu Hsi-hsing(陸西星) in the reign of the Emperor Shih-tsung(世宗, Chia-ching 嘉靖) of the Ming dynasty. Yet the evidences given are again [illegible] because we knew only a little of the life of this author.

I discovered later [illegible] Ming edition of the work of one of Lu Hsi-hsing's contemporaries, Hsü Ch'ên(徐震), and from it I have found out that there might be a counterpart to Lu Hsi-hsing in the novel who is named Lu Ya(陸壓), the wonderful Taoist. Investigating again into other historical and geographical materials I can compose a vague but true biography of Lu, and by examining most of the poems in the novel I find they resemble to a great extent the life of its author. The discovery of Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua(武王伐紂平話) and Chüan 1 of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan(列國志傳) in Japan serves to prove that Lu's novel was written based upon the earlier storytellers' work, but he wrote it in a different style, and enriched very much the content. From the comparison made between the earlier materials and the novel, I have found that Lu added something to its content which again proves that only Lu would be qualified to do so.

In my thesis I shall give detailed evidence about this discovery, illustrating which parts are the earlier scholars' or other contemporaries' work, and which parts are, my own contribution.

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6/7/59

The Authorship of the Pêng Shên Yen I

Lin Tsun-Yan

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The Fêng Shên Yen I is a novel written by an unknown writer in the later part of the 16th century(Ming dynasty). No modern scholar specializing in the history of Chinese literature, was able to identify the author of this novel. Quite recently a certain edition(Shu Tsai-yang's 舒載陽) printed in the Ming dynasty was found by Prof. Sun K'ai-ti(孫楷第) who discovered that the name of the author appears at the beginning of his 2nd vol. which reads "edited by Hsü Chung-lin(許仲琳), the Old Hermit of Chung-shan(鍾山逸叟)". But most of other scholars, including Dr. Hu Shih(胡適), Dr. Tung Kang(董康) and myself, doubted this very much, and in 1935, we discovered from other sources that this novel was compiled by a Taoist Lu Hsi-hsing(陸西星) in the reign of the Emperor Shih-tsung(世宗, Chia-ching 嘉靖) of the Ming dynasty. Yet the evidences given are again not enough because we knew only a little of the life of this author.

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In my thesis I shall give detailed evidence about this discovery, illustrating which parts are the earlier scholars' or other contemporaries' work, and which parts are, my own contribution.

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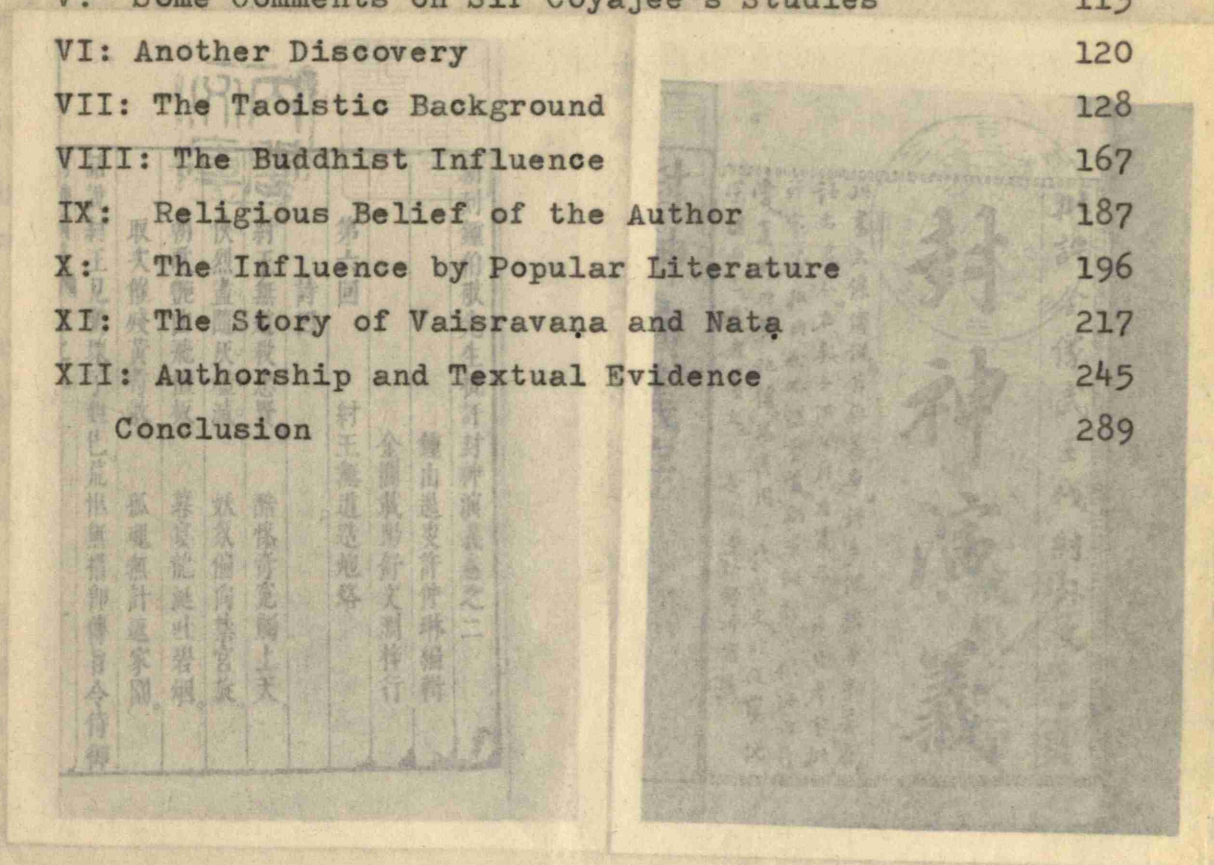
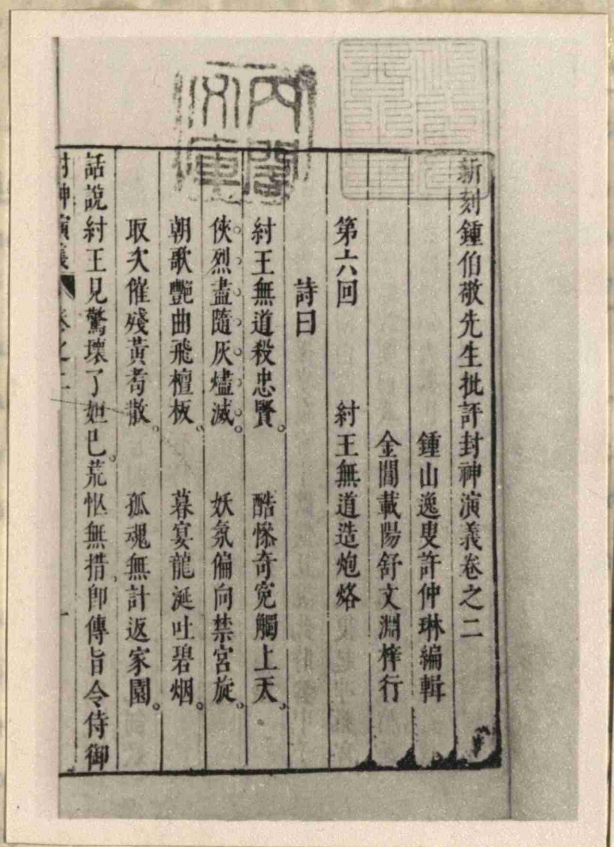


Shu Tsai-yang's edition of Fêng Shên Yen I

Japanese Cabinet Library, Tokyo



新刻鍾伯敬先生批評封神演義卷之二

鍾山逸叟許仲琳編輯

金閶載陽舒文淵梓行

第六回　紂王無道造炮烙

詩曰

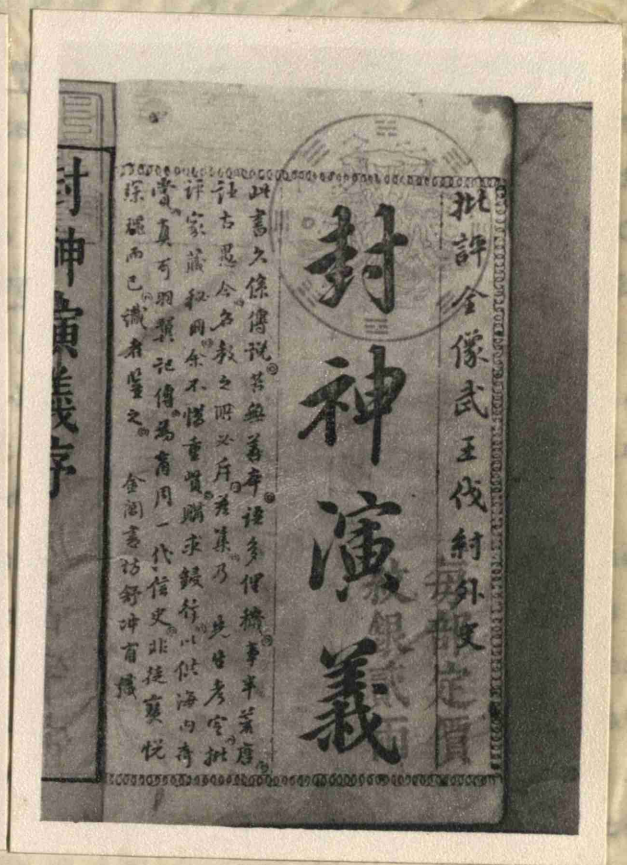
紂王無道殺忠賢。　酷慘奇冤觸上天。

俠烈盡隨灰燼滅。　妖氛偏向禁宮旋。

朝歌艷曲飛檀板。　暮宴龍涎吐碧烟。

取次催殘黃耇散。　孤魂無計返家園。

話說紂王見驚壞了妲己。荒怯無措。即傳旨令侍御



批評全像武王伐紂外史

封神演義

封神演義序

Shu Tsai-yang's edition of Fêng Shên Yen I

Japanese Cabinet Library, Tokyo

I

The identity of the author of the hundred-chapter edition of the novel Fêng Shên Yen I (封神演義 or the "Tale of the Investiture of the Gods"[1]) has hitherto been ambiguous, a subject about which I expressed my doubts some twenty years ago.[2] Thanks to Prof. Sun Kai-ti's(孫楷第) efforts[3] three early editions have been found; these are:

(A) "A Newly Carved Fêng Shên Yen I" with Mr. Chung Po-ching's (鍾伯敬 or Chung Hsing鍾惺) comments, one hundred chapters in twenty Chüan(卷), subtitled: "A Critical, Pictorical, External History of the Expedition of King Wu(武王) of the Chou Dynasty(周) against King Chou (紂王) of the Shang Dynasty(商); Fêng Shên Yen I", published by Shu Tsai-yang, alias Shu Wên-yüan(舒載陽, 文淵) of Soochow, during the Ming dynasty, with a preface by Li Yün-hsiang, alias Li Wei-lin(李雲翔, 爲霖). The only extant copy is at present preserved in the Japanese Cabinet Library (Naikako Bunko, Tokyo 日本內閣文庫.)

(B) Fêng Shên Yen I, hundred chapters in eight Chüan, published also in the Ming dynasty, with a preface by Chou Chih-piao, alias Chou Chün-chien(周之標, 君建). Prof. Sun had not seen the original, but had seen a copy reprinted from the original by the courtesy of the late Prof. Ma Yü-ch'ing(馬隅卿 or Ma Lien馬廉). It is learnt that the same copy went to the Library of the National University of Peking after Prof. Ma's death in 1934.

(C) "Four Snow Cottage(Szŭ Hsüeh Ts'ao T'ang 四雪草堂) Revised Edition" of Fêng Shên Yen I in one hundred chapters. It was published by Ch'u Jên-hu, alias Ch'u Hsüeh-chia(褚人穫, 學稼) during the early Ch'ing dynasty, inscribed "the original copy of Mr. Chung Po-ching" and "Four Snow Cottage's Revision", with a preface by Mr. Ch'u himself written in the thirty-fourth year in the reign of the Emperor Shêng-tsu(聖祖, K'ang-hsi康熙, 1695 A.D.). The same copy is now in the keeping of the National Peking Library and was later used for many lithographed editions.

In comparing these early editions, we find that only Shu Tsai-yang's edition mentions the name of the author. At the beginning of his second

(1) I use M. Henri Maspero's transl. of this title, see "Asiatic Mythology", P.307, George G. Harrap, 1932.

(2) The author discussed this problem with Prof. Fan Yen-ch'iao(范烟橋) of the Soochow University in Shên Pao(申報), Jan.-Feb., 1935.

(3) Prof. Sun's Chung Kuo T'ung Su Hsiao Shuo Shu Mu(中國通俗小說書目 "Bibliography of the Chinese Popular Fiction"), Ming and Ch'ing dynasties 2, The Transcendent(Ling Kuai靈怪類), Chung Kuo Ta Tz'ŭ Tien Pien Tsuan Ch'u(中國大辭典編纂處), Peiping, 1932.

Chüan is inscribed: "Edited by Hsü Chung-lin(許仲琳), the Old Hermit of Chung-shan(Chung-shan I Sou 鍾山逸叟), otherwise the editions do not differ greatly from each other. Hsü Chung-lin was probably a native of Ying-t'ien Fu(應天府, Nanking) since he styled himself the hermit of the Chung-shan Hill of Nanking; apart from this solitary reference he is completely unknown.(4) In the memoirs of several Ch'ing scholars there are speculations on the identity of the author, but no conclusion is reached apart from stating that he was a famous Ming scholar who remains nameless. From the story they made deductions on the author's private life as well as his reasons for writing the novel and quoted the traditional opinion that it was written to provide a dowry for his daughter.(5) Their interpretations of places in which the story corresponds to some ancient records varied, and have been exhaustively collected by Chiang Jui-tsao(蔣瑞藻)(6) without, however, shedding any light on the identity of the author.

Prof. Fan Yen-chiao(范烟橋) and I have discussed this problem on one or two occasions(cf. note 2). Later, Mr. Chang Hen-shui(張恨水), the popular novelist, gave his opinion that "the novel-in-chapters(Chang Hui Hsiao Shuo 章回小說) has been handed down from earlier dynasties and such novels as the 'Water Margin'(Shui Hu Chuan 水滸傳), 'The Three Kingdoms'(San Kuo Chih Yen I 三國志演義), 'The Westward Pilgrimage'(Hsi Yu Chi 西遊記) have suffered many modifications. The Fêng Shên Yen I comes into this category, and has changed as the others have."(7) Sinologues of to-day all recognize that the story of the Fêng Shên Yen I originates from the earlier Hua-pên(話本) "King Wu's Expedition against Chou" (Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua 武王伐紂平話).

Regarding the authorship of Fêng Shên Yen I, Mr. Chang agreed with my suspicions, but could not explain the reason why it was inscribed as having been "edited by Hsü Chung-lin." Regarding the author, Mr. Chang said, "It is not sure that Hsü Chung-lin was the author but I think that as Chin Shêng-t'an(金聖歎) edited the 71 chapters of the 'Water Margin', Hsü might well have re-edited Fêng Shên. It is true as Mr. Liu Tsun-yan reminds us that Hsü's name does not appear in the first Chüan but only in the second, yet on my part I find it difficult to give any explana-

(4) Some scholars have taken this evidence as conclusive and added Hsü's name to this book. See Lu Hsün's(魯迅) Chung Kuo Hsiao Shuo Shih Lüeh(中國小說史畧), P.176; also Prof. Joseph Needham: "Science and Civilisation in China", Vol. 1, P.165, Cambridge, 1954.

(5) See Liang Chang-chü's(梁章鉅) Lang Chi Hsü T'an(浪跡續談), Chüan 6 and his Kuei T'ien So Chi(歸田瑣記), Chüan 7.

(6) Hsiao Shuo K'ao Chêng(小說考證), PP. 223-28; 1935 revised ed., The Commercial Press, Shanghai.

(7) Mr. Chang's letter in Shên Pao, 13th Feb. 1935, addressed to Prof. Fan Yen-ch'iao and myself.

tion."

But the most interesting part of Mr. Chang's opinion, I believe, is what is quoted below:

"Some characters in this Fêng Shên Yen I, such as No-cha(哪吒), Yang Chien(楊戩), the Taoist, Tz'ŭ Hang(Tz'ŭ Hang Tao Jên慈航道人 or Goddess of Mercy) etc., appear also in the 'Westward Pilgrimage'(Hsi Yu Chi). It seems that these two novels, besides their different sources , have been developed from a single origin and are the offshoot of a certain story-book. I learn from the notes of scholars of the Ming dynasty that there are some song books of the 'Westward Pilgrimage'(which are unobtainable to-day), and I believe there must have been many obsolete fairy-tales of the Ming dynasty which are no longer extant, the contents of which might justify my hypothesis."

Though Mr. Chang's article has little to do with the problem of Fêng Shên Yen I's authorship, it is remarkable that he seems not to take this book as the work of a single person, but puts it in the same class as the 'Water Margin' and the 'Westward Pilgrimage', believing that it has undergone a series of changes before assuming its present form, and that during this evolution there must have been many story-books(Hua-pên話本) or song-books of the tale which are, perhaps, lost to us forever. The example of No-cha, who appeared both in the 'Westward Pilgrimage' and the Fêng Shên, might be cited as a reasonable proof. Mr. Chang also mentioned "King Wu's Expedition against Chou" as one of the probable sources of Fêng Shên Yen I, yet since the former has been reproduced photolithographically in Japan,(8) most readers are of the opinion that the doubts raised by the problems of No-cha etc. cannot be easily dispelled following the recovery of this work.

In the anecdotes or sketch-books(Pi Chi筆記) written by scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty, there are many references to Fêng Shên Yen I, but the help these scholars give us in our study is slight. For they had merely glanced over this novel uncritically and explained that some ancient books such as some chapters of the "Book of History"(Shang Shu尚書), the "Six Chapters of Strategy"(Liu T'ao六韜), "Yin Mou"(陰謀) had influenced the writing of this novel considerably,(9) but it is obvious that

(8) A popular edition of Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua(武王伐紂平話) has been published by the Chung Kuo Ku Tien Wên Hsüeh Ch'u Pan Shê(中國古典文學出版社), Shanghai, 1955.

(9) cf. (6); see also Lu Hsün's Hsiao Shuo Chiu Wên Ch'ao(小說舊聞抄), PP.85-6, Peking, 1952.

if no sources or influences can be found, we may, of course, undoubtedly be proud as being a magnificent feat in our literature. In 1934, when I compiled my book "A History of Chinese Literature",(10) when referring to this novel, I could only adopt the traditional explanation by saying that "the author is anonymous, but may well have been a famous scholar of the Ming dynasty. Most of the matter dealing with transcendent beings and monsters is purely imaginary."(11)

Gradually, my belief that "most of the matter dealing with transcendent beings and monsters is purely imaginary" became shaken and my doubts, when analysed, can be stated as follows:

(1) If my suspicion were true, many parts in the Fêng Shên Yen I which are supposed to be "imaginary" must have originated from earlier sources. Stories such as the birth of No-cha and the relation between him and his father, Li Ching(李靖), and the soul and body of No-cha were incarnated from the lotus, must have come from some religious background even if they were subsequently elaborated. Yü Yüeh(俞樾 or Yü Ch'ü-yüan俞曲園) suspected No-cha comes from Buddhist sources in his Hsiao Fou Mei Hsien Hua(小浮梅閒話)(12) in the end of Ch'ing dynasty, though in his preface to Fêng Shên dated 1695 Ch'u Jen-hu objected to the description of No-cha as "eccentric and absurd". Probably scholars who are acquainted with Buddhism in China, and have read the voluminous Buddhist texts in "The Tripitaka in Chinese"(Ta Tsang Ching大藏經)would possess sufficient knowledge to pursue the topic further.

(2) Not, it is possible, that some earlier edition of song and story books may come to light which may provide some evidence to prove my hypothesis. The important point is that very few Ming scholars,(granting that this book was edited in the Ming dynasty), who were devoted Confucians and yet possessed proficient interest in Buddhism, were at the same time familiar with the popular literature of their time, and this

none of these classics hint at the origins of our heroes. Therefore, most of the admirers of Fêng Shên Yen I, realising that no trace can be found of the sources of those impressive characters, cannot but attribute the great success of their invention entirely to the fertile imagination of our author or authors. Of such a remarkable imagination, if no sources or influences can be found, we may, of course, undoubtedly be proud as being a magnificent feat in our literature. In 1934, when I compiled my book "A History of Chinese Literature",(10) when referring to this novel, I could only adopt the traditional explanation by saying that "the author is anonymous, but may well have been a famous scholar of the Ming dynasty. Most of the matter dealing with transcendent beings and monsters is purely imaginary."(11)

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(10) Chung Kuo Wên Hsüeh Shih Fa Fan(中國文學史發凡), published by Wên I Book Company(文怡書局), Soochow, 1935.

(11) op. cit., P.419.

(12) Yü Yin Fu So Chu Shu(俞蔭甫所著書), Ch'ü Yüan Tsa Tsuan(曲園雜纂), 38, edition 1889.

author would be only a problem of the identity of its compiler or reviser. If we do not have enough editions of Fêng Shên to work on, we cannot trace where it has been revised or supplemented by collating the different editions. Hence the discovery of a new edition, or an intermediate work, or the comparison of different lines of text from the editions now existing would serve our purpose.

(4) Yet the authenticity of Hsü Chung-lin, the Old Hermit of Chung-shan, as the author of Fêng Shên Yen I is still very doubtful. Traditionally Chinese scholars are unconvinced by a single piece of evidence and more evidence must be forthcoming before they are prepared to subscribe to this view.

being the case the work of Fêng Shên was very probably a collection of popular materials which could easily be gathered from such song and story books.

(3) If the above suggestions are correct, the problem of the identity of its author would be only a problem of the identity of its compiler or reviser. If we do not have enough editions of Fêng Shên to work on, we cannot trace where it has been revised or supplemented by collating the different editions. Hence the discovery of a new edition, or an intermediate work, or the comparison of different lines of text from the editions now existing would serve our purpose.

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II

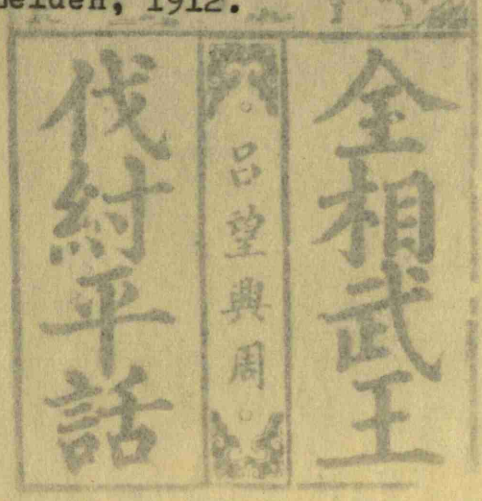
Before we come to study closely Shu Tsai-yang's edition of Fêng Shên Yen I in which only Hsü Chung-lin's name appears, it is interesting for general readers to know something more about "King Wu's Expedition against Chou"(Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua), the original copy of which is from an edition dated Chih-chih(至治) of Emperor Ying-tsung (英宗 1321-23 A.D.) of the Mongol Yüan dynasty. It was published in Chien-an(建安, now Chien-yang建陽of Fukien province), then a very famous paper-manufacturing and publishing centre, and not less than five different stories of P'ing-hua or Hua-pên of the same sort, historical and fictional, including the Wu Wang Fa Chou have been found, now kept in the Japanese Cabinet Library, bearing the same subtitle as "published by Yu's of Chien-an"(建安虞氏新刊).(13) They are a kind of story-tellers' manuscript, only roughly and not necessarily well done, and therefore the very original shape of our story, the story of "King Wu's Expedition against Chou", can be detected. As we do not yet have an English translation of Fêng Shên Yen I, except several paragraphs of abridged narratives in Mr. Werner's work,(14) and the German translation limited to the first 46 chapters with a summary of the rest is somewhat incomplete,(15) I venture to give an English translation of the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua in the book, not only because its length is suitable for inclusion in such a study, but also because of its important nature. Without a careful study of this book we can hardly trace and follow the evolution of the story-book Fêng Shên, and would never be able to find out the important changes which the hitherto uncertain author or authors added in its later stages as the editions of the hundred chapters of Fêng Shên show us.

The Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua is divided into 3 Chüan. In each Chüan, different topics are marked on the top of related pages together with illustrations. The front page and the first two pages are illustrated below. In order to make clear to our readers, the topics in each Chüan are given before the texts as follows:

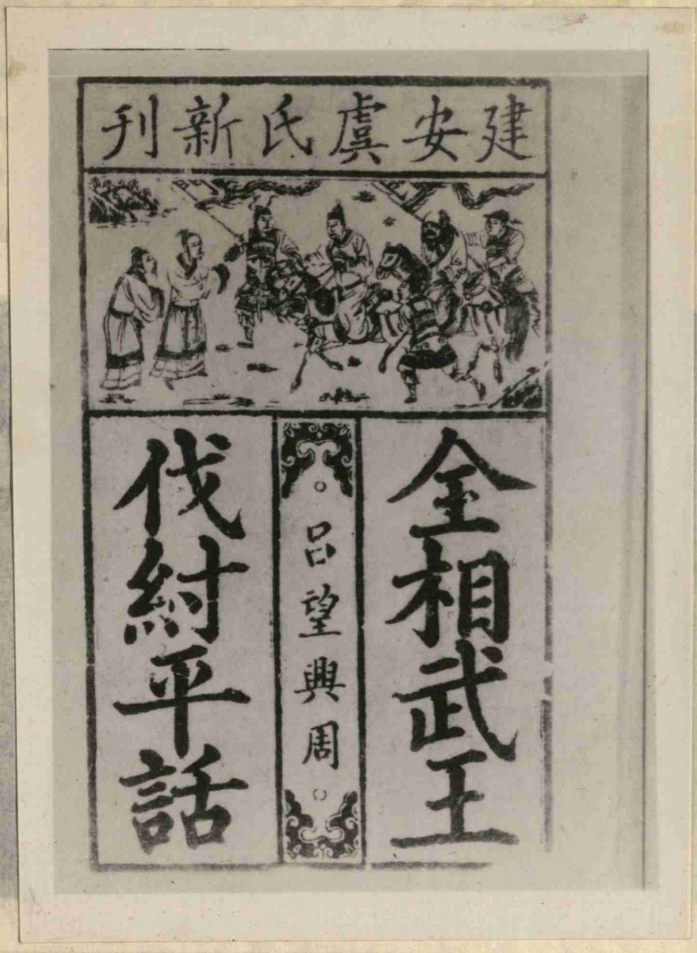
(13) These are the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua; the later vol.(Hou-chi 後集) of the Ch'i Kuo Chun Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話); the Ch'in Ping Liu Kuo P'ing-hua(秦併六國平話); the second vol.(Hsü-chi 續集) of the Ch'ien Han Shu P'ing-hua(前漢書平話) and the San Kuo Chih P'ing-hua (三國志平話). Besides the photolithographic editions reprinted in Japan, we have now also popular editions of them; cf.(8). For the general nature of Hua-pên, cf. Cyril Birch: "Some Formal Characteristics of the Hua-pên Story, Bulletin, S.O.A.S., London, Vol.XVII, Pt. 2, 1955.

(14) E.T.C.Werner: "Myths & Legends of China", George & Harrap, 1934.

(15) W. Grube: (tr.) "Die Metamorphosen der Götter"(Fêng Shên Yen I), 2 vols, Brill, Leiden, 1912.



Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua (ed. c. 1321A.D.)

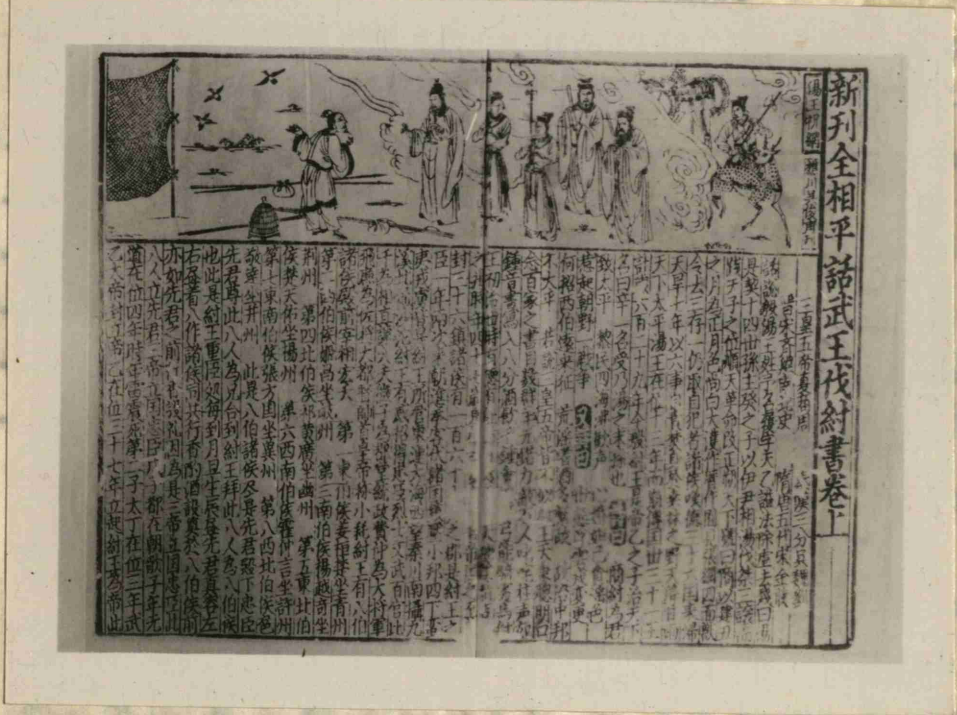


Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua Chüan I

Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua (ed. c. 1321A.D.)

Chüan I

1. King T'ang(湯王) sets up net.
2. King Chou(紂王) dreams of Jade-maiden(玉女) giving tape.
3. Nine-tailed fox changes soul of Ta-chi(妲己).
4. King Chou betroths Ta-chi.
5. Precious sword frightens Ta-chi.
6. King Wen(文王) meets Son of Thunder-shock(Lui Chên Tzŭ 雷震子).
7. Eight Earls build towers and castles.
8. [illegible] ing Chou.
9. [illegible] -chi.
10. [illegible] cking Building(摘星樓).
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible] tumbler.
14. [illegible] ution square.
15. [illegible] Chou"(破紂斧) from



1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. King Wen imprisoned in Yu Li Town(羑里).
5. Western Earl is given his son's meat.
6. Western Earl vomits, son's meat changed to rabbit.
7. So[illegible] Ku's [illegible] thers.

Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua Chüan I

8. Huang Fei-hu(黃飛虎) gets wife's meat from King Chou.
9. Huang Fei-hu caught by T'ai Kung(太公 or Chiang Shang 姜尚, Chiang Tzŭ-ya 姜子牙).
10. T'ai Kung pursued by Fei Lien(飛廉) and Fei Méng(費重).
11. [illegible]-kan(比干) shoots nine-tailed fox.
12. [illegible]-kan's belly is cut up.
13. [illegible] T'ai(算卦) hair cut away.
14. [illegible] Kang deserts wife.

Chüan I

1. King T'ang(湯王) sets up net.
2. King Chou(紂王) dreams of Jade-Maiden(玉女) giving tape.
3. Nine-tailed fox changes soul of Ta-chi(妲己).
4. King Chou betroths Ta-chi.
5. Precious sword frightens Ta-chi.
6. King Wên(文王) meets Son of Thunder-shock(Lui Chên Tzŭ 雷震子).
7. Eight Earls build towers and castles.
8. Western Earl(Hsi Po西伯 or King Wên) admonishes King Chou.
9. Bracelets brought from Western Earl frighten Ta-chi.
10. Queen Chiang(姜皇后) being pushed from Star-Plucking Building(摘星樓).
11. Wine pool and serpent cauldron.
12. Burning iron and brass pillars.
13. Prince(Yin Chiao殷郊) strikes Ta-chi with gold tumbler.
14. Hu Sung(胡崇) saves Prince(Yin Chiao) from execution square.
15. Prince(Yin Chiao) gets "Axe for Defeating King Chou"(破紂斧) from god in dream.

Chüan II

1. Pregnant women being slaughtered.
2. King Chou splits shanks of his people.
3. Eagle attacks Ta-chi.
4. King Wên imprisoned in Yu Li Town(羑里).
5. Western Earl is given his son's meat.
6. Western Earl vomits, son's meat changed to rabbit.
7. Son of Thunder-shock defeats Ku's(鼓) brothers.
8. Huang Fei-hu(黃飛虎) gets wife's meat from King Chou.
9. Huang Fei-hu caught by T'ai Kung(太公 or Chiang Shang姜尚, Chiang Tzŭ-ya姜子牙).
10. T'ai Kung pursued by Fei Lien(飛廉) and Fei Mêng(費孟).
11. Pi-kan(比干) shoots nine-tailed fox.
12. Pi-kan's belly is cut up.
13. Chi Tzŭ's(箕子) hair cut away.
14. T'ai Kung deserts wife.

15. King Wên dreams of flying bear.

Chüan III

1. King Wên seeks recourse to T'ai Kung.
2. T'ai Kung away from hill.
3. King Wu(武王) appoints T'ai Kung as marshal.
4. Nan-kung Lieh(南宮列) kills Fei Ta(費達).
5. Li Lou(離婁) and Shih K'uang(師曠) fight Kao Hui(高毀) and Ch'i Hung(祁宏).
6. Po I(伯夷), Shu Ch'i(叔齊) admonish King Wu.
7. T'ai Kung burns Ching So Valley(荊索谷), defeats Wu Wên Hua(烏文畫).
8. T'ai Kung drowns five enemy generals.
9. T'ai Kung puts King Chou's army to rout.
10. The meeting of Eight Earls at Mêng Chin Ferry(孟津).
11. Fei Chung(費仲) is cooked.
12. King Wu orders King Chou and Ta-chi to be beheaded.

King Wu's Expedition against Chou

Chüan I

From the Three Emperors and Five Kings down to Hsia, Shang and Chou(夏商周),

The Ch'in(秦), Han(漢) and the Three Kingdoms Wu, Wei and Liu (吳魏劉),

The Chin(晉), the Sung(宋),[16] the Liang(梁), the North and South dynasties,

The Sui(隋), T'ang(唐), the Five Dynasties, the Sung(宋)[17] and Chin(金) complete.

It was said that King T'ang of Yin(殷湯王), whose name was Yü Lü(姓子名履), whose style T'ien-I(天乙), was the fourteenth generation grandson of Lord Hsieh(契). His father was Kuei(祭). He appointed I-Yin(伊尹) as his premier and banished Chieh(桀). Hence he was honoured posthumously with the title of T'ang which was given provided that cruelty was discarded. He enthroned himself only after he was thrice invited to the throne. And after a revolution, a nation was formed and was named Shang. Then King T'ang issued various orders: he selected a new New Year's Day in the Lunar calendar, adopted the white colour as an auspicious sign, built menagerie-parks, and order-

8(a)

(16) The Liu Sung(劉宋) from 420-478 A.D.

(17) The Chao Sung(趙宋) from 960-1126A.D.(North Sung) and 1127-1276 A.D.(South Sung) respectively.

ed that in laying a trap for animals three sides of the net must be lowered, leaving only one of its sides standing so as to allow the animals to buck into it of their free will. All feudal princes admired King T'ang and thirty-six states came to submit themselves. It happened that a draught lasted for seven years. King T'ang reproved himself for six things and burned himself in a wood of mulberry. Then followed a heavy downpour of rain and peace for all under heaven. King T'ang ruled his country for thirteen years before his demise. The duration of Shang was six hundred and twenty-nine years, in which thirty one rulers were enthroned. The last ruler was King Chou, the son of King I (帝乙), who was also named Hsin(辛) and Shou(受), was the last grandson of King T'ang. There was a poem:

King Chou of Shang came with peace,
Citizens within the four seas gave cheers,
Because of Ta-chi(妲己) he led a voluptuous life,
And a war was provoked.

Also another one:

There were many vicissitudes in the world,
Which caused the Western Earl to start an expedition,
State affairs were decided in orgies,
Therefore the state was not peaceful.

King Chou was a born genius and the other kings and rulers were not to be compared with him. He could recite old classics from hundreds of authors; count sheep without errors; was able to defend himself against ten thousand men; he had a big, bellowing voice; his handwriting followed the "Pa-fên"(八分) style;(18) he had the capacity to drink a thousand glasses of wine; and a good command of strong bows and he had also horses. From the time when King Chou first came to reign he was 47 and was a capable ruler.(19) He had a vast empire including 36 states and more than 160 counties. The feudal princes came to pay tribute to his court twice a year, and all the barbarous tribes were subdued. The domain he controlled extended eastward to the sea; westward to Ch'in Ch'uan(秦川); southward to Chiu Ch'i(九江); and northward to Sha T'o(沙丘).

King Chou was good enough to keep many loyal officials, civil as well as military, at his court. He appointed Pi-kan as his Premier and

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(18) A style which was devised in fact during the Han period. See Chiang Yee(蔣彝): "Chinese Calligraphy", P.42, Methuen, London, 1938.

(19) Some two or three sentences blurred here in the wooden block.

Chiang Huan-ch'u(姜桓楚), the first Eastern Earl, was designated to Ch'ing-chou(青州); Chi Ch'ang(姬昌), the second Western Earl, was designated to Ch'i-chou(岐州); Yang Yüeh-ch'i(楊越奇), the third Southern Earl, was designated to Ching-chou(荊州); Ch'i Yang-kuang(祁楊廣), the fourth Northern Earl, was designated to Yu-chou(幽州); Ch'u T'ien-yu(楚天佑), the fifth North-eastern Earl, was designated to Yang-chou(揚州); Huo Chung-yen(霍仲言), the sixth South-western Earl, was designated to Hsü-chou(許州); Chang Fang-kuo(張方國), the seventh South-eastern Earl, was designated to Chi-chou(冀州); and Hu Ching-ta(扈敬達), the eighth North-western Earl, was designated to Ping-chou(并州).

These Eight Earls were all loyal assistants of King Chou's predecessors. The late king honoured them as elder brothers, and King Chou respected them as earls(uncles). On his birthday King Chou would set up the portrait of his predecessor and on both sides of it were portraits of the Eight Earls. Then he would pour libations in front of them just as he did before the portrait of his predecessor. The reason for this rite was that these earls were loyal officials who had enthroned four kings including King Chou himself. There was a poem:

Kings were enthroned by these Eight Earls,
Loyal officials without depravity,
On birthdays and occasions of celebration
They came to prostrate before the most honoured.

The first ten years of King Chou's reign was a period of tranquility and peace. Therefore he was honoured by all as Yao(堯) and Shun(舜), the most exemplary rulers in ancient history.

It happened that one day Queen Chiang(姜皇后) invited King Chou to a party and she announced that she would go to the Jade-Maiden Temple to worship the Maiden next day, and ordered her attendants to bathe

Great Admonishing Minister; Wei Tzŭ(微子) as Court Adviser; Fei Chung (費仲) as Great Marshal; Fei Lien as First Military Governor.[20] He also had Eight Earls and the feudal princes and an Officer Administering the Court named Hung Yao(宏夭).

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(20) Under this sentence the original text follows with seven characters 帥首皇帝稱小耗 which are not translated. Hsiao Hao(小耗) is the Star of Lesser Squanderer, can be found both in the later part of this P'ing-hua and in the Chapter 99 of Fêng Shên Yen I, but they are represented by different persons.

On the next day King Chou issued a decree, ordering all ministers in the palace to go to the Jade-Maiden Temple with them. The procession arrived at the Temple and King Chou and Queen Chiang entered. During the ceremony, King Chou noticed the image of the damsel of unique beauty and meditated, "There is no one in my palace who resembles this Jade-Maiden."

King Chou did not return to his palace, but stayed in the temple for three days, gazing at the damsel. He said to the girl, "Your beauty is seldom equalled in this world." The temple was illuminated. King Chou sat drinking face to face with the Maiden. She could not speak because she was made of clay. Then he summoned Fei Chung and asked, "The Maiden is of clay, how can I make her talk?" Fei Chung replied, "Your Majesty should stay in the temple alone and send away all your ministers."(22) King Chou followed this advice.

It was mid-night. King Chou found himself alone in the temple. He saw the Jade-Maiden carried by a group of attendants to the hall. He was very pleased and gave her welcome. The Maiden said, "What are you doing, my Lord, staying here all through the night?" The King said, "On account of the arrival of the Queen at the temple, and of your peerless beauty, I sincerely wish to meet you." The Maiden replied, "I am a daughter of the fairies, and Your Majesty is the king of mankind. How can we love each other? There is an old saying: 'Fairies take no wives and Maidens have no husbands.' My Lord, please go quickly lest we be reprimanded." "How?" the King asked. The Maiden was forced to answer, "After a hundred days, I will see my Lord, but please go away." "What is the pledge?" demanded the King. The Maiden gave him a piece of tape, saying that that was the pledge. The King received it. Suddenly he smelled something fragrant; heard the jingling of some bracelets; and perceived a colourful mist

before the tour began. King Chou heard this and asked the Queen where she was going. The Queen replied: "I will go to the Jade-Maiden Temple. The Maiden is an immaculate virgin and now she becomes a goddess. Whenever the first and the fifteenth day of the month come, I go to her to fulfil my wish." King Chou said: "Why should I not go, too?" (21)

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(21) In Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.1, "King Chou Burns Incense at the Nü Kua's(女媧) Temple" is undoubtedly derived from here, but the Jade-Maiden is changed to Nü Kua. Nü Kua, one of the ancient emperors of the prehistorical period, is dipicted with a human head and snake's body in the Chinese history. But since the Han dynasty, his sex has been changed to female, as in Wang Ch'ung's(王充) Lun Hêng(論衡), Shun Ku(順鼓). Wang pointed out "the people made portraits of Nü Kua in the shape of a woman". This belief grew stronger in T'ang dynasty, cf. Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Chüan 35, Wu Hsing Chih(五行志), in the sixth month in 752 A.D.(11th year of T'ien-pao 天寶十一年), on the tomb of Nü Kua.

(22) A few characters in the text are corrupt.

dancing in the air. He rushed forward to embrace the Maiden but he woke up to find it was only a dream. He calmed himself down for a moment and saw merely an earthen idol and not a human being. But he really had the tape, which he scrutinized under the candle flames till very late, with deep remorse.

King Chou still sat in the temple. He could do nothing except think of the Maiden. Fei Chung came and advised the King, "Why don't you return to the palace?" The King informed him of what he had heard from the Maiden. Fei Chung daid, "Wait for a hundred days, and perhaps the Maiden will come to see my King. Please go back to the palace." The King followed this advice but thought of the Maiden everyday.

After the lapse of a hundred days, the Maiden did not come. Thereupon, King Chou summoned Fei Chung and asked him, "The Maiden pledged that she would see me. But I get no news from her now. Why does she not come?" Fei Chung replied, "Your Majesty does nothing but think of her; how can she come? Pray do not think of her anymore. I am afraid Your Majesty will be sick. Will Your Majesty follow the suggestion of your humble servant which will compensate for the loss Your Majesty has suffered and make Your Majesty happy?" "What can make me happy?" inquired the King. Fei Chung said, "Your Majesty can put a proclamation outside the palace gate, ordering all virgins to come to the palace. Anyone who is considered fit for the post of a superintendent in your harem shall be highly rewarded. And can there be no one among the group who can equal the Maiden? Your Majesty can choose to your heart's content. What is Your Majesty's opinion?" "I will follow your advice," said the King.

The King then ordered all virgins from every family, shop, street, village, town, district, prefecture and state, to come to the palace to dedicate themselves. In a little more than a month, thousands and thousands of them came, but not one of them could compete with the Maiden. The King was distressed and thought of her more.

Realizing that the King was unhappy, Hung Yao, the Officer Admi-

nistering the Court, suggested to the King, "If Your Majesty desires to have a girl who can equal the Maiden and that the girl should be found in some official's family nourished by Your Majesty, Your Majesty may command all officials, big and small, to offer their beauties, and among them there must be one who is more beautiful than the Maiden." The King exclaimed,"Good idea!" Then the King posted an order again on the palace gate, instructing all officials from various parts to send in their family beauties. And any family who dared to hide their beauties, would be punished by death.

Thus, no officials dared to violate the regulation and sent in their family beauties. It happened that an official named Su Hu(蘇護), who was the Prefect of Hua-chou(華州), had a daughter. She was eighteen years of age, of unique beauty, and was named Ta-chi. The father dared not hide his daughter and therefore accompanied her on her tour to the capital.

In a few days, father and daughter arrived at the ancient Ên District(恩縣) which is the present Hao Chia(穫嘉), and settled down in the post-house. Su Yen(蘇顏), the Prefect of Ên-chou(恩州), invited them to a dinner in his office.

It was very late in the night when the beautiful Ta-chi was sleeping in her quarters in the post-house. Suddenly there rose a strong wind and a fox, nine-tailed and golden-haired, climbed into the post-house. It approached the sleeping beauty and drew away air from the nostrils of the girl as well as her marrow. Then the body of the girl was empty and very thin. The fox then blew air into the body, thus changing the soul of the girl, making her bewitching. It was Ta-chi. Her skin was snow-white, her face was not powdered and her hair not trimmed. She looked like a fairy from the moon, and her beauty was indescribable. The girl did not seem to have been attacked by the sun and wind from her early childhood and therefore she was bright and shiny and was extremely animated after she was altered by the fox.(23)

Next morning the father was very much surprised to discover that his daughter was so charming when he ordered the attendants to dress

(23) See Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.4, "The Fox Kills Ta-chi at Ên-chou Post-house".

her. The father was much exalted but did not utter a word. He only thought to himself, "My daughter is likely to be queen." Then they continued the journey. Su Yen escorted them.

They approached Chao Ko(朝歌), King Chou's capital. Su Yen went in the palace and said to the King,"Listen, my Lord. Prefect Su Hu from Hua-chou offers his daughter. I am instructed to inform my Lord." The King then summoned Fei Chung, "The Prefect of Hua-chou is going to offer his daughter, you go to receive them."

Fei Chung went out and met Su Hu and saw the girl's beauty. He went back to the King,"The girl is charming." The King immediately sent for the father and daughter. They arrived and bent forward. The King said,"You are an equal and exempted from ceremonies."

The King was very much pleased after he saw the girl and gave her a golden crown, skirts, phoenix-hairpins and other ornaments. After she was dressed, she looked like the Maiden. The King was extremely happy and ordered her to stay in the Fairy-Receiving Palace (Shou-hsien Kung受仙宮). Su Hu, the girl's father, having been honoured with the title of Royal Father-in-law, was given a residence and had the right to share the glories of the King.

The King liked Ta-chi very much and during a dinner party, Ta-chi discovered a piece of tape which was fastened to the King and asked,"Where did my Lord obtain this lovely tape?" The King smiled and replied,"I was with the Maiden the night before and she gives it to me as a pledge." Ta-chi was jealous, "I am afraid that my Lord may be enchanted by the Maiden. My Lord should order someone to destroy the image and burn the temple, for the temple is useless. The King said, "I will follow your suggestion, burn the temple and destroy the maiden."

King Chou did not pay attention to his state affairs for a hundred days and only enjoyed himself with Ta-chi in the Fairy-Receiving Palace. Though he was advised several times, he did not listen.

One day Queen Chiang gave birth to a prince, who was later proclaimed the Prince Ching Ming(景明王) and was named Yin Chiao(殷郊). He was the God of the Cycle, T'ai Sui(太歲), sent by Heaven to bring calamity to King Chou because of his blasphemy.(24)

One day Ta-chi said to the King,"What will my Lord think of ordering that anyone in the nation who has valuables should offer them to decorate the palace chambers and to serve as my playthings?" The King followed her suggestion, and posted an order on the gate commanding anyone who has precious things to offer them to the palace and not to hide them. The order lasted for more than a hundred days.

One day a minister said to the King, "Your Majesty, a good man is going to offer his valuables, and he is waiting outside." The King called the man in and asked, "What is your name?" "My name is Hsü Wên Su(許文素). I live in White Water Cave(Po-shui Tung白水洞) in Chung Nan Mountain(終南山) as a hermit," said the man. "What are you going to offer me?"asked the King. "I am going to offer Your Majesty a precious sword," replied the man. "This sword is not a precious one. What is the use of it?" said the King. "Listen, Your Majesty, this sword can control all witches and ghosts in mankind. If they meet this sword, they would be frightened and cannot escape," said Wen Su. "What monsters stay in my palace?" said the King. "I see some evil airs spurting upward in Your Majesty's palace. Your Majesty had better hang this sword on the wall in the inner chamber. If a man sees it, he will not be frightened, but if a spirit sees it, it will scream. My Lord may strike it with this sword and no spirit will ever haunt your palace. I see a witch in my Lord's palace. Please believe what I say and destroy the spirits with this sword, otherwise I will have it back," explained Wen Su. The King took the sword into the rear chambers.(25)

Ta-chi came to see the King who followed her to stay in her palace. After having had three cups of wine, she asked,"My Lord has ordered precious things to be brought in, and what precious things have you got lately? Fetch them for me." The King said, "There is one." And

(24) There are 60 years in a Chinese cycle, and over each year presides a special star-deity. To act in accordance with the orientation of that year brings good fortune.

(25) The Hsü Wên Su of Chung Nan Mountain changed to Yün-chung Tzŭ (雲中子 Master in the Cloud) when this part of story appears in the Ch. 5 of Fêng Shên Yen I, "Yün-chung Tzŭ Presents A Sword to Kill the Spirit". However, Yün-chung Tzŭ himself is also a character in the later part of this book(Chüan I).

he ordered the sword to be brought to Ta-chi. It would have been good for Ta-chi had she not seen the sword, but on the contrary, she saw it and screamed and ran away abruptly approximately ten or twenty paces, frightened. The King saw her running away and asked, "Why do you run away?" Ta-chi, seeing the sword as a big snake running after her, thought to herself, "Though it looks like a snake, yet I am afraid I am suspected of being a witch, I must find some pretext." She got a hint and said to the King,"I am not afraid of the sword. But my Lord had better put it into another chamber." The King yielded to her and ordered the sword to be taken away.

Then the King asked, "What happens?" Ta-chi said,"My lord, I am not afraid of the sword. But my elder sister comes to beckon me to attend the fairy party and I am preparing to go. I am now saying goodbye to my Lord but thinking of my Lord's affection for me." "Who is your elder sister?" asked the King. "The Moon Fairy is my elder sister. She knows that my Lord had the intention of deserting me, therefore she comes to call me to go to the party. If my Lord has no use of me, then, please, let me go. Originally I was a fairy in Paradise, but owing to the commission of a sin, I have been sent down to Earth." Ta-chi wept after finishing her explanation. The King was not willing to desert her, saying, "I do not blame you for your wrong behaviour. Compared with you, how does the Moon Fairy look?" "My sister looks like a fairy, not an ordinary person. She has a pure heart. Her countenance remains unchanged after a lapse of thousands and thousands of years. How can the commoners who are entangled in love and desire be compared with a transcendent being? And my countenance can hardly compare with hers," said Ta-chi. The King was impressed and did not care about Ta-chi's running and the sword, which he put in the ancestral temple.

The King asked Ta-chi again, "How can I meet your sister?" Ta-chi replied, "If my Lord desires to see my sister, please listen to my advice." The King said,"Tell me." Ta-chi said,"A terrace, of three hundred feet high, should be built in the palace and named Moon Playing Terrace(Wan Yüeh T'ai 玩月臺) and Star Plucking Building(Chê Hsing Lou摘星樓). A hundred pavilions should be built upon the terrace and

a thousand houses should be built below it. And a banquet should be set up on the terrace whenever the fifteenth night of the first moon arrives. Thus, my Lord can meet my sister." The King was extremely glad to hear this.

Next morning the King presided over the court and said, "I want to construct terraces and castles. How do you fix it?" Fei Chung and Hung Yao said,"Your Majesty, the whole nation belongs to you. The work can be done." The King asked them again, "How are you going to do it?" The two replied," If Your Majesty wants to have the work done, we can send for the Eight Earls to come to a discussion, and the work can be done." The King followed this suggestion and sent for the Eight Earls.

The King's envoys went to summon the Eight Earls with this decree. The one who came to Ch'i-chou was complimented by Chi Ch'ang in the suburbs. After Chi Ch'ang had read the order, he was terribly shocked and said, "The King is going to act unreasonably and is apt to create chaos. But how can I oppose him in view of the royal decree I have just received?" Therefore he summoned his senior Great Ministers, Kao, the Duke of Pi(畢公皐) and Shih, the Duke of Chao(召公暸) and other attendants, a hundred in number, to follow him to see King Chou.

Within a few days, the procession arrived at the boundary of Yin Fu(陰符) near the Tung Kuan Pass(潼關). Chi Ch'ang saw a column of smoke spurting up against the sky and told the envoy who accompanied him, "The cycle of to-day is Wu-wu(戊午), there must be a strong wind at szŭ(巳 between 9-11 a.m.). The rain will stop at noon." The envoy did not believe it.

During their conversation, dark clouds overshadowed the sky, a wild wind gradually arose, and fog and clouds covered up all sides. In an instant, there came thunder and lightning and a downpour of rain. In a moment rivers appeared on the plains and ditches overrun by waves. However, the rain stopped and the clouds dispersed at noon. The plants were shooting up.

All were in the woods. Suddenly they discovered an old grave. Chi Ch'ang prophesized,"There must be rain to-day. This grave will destroy

itself and from it a hero will come out." No sooner had he finished speaking than the old grave destroyed itself. The envoy was very glad and said that it was curious.

Chi Ch'ang stared at the destroyed grave and saw a woman's corpse which looked like a living being. But her belly had been blasted open by the thunder and a child was crying inside. Chi Ch'ang ordered the child to be taken out of the grave and this was done. But the followers did not know why a child should be born there. Only Chi Ch'ang knew it.

Chi Ch'ang and the envoy passed a ridge and met a Taoist whose name was Yün-chung Tzŭ(雲中子 Master in the Cloud). After they had exchanged salutes, they heard the crying of a baby. Yün-chung Tzŭ asked, "Whose baby is crying?" Chi Ch'ang told his friend what had happened and the Taoist said, "Do not throw away the child. In eighteen years, the child will definitely assist you in destroying the tyrannous Chou." Chi Ch'ang got the idea and gave the child to the Taoist. Yün-chung Tzŭ said again, "The child has no name, we can name him Son of Thundershock(Lui Chên Tzŭ雷震子), for he is a fierce god who will destroy King Chou."(26)

Chi Ch'ang said goodbye to his Taoist friend and continued the journey with the envoy. In a few days, they approached the capital and Chi Ch'ang met the other seven Earls. And they discussed their impending meeting with the King.

Next morning, they all arrived at the palace, and after giving cheers to the King, bowed low. The King announced, "I want to build a terrace in the palace, which will be three hundred feet high, on top of which will be a hundred pavilions, and below which will be a thousand houses. Therefore I summon you for a conference so that my design may be executed." Chi Ch'ang went forward to advise, "My Lord, please do not build the terrace, for it will consume the energies of the people and harm the agricultural products. My Lord, why do not you follow the good examples of Yao and Shun and have a peaceful world. Shun set a good example in promoting filial piety to other nations, and Yü(禹) is credited with the control over the floods, helping thousands and

thousands of people to escape calamity. Yü even had the virtue of giving away his throne to others. Why not, my Lord, think it over and give up the idea of constructing the terrace and discard that wench ? Otherwise the people may suffer a great deal. Why not, my Lord, fdllow the example of your predecessors ? And now, my Lord, trust not what Ta-chi says. Alas, it will ruin our country and our families." The King heard this and vacillated. Ta-chi flattered the King and said, "My Lord, trust Chi Ch'ang and do not build the terrace. I hope my Lord will put me in a secluded chamber and I certainly will die. What-else can they expect from me?" The King consoled her, "I will see to it. Do not worry."

The King summoned Fei Chung and said to him, "I want to build the terrace and Chi Ch'ang advises me not to, but Ta-chi is crazy about it. What is the solution?" Fei Chung said,"My Lord, if the terrace is not to be built, there will be nothing to display the glories of a great nation." The King was much exalted and posted an order on the palace gate.

The King said,"How many men should be needed?" "Five million men," said Fei Chung. This was approved. Then the King ordered the circumference of the field to be measured, and instructed the Eight Earls to start work and that anyone delays his work should be punished. Therefor the Earls did their best and within one year the construction was accomplished. The citizens were greatly troubled and all pined for a redeemer. The King did not pay attention to the suffering of the people and he ignored the admonitions of his officials, civil and military. A Tung Lu Tai(East Stag Terrace東鹿臺)and a Hsi Lu Tai(West Stag Terrace 西鹿臺) were being built. The decoration of their insides harmonized with that of their outsides and all the walls were ornamented with gold, jade and precious gems. The construction was so extremely magnificent that even the palaces in Heaven could not compare with it. Below the terraces were planted with various flowers and a few rows of precious trees, and also built were a thousand halls and rooms. There was a poem:

The Eight Earls did their best in constructing

Towers and terraces which were splendid and rare.
King Chou arranged sumptuous feasts there,
Who cares for the people in ashes and mire?

One day, the King set up a feast on the terrace and invited all his ministers to dine with him. Chi Ch'ang ran a great risk when he advised the King,"My King leads such a voluptuous life that the nation may be ruined. Does my Lord not hear that Yao had a son named Tan Chu (丹朱), who was so immoral and led such a voluptuous life that his father gave away his throne to Shun? And Shun in turn also had a bad son named Shang Chün(商均), who also led such a voluptuous life that his father gave his throne to Yü. When King Chieh(桀) came to power, he enjoyed himself amid beauties and with what we call mountains of meat and pools of wine. He caused naked boys to play licentiously with nude virgins. He lost his country because he was ruthless. My Lord, please do not follow the immoral kings but follow the good deeds of the virtuous rulers, Yao and Shun, then we shall have no ensuing troubles." The King said, "I rule my country like this." Chi Ch'ang remonstrated, "How can my Lord consider the building of the terraces as one of administrative functions of the government? It wastes millions of dollars and makes thousands of people suffer. Why not, my Lord, give the money and the materials which have been used in the building of terraces, to the farmers and the labourers? My Lord's treasury is full and we are wealthy. What my Lord has done is rebellious to the will of Heaven and not compliant with the wishes of the people. It will be inauspicious if my Lord goes on like this." The King asked,"How?" Chi Ch'ang said,"My Lord, please listen to me. There will be a catastrophe in our country in twenty years and there will be one man who will be your rival." The King was exasperated and yelled at Chi Ch'ang,"You know my foreboding and I shall die at the hands of one man in twenty years."

The King then asked Ta-chi, "Do you know my foreboding?" And he asked Chi Ch'ang again, "When will you die?" Chi Ch'ang answered, "I shall die peacefully in bed in twenty years." The King was very angry and ordered Chi Ch'ang to be decapitated and shouted," You say

you will die peacefully after twenty years, but I want to see you die now by dismembering your body." The guards got the Western Earl seized and pushed him aside. Could Chi Ch'ang save his life? There was a poem:

Millions of dollars spent in building terraces and towers,
The King's deeds were condemned by Heaven and Earth,
To Chi Ch'ang's words should he hearken with discernment,
He would never lose his power and be put to death.

Hardly had the King wanted to behead Chi Ch'ang when Chiang Huan-chu, the Eastern Earl, came forward to advise, "My Lord, you are wrong, please listen to me and quiet down. This man was a loyal minister in the court of three former kings, was highly esteemed by them and from ancient time up to present, there had been no sword which is suitable for the beheading of a feudal prince. I hope my Lord will inquire into the matter and spare him. The man also has a good knowledge of the Ying and Yang in the creation of the universe and knows the evil and good of the earth. For these reasons I have the audacity to beg this favour of my Lord." The King ordered his attendants to toss Chi Ch'ang for him and asked, "You know the creation of the earth and are able to foretell a man's good or bad fortune and his future richness or poverty. Now you are ordered to foretell something for me, to say whether anything would happen to me. If you prove to be a prophet I will spare your life." Chi Ch'ang did not worry about himself, for he knew that he would not die until the age of ninety-seven and he would be posthumously honoured as king, and he now predicted that something queer would soon happen. The King did not believe it but ordered a minister to go out to investigate and told his attendants to keep an eye on Chi Ch'ang.

At noon, the queer things happened: A wild wind arose from south-east and carried away stones and sands. Tiles and trees were blown away. A clay man and a clay horse both from a temple were strolling along in the market. The minister came back and said to the King, "My Lord, what Chi Ch'ang has foretold has happened." While the King was still contemplating the clay man and the clay horse retired to

the temple. There was a poem:

Chi Ch'ang was able to divine the gale,
Clay man and clay horse in market take a stroll,
Marvelled the people at such strange things,
And you could divine Chou's weakness within his firm countenance.

The King, therefore, ordered Chi Ch'ang to be released.

Next day, the Eight Earls bade farewell to the King and went out of the palace gate. Chi Ch'ang came to tell them, "The King will lose the reins of government in fifteen years." They were about to part when Fei Chung arrived. Chi Ch'ang said to him, "You are a flatterer and you know Ta-chi has stirred up a turmoil and caused much harm to the people." The Earls then departed but Fei Chung bore a grudge against Chi Ch'ang for what he had said.

One day, the King and Ta-chi dined together in the Star Plucking Building. Ta-chi asked the King, "My Lord, what valuables can be obtained in this world for me to play with?" The King said,"Where should the valuables be found?" Fei Chung came over and said,"My Lord, I know one man who has valuables suitable for your mistress." The King asked, "Who has valuables?" Fei Chung answered,"I know that Chi Ch'ang, the Western Earl, has a pair of gorgeous bracelets of jade which are priceless. They answer the wishes of the person who wears them. They can change the weather as desired and can make one healthy and maintain one's youth. It is a genuine treasure." Ta-chi was overjoyed and said to the King,"I want to wear those bracelets, what do you think?" The King said,"This is easy but who can run this errand for me?" Fei Chung said,"I am willing to do it. But if my Lord send another man on this mission, I am afraid he will allured by the gold and jewels of the Western Earl and thus not be willing to bring those bracelets." Ta-chi said,"What you say is appropriate." And she gave a hundred taels of gold to Fei Chung.

Fei Chung thanked the King, and started on the journey. In a few days he sent someone to inform Chi Ch'ang of his coming. Chi Ch'ang heard this and went out of the city of Ch'i-chou to welcome the envoy. After exchanging salutes, the two entered the city and went into the government office to burn incense. Chi Ch'ang then read the holy de-

cree and entertained Fei Chung. Fei Chung said,"I am ordered by the King to come here for a treasure." "What treasure?" asked Chi Ch'ang. "Gorgeous bracelets of jade," answered Fei Chung. Chi Ch'ang heard this and thought to himself,"This must be Fei Chung's design." The Earl gave Fei Chung the bracelets and said,"This is not an ordinary but a marvellous treasure. It will make one who wears it, healthy and youthful and make him change anytime. A sickman might recover if he wore it. It can drive away evils and monsters. If an elf sees it, he will be frightened and run off."

Fei Chung got the bracelets, bade farewell to Chi Ch'ang and went back to the capital to report to the King. The King asked,"How about the bracelets?" Fei Chung handed the bracelets to the King who, seeing the treasure glistening and colourful, was very glad. The King beckoned Fei Chung to go to the rear chamber where Ta-chi welcomed him. After three cups of wine, the King ordered Fei Chung to present the bracelets to Ta-chi. Ta-chi was extremely glad and ordered,"Give it to me." She screamed and fell flat on the ground when she opened the handkerchief and saw the bracelets. She was breathless and her limbs were heavy. Was it fatal to Ta-chi's life? There was a poem:

Marvellous were the bracelets brought from the West,
It was Fei Chung's scheme who had a grudge against Chi Ch'ang,
When these were presented to Ta-chi,
She fell to the ground in a swoon.

The King picked her up from the ground and after a considerable lapse of time Ta-chi recovered and said,"Take the bracelets away." The King asked,"What kind of sickness have you?" Ta-chi dared not tell the truth but had to resort to subterfuge and said,"My Lord, I have had heart attacks in the past and to-day I have one again. The bracelets are not good. Please give them to Queen Chiang." The King said, "I will follow your suggestion."

Queen Chiang received the bracelets and wore them. She felt more energetic and sound and nothing happened to her. The King was informed of this. On that day, Ta-chi summoned Fei Chung surreptitiously, gave him a hundred taels of gold and said,"You draw up a plan. How can I drive away Queen Chiang?" Fei Chung said,"I have a plan." Ta-chi

said,"What plan?" Fei Chung said,"To-morrow will be Queen Chiang's birthday. You go to the first chamber to pay your respects to her. When she sees you she will be angry, then you dishevel your hair and go to the King telling him that Queen Chiang has struck you. The King will trust you and send for the Queen. You then call someone to hide a dagger in the skirt of the Queen and you can say to the King, 'The Queen has intended to murder me. You see, she drops her dagger to the floor. She knows you like me, hence she wants to kill me.' Then the King will believe you and will indict the Queen." Ta-chi said,"Good trick. Please go now."

Ta-chi followed the plan designed by Fei Chung and went to pay her respects to the Queen next day. Indeed the Queen was angry and scolded Ta-chi,"Are you not ashamed of yourself and why do you come to see me, you wench?" Ta-chi mussed her hair and went to report to the King, crying. The King asked,"What makes you cry?" Ta-chi replied,"The Queen hit me." The King was exasperated and sent for the Queen.

The King asked,"What did you strike Ta-chi for?" The Queen answered,"I have not hit her." During the King's inquiry, Ta-chi called someone to hide a dagger under the foot of the Queen and said to the King,"The Queen intended to kill my Lord." The King was angry and the Queen said,"How could I intend to harm my Lord." The King said, "Why do you then hide a dagger under your foot?" The Queen could not defend herself and only wept.

The King, not clear about the matter himself, was exasperated, and in the Star Plucking Building together with Ta-chi issued a holy decree ordering that the Queen be given simple garments, secluded and humiliated. The Queen heard this and was angry and reprimanded the King in disregard of her safety,"Ruthless and lewd ruler, you trust evil persons and seclude me. You are hated by the gods and human beings and there shall be no place for you on this earth. You shall perish at the point of thousands and thousands of daggers. For what reasons do you hate me?" The King was extremely angry and rose abruptly, pushed the maid aside and got hold of the Queen. Disregarding her situation, the Queen scolded the King again, "Former King Chieh of

Hsia died at the Drum Tower[27] because he was ruthless. Now you give way to your wench and stir up troubles in the nation." No sooner had the Queen finished speaking than the King caught hold of her clothes and dark hair, pushed her down from the building, to death. The poem said:

Queen Chiang admonished Chou against perversity,
Her sincere reproof grated on his ear,
Furious with anger was the ruthless ruler,
Who pushed her down from the building with dishevelled hair.[28]

The King ordered her corpse to be buried beneath the seventh Wu-t'ung tree(sterculia platanifolia) in the back garden. The pair of gorgeous jade bracelets, which Ta-chi pretended to forget, was also buried. The King, who did not care about the consequences, entertained himself with Ta-chi everyday. And no one dared to admonish the King.

Time flies like an arrow and ten years quickly passed. There was a poem:

Shadow of the flowers moves swiftly under the eaves,
Time flies during the snapping of the fingers,
A goblet of wine has not emptied nor the singing ended,
When the cock-man reports sundial changed thither.

Now the Prince Yin Chiao, the son of Queen Chiang, who was one year old at the time of the Queen's death and was fostered by some palace maids, was now ten years of age. He was five feet tall, brilliant, and was of an ardent disposition. The King did not care for him.

Realizing that the prince was gradually growing up, Ta-chi was frightened and thought,"A maid-of-honour will certainly inform the prince about the death of his mother. That is the trouble. I will send for Fei Chung surreptitiously." Fei Chung arrived at court. Ta-chi asked,"Do you remember an affair ten years ago?" Fei Chung said, "Which affair?" Ta-chi said,"At the time of Queen Chiang's death, her son was one year old. Ten years have already passed and the prince must have reached the adolescent state. I am afraid the former maids of the Queen will inform the prince about the death of his mother and

(27)焦門 Ch'iao-gate may be an erratum for譙門 which is the Drum Tower in the capital.

(28) The plot of the death of Queen Chiang in Fêng Shên Yen I is much more complicated than it appears here. See Fêng Shên, Chs.7-9. Queen Chiang is no doubt the daughter of Chiu Hou(九侯) in Szŭ-ma Ch'ien's Shih Chi(史記), Chüan 3, Yin Pên-chi(殷本紀). The frame-work of Queen Chiang's story, especially her struggle with Ta-chi reminds me of the sūtra Fa Chü P'i Yü Ching(法句譬喻經), Ch.4, Sec.33, Li Yang P'in(利養品); No.211,"The Tripitaka in Chinese"(大藏經), ed. by Prof. J. Takakusu(高楠順次郎) and K. Watanabe(渡邊海旭), Taisho Issai-kyo Kanko Kwai(大正一切經刊行會),1925. See later part.

therefore the prince will retaliate. How can I solve this trouble?" Fei Chung said,"I have a plan which will make you feel at ease." Ta-chi said,"What plan?" Fei Chung said,"It will be perfectly safe if the Queen's maids can be eliminated." Ta-chi said,"How can they be eliminated?" Fei Chung said,"You go to see the King at dusk and pretend to be sad. The King will ask you why and you merely say,'The maids of Queen Chiang insult me and I cannot tolerate it. You can eliminate them.' The King will say,'How can I eliminate them?' Then you say, 'I suggest my Lord should build a wine pond and a meat forest, and find a place for a serpent-cauldron and burning iron. My Lord should then instruct the maids of the Queen to fight each other and those who win should be pushed into the wine pond to drink themselves to death; those who are defeated should be tossed into the serpent-cauldron and be bitten to death by snakes, lizards, and scorpions. Those who survive should be pushed into a fire pit, or tied up on a burning brass pillar and be burnt to death.' This method can eliminate the maids. And no one will inform the prince about the matter, and your worries will be removed." Ta-chi said,"Leave me now." Then Fei Chung departed.

In the evening, Ta-chi went to see the King with a sad face. The King was surprised and asked,"What makes you unhappy?" Ta-chi pretended to say,"Listen, my Lord, the subordinates of the Queen insult me under her prestige and I want to get rid of them." The King said, "I grant your request, but how can I eliminate them?" Ta-chi explained her plan,"My Lord should build a wine pond and a meat forest in the court and instal a serpent cauldron and a burning-pillar of iron. Then my Lord will order the maids to fight each other. Those who win shall be pushed into the pond and drunk themselves to death, and those who lose shall be tossed into the cauldron and be bitten by snakes and scorpions. And those who are found guilty shall be tied up on the brass pillar." The King granted her request and ordered everything be installed accordingly.

The King and Ta-chi drank in the Star Plucking Building. The former maids of the Queen, who were all splendidly dressed, were summoned

to the building and were instructed to take off their elaborate clothes except the waist band. Then the King ordered them to fight a duel. The wind blew and they appeared naked. Ta-chi and the King amused themselves by watching the game. Those who won were sunk in the wine pond, and those who lost were flung into the serpent-cauldron and bitten to death by snakes and scorpions. Those who were found guilty were tied up on the burning-pillar and burnt to death. The King was so ruthless that he destroyed thus thousands of lives and he amused himself with Ta-chi disregarding the unceasing crying of the chambermaids. The whole nation knew of his cruelty. The poem said:

The King was bewitched by a licentious fox,
Wine pond and meat forest he did instal;
Whenever his capital Chao Ko (朝歌) be fallen,
Would he understand the will of Heaven and repent all.

One day, the King and Ta-chi were enjoying themselves in the Star Plucking Building when suddenly she saw the nurse whose maiden name was Fêng(馮氏) from the East Palace, leading the prince, and passing under the building. Ta-chi was afraid and thought,"If the nurse informs the prince about the death of his mother, there will be trouble." Next day Ta-chi summoned Fei Chung surreptitiously and said,"Yesterday I saw the nurse Fêng leading the prince and I am afraid the nurse will inform the prince about that matter and so the prince will avenge the death of his mother. This will mean trouble. What do you think?" Fei Chung said,"I will draw up a plan for you, which will eliminate the nurse." Ta-chi said,"How?" Fei Chung said,"You fix a date, saying it is your birthday and order all palace officials to come to you to celebrate it. The nurse will definitely come to propose a toast to you. Then you drop your goblet, saying that the nurse relies on the influence of the prince to insult you. You can tell the King about it and the King will certainly believe you and will condemn the nurse." Ta-chi followed the plan and sent Fei Chung away.

The day come and Ta-chi announced,"To-day is my birthday." All palace officials knew it and came to Ta-chi to celebrate. The nurse Fêng thought,"Ta-chi has destroyed thousands and thousands of chamber-

maids. I would have been killed if I had not been in the prince's palace. It is a misfortune that the Queen is dead." Tears rained down her cheeks as she was thinking. The nurse thought over it again and again. At last she went to see Ta-chi and seated herself according to her rank after exchanging formalities.

When the nurse drank a toast to Ta-chi, Ta-chi dropped her goblet intentionally and scolded the nurse. The nurse was afraid and Ta-chi complained to the King,"The nurse insults me." The King asked,"What causes the nurse to insult you?" Ta-chi answered,"She relies on the power of the prince to insult me, wilfully. I hope my Lord will do something." On hearing this, the King was exasperated and summoned the nurse.

The nurse Fêng arrived at court. The King asked her,"Why do you insult Ta-chi?" The nurse replied,"How dare I insult Ta-chi?" Ta-chi said,"I hope my Lord will do something for me." The King was not clear about the matter and asked Ta-chi,"The nurse insults you, what punishment should I give her?" Ta-chi said,"Send her to the burning iron." The King granted Ta-chi's request and ordered the nurse be sent to the burning iron. The nurse cried bitterly and begged the King,"My Lord, please have mercy. The prince is young and I have to foster him. I hope my Lord will spare me." The King said,"I want to spare you but Ta-chi does not allow me to do so." The prince was informed and hurried to the rescue, and seeing the nurse being pushed into the fire pit, shouted,"Stop." The nurse saw the prince and entreated,"Please save me." The prince said,"Keep the nurse. I am going to see my father."

The prince said to his father,"Why does my Lord want to kill the nurse? What is her crime?" The King said,"She deserves to die." The prince said,"My father, please spare the nurse and seclude her." The King granted the request and his son thanked him.

The nurse had been secluded for more than half a month. During this period she was given poor food and bad lodging. Everyday she thought of the prince who did not know she had been tricked. There was a poem attesting to this:

Ta-chi made a birthday for herself,

The nurse was one of the members who drank toasts.

"Dropping her tumbler intentionally to deceive,
To whom shall I make my complaint."

The prince did not sleep well at night and was absent-minded. One day, the prince took a stroll in the back garden and while he amused himself under a Wu-t'ung tree, he felt a whirlwind hovering around him for a long time, making his clothes in a mess. He said,"This whirlwind is very queer." When the prince finished saying, he noticed, under the seventh Wu-t'ung tree, a woman was choking with sobs and grumbling, to herself, "The King, Ta-chi, and the Prince are relentless." The prince was very angry and came forward to discover that the woman was his nurse.

The prince said to the nurse,"Though you are now suffering, you do not have to worry. I will talk to my father and get you back to the East Palace." The nurse said,"I do not care about my affliction, but there is something which is wrong." The prince said,"What is wrong?" The nurse wept and could not speak. The prince said,"How can I know your grievance if you do not speak?" Then the nurse said,"Ten years ago, you were one year old. Believing what Ta-chi had said, your father murdered your mother by pushing her down from the Star Plucking Building. Now you are ten years of age and your father has been enticed by Ta-chi to build a wine pond and a meat forest in the court as well as a serpent-cauldron and burning iron, to eliminate all the chamber-maids of your mother's palace. These tricks, which have already destroyed thousands and thousands of lives, were designed by Ta-chi and Fei Chung. What is more, Ta-chi has persuaded your father to build towers, castles, and palaces with the sweat of numberless citizens. Agricultural products have broken down and the people have suffered. Your father did not listen to the loyal officials but bathed himself in the adulations of Ta-chi and Fei Chung which demoralized your father. I am now telling you, my prince, that your mother is buried under the seventh Wu-t'ung tree in the back garden." The prince asked,"Was there really such a thing?" The nurse wept and told the prince,"I am not telling a lie, if you do not believe it, just go to the Wu-t'ung tree to see for yourself." After this, the nurse strangled herself. The

prince ordered some palace attendants to bury the corpse.(29)

The prince went to the Wu-t'ung tree and said,"My mother, if there was really such a thing, let your spirit appear, I will avenge your death." The Queen heard what the prince said and appeared as a spirit in the air and spoke like a human being, "My prince, your mother's grievous death is indescribable." The prince raised his head and saw his mother in the sky and at the same time an article dropped to the ground. The prince picked it up and it was a poem:

There is no rest between foes,
It is all due to Ta-chi's anger and resentment,
Plot against the nurse is again revealed,
All now depends on the prince's retaliation.

The poem vanished after the prince had read it. The prince was deeply afflicted and cried bitterly. When he went to bed, suddenly he perceived his mother, the nurse, and other victims, who approaching him complained, "Your father is merciless. He trusts what Ta-chi says and exposes our corpses. We can not utter a word and we hope you will retaliate for us." The prince cried bitterly and when he came to his senses, he bore a deep grudge against Ta-chi.

Next morning the prince went to persuade his father,"Listen, my father, I now see that the bitter death of the chamber-maids and the worries of the people are due to Ta-chi. If you behead her, we shall have peace." The King ignored him.

Thereupon the prince went to see Ta-chi. She entertained him with a cup of wine. As soon as the prince received the gold tumbler, he hit Ta-chi with it. Ta-chi hurried into the inner chamber and the prince went back to the East Palace.

Ta-chi went to see the King, crying. The King asked, "What are you crying for?" Ta-chi said,"Listen, my Lord, the prince came to see me a moment ago. I entertained him with a cup of wine and he hit me with the cup. Therefore I come to you and request that something be done about it." The King was infuriated and ordered the prince to be punished by death.

But the prince was informed about this and he was exasperated and

(29) This resembles the cruel death of Prince Ju I of Chao(趙王如意) in Hua-pên. He was himself buried under the Wu-t'ung tree in the rear garden of the palace, and he had also a nurse. See Ch'ien Han Shu P'ing-hua(前漢書平話), Chüan 2.

went to the ancestral temple to get the precious sword and made ready to behead Ta-chi. Ta-chi was informed of this and went to see the King, "Now the prince is going to get the sword, with which he will create trouble for me. You must snatch away that sword and destroy it." The King then sent his younger brother Tzŭ-hu(子虎) on the mission.

Tzŭ-hu arrived in the East Palace to get the sword. The prince heard this and was infuriated, "Whoever comes in shall be beheaded." Tzŭ-hu went back to report to the King.

The King asked Ta-chi, "How would you fix it?" Ta-chi suggested, "Let Fei Chung go to get it." The King followed her counsel and summoned Fei Chung to the court, "Now the prince has taken away the sword from the ancestral temple. You get it back for me."

Fei Chung went to see the prince. The prince wielded his sword, rushed out of the palace and jumped upon Fei Chung, who, in panic, ran round a pillar. The prince dealt a blow on the pillar and the blow was so terrific that sparks came out from the sword. Fei Chung ran out of danger and went back to inform the King, "Who dares to get the sword?" Ta-chi said, "As he has the sword how are we to get him?" Fei Chung said, "I have a plan which is feasible." The King said, "What plan?" Fei Chung said, "Hide some soldiers inside the court and then send for the prince. The prince will then come to see you with the sword. Then you order the soldiers to get him." The King andTa-chi were overjoyed at hearing this.

The prince was summoned and he asked the messenger, "Is Ta-chi in court?" The messenger replied, "Yes." Then the prince hid the sword under his sleeve and went to see the King. After being greeted by the prince the King ordered the soldiers to catch him and ordered him to be decapitated. Ta-chi suggested, "The prince at first wanted to kill your envoy, and now he wants to kill you. He is a parricide and should be tossed to the burning iron." The King granted her request. Fei Chung said, "Listen, my Lord, I am afraid that other kingdoms will laugh at you if you send the prince to the burning iron. It will be proper for you to behead him." The King followed his suggestion.

A moment later, when the prince was sent to the execution square to be decapitated, all officials and ministers sighed and wept, for they knew this brilliant lad, as brave and handsome as the Drain-god of Kuan K'ou(灌口), would be gone. Pretty maidens, seeing this charming prince, deplored his fate.

It happened that Chi Tzŭ(箕子) and Wei Tzŭ, cousins of the King, came to advise him, "Listen, my Lord, what say you if I ask you to spare the prince?" The King did not listen to this.

The executioner was about to behead the prince, when suddenly a man, seven feet tall, dashed into the square as speedily as if he were flying, brandishing his sword. No man could resist him. In a moment he snatched the prince and both headed toward the west. Who was the man that rescued the prince? The poem says:

The Prince was going to be executed with the sword of Lung-ch'üan (龍泉),
His guilt was bringing a sword to the court without permission.
Had it not been Hu Sung(胡嵩) who came to his rescue,
A crown-prince would have been killed and on the way to the yellow springs.

The man who rescued the prince was Hu Sung. At dusk, they reached the home of Pi-kan, the Royal Uncle.

Pi-kan invited them into the parlour and entertained them with wine. Pi-kan asked the prince, "What do you come here for?" The prince wept and told the Royal Uncle, "My father trusts Ta-chi and was ready to execute me when Hu Sung came to my rescue. Therefore I come here to tell you." Pi-kan heard this and cried for a long time. Then he said, "The ruler is stupid. He has stirred up turmoil in the nation, discarded his wife and beheaded his son, given himself up to his wench, does not pay attention to state affairs, nor listen to the admonition of his loyal ministers." And he kept them in his house.

Three days passed. The prince told the Royal Uncle, "My father has no affection for me, but on the contrary, he trusts Ta-chi and wants to get rid of me." The prince wept but continued, "I want to collect an army to destroy the merciless ruler, eliminate Ta-chi and Fei Chung

so as to avenge the death of my mother. What do you think of this?" Pi-kan advised the prince, "How can you do such a thing to your father?" The prince said, "My father has no love for me but I have filial devotion towards him. My mother died bitterly bacause of that despicable wench Ta-chi."

When the King heard that Hu Sung had snatched the prince away, he immediately ordered Fei Chung and Fei Mêng(費孟) to search house by house for the prince. They arrived at the residence of Pi-kan. Pi-kan invited Fei Mêng into the office and Fei Mêng said, "I am ordered now to search house by house for the prince and Hu Sung. Your Highness, have they been here?" The Royal Uncle said, "How dare they come here? If I saw them, I would capture them and send them to the King."

During the conversation, the prince knew that Fei Mêng had come to search and he was about to dash into the parlour to kill Fei Mêng when Hu Sung stopped him, "Will the Royal Uncle not be involved if you slay the man? It will be useless to slay him." The prince allowed himself to be persuaded. The two men went away.

In the evening, the prince discussed this matter with Pi-kan and the prince said, "I shall seek aid from the army to destroy the ruthless King, the wench and Fei Chung." The Royal Uncle approved, "A great ambition."

Next day, the prince and Hu Sung said good-bye to the Royal Uncle and went out of the west gate. On the way they saw Fei Chung. Infuriated, they wielded their swords and sprang upon Fei Chung. Fei Chung ran away on horse back. They only killed a few servants.

In panic, Fei Chung went back to report to the King, "A calamity." The King asked,"Where?" Fei Chung said, "Outside the west gate, the prince and Hu Sung(30) wanted to kill me with their swords. I escaped on horse back. They killed a few attendants and disappeared."

The King heard this and was exasperated. He promptly ordered Hsia Hou(夏侯), the General of the Left, who was also the Star of the Greater Squanderer(大耗神), and Chi Liu-liu(佶留留), the General of the Right, who was the Star of the Lesser Squanderer(小耗神), and Wei Kuei (魏鬼) and Wei Sui(魏歲), the Inspecting Commissioners of the Four

(30) In the original texts sometimes the character 靈 (Ling) is added to the name of Hu Sung which means either spiritual or efficacious.

five hundred soldiers to pursue the prince and Hu Sung, who was the God of Wandering Souls(遊魂神). The prince and Hu Sung could not resist such a huge force and ran for their lives. Could they run away from the danger? A poem said:

The generals pursuing the prince as swiftly as the wind,
Who could resist them, these troops of raging fiends?
The prince had not fought many rounds and was defeated,
In the dusk he escaped, took shelter in a temple.

The prince walked alone all night and reached a temple. A deity came to invite him to rest in the hall. Then the military-deity asked the prince, "Why do you come here?" The prince told him about his ruthless father. The deity said, "I will teach you a way and you will be able to destroy the ruler." Then the deity gave the prince a cup of wine and a big axe which weighted about a hundred catties and was named "Axe to defeat King Chou." The deity helped the prince to handle the axe. Suddenly the prince woke up to find this was a dream. But he held the axe and wielded it as easily as if nothing had happened to him.

Next morning, the prince discovered that the temple was named "Temple of the Prodigal Son." In an instant the soldiers of the King, led by two generals, Hsia Hou and Chi Liu-liu, arrived. The prince wielded the axe, and after a few rounds, put his enemies to rout. Then he looked at the distant city walls of Chao Ko, continued his journey and hated his father and Ta-chi more.

The prince reached the bank of the Yellow River and saw an old fisherman. The prince said, "Old man, please take me across the river." The old man said, "Who are you?" The prince told him what had happened and asked him, "Who are you?" The old man said, "My name is Kao Neün (高遊) and I am one of the ministers of the King." The prince asked the old man why he was there and the old man said, "Because of my dilatoriness in the work of building the terraces, I was demoted by the King to the rank of an ordinary citizen and banished here. I have secluded myself from the world and become a fisherman." The old man cordially

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invited the prince to stay but the invitation was declined. Then the old man took the prince across the river and said farewell. The prince reached T'ung Kuan Pass and went into Hua Mountain(Hua-shan 華山) to collect men in the hope of eliminating the ruthless King.(31) A poem said:

The prince was given an axe by the deity,
With which he could drive away the two generals.
Helped by a fisherman he crossed the Yellow River,
Bearing a grudge against the ruthless leader.

The four generals went back to report to the King, "Listen, my Lord, the prince has escaped, and we come back and await punishment." The King said, "You are free." They thanked the King.

Chüan II

We had better set aside the insipid parts.(32) The King and Ta-chi enjoyed themselves as usual and destroyed many lives as before. No one dared to admonish the ruler.

One day, Ta-chi said to the King, "I am able to distinguish a baby, whether it is male or female, in a pregnant woman." The King said, "How do you know?" Ta-chi said, "If my Lord do not believe it, let me try the experiment on a few pregnant women." The King granted her request and sent for a hundred pregnant women to court. The King asked Ta-chi, "Which of them will bear a boy and which a girl?" Ta-chi said, "Send one over here, make her sit down and then stand up. If she sits with her left foot raised first, the baby will be a boy. But if she sits with her right foot raised first, the baby will be a girl." The King said, "How do you know?" Ta-chi said, "If my Lord do not believe it, rip up her belly and see." The King granted her request and ordered the women to be slaughtered. She was right. About a hundred women died this way each day. The more they died, the better Ta-chi felt, for she was a witch. People hated, cried, and lamented. The poem said:

Numerous women she had slaughtered,
And ripped up the bellies of the pregnant,

(31) The development of the story of Yin Chiao here is very different from that in the Fêng Shên Yen I. See Fêng Shên, Chs.8-9 and 63-65.

(32) The original text"話說冷淡處持過."

Though she was now wealthy and powerful,
She was not likely to escape her fatal extermination.

One day, the King and Ta-chi sauntered in front of the West Stag Terrace. There was a river by the name of Wild Water River(Yeh-shui Ho野水河). The two ascended the terrace and saw two men, one of whom was old and the other was young, trying to get into the icy water. The younger one was afraid of the cold and dared not get down into the water while the older one tucked up his clothes and waded across. The King asked Ta-chi, "Why is the younger one afraid of the cold while the older one is not?" Ta-chi said, "The younger one was born of an old father. The marrow is not filled up inside his shanks and he has accordingly less stamina. Therefore he dare not wade in the icy water, while the older one, was born while his father was still young. The marrow is full inside his shanks and though he lacks hair, he has much stamina. Therefore he is able to resist the cold and wade across the icy river." The King said, "How do you know?" Ta-chi said, "If my Lord does not believe it, bring them here and split their shanks and see." The King granted her request and ordered them to be experimented. It proved that what Ta-chi said was true. The King was very glad and said to Ta-chi, "You know a lot." People were sacrificed in this way by the King in such a vast numbers that they dared not come again to the river. The poem said:

Ripping up the bellies and chopping the shanks,
Numerous people were sacrificed as well as the order of Shang.
The wrath of Heaven was awful and raging,
Woe to the ruler who committed blasphemy.

Again one day, the King and Ta-chi amused themselves on the terrace. Suddenly several falconers passed below the terrace and an eagle flew up to the terrace and attacked Ta-chi. She screamed and ran into the crowd with her face scratched and her golden crown blown off. The King ordered the falconer who owned that eagle and his family be punished by death. From then on no falconer dared to pass by the terrace. And Ta-chi ceased to like to play on the terrace but enjoyed herself with the King in Star Plucking Building instead.

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The King's barns were stored with cereals which could last thirty years but all became useless, for he did not distribute them to relieve the poor. A poem of Hu Tsêng(胡曾) said:

With grain piled up he did not open his granaries,
He refused also the admonition of his faithful counsellors and killed them;
No one would fight for Chou when the benevolent King Wu made an expedition,
And the capital of Shang would be burnt to ashes.

Another poem:

Rulers of generations had laid down solid foundation,
Yet to God Chou's profanity was beyond salvation.
The old man at the River Wei(渭) was destined to come up,
And Chao Ko would be submerged in the blood of retaliation.

When it was spring, the Eight Earls and other feudal princes discussed paying their respects to the King. Chi Ch'ang, the Western Earl, before leaving Ch'i-chou for the capital with presents, summoned his ministers and officials,Kao, the Duke of Pi, Shih, the Duke of Chao, Tien, the Duke of Yung(榮公顛), Hung Yao(宏夭),[33] Nan-kung Kua(南宮适), San I Shêng(散宜生), T'ai Jên(太仕), Fêng Ta(逢逢), Hsü Chi(許寂), and the eight scholars Po Ta(伯達), Po Kua(伯适), Chung T'u(仲突), Chung Hu(仲忽), Shu Yeh(叔夜), Shu Hsia(叔夏), Chi Sui(季隨) and Chi Kua(季騧), and the ten princes, Fa(發), the future King Wu, Tan, the Duke of Chou(周公旦), Hsün of A Thousand Counties(Chien-I Hsün千邑尋), Hsiang of Ten-thousand Counties(Wan-I Hsiang萬邑祥), K'ao of A Hundred Counties(Po-I K'ao百邑考), To, the Uncle of Kuan(管叔鐸), Hsien, the Uncle of Tsai(蔡叔鮮), Chêng, the Uncle of T'ang(唐叔政), Chi, the Uncle of Liang(梁叔季) and Wên, the Uncle of Ts'ao(曹叔文)all came to his court. Chi Ch'ang addressed them, "I am now going to see the King. I have heard that the King does not care about the administration of his government and trusts Ta-chi. So he has created a chaotic nation. I must go to admonish him. I will then be detained by him for the period of seven years. In the seven years to come, please do not seek me but after that period we will join together and eliminate

(33) Hung Yao is an officer in the court of King Chou in Chüan I.

will befall." All the ministers and princes nodded.

Then Chi Ch'ang first went to say farewell to T'ai Jên(太任), his mother, "My mother, I am now going to see the King. I will come back after seven years. Please do not worry about your son and take good care of yourself." The mother wept and said, "When you reach the King, you must admonish him with mild words. He is cruel and I am afraid you may lose your life." Chi Ch'ang answered, "Mother, please take care of yourself. I shall not die but shall be imprisoned for seven years. It is a catastrophe which I cannot evade." Chi Ch'ang thus prophesied for himself and told his mother, "After I leave, do not allow my son Fa(King Wu) to seek me. Calamity may fall on him." Chi Ch'ang was about to start his journey when Prince Fa said to him, "What would you think if I followed you? I will take all responsibility." Chi Ch'ang told him, "I will be free from bars by mid-autumn of the seventh year. Please see me with other officials, civil and military, at that time." Chi Ch'ang made his way toward the east.

In a few days, Chi Ch'ang approached the King's palace. A minister informed the King that the Western Earl wanted to see him. The King said, "Bring him in." Chi Ch'ang went in to see the King with the other earls. They all bowed in the court. The King told them not to stand on ceremony and gave them embroidered cushions to sit on. Then the King entertained the earls with a feast.

The earls saw Ta-chi sitting under a hanging screen behind the King and dared not raise their heads. Chi Ch'ang said to the King, "Listen, my Lord, your humble servant deserves to die." The King asked, "What's wrong with you?" Chi Ch'ang said, "My Lord, do not observe the rule governing the relation between the King and his subordinates." The King asked, "What rule?" Chi Ch'ang said, "To-day we hold a council of the King and his subordinates, like father and sons, in order to discuss state affairs. But you let Ta-chi sit behind you and accept our civil and military greetings. My Lord, do you not care more about women than the wise and do you not neglect to observe the rules laid down by your predecessors? You have followed the way of King Chieh.

the ruthless King. Whosoever does not observe my words him misfortune will befall." All the ministers and princes nodded.

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Listen, my Lord, I have heard that you follow Ta-chi's advice and build wine ponds, meat forests, serpent-cauldrons and burning irons to harm people. You split the shanks of good citizens, and slaughter pregnant women. Why do you act like this? You construct high towers and a thousand palaces and halls which have drained every drop of the blood of our people. And because of Ta-chi, you have committed an immoral deed, estranged your wife and deserted your son. You do not go in the right track and do not care about your subjects. The people are the basis of a nation and they depend on the nation. My Lord, please listen to my advice. Eliminate Ta-chi, distribute food to the poor, build a mausoleum for the Queen and reinstate the prince. These are good deeds. If you follow my advice, we shall have peace; if not, you shall die in the hands of the common people. I beg to be punished by death." The King heard this and thought it over again and again but did not speak. Ta-chi called the King from behind and said, "I hope my Lord will kill me." The King said, "Why?" Ta-chi said, "Because you intend to desert me." The King said, "How do I intend to desert you?" Ta-chi said, "Well, you have no intention to desert me. Just a moment ago, Chi Ch'ang libelled my Lord. Behead him." The King granted her request.

Then the King seated himself on the dragon bed and asked the Western Earl, "Why do you libel me and say that I will die later in the hands of the common people if I do not listen to you?" And he ordered Chi Ch'ang to be decapitated.

All civil and military officials saw this and shouted and their voice rocked the palace. They all requested, "My Lord, spare him." The King said, "He insults me terribly; how can I spare him?" The Eastern Earl then advised, "Listen, my Lord, in the name of our former Kings, please only deprive him of his power. What do you think?" The King granted this request and said to Chi Ch'ang, "I should have ordered you to die. Now I spare your life and imprison you in Yu Li Town (羑里)." Chi Ch'ang served his sentence. Yu Li is situated seventy li north of Tang-chou(蕩州), the present T'ang Yin District(湯陰縣). There were two poems:

The King murdered his queen, deserted the prince and killed many citizens,

It was sure that Heaven would shower misfortunes,
Because he was wanton and bewitched by a fox,
So was he exasperated at Chi Ch'ang's admonitions.

When you have ten lines to deliver better be satisfied with nine,
In a multitude be silent instead of finding faults.
To discuss the failings of others will invite trouble,
And to criticize is to bring vexation upon oneself.

The King ordered a minister to keep a watch on Chi Ch'ang and to take him to Tang-chou. Han Wu(韓渥), the prefect of Tang-chou, received them and read the holy order. He did not say anything but thought of the mortifications Chi Ch'ang would have to suffer. The prefect then sent Chi Ch'ang right away to Yu Li Town to be locked within bars. Chi Ch'ang took cold meals everyday and was attired in poor clothes.

The prefect Han Wu was an admirer of Chi Ch'ang, and he was in fact the Star of Visitor to Mourning(Tiao K'ê弔客). He frequented Yu Li Town incognito, to deliver food and wine to Chi Ch'ang. He said to Chi Ch'ang, "I would free you, what do you think?" Chi Ch'ang said, "If I go, you will be involved. I thank you very much just the same. If I were not imprisoned here, how could I happen to know your great favour?" So the prefect and Chi Ch'ang communicated frequently. Chi Ch'ang knew he would have seven years to spend in gaol and he always talked to the prison officer about the ruthless King.

Time flew like an arrow and six years had already passed. In the prison, Chi Ch'ang did not mind about his sufferings. But he could not forget the tyranny of the King, and divined for himself everyday the fortunes of the people, the harvest of agricultural products, the weather, day by day and month by month. He managed to explain these phenomena, natural as well as social, by reading six lines of any, and of the combination of the eight diagrams, and he re-combined these eight diagrams to form the 64 Kua which contain even the ten radicals, the five elements and the twenty-eight constellations. He used the diagrams as symbols, and in their variation and combination he could

foretell everything. He knew he had to spend two more days before he could go free. The poem said:

King Chou had given himself to debauchery and paid no attention to state affairs,
Enchanted by Ta-chi, for her he neglected his relation with the feudal princes,
The Western Earl's good advice was therefore not listened to,
And seven years' sentence at Yu Li the loyal Earl had to serve.

And another poem:

The honest minister had done his best to remonstrate,
It was shameful for a King who didn't even look like a King.
The troops of the righteous would be maintained by Heaven in muteness,
And all under heaven would submit to her for refuge.

At night Chi Ch'ang dreamt that he caught the sky with both hands. When he woke up, he was very glad and said to himself, "In former days, King T'ang made his domain prosperous after he had had such a dream." Suddenly one day, a phoenix came to pay her respects to Chi Ch'ang and stood erect before him. After two hours, the phoenix left and Chi Ch'ang predicted his propitious day would come.

In Ch'i-chou, the ministers and officials, after Chi Ch'ang's departure, were ruled by his mother, T'ai Jên. The first ancester of Chi Ch'ang's family was Chi Ch'i(姬棄), the descendant of King Yao and Emperor K'u(Ti K'u帝嚳), who was afterwards worshipped as the God of Agriculture. Chi Ch'i begot Wang Chi(王季), and Wang Chi begot Chi Chao(姬昭) who was the father of Chi Ch'ang.

Now T'ai Jên sent for the civil and military officials and convened a meeting to discuss the affairs of Chi Ch'ang. It was now the seventh year and Chi Ch'ang was still in prison. No one dared to visit him. Po-I K'ao, the fifth son of Chi Ch'ang, said to T'ai Jên, "Your grandson begs to go." The ministers approved this but one of them, San I Shêng, stopped him, saying, "Do not let him go, because when the Western Earl left, he said that no one should be allowed to go to see him lest calamity should fall on the visitor." Po-I K'ao did not listen

to the minister, but made preparations for his journey and said, "I will do my utmost to see my father." An official suggested, "Order Chi Hung(祁宏), the Imperial Son-in-law to escort father and son."

Within a few days, Po-I K'ao approached the palace of the King. An attendant said to the King, "My Lord, the son of Chi Ch'ang wants to see Your Majesty. He is waiting at the inner gate." The King sent for Po-I K'ao, who arrived in the court and bowed. The King said, "You are free from any formalities." Po-I K'ao then handed a present to the King. The King asked, "Are you fatigued by the journey?" Po-I K'ao answered, "Thank you for your kindness." Then the King seated him on an embroidered cushion and entertained him with a big dinner.

Po-I K'ao cried and the King asked, "What are you crying for?" Po-I K'ao said, "My Lord, please, set free my father in the name of our former King." He cried for three days and the King said, "You are loyal, and have filial devotion. Please do not cry. I will free your father." He thanked the King and the King invited him to a dinner.

Ta-chi asked the King from under the blind, "Who is that man?" The King said, "He is Po-I K'ao, the son of Chi Ch'ang." Ta-chi said, "I have heard that man can master the lute. Tell him to play once." The King granted her request and ordered an attendant to bring a lute to Po-I K'ao. Po-I K'ao did not say anything but thought of the sufferings of his father. Therefore he did not play on the instrument and he said to the King, "I will not play on it." The King would not allow him to refuse and Po-I K'ao received the lute, put it on his lap, and played a song named, "Song of the Infuriated Prince."

The King drank with Ta-chi and did not pay any attention to I K'ao. Exasperated, I-K'ao said, "You insult the virtuous and please a woman." And he hit the King and Ta-chi with the instrument. They fell to the floor and were lifted up by the palace attendants. The prince scolded the ruthless King seriously though he was caught. Ta-chi said, "The guilt should not be attributed to Chi Ch'ang but to his son. Though Chi Ch'ang has been imprisoned in Yu Li for years, he hasn't shown

anything improper as a subordinate towards his ruler. But if his son is so adamant, there will be no place for him on this earth."The King asked Ta-chi, "How are you going to put the prince to death?" Ta-chi replied, "He insults my Lord he should be cut into pieces like minced meat. I have known that Chi Ch'ang is a fortune-teller. Wrap up the meat and give it to him. If Chi Ch'ang eats the meat of his son, he is not a diviner and cannot create trouble for my Lord. Then let him free. But if he knows it is the meat of his own son and does not eat it, he will be a good and wise man and will give my Lord trouble. Then put father and son to death so as to eliminate the worries that will ensue." The King was extremely glad and ordered Po-I K'ao to be cut into pieces.(34) The poem said:

I-K'ao went eastward to present his request before the King,
The evil fox met the ministers at the court,
Throwing down the flute, exasperated, he struck this ruthless ruler,
Though chopped and minced into pieces, he was not a wrong doer.

After I-K'ao was killed, the day became dark, thunders roared, clouds hung over the sky, winds blew vehemently and a sort of unpleasant air pervaded all the sky.

On that sombre day, the King, being afraid of something unusual, ordered a general amnesty in the whole nation. Ta-chi knew that the proper time had come, and the King ordered Fei Mêng to take the meat jelly to Chi Ch'ang. Next day Fei Mêng reached Tang-chou and saw the prefect. Then they went together to Yu Li Town to see Fêng Hsiung(馮 熊), the prison officer.

It was three days before, on the day of Chia-shên(甲申), when Chi Ch'ang felt some nervous apprehension, his eyes twitching and ears hot, and he prophesied that calamity would fall on one of his family members and an envoy would arrive. It was mid-autumn, and there were falling elm leaves. He used some leaves as coins, and with them in his hands he murmured, "The virtue of divination is harmonious with heaven and earth; its brilliance, with the sun and the moon; its order, with the four seasons; and its omens, with the will of the gods." When the leaves dropped from his hands, he was glad, because that meant he

(34) This story of Po-I K'ao appears here and approximately the same thing appears in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan(列國志傳), Chüan I, has nothing related to the flirtation of Ta-chi towards I-K'ao as it is described in the Ch.19 of Fêng Shên Yen I. I suspect that the author of Fêng Shên might have been inspired by the story of Kunāla(鳩那羅) and his step-mother. See sūtra A Yü Wang Ching(阿育王經), 4, A Yü Wang Hsi Huai Mu Yin Yüan Ching(阿育王息壞目因緣經), No.2043 & 2045,"The Tripitaka in Chinese", translated into Chinese during 351-394 A.D. The same story may be read from Hsüan Chuang's(玄奘) Ta T'ang Hsi Yü Chi(大唐西域記 "Record of Western Countries"), Ch.3, on the stūpa of Po-Lu-Lo(鉢露羅國塔).

It tastes very delicious." Fei Méng thought that Chi Ch'ang was not a wise man.(35)

Fei Méng went back to report to the King and the King asked, "What happened to the meat?" Fei Méng answered, "Chi Ch'ang ate the meat without any hesitation. He is not a wise man." The King was excited and told Fei Méng to go and set Chi Ch'ang free. Fei Méng went immediately into Yu Li Town and said to Chi Ch'ang, "I am now ordered by the King to set you free." Chi Ch'ang said, "I am grateful to the King and you." Fei Méng said, "The meat you ate was your son. Ta-chi told the King to test whether you are wise or not with your son's flesh." Chi Ch'ang heard this and dared not even utter a deep sigh, nor did he dare to visit Chao Ko. Fei Méng, the prefect and the prison officer bade farewell to Chi Ch'ang.

Chi Ch'ang was freed from prison and went on horse-back. When he came to a place fifteen li from Yu Li Town, he stopped, and feeling his throat with his fingers he vomited onto the ground something which changed into a rabbit. He cried bitterly and continued his journey night and day. We still have the Tomb of the Vomited Son(T'u Tzŭ Ch'ung 吐子塚)(36) at Tang Yin(蕩陰), and on the south bank of the Yang River(羊河), there is the ancient Chi Ch'ang Temple.

Heading west near Chao Ko, and in the northwest of Chi City(汲城), Chi Ch'ang met three brothers, Ku Chiao(鼓嬌), Ku Chih(鼓執) and Ku Kua(鼓适), leading soldiers out of the gate. They saw Chi Ch'ang and said, "We are ordered by the King to defend this place lest your troops take

would be free, and at the same time sad, because calamity would fall on his son.

Now that Chi Ch'ang thought that the envoy of the King must come to-day. No sooner had he spoken than the prefect and the envoy came to see him. The two men said, "We are ordered by the King to set you free. We have brought you meat to eat and your son, Po-I K'ao, is waiting for you in the capital." They gave Chi Ch'ang the meat and Chi Ch'ang thought, "This meat comes from my son. I shall die together with my son in the hands of the King if I do not eat the meat." Therefore Chi Ch'ang ate the meat and asked the envoy, "What meat is this? It tastes very delicious." Fei Mêng thought that Chi Ch'ang was not a wise man.(35)

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Yu(35) To cut someone into pieces and send the minced meat to his relative is a common topic in many Hua-pên. See the later part of this thesis(PP.203-4)

(36) T'u Tzŭ(吐子 vomiting son) and T'u Tzŭ(兔子 rabbit) are homonyms in Chinese.

Yu Li Town and rescue you." So they shouted, "Do not move!". And they ran after the Earl.

During his escape, Chi Ch'ang met two officers. He asked, "Who are you?" They asked Chi Ch'ang, "Who are you?" Chi Ch'ang said, "I am the Western Earl, just freed from Yu Li Town." They dismounted and saluted. Chi Ch'ang asked,"Who are you?" They said, "The Prince Yin Chiao and Hu Sung. We were coming to rescue you." The three Ku brothers arrived but were put to rout. Then the prince and his friend escorted Chi Ch'ang on the journey.

The three brothers sent a man to report to the King. Exasperated, the King commanded four of his generals, including Hsia Hou and Chi Liu-liu, to lead three thousand troops to pursue Chi Ch'ang. They reached the northwest of Têng City(鄧城).

Chi Ch'ang asked Hu Sung, "Why did you come to save me?" Hu Sung told him what had happened about the Prince. During the conversation, the three Ku brothers approached. Chi Hung and Fêng Wên-chien(逢文連) came to save Chi Ch'ang and they cried bitterly. Chi Ch'ang told them the King was ruthless and cut Po-I K'ao to pieces. They reprimanded the King when the King's troops arrived. The two parties clashed and the royal soldiers were defeated. But they came again and held on for one day without any results.

Then suddenly to the rescue of Chi Ch'ang came a long haired and ghost-like general, who shouldered a broad sword and yelled, "Come and fight with me." He was the Son of Thunder-shock, the hero of the Lu Chên Hill(隆眞山). His master had told him about Chi Ch'ang, therefore he came to rescue the Earl. He took his sword and mounted his horse, dashed into the battle and defeated the King's soldiers. Hsia Hou and Chi Liu-liu retreated with their troops.

The Son of Thunder-shock was introduced to Chi Ch'ang. All denounced the King. Hu Sung said to Chi Ch'ang, "I will come and assist you in destroying the King. I am now going to find the prince for he is missing." Hu Sung went away. The Son of Thunder-shock also said to Chi Ch'ang, "I will come and help you to defeat the King. I will now hurry back to my cave lest my master should reprove me." He departed.

On the tenth day, the Western Earl approached Ch'i-chou. Prince Fa, the future King Wu, and other officials went to welcome him. Chi Ch'ang told them about the mortifications he suffered in gaol and his son's being cut into pieces. They all cried bitterly. Chi Ch'ang said, "On the day I left, I told you that it would not be appropriate for you to come to see me." They lamented and cried for a long time. Then they followed the Earl to town. Chi Ch'ang first went to see his mother and then concentrated his energies in the administration of his government. He rewarded his soldiers with gratuities and feasts. His levies were light, and he made the miserable and solitary the first objects of his regard. there were no jailers in his gaol, no walls for confinement, and he was sparing in the use of punishments. He advanced to office men of talent and virtue and throughout the country farmers and traveling strangers learned to be courteous. Though he was strong enough to marshal the hosts to deal with King Chou and though two-thirds of the territory of Shang had submitted to him, his attitude towards King Chou remained obedient.

The defeated generals returned to the King and said, "My Lord, Chi Ch'ang was rescued by his men." The King was infuriated, "This man will give me yet trouble."

Every day the King and Ta-chi enjoyed themselves in Star Plucking Building and broke the shanks of boys and girls to see their marrow.

The East Stag Terrace was situated at the north-west of the Wei District(衛縣), and the West Stag Terrace was situated at the north-west of Chao Ko. Hills and waters were conspicuous in their landscapes.

One day the King sat in the court. An attendant said to him, "Listen, my Lord, an old fortune-teller is out in the street. A woman went to him and the old man said, 'This woman is not an ordinary one; she is the Venus in the firmament.' After this, the woman was changed into a golden ray and vanished. People all say it was a miracle. And I came to tell my Lord." The King was amazed, "How can there be such a fortune-teller?" And he sent for the old man.

The old man read the holy order and went into the court to see the King and bowed. The King said, "You are free from ceremonies. What is

your name?" The old man said, "My Lord, I come from Tung-hai County (東海郡). My name is Chiang Shang(姜尚), alias Tzŭ-ya(子牙) and I am called Fei Hsiung(飛熊, the Flying Bear)." The King asked about the woman and the old man said, "The Golden Star(Venus) changed itself into an ordinary person. She came to me to see whether the things I said were true or not. I told her the right thing and she disappeared in the form of a golden ray." The King said, "How can it be so true? Will you prophesy for me and foretell what will happen?" Tzŭ-ya nodded.

Then the King went to put ten taels of gold, his crown and a suit of royal garments behind the movable door-screen and came out to ask Tzŭ-ya, "What is behind the screen?" Tzŭ-ya said, "Ten taels of gold, your crown and a suit of royal garments." The King was very glad and asked, "Can you command military forces?" Tzŭ-ya said, "I will compile a strategy book for you." Then he went out of court and a moment later, brought the book to the King. The King was glad to know such an ingenious man who had filial devotion toward his mother. Therefore he made Tzŭ-ya a military adviser, gave him a house and a hundred taels of silver. All civil and military officials were glad to know Tzŭ-ya. And the King invited him to a dinner party.

When the moon came up from the east, the King retired and when he reached the Palace of Longevity(Ch'ang Shou Kung長壽宮), he encountered a beautiful lady. He was glad. The lady had a charming face and an alluring figure. When she saw the King, she tried in vain to hide, so she saluted to the King. The King asked, "Who are you?" The lady answered, "I am the wife of your minister." The King said, "Whose wife?" The lady said, "I am the wife of Huang Fei-hu(黃飛虎), and my family name is Kêng(耿氏)." The King asked, "You stay with me and I will make you Queen and your husband a high ranking official. What do you think of that?" The woman said, "Though you are high and I am low, I have no intention of clinging to the high. I want to keep myself chaste and undefiled. Birds soar high over the Southern Hill, but can you catch them by setting a net on the Northern Hill?" The King could not answer. The woman said again, "The fox does not suit the dragon-king and the tortoise does not suit the phoenix. I am an ordinary wo-

man; how can I suit you? How can you be a King if you act indecently?" The King smiled and released her. Then she reprimanded the King, "Ruthless King, do you know my husband, the Prince of Nan-Yen(南燕王)? If he knows what you have said, he will not let you go." Infuriated, the King cut the woman into pieces, put them in a box and ordered an envoy to take them to Cheh Ch'eng District(柘城縣) to the Prince of Nan-Yen.

In a few days the envoy arrived at the court of Huang Fei-hu(Flying Tiger), the Prince of Nan-Yen. After of changing salutations and having had three cups of wine, the envoy said, "I am now sent by the King to give you a box of meat paste to eat." Fei-hu said, "Sir, have you ever heard of the ruthlessness of the King, who loves to cut people into pieces and compel their kinsmen to eat the meat? Did you hear that Po-I K'ao had been made into meat paste, which his father was compelled to eat?" He said again, "My wife has gone to pay her respects to Ta-chi on her birthday and has not come back yet. And now you give me the meat paste. I now ask you, what meat is this? If you do not answer me truthfully, you shall have trouble." Fei-hu wielded his sword and asked the envoy again, "If you give me the right answer, I will spare you, but if not, I will tear you limb from limb." The envoy said that the meat came from his wife. Fei-hu was infuriated and after reprimanding the ruthless King, started a rebellion.

His son Fei-pao(飛豹 ,Flying Leopard) stopped his father and said, "My father, you cannot do this. You are a minister of the King and cannot go against him. Though my mother is dead, what can you do about it?" Fei-hu did not listen to his son but beheaded him. No one dared to admonish Fei-hu.

Fei-hu commanded thirty thousand troops stationed in the vicinity of Chao Ko. The King heard this and ordered five of his generals, Shih Yüan-kê(史元格), Chao Kung-ming(趙公明),(37) Yao Wên-liang(姚文亮), Chung Shih-ts'ai(鍾士才) and Liu Kung-yüan(劉公遠) to lead thirty thousand troops to meet Fei-hu. After two days' fighting, the King's troops were defeated. The five generals ordered a subordinate to go back to report to the King.

The King was angry and sent two more generals, Hsia Hou, the General

(37) The story of Chao Kung-ming is very much enlarged and appears from here is quite different in Fêng Shên Yen I, Chs.47 & 48.

of the Left, and Chi Liu-liu, the General of the Right, with three thousand reinforced troops to attack Fei-hu. In a few rounds, the royal troops were again defeated. An officer went back to report to the King. "Listen, my Lord, our generals were again defeated. Fei-hu slaughtered our envoy right in the battle."

Infuriated, the King ordered his attendants to beat the drum and strike the bell to convene a meeting in order to discuss the rebellion of Fei-hu in which all civil and military officials took place. Fei Chung said, "Listen, my Lord, post an order outside the palace saying that anyone who can capture Fei-hu shall be appointed a high ranking official of the King." The King followed the suggestion and posted the order on the palace gate accordingly.

Chiang Shang read the order and pulled up the post and went to see the King. The King asked, "How are you going to capture Fei-hu?" Chiang Shang said, "My Lord, please give me five generals and five thousand troops and I will get Fei-hu." The King was very glad. Chiang Shang prepared to move next morning.

Chiang Shang went home to say farewell to his mother, "I am now requested by the King to capture Huang Fei-hu." His mother said, "I am old now. You are going to assist a ruthless King. I hoped you would give your service to a wise and virteous king." Chiang Shang went to assemble his forces. Only Yang Jên(楊任) was not present. While Chiang Shang was pondering over his absence the man arrived. Chiang Shang asked him, "Why are you so late?" The man explained, "Because my mother is sick, I come late." Chiang Shang said, "I will cut a piece of flesh out of my hip which will cure your mother if she eats it." Yang Jên thanked him and took the piece of flesh back home to his mother. She ate it and was well again. The man went back to see Chiang Shang, "I have nothing to offer you in return. But I will risk my life to capture Fei-hu." Chiang Shang was glad and drew up a plan for the man.

At dusk, Yang Jên, clad in black clothes, followed the plan and sneaked into the camp of Huang Fei-hu. He was caught and pushed into the presence of Fei-hu. Fei-hu asked, "Who has instructed you to sneak

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into my camp?" Yang Jên said, "Chiang Shang." Fei-hu said, "Yang Jên, I do not want to kill you. But will you lead me to kill Chiang Shang?" Yang Jên said he would. So they arrived at the camp of Chiang Shang and cried out, "Open up." The sentry demanded the pass word and they gave it. So the two men went in.

It was quiet and they arrived at the tent of Chiang Shang. Suddenly a man shouted, "What are you waiting for?" The two men were caught and brought to Chiang Shang. Chiang Shang asked Fei-hu, "Why do you go against the King?" Fei-hu replied, "Because the King is ruthless. He cut my wife into pieces, deserted his son and killed his wife. He trusted Ta-chi and harms a lot of people. Therefore I go against him." Chiang Shang realized the King was immoral and told Fei-hu, "I do not know about this matter. It is not right for me to arrest you and I will set you free." Fei Mêng stopped Chiang Shang, "Do not let this man go as the King may know it and great trouble would be in store for you." Chiang Shang did not listen to this and set Fei-hu free.

Fei Mêng went to report to the King, "My Lord, Fei-hu was captured last night but Chiang Shang set him free. He did not listen to me but enumerated your shortcomings. He must intend to overthrow my Lord." The King was very angry and ordered Fei Chung to capture Chiang Shang. Fei Mêng said, "We had better first behead Chiang Shang's mother who is at home." The King agreed to the suggestion and ordered the mother to be brought to him. The mother said,"I am now going to die. My son will definitely follow a virtuous king." Then the King ordered the execution of the mother.

Fei Mêng ran after Chiang Shang but lost him. At night, Chiang Shang came to the post-house of the ancient Ên District, and gazed at the west. He discovered that the Zodiac of Cancer was filled with purple air, under which was the region of Ch'i-chou where he thought he could find the virtuous ruler. Then he made his way toward the south-west and cried bitterly, "My mother died at the hands of the ruthless King."

Fei Mêng was driven back by Huang Fei-hu and Fei-hu retreated to the Yellow River.

Fei Mêng went back to report to the King, "My Lord, I do not know the whereabouts of Chiang Shang." The King was exasperated and ordered that any one who could capture Chiang Shang would be highly rewarded. Then he commanded Generals Fei Lien and Fei Mêng to search everywhere for Chiang Shang.

The two generals received the King's order and started to search for Chiang Shang. They were informed that Chiang Shang was heading south-west. So they led their men and hurried after him. Chiang Shang ran into a forest and jumped into an old grave. The soldiers approached and shouted, "Chiang Shang is in the woods." They all rushed into the forest and discovered the grave. A soldier jumped into the grave and exalted himself, "I have caught him." When he tackled Chiang Shang he found that it was not Chiang Shang but his clothes covering some bones. The soldier came out of the grave and Chiang Shang was far away in the west. This trick was called "To deter an army by throwing away one's clothes."

The generals continued to pursue Chiang Shang. Chiang Shang reached the Yellow River and hid among the weeds. The soldiers arrived and heard something splash in the river. They said, "It must be Chiang Shang. He is drowning himself." So they returned.

Chiang Shang did not jump into the river but pushed a big rock into it so as to deceive the soldiers. Chiang Shang stayed overnight on the bank near the reeds, and next morning he saw a fisherman. He asked, "Will you take me across the river?" The fisherman said, "Who are you?" Chiang Shang said, "I am Chiang Shang. Who are you?" The fisherman said, "I am Kao Hsün. I took Yin Chiao, the prince, across the river some time ago." They talked about the ruthless King. The fisherman took Chiang Shang across the river and Chiang Shang headed west. The poem said:

His old mother was killed quite unexpectedly,
Ran he for his life and was out of danger.
Should he've drowned himself in the water,
How could the House of Chou(周) have been prosperous and flourishing?

Chiang Shang did not stop on his journey. In a few days he reached the T'ung Kuan Pass and saw the Queen's elder brother, who had charge of the Pass. Chiang Shang told him about the ruthless King. He wept and sighed and then let Chiang Shang go. A few days later, Chiang Shang passed the foot of a mountain at Hua-chou and was caught by several thousand robbers. He was brought to a prince. The prince asked, "Where do you come from?" Chiang Shang replied, "I am Chiang Shang and a minister of the King. On account of his ruthlessness, I arrived here." The prince heard this and ordered the men to release Chiang Shang and gave him three cups of wine. Then Chiang Shang asked who the prince was. The prince said, "I am Yin Chiao, son of the King. My father killed my mother and my nurse." Chiang Shang paid his respects to the prince. The prince was very glad and entertained him with a dinner. Then the prince suggested to Chiang Shang, "What do you think if I go to defeat the King together with you?" Chiang Shang said, "We cannot destroy him until after a few years. If we have a virtuous king, we can go together to destroy the ruthless King." Chiang Shang stayed for a few days and bade farewell to the prince.

Chiang Shang thought he would join the Western Earl for he learned from the people that he was virtuous and benevolent. Again he thought it was better for him to see Chi Ch'ang a few years after because this was his appointed lot and Chi Ch'ang would not know the unknown person. So for the time being, Chiang Shang concealed himself as a fisherman.

Fei Lien and Fei Mêng went back to the palace to report to the King, "Listen, my Lord, we pursued Chiang Shang and he jumped into the river and drowned himself." The King was extremely glad and rewarded the two generals.

One day, the King arranged a feast in the Wu-t'ung garden of the rear palace and invited all civil and military officials to join him. During the revel, they heard a queer sound which came from the depth of a bush. They were frightened. A nine-tailed and golden-haired fox appeared under the bush. Pi-kan, the Royal Uncle, said, "This is a monster. I will shoot it with bow and arrow." He shot the fox and the arrow hit it. Sparks scattered around and the fox dashed into a hole

with the arrow. Pi-kan said, "Send some one to dig it out." The King ordered some rough men to excavate the hole. Inside the hole there were about a hundred foxes. Pi-kan said again, "I will get rid of them." The King was very glad and all the officials retired.

The King went back to the inner palace and told Ta-chi what had happened. Ta-chi fell flat to the floor. After she was picked up, the King asked, "Why did you fall?" Ta-chi, worried by the thought that the King might discover that she was a monster and that Pi-kan had killed her ancestors and their offspring, deceived the King, "I have had heart attacks since my early childhood. Now I have it again. But for Heaven's sake, do not kill the fox." The King granted her request and posted an order on the palace gate prohibiting any person from killing the foxes. Ta-chi bore a grudge against Pi-kan, who, she thought, must be put to death.

One day, Pi-kan was passing by the wine pool, the meat forest and the other implements of torture. A whirlwind arose and Pi-kan realized that it was the souls of the victims who had been sacrificed by Ta-chi and so far no one had avenged their death. Pi-kan thought he had the authority to admonish the King. Therefore he went into the court and advised the King, "My Lord, you trust Ta-chi and have set up those ghastly tools to harm people and build towers and palaces. You have stored up the food of the people, slaughtered pregnant women, splitted the shanks of boys and girls, executed loyal ministers, cut people into meat paste, murdered the Queen, deserted your son, imprisoned Chi Ch'ang and driven Huang Fei-hu to rebellion. These are all evil deeds. Your intelligence must have been impeded and proved useless since Ta-chi could make you commit all sorts of evil things. Are you not afflicted when you try to recollect those scenes? I hope my Lord will follow my advice and eliminate Ta-chi as well as her kin. Then the people will honour you." The King did not say anything. Pi-kan continued, "In former days, our ancestor King T'ang got out of his car, embraced a corpse on the road and cried. A minister asked, 'Why do you cry?' King T'ang said, 'I have heard that there was no starvation during the reigns of the Three Emperors and the Five Kings, and of Yao, Shun and Yü. But

there are endless deaths from famine during my reign. Am I immoral?' So King T'ang opened his treasury and distributed clothes and food to the needy families. Whole population honoured him as an exemplary ruler. This is the good point of King T'ang. My Lord, think it over and follow my advice and execute Ta-chi." The King was not pleased and did not listen to Pi-kan. The poem said:

The reigns of Yao and Shun was so modest and unassuming,
Yet the people grumbled at King Chou's maleficent doings,
If he were wise enough to accept Pi-kan's words,
Who would then be able to rise against him?

Pi-kan continued, "The ruthless Chieh, who was the descendant of King Yü of Hsia and whose capital was An-I District(安邑縣) of P'u Ch'êng(蒲城), did not care about the administration of his government and did not permit people to cultivate their lands and raise silk-worms. There were rebellions everywhere. Therefore King T'ang, assisted by I-Yin(伊尹), raised a punitive force against him. My Lord will follow the same way as Chieh if he does not believe what I have said." The King remained taciturn. Pi-kan continued, "Have you ever heard of the seven years' draught? King T'ang prayed for rain but no rain came. He supplicated Chi Ch'i, the God of the Altar of the Land and Grain, for mercy, but Chi gave no response. King T'ang was deeply vexed and intended to exterminate the offering when his Grand Historiographer came to advise him, 'If you want rain, you can burn a man and dedicate him to God.' King T'ang said, 'How could I burn a man? The fault was mine. If it rained, I would mount the pyre and let myself be burnt.' So King T'ang mounted the pyre and his subjects sighed. It so happened that the Queen and the prince passed by. They pitied the King and said, 'We will also mount the pyre.' Therefore the three persons sat erect with their eyes closed. Fire burnt on all sides and smoke pervaded the air. The people lamented, 'The King will perish in an instant.' Suddenly dark clouds overshadowed the sky and there came a heavy downpour of rain. The people felt ashamed, prostrated and acclaimed the noble deed of their king. King T'ang was saved. The harvest was rich and the people honoured King T'ang vehemently. King T'ang

then ordered that sacrifices should be offered to the Altar of the Land in the second month, and to the Altar of the Grain in the eighth month of every year. My Lord, have you not heard of the good deeds of King T'ang? There will be peace if you listen to my advice, but if not, my Lord will die at the hands of our common people." The King was infuriated and ordered his attendants to push Pi-kan to one side.

The King asked Ta-chi, "How about this man?" Ta-chi recollected that once Pi-kan was designated to Shih-chou(碩州). He went to a temple to offer sacrifices to the gods. He saw a hole and ordered a man to go into the hole to see what was inside. The man saw a fox sitting on a bed. He came out to tell Pi-kan and Pi-kan instructed his men to burn the hole and to suffocate the fox. Suddenly a spring gushed out which is situated on the north of the present Cold Spring Village (Han Ch'üan Ts'un 寒泉村). The fox slipped away through the water and went toward the west and at last reached the ancient Ên-chou. In the post-house the fox met Su Hu's daughter and changed her soul and the witch became Ta-chi. Pi-kan had destroyed her predecessors. So Ta-chi thought Pi-kan must die at her hands. After the recollection, Ta-chi said to the King, "Pi-kan is an intelligent man because there are seven holes in his heart." The King asked, "How do you know?" Ta-chi said, "If my Lord do not believe it, cut open his stomach and see." Therefore the King ordered his men to slaughter Pi-kan. It proved true. The King was glad and said to Ta-chi, "You know a lot." Ta-chi said to herself, "Now I have retaliated." And that night Ta-chi ate the heart of Pi-kan. (38)

During a feast given by the King, Chi Tzŭ and Wei Tzŭ came to advise but the King would not listen to them. Chi Tzŭ was degraded as a slave with his hair shaved off while Wei Tzŭ was deprived of his duties in court, whereupon he left Chao Ko. The King trusted such sycophants as Fei Chung and Fei Mêng who were implements of Ta-chi, and also Marshal Ch'ung Hou-hu(崇侯虎) so that he created trouble for himself. The poem said:

King Chou followed the advice of Ta-chi and trusted Ch'ung Hou,
His
^head had been turned by Fei Chung's flattery.

(38) cf. Fêng Shên Yen I, Chs.25-27. The death of Pi-kan is also elaborately enlarged and polished in Fêng Shên.

cauldron,

Imprisoned the virtuous and split the shanks of his people.
Chi Pi-kan was killed for the seven holes in his heart,
Chi Tzŭ saved his life and feigned to be mad,
Since Tzŭ-ya and Huang Fei-hu had deserted him and flown westward,
It was certain that people from all quarters would follow their examples.

Chiang Shang headed west and arrived at Pang Stream(P'ang Ch'i 磅溪) which was a tributary of the River Wei(渭水), situated ten li south of Kuo District(虢縣) and forty li south of Ch'i-chou. On the bank of the River, he was a long time angling for fish without using bait, and his fish-hook was straight. He sighed to himself, "My hair is becoming gray and yet I have not met the enlightened ruler." He was irresolute but at last decided that he would continue to wait there.

Chiang Shang managed to do some business but it always resulted in failure. His wife, née Ma(馬氏), left him because his fortune was low. Chiang Shang did not keep her but let her go. One day, a wood-cutter carried some wood and stopped in front of Chiang Shang for a rest. Seeing the man was not energetic, Chiang Shang asked him, "What is your name?" The wood-cutter said, "My name is Wu Chi(武吉)." Chiang Shang asked again, "Give me your age and date of birth, and I will tell your fortune for you." Wu Chi told him and Chiang Shang said, "To-day you will be involved in a case of manslaughter." Wu Chi said, "What case? Is it that I will have a brawl with some one?" Chiang Shang said, "If anything happens to you, come to me, but if not, do not come to see me." The wood-cutter thereupon carried his wood to Kuo District for sale. The gate attendant did not let him in and demanded money. Wu Chi said, "I will give you money when I come back and have sold these faggots." The gate attendant refused to let him pass and hit him. Wu Chi pushed the gate attendant to the ground and there he lay breathless and died. Wu Chi was arrested. He cried bitterly and thought that the fisherman was a good man.

Wu Chi was arrested and brought to Chi Ch'ang in Ch'i-chou for

He slaughtered thousands of pregnant women and set up the serpent-cauldron,
Imprisoned the virtuous and split the shanks of his people.
Pi-kan was killed for the seven holes in his heart,
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Wu Chi was arrested and brought to Chi Ch'ang in Ch'i-chou for

trial. Chi Ch'ang did not reprimand him and only lines of demarcation were drawn on the ground to serve as confinement. Chi Ch'ang said, "Your case is serious. I should claim your life for his death." Wu Chi cried, "I do not mind dying. But there will be no one who will look after my mother." Chi Ch'ang knew he was a filial son and said, "I give you ten taels of gold for the sustenance of your mother. I give you seven days of freedom and after that, you must come back to serve the sentence. If you do not come back, I know where to find you and will have you arrested without the slightest mitigation." Wu Chi thanked him and went away.

Wu Chi went home and told his mother, "The fisherman of Pang Stream knows my fortune. I am involved in manslaughter and my life will be claimed." The mother cried bitterly, "My son will surely have trouble. We will go to the fisherman for help in the morning."

Next morning, mother and son went to the river bank to see the fisherman. Chiang Shang asked, "Who are you?" The son said, "I am Wu Chi. It is true that I am involved in a manslaughter case. Now the Western Earl gives me a few taels of gold for the support of my mother and also gives me seven days of freedom. And it is the seventh day now and I must go back to serve my sentence." The fisherman said, "I have heard that even ants love to live. Why are you so stupid and do not run away?" Wu Chi said, "If I run away, the Earl will know where to find me. Therefore we come to you for help." The fisherman said, "I will teach you a trick which will save your life. What do you think?" Mother and son thanked him and said, "How can we forget to do something in return if you save us?"

The fisherman said, "Buy a pot of non-glutinous rice. When you can not eat all of it, the rest should be made into forty-nine rice balls and placed in your mouth. Then you go south of the house and come to a hill in the east. You lie down with your head facing south and your feet facing north. Place a pot of water, a mirror, and a bamboo pole twelve feet long, with one end open, beside your head. Then pour water into the pole, put the pole over your head and cover up your body with a mattress. If you still live past noon, you will

be safe." Mother and son thanked the fisherman and went home. Wu Chi followed the plan and did not go back to serve his sentence.

Chi Ch'ang was surprised at Wu Chi's not coming back and prophesied that the man would try to avoid execution and drown himself in water of twelve-foot depth with his mouth full of maggots. Chi Ch'ang no longer thought of Wu Chi. The poem said:

Wu Chi's life was claimed for manslaughter,
Released for seven days because of his old mother.
As soon as he had learned the trick at the river bank,
It was sure that he would be spared and out of danger.

The fisherman outwitted the Western Earl.

At night, Chi Ch'ang dreamt of a flying bear which flew into the court. He was startled. Next morning Chi Ch'ang summoned all officials to court and told them about the dream. Tan, the Duke of Chou, was skilled in explaining dreams and he said, "You dream of a bear which can fly and that means it is irresistible. A very capable premier shall come from the south. You must tour the south to find him. Former kings and rulers always dreamed of something before they sat on the throne. Emperor Hsien-yüan(軒轅) dreamt of a phoenix and then he got the Taoist Fêng-hou(封后) who helped him to exterminate the troops of Ch'ih-yu(蚩尤) in the wild of Cho-lu(涿鹿). He dreamt also of ascending to heaven and it was not more than a hundred days when this dream became true. King Yao was enthroned after he had dreamt of ascension. King T'ang dreamt of sustaining the firmament with his hands and he became a ruler. Now you dreamed of a flying bear and you will surely meet a wise man."

Chi Ch'ang staged a procession and started the tour to burn incense. When the procession returned, Chi Ch'ang recognized one man in the crowd. Surprised, he said, "You are here." Then he sent for Wu Chi and said, "I know you ran away from the execution and went to drown yourself. How have you managed to survive?" Wu Chi told him, "There is a fisherman on the bank of P'an Stream, who knows tricks, and he saved me." Chi Ch'ang said, "I excel in sorcery but the fisherman outwitted me. Is this true?" Wu Chi said, "It is the truth." Chi Ch'ang

rewarded Wu Chi and appointed him a general of his escort. Wu Chi thanked him and Chi Ch'ang said, "You lead me to go hunting."

Next morning, Chi Ch'ang mounted his carriage and Wu Chi led the way for the purpose of seeking the wise man.

On the bank, Chiang Shang held the rod and sighed, "I am now eighty and have not met an enlightened ruler. I am not angling here but hoping a wise sovereign will come into my trap." He wrote a poem for himself:

In my misfortune I am deserted by my wife,
At the bank of Wei River I fish everyday.
I am not angling but hoping a wise sovereign will come
Into my trap who will be prosperous and attain to the imperial sway.

Suddenly he perceived in the north, a clear sky and he said, "Three days more, and some dignitaries must pass by." A big rock, of red and green, was pushed down by the water like a mat and stopped in front of Chiang Shang. He thought that in the ancient time when the Taoist Fêng-hou passed by, this stone drifted about and stopped before him who became later the military adviser to Hsien-yüan, the Yellow Emperor. He thought this was the "King's Rock." A poem written by a later scholar said:

A piece of stone drifted and stopped against the bank,
Cold winds blew over the misty waves in the sky.
Since Chiang Shang who was fortunate enough to have a brilliant ruler,
Whoever shared his good luck would be envied by all.

Chüan III

Chi Ch'ang(King Wên 文王)[39] entered Kuo District with his procession. Citizens and officials of the town welcomed them. Early next morning, Chi Ch'ang went out of the town with his attendants and was about seven li from the town when he felt a pleasing atmosphere and heard the singing of birds. He told his men, "The wise man is near." He also saw a yellow atmosphere spurting up against the sky. His mi-

(39) The original text uses "Wên Wang 文王 or King Wên" many times. I think the name was used colloquially by the story-tellers.

"My Lord, we are approaching the P'an Stream and the fisherman is in front of us." Chi Ch'ang said, "You go there first." Wu Chi went to the fisherman and came back to tell Chi Ch'ang that the fisherman held a fishing-rod.

When Chi Ch'ang was very near the bank of the river, he dismounted from his carriage and walked to the fisherman and thrice paid him his deep respects, to which the fisherman did not pay any attention. Chi Ch'ang then saluted him again and was glad when the fisherman raised his hands, indicating condescension. Chiang Shang, holding his rod, asked, "Who are you old man?" Chi Ch'ang said, "I am Chi Ch'ang the Western Earl, and I came out in search of a wise man who can help me to defeat the ruthless King." Chiang Shang did not say anything. Chi Ch'ang asked again, "I know you are angling here awaiting your appointed fate. I hope you understand that I come to offer my sincerity and hope you will appreciate it. What is your idea?" Chiang Shang thought that though Chi Ch'ang was a real King he did not treat him(the King) with what was due to him, nor did he pay any attention to his supplication. Yet Chi Ch'ang was not angry because he was magnanimous.

Chiang Shang tested Chi Ch'ang, "You are going on a hunt and have no real intention of searching for a wise man. You come here for amusement. I am an old fisherman, how can I deserve to take a high position? I beg you to leave." Chiang Shang vanished in the weeds. Chi Ch'ang thought he himself was in the wrong and went back to town. He abstained from meat for three days and on the third day, after taking a bath, summoned his officials on another mission to seek the wise man.

The procession arrived at the river bank. Chiang Shang knew of their arrival but hid in the reeds and did not come out to welcome them. Chi Ch'ang dismounted from the carriage and could only find Chiang Shang's rod planted on the bank. He sang a poem:

In searching for a wise man I come to the river bank,
But I cannot find anything of him except his fishing-rod;
Would he condescend to oblige me with a speedy answer,
The House of Chou(周) will flourish by his wise counsel.

nisters San I Shêng, T'ai Tien, Hung Yao and Nan-kung Kua all said, "The wise man is near." Wu Chi, now the escorting grneral, said, "My Lord, we are approaching the P'an Stream and the fisherman is in front of us." Chi Ch'ang said, "You go there first." Wu Chi went to the fisherman and came back to tell Chi Ch'ang that the fisherman held a fishing-rod.

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Then he asked, "Where are you? I come here for your instruction to consolidate the prosperity of the empire and bring tranquillity to the altars." He paused for long while but nothing occurred and Chi Ch'ang chanted another poem stressing his determination to keep the country and society in order:

Please examine my sincerity and determination,
This time I come out not for hunting.
Should you condescend to instruct me and give repose to the altars,
Surely I would sacrifice my life to repay your favour.

Chiang Shang heard the poem and came out from the weeds to receive Chi Ch'ang. After they had exchanged courtesies with each other, Chi Ch'a said, "What would you say if I ask you to be my minister and to assist me in stabilizing our nation?" Chiang Shang was impressed and replied in a poem:

I beg to thank you for your kindness in coming to the P'an Stream,
And asking me to be your minister and consolidate your realm.
May I present you some principles for the governing of a state,
And help you bring the country to the attainment of imperial sway?

Chi Ch'ang was very glad and helped the fisherman to the carriage which headed north. Chiang Shang chanted another poem:

I have been holding my fishing-rod on the bank of the Wei River,
Chi Ch'ang(King Wên), on account of his dream, searches for me here.
Though I am growing old I shall be appointed marshal,
And for eight hundred years the prosperity of Chou(周) can be secured.

On hearing this, Tan, the Duke of Chou, sang a poem in return:

The Earl dreams of a bear flying to his court,
A wise general he has found on the bank of the Wei River.
Because King Chou is ruthless and tyrannous,
The prosperity of Chou(周) can be insured forever.

As the Duke finished this poem, the procession arrived in Ch'i-chou. The next day, Chi Ch'ang invited Chiang Shang to a dinner-party and asked, "What is your name, old man?" The fisherman answered, "My

name is Chiang Shang, alias Tzŭ-ya and I am called Fei Hsiung(Flying Bear). Chi Ch'ang was very glad, "Your title is conformable with my dream. You are a genuinely good general. Where is your wife?" Chiang Shang said, "I have met a good King, why should I care about a wife?" Chi Ch'ang heard this queer saying and asked again, "Will you assist me in punishing the ruthless King and pacifying the nation?" Chiang Shang said, "When I was angling on the river bank, I was not fishing but hoping I could catch a wise ruler. There is no question about raising a punitive force against the ruthless King and pacifying the nation since you have favoured me with your appointment."(40)

Chi Ch'ang told Chiang Shang about the ruthless King and Chiang Shang said, "I know it thoroughly and therefore I come to you." Chi Ch'ang was exceedingly glad and designated him to be the Duke of Hêng-t'an(恆檀公). All officials were glad on hearing this, and after the party, they all retired.

That night, on the third watch, Chi Ch'ang dreamt of a beautiful woman who came in from outside and wailed before the Duke of Hêng-t'an, "I am the daughter of the dragon-king of the Eastern Sea and am married to the son of the dragon-king of the Western Sea. My husband's parents are stern and severe. I am now on leave to see my parents who reside in your territory. As I am a dragon, there are heavy rains and storms when I travel. Rice paddy fields have been destroyed. And I am glad. Now I have reached your land but I dare not commit such mischief and therefore I cry." Chi Ch'ang was very frightened and woke up. He thought Chiang Shang, the Duke of Hêng-t'an, must be a man of excellent virtues and great intelligence. Next morning Chi Ch'ang assembled all the officials and told them about the dream and they were very glad.

Chi Ch'ang followed the way of the Emperor Hsien-yüan, pacified the nation and consoled his citizens. He offered sacrifices to heaven and the earth, the mountains and the rivers, then he appointed Chiang Shang as his Premier, and invested him with the honourable title of T'ai Kung (太公).

He invited all officials to a feast and asked Chiang Shang to address them. Chiang Shang, instructing the officials to do their best

(40) See Fêng Shên Yen I, Chs.23 & 24. But Fêng Shên depends more, I think, on Chüan I, Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan(列國志傳), so far as this part is concerned.

and snow, that the earth is lucrative means good harvests, and that man is joyous means everything goes smoothly. These are all due to the enlightened reign of the Western Earl."

Chi Ch'ang held the reins of his government for three years, and his domain was aggrandized to two-thirds of the territory of King Chou. One day he recollected his imprisonment in Yu Li Town, his son's being cut into pieces, the cruelty of the King so poignantly that he became ill. He told his mother, T'ai Jên, "My mother, please take good care of yourself. I am now going to die." He also told his son Chi Fa, the King Wu, "After I die, you must cooperate with your subordinates and treat your army well. Pay respects to Chiang Shang and do not forget to avenge the death of Po-I K'ao." After saying this, he yielded up his spirit.

The mother asked King Wu(Chi Fa), "How are you going to rule your country as a King?" King Wu rose and bowed, "My grandmother, in the administration of our country, I would, first, not oppress my citizens, second, pay attention to the affairs of the state, third, not waste any man power, fourth, suffer and enjoy with my soldiers, and fifth, love my officers and men." The grandmother was very glad, "My grandson is qualified to be a King." Then they buried Chi Ch'ang.

All were happy after King Wu came to the throne. Chiang Shang was again appointed general. He assisted King Wu, concurrently as general and as premier, to rule the country to the satisfaction of all.

Three years had passed, and King Wu still did not think of attacking the ruthless ruler, nor he recalling of Chiang Shang. Chiang Shang was surprised. He thought again of the cruel death of his mother and wrote to King Wu.

One day King Wu was surprised to find a piece of paper on his desk. On the paper was written: "A ruler is born from heaven and with him no one can compete. Now the people have been looking up to you as their redeemer. Though I am old, I am not willing to yield. I met a wise ruler when I was a fisherman. Now I think Your Majesty is not intelli-

and prepare to fight against the ruthless King, said, "Heaven, the earth, and man are the three powers. That heaven is pliable means enough rain and snow, that the earth is lucrative means good harvests, and that man is joyous means everything goes smoothly. These are all due to the enlightened reign of the Western Earl."

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gent, because you do not employ me to fulfil my appointed fate." A poem said:

The hooks of other fishermen were bent while that of Chiang Shang was straight,
And on this straight hook not even bait was set.
Since King Wên was dead who could not revive,
Who would care to ask you the idea of your straight hook?

Another poem said:

He was angling at the bank of P'an Stream three year ago
With a rod with a straight hook to which no bait was attached.
Though he was then picked up by King Wên and received with a carriage,
Three years had lapsed and no one inquired of him how to cast the Net.

After reading the paper and the poems, King Wu was very glad and summoned his officials for a meeting in which Chiang Shang took part. King Wu gave him an embroidered cushion to sit on.

King Wu said, "When my father was dying, he called me to his bedside and enumerated the cruelties of the ruthless Chou. Now I appoint you as my general to command my forces against him. How are you going to manage them?" Chiang Shang said, "If you want to attack him, heaven, the earth, and man must be with us." King Wu then asked the officials, "I am now going to appoint Chiang Shang as my general to fight against the ruthless King. What is your opinion?" San I Shêng, Kao, the Duke of Pi, and Shih, the Duke of Chao, all said, "Listen, my Lord, please observe the old rule. Build an altar and make the new appointment thereon, then we shall be able to destroy the ruthless King." King Wu granted the request.

Thereupon the ministers chose a propitious day to perform the ceremony. The altar was built. Chiang Shang was seated in a carriage which was pushed on to the place, with King Wu holding the hub of its wheel. And then, in accordance with the ceremony with which Emperor Hsien-yüan received the Taoist-master Fêng-hou, they reverently led Chiang Shang to ascend the altar and worshipped him. In the hands of

his attendants were a golden halberd, a black-coloured flag, stirrups, a tasseled staff, a seal and tablets. Pennants, streamers of different colours and ornamented with panther-tails were fluttering in the air. Sacrifices were offered to the ancestors. They placed a big axe before Chiang Shang with the head facing the ancestral tablets and the handle facing Chiang Shang. Those who would not listen to Chiang Shang would be struck by the axe. They worshipped heaven, the earth and the gods.

King Wu gave a feast and invited all the ministers to join him. He asked Chiang Shang, "Who shall be your assistants?" Chiang Shang suggested, "Tan, the Duke of Chou, shall be my military adviser, Chi Hung shall be my general who will bring up the rear, Nan-kung Kua my vanguard, for he can use brass bows and iron arrows, Nan-kung Lieh(南宮列) my assistant vanguard, for he can use a big sword." King Wu asked again, "How many men do you need?" Chiang Shang said, "Thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three men."(41) King Wu said, "How can we defeat the enormous armies of King Chou with our small forces?" Chiang Shang said, "There are Stars of the Three Terraces.(42) There are thirty thousand stars in the sky. And there are three hundred orbits of the constellations between night and day. Now we will stop every thirty li so that we shall not feel tired, then we can defeat King Chou." King Wu was extremely glad.

On the third day, when Chiang Shang started to lead his forces to battle, King Wu said, "I also hate the ruthless King. I shall follow you." Thereupon the army moved forward. And Ch'i-chou was left in the care of King Wu's grandmother.

In more than a month, the army arrived at the T'ung Kuan Pass and pitched their camps. The commander of the pass, Chiang Hsien(姜顯) who was the brother of Queen Chiang, knew of their arrival and did not open the gate but sent someone to report to King Chou. The King grinned when he opened the letter, "Chiang Shang, my former military adviser, is appointed general. He is nothing to be afraid of, for he is decrepit." So he ordered Fei Chung, Fei Ta(費達) and Fei Yen(費顏) to command fifteen thousand troops to meet the forces of King Wu.

In a few days, the three generals arrived at the Pass and called on

(41) This number of soldiers 33,333 seems very queer. But I have discovered something from the play Pa I Chi(八義記) by Hsü Yüan(徐元) of the Ming dynasty. In one of its scenes entitled "Chang Wei P'ing Hua"(張維評話), the story-teller Chang Wei tells the expedition of King Wu and mentions the number of soldiers as 33,333 and a half. There are at least several more lines in this play which are entirely the same as in this Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua. Again, in the play P'ien I Hsing Shih Hu T'ou P'ai(便宜行事虎頭牌), Act 3, by Li Chih-fu(李直夫) of Mongol Yüan dynasty, there are some four lines which are same as in this P'ing-hua.

(42) San T'ai(三台), the six stars forming part of the constellation of Ursa Major.

Chiang Hsien, the commander, who told them what had happened. The battle commenced. Nan-kung Lieh and Fei Ta fought a duel. After a few rounds, Fei Ta thrust his spear toward Nan-kung Lieh but was struck to death. Fei Yen dashed forward on horseback and attacked Nan-kung Lieh. In the tenth round, Nang-kung Lieh broke the neck bone of his enemy. Fei Chung and his men withdrew into the Pass.

The commander of the Pass asked what the result was and Fei Chung, who was panting said after a long pause, "Nan-kung Lieh has killed Fei Ta and Fei Yen and I have just escaped luckily. I beg you to post more guards in the entrance to the Pass. I am now going to the King for reinforcements." Then Fei Chung went away.

Chiang Shang ordered an officer to take a letter to the commander of the Pass. The commander opened it and read:

"I have not seen you for a long time and I am much obliged to you for harbouring me when I was in trouble. Do you not know the cruelty of the King who has thrown your sister down from the Star Plucking Building to death, disinherited the Prince Yin Chiao, imprisoned the Western Earl for seven years, cut Po-I K'ao into pieces, caused Huang Fei-hu to revolt, executed my mother, slaughtered Pi-kan, and deprived the loyal officials of their duties? He ill-treats his armies, trusts Ta-chi, harms people and does not listen to his loyal ministers. Even the farmers and weavers bear grudges against him. Now we are going to attack him. If you do not open the gate and let us in, it will mean that you are going to assist the cruel King. But if I send my forces to attack your gate and capture you, it will mean the friendship between you and me will be ended. Is it not good for you if you open the gate of the Pass and I shall recommend you to King Wu and offer you a high position and an opportunity to avenge the death of your sister?

Field-Marshal, Chiang Shang."

The Pass commander hoisted the flag of truce after he read the letter. Chiang Shang occupied the Pass and ordered his troops to station themselves east of the Pass.

An officer informed the Marshal that Hu Lui(胡雷), the cruising envoy, and his men were approaching. The Marshal asked, "Who is going

to capture Hu Lui?" Nan-kung Kua, the vanguard, said, "I will," and he let his men out.

The two generals fought each other like a dragon and a tiger. Soldiers from both sides shouted. In the tenth round, Nan-kung Kua ran away and Hu Lui pursued him. Nan-kung Kua adroitly shot his enemy at the back and Hu Lui fell from his horse. He was escorted back by his men and Nan-kung Kua went back to camp to report to the Marshal. The Marshal was very glad.

The Marshal predicted that a general would come to join him. It proved true. The general went to pay his respects to King Wu and the Marshal. The King asked, "Who are you?" The general said, "I had promised your Marshal that if he joined the Western Earl and was made a general, I would assist him in defeating the ruthless King. Now I know he has been appointed Marshal, therefore I come to join him. I am Yin Chiao, the Prince." King Wu and the Marshal were very glad and appointed the Prince as Full General. The Prince could wield a big axe, weighing a hundred catties.

Fei Chung went to Chao Ko and told the King, "Nan-kung Lieh has killed Fei Ta and Fei Yen." Exasperated, the King ordered Fei Mêng to lead his troops to the Pass. Nan-kung Kua and Fei Mêng fought in a duel. A soldier stealthily chopped the leg of Fei Mêng's horse and Fei Mêng fell and was captured. The Marshal ordered this man to be put to death by the slow process of slicing his limbs etc. before he was beheaded. He was the elder brother and collaborator of the sycophant Fei Chung.

The Marshal sat in his tent and ordered Kao Hui(高毅) and Chi Hung to command one thousand troops to capture Yung Town(容城). On the way they encountered Chou's generals Li Lou(雒婁) and Shih K'uang(師曠). In a few rounds Kao Hui and Chi Hung were routed. They went back to report to the Marshal and begged to be punished. The Marshal forgave them and designed a plan ordering some soldiers to hide in a rocky cave named Chin-k'ou Yen(噤口巖 or Shut-mouth Cave) to induce Li Lou and Shih K'uang to the cave and trap them.

On the next day Nan-kung Kua fought Li Lou and Shih K'uang for

thirty rounds. Nan-kung Kua pretended defeat and ran toward the west. Li Lou and Shih K'uang did not follow but laughed and shouted, "Old man, the ambush trick you employ, we know it beforehand." To his astonishment the Marshal thought, "How can they know my plan beforehand?" The Marshal designed another plan instructing his soldiers to change clothes thrice. All followed the plan.(43)

Li Lou and Shih K'uang knew this plan beforehand also, and told the Marshal in a note. The Marshal was amazed, "They know my heart's desire and how am I going to catch them?" He vacillated. Chiang Hsien came to tell the Marshal, "Li Lou is called Thousand-li Eye, while Shih K'uang is called Favourable Wind Ear. They can do nothing except see and hear very far." The Marshal sighed, "It is wonderful. It is difficult to catch them while I do not know it. Now that I know it, I can get them." The Marshal drew his plan for the Prince Yin Chiao behind the blinds and ordered his officers to collect fove hundred drums and gongs and beat them so as to make Shih K'uang hear nothing but the noise they made. Then he ordered his men to cover up the whole battle front with three thousand embroidered flags so as to make Li Lou see nothing. The Marshal ordered that drums and gongs should be beaten in the battle to be staged on the next morning.

On the next day, Nan-kung Kua stepped forward to challenge Li Lou. They clashed on horseback. They fought with the utmost of their energy and fought like dragons and tigers. In the thirtieth round, Nan-kung Kua pretended to be defeated and Li Lou ran after him. Li Lou could not see because of the flags and Shih K'uang could not hear because of the noisy drums and gongs. The Prince Yin Chiao captured Li Lou and Nan-kung Kua shot down Shih K'uang. The Marshal ordered them to be executed at the foot of Tung Kang Ridge(東岡嶺) near Shan-fu(陝府).

On the way to the execution, a wild wind arose and carried away stones and sands like dust. Tiles were blown off from roofs and men could not see each other. Suddenly the two prisoners disappeared in the execution square. The supervisor of the execution and the two executioners went back to report to the Marshal about this queer happening. The Marshal asked, "What happened?" They said, "We were about

(43) The plan is not very clear to readers as it was not carried out.

to execute the prisoners when a gale came in which the prisoners disappeared." So the Marshal ordered his men to search for the two men: They arrived at a place about five li east of Shan-fu and found on two side walls at the front gate of the Temple of Emperor Hsien-yüan, the Thousand li Eye and the Favourable Wind Ear. The Marshal was informed of this and did not bother about them any more but concentrated on recapturing Yung Town.(44)

On the order of the Marshal, the troops arrived at Min Ch'ih(澠池). A general, whose name was Ch'in Ching(秦敬), led his troops out of the town and asked Prince Yin Chiao, "Why do you go against the government?" Yin Chiao said, "Because the King is ruthless, therefore I come to fight him. Are you preparing to yield to me?" Ch'in Ching said, "When you overcome me, I will yield to you, but if you are not equal to me, then you can see the big sword I am holding." Yin Chiao was very angry and clashed with Ch'in Ching. In a few rounds, Yin Chiao dealt a blow on Ch'in Ching with his big axe which split him in two. The defeated army withdrew and Yin Chiao took over the town and from thence he reached Loyang(洛陽).

Po I(伯夷) and Shu Ch'i(叔齊) came and admonished King Wu, "Listen, my Lord, a minister must not fight against his King, a son must not fight against his father. If his father dies unburied, how can a son have filial devotion? If a minister murders his King, how can he be loyal? My Lord, your flags and wheels cover up the road and we advise you to stop fighting and withdraw your troops. We hope my Lord will listen to our advice and establish yourself only in Ch'i-chou. The ruthless King will destroy himself by the virtuous influence of my Lord." They took the chance when the dust was rising in clouds and only wanted King Wu to accept their advice and withdraw his troops.

King Wu did not accept the advice and said, "King Chou has imprisoned my father, cut my elder brother to pieces,(45) harmed a lot of people, murdered good men, slaughtered pregnant women, split people's shanks, installed punishing implements, killed his wife and driven away his son and stirred up a turmoil which has inflicted untold sufferings on the people. I follow the will of God and the wisdom of

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(44) Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.90, "Tzŭ-ya Seizes Shên T'u(神荼) And Yü Lui(鬱壘)."

(45) In Chüan II, it says that Po-I K'ao was the fifth son of Western Earl.

should start a rebellion. Infuriated, King Wu drove them to the foot of Shou Yang Mountain(首陽山) where they subsisted on bracken called "turtle foot". Then they starved themselves to death and became fossils. This is witnessed by a poem:

It is not the time of Ch'ao-fu(巢父) and Hsü-yu(許由) who preferred to decline honours in favour of another,

Calamity would befall him who does not yield to the will of our Heavenly Father.

Should these two brothers be successful in preventing King Wu's expedition,

Will they not be found guilty of assisting the ruthless administration?

Another poem said:

Ch'i and I, the two sons of Ku-chu(孤竹) felt it's shameful to start a war,

When the dust was rising in clouds they presented their petition to abandon force,

Should the Shou Yang Mountain be fallen there would be ruins,

But time passed on and people speak their names no more.

The Marshal's forces were attacking Loyang. Now in the city, there were four generals. The commander of the garrison Hsü Lang(徐郎) was assisted by his younger brother Hsü Kai(徐蓋) who had two sons, Hsü Shêng(徐昇) and Hsü Pien(徐忭), with him. Now Hsü Lang said, "The enemies are approaching, who dares go to defeat them?" Hsü Kai said, "Brother, I go to defeat them."

Hsü Kai led his forces out of city to meet the Marshal's troops. The Marshal set up a Six Armoured Array(Liu Chia Chên 六甲陣) in the battle. Nan-kung Kua and Hsü Kai fought a duel and after a few rounds Hsü Kai was driven into the Six Armoured Array. Hsü Kai ordered a soldier to carry a note to Loyang for reinforcements. The soldier told Hsü Lang, "Your brother asks for troops for he is encircled." Hsü Lang

Chiang Shang to fight against the ruthless King. I shall be found guilty if I do not attack him. You two brothers had better leave now." The two brothers advised again, "Please stop fighting, lest you should start a rebellion. Infuriated, King Wu drove them to the foot of Shou Yang Mountain(首陽山) where they subsisted on bracken called "turtle foot". Then they starved themselves to death and became fossils. This is witnessed by a poem:

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was infuriated, "What, I tell you to arrest the Marshal and you ask for reinforcements." Hsü Lang then ordered: No one is allowed to save Hsü Kai and for security's sake, all the gates were shut and soldiers patrolled at night.

Hsü Shêng and Hsü Pien told Hsü Lang, "We brothers are willing to go to save our father." Hsü Lang did not allow them to go, and the two brothers put Hsü Lang under arrest and yielded the city to Yin Chiao. Yin Chiao brought the two brothers before the Marshal and told him what had happened. The Marshal was greatly astonished and sent for Hsü Lang and said, "If you comply with my wish you shall live but if not, you shall die." Hsü Lang said, "I prefer to die." The Marshal was exasperated and executed Hsü Lang. Then he released Hsü Kai and occupied Loyang. The troops entered the city and rested for three days.

The Marshal's forces met their enemies at Chiu Hang Ferry(九項渡) of the Szŭ Shui Pass(汜水關). There was an enemy general, seventeen feet tall, and his name was Wu Wên Hua(烏文畫). He had a broad waist, could eat a lot of rice, could fight against ten thousand men and therefore was irresistible. When King Chou travelled on the Yellow River, there was a big boat named "Ho Chou Tsai"(和州載) alias "Seven-li City"(Ch'i Li Chou七里州) which ten thousand men could not hoist. But Wu Wên Hua could hoist this big ship on grassy plains, ridges, or even on rocky mounds. Wu Wên Hua, who came from Tung-hai(East Sea) was also named Ngao Tang Chou(鼇盪舟).(46) He challenged the Marshal. The Marshal ordered Chi Hung to fight him. In about the tenth round, the giant defeated Chi Hung. Nan-kung Kua rushed into the duel but was defeated. Therefore the Marshal ordered Yin Chiao to resist the giant. In the tenth round, Yin Chiao turned around and struck Wên Hua with his big axe which was resisted by the brass fork of his enemy. So, for three days no one dared to challenge Wên Hua.

One day the Marshal designed a plan in the Ching So Valley(荊索谷) of the Kuang Wu Mountain(廣武山) in the south. Then he ordered Nan-kung Kua again to fight a duel with Wên Hua. Nan-kung Kua fought with all his stamina and in more than a hundred rounds, shot Wên Hua with

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(46) For the origin of Ngao or Âo, who could move a boat along on land, see "Confucian Analects", Bk.14, Hsien Wăn(憲問), Ch.6.

his iron arrow which ran right on to the face of the enemy. But Wên Hua got hold of the arrow. Thereupon Nan-kung Kua shot thirty arrows consecutively, but they were all again grabbed by his enemy. Nan-kung Kua ran toward Kuang Wu Mountain and Wên Hua pursued him and said, "I swear I shall not return if I do not capture Nan-kung Kua." So he followed Nan-kung Kua into the mountain.

At night under the bright moon, the Marshal's cavalry went into the mountain and Wên Hua followed Nan-kung Kua into the valley. Nan-kung Kua went over the summit and Wên Hua was left alone in the valley. The Marshal ordered his men to cut the rear. Nan-kung Kua took another way out. The Marshal then ordered his men to block every entrance with rocks and set the valley on fire. Wu Wên Hua could not escape and perished in the fire.(47)

The Marshal continued his expedition and met his enemies on the bank of the Yellow River. The enemy forces included five generals, Shih Yüan-kê, Chao Kung-ming, Yao Wên-liang, Chung Shih-ts'ai and Liu Kung-yüan. The Marshal ordered Nan-kung Kua, Nan-kung Lieh, and Yin Chiao to fight against them. In a few rounds, the five generals were defeated and went back to their boats. The Marshal then ordered his armies to pitch their camps one or two miles from the bank and gave them food and drink.

At midnight, they ate, drank, sang and danced. The five enemy generals heard this in their boats and three of them, Chao Kung-ming, Yao Wên-liang and Liu Kung-yüan, disembarked and went to attack the Marshal's camps. The Marshal ordered his troops to withdraw one li to the south and left the meat and wine behind. The three generals were overjoyed and ate and drank with their soldiers and officers, to their heart's content. In an instant, they were all poisoned and were ambushed. Shortly after, the prisoners died.

The Marshal ordered an officer to go to the river bank to entice the other two generals, Shih Yüan-kê and Chung Shih-ts'ai. The officer yelled at them, "Your colleagues have found out that about half of the thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three soldiers of the Marshal have surrendered. They are now sending for you to assist them

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(47) Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.91, "Tzŭ-ya Burns Wu Wên-Hua at P'an Lung Ridge(蟠龍嶺)." river bank and were captured by Yin Chiao and Chi Hung. The Marshal did not execute them but drowned them in the river. Then he captured their boats.

The Marshal ordered his men to beat their drums in preparation for the crossing of the Yellow River. While they were crossing, a strong wind arose and twisted the handle of the sunshade of the Marshal. Thereafter his sunshade was called "Twisted Handle Umbrella"(Ch'ü Ping San曲柄傘). The wild wind brew for three days and the Marshal offered burnt offerings to the river. Then the magic wind ceased blowing. The Marshal ordered Nan-kung Kua to cross the river first and pitch camp on the other bank, then he crossed with King Wu and his subordinates.

Knowing that King Chou would employ a great general to attack him, the Marshal held a conference with King Wu in which he said, "We will pitch five camps: Fêng Wên-Chien and Hsü Chi will take charge of the Kuang Wu Camp(廣武寨). Tan, the Duke of Chou, and Chi Hung will take charge of the Yang Wu Camp(揚武寨). Kao, the Duke of Pi, and Nan-kung Lieh will take charge of the Wu Tê Camp(武德寨). I myself and Nan-kung Kua will take charge of Wu Shêng Camp(武勝寨). Shih, the Duke of Chao, Hung Yao, Yin Chiao, and King Wu will take charge of the Hsiu Wu Camp (修武寨) and this camp should be pitched by the river bank. And we will capture the ruthless King when he arrives."

When King Chou knew that the Marshal was crossing the river he grinned, "This man is feeble and can not create any trouble for me." Fei Chung came back from the T'ung Kuan Pass and informed King Chou about the Marshal. The King did not believe it and summoned his officials to a conference. He said, "I know our enemies are approaching the Mêng River(孟水). I am now asking if any of you dares to go and capture the Marshal and King Wu. If you are successful, your efforts shall not be unappreciated." No sooner had King Chou finished asking than Fei Chung said, "Listen, my Lord, I recommend one man who is qualified to be your general." The King asked, "Who?" Fei Chung said, "Appoint Ch'ung Hou-hu as your Commander-in-Chief, and Hsieh Yen T'o

in arresting the Marshal." The two generals got off their boat and reached the river bank and were captured by Yin Chiao and Chi Hung. The Marshal did not execute them but drowned them in the river. Then he captured their boats.

The Marshal ordered his men to beat their drums in preparation for the crossing of the Yellow River. While they were crossing, a strong wind arose and twisted the handle of the sunshade of the Marshal. Thereafter his sunshade was called "Twisted Handle Umbrella"(Ch'ü Ping San 曲柄傘). The wild wind brew for three days and the Marshal offered burnt offerings to the river. Then the magic wind ceased blowing. The Marshal ordered Nan-kung Kua to cross the river first and pitch camp on the other bank, then he crossed with King Wu and his subordinates.

Knowing that King Chou would employ a great general to attack him, the Marshal held a conference with King Wu in which he said, "We will pitch five camps: Fêng Wên-chien and Hsü Chi will take charge of the Kuang Wu Camp(廣武寨). Tan, the Duke of Chou, and Chi Hung will take charge of the Yang Wu Camp(揚武寨). Kao, the Duke of Pi, and Nan-kung Lieh will take charge of the Wu Tê Camp(武德寨). I myself and Nan-kung Kua will take charge of Wu Shêng Camp(武勝寨). Shih, the Duke of Chao, Hung Yao, Yin Chiao, and King Wu will take charge of the Hsiu Wu Camp (修武寨) and this camp should be pitched by the river bank. And we will capture the ruthless King when he arrives."

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(薛延沱)---who was afterwards invested as the God of White Tiger(白虎神), Yao Lai Kung(要來攻)---who was invested as the God of Dwellings(來住神), Yü-Ch'ih Huan(尉遲桓)---who was invested as the God of the Green Dragon(青龍神), Shên T'u Pao(申屠豹)---who was invested as the God of Panther-tail(豹尾神), and Sü Kêng(戍庚)---who was invested as General under the God of the Cycle(太歲神), as vice-commanders. P'êng Chü(彭舉), P'êng Chiao(彭橋) and P'êng Chih(彭執)[48] as the three vanguards. Su Keng and all other subordinates should remain to defend the capital." The King granted the request.

In a few days, Ch'ung Hou-hu led his enormous number of men and stationed them atHsi Ling(西陵) of the ancient Ên-chou. Knowing the Marshal had pitched five camps, Ch'ung Hou-hu also pitched five Star Camps, with Fei Lien in charge of the Jupiter Camp, Shên T'u Pao in charge of the Mercury Camp, Sieh Yen T'o in charge of the Mars Camp, Yü-ch'ih Huan in charge of the Venus Camp, and P'êng Chü in charge of the Saturn Camp.

P'êng Chü sallied forth and attacked Yin Chiao. They fought on horse-back and for more than ten rounds until Yin Chiao struck P'êng Chü to death with his axe. P'êng Chiao was very angry and rushed forward to attack Yin Chiao, and in less than three rounds Yin Chiao killed his enemy. Seeing his two brothers had been killed, P'êng Chih dashed forward to fight the prince but was also killed. The prince had killed three generals in a battle.

The defeated men went back to report to Ch'ung Hou-hu, the Commander-in-chief, "Yin Chiao has killed our three generals." Infuriated, Ch'ung Hou-hu said, "My three generals were killed in one battle! I must go to see Chiang Shang personally." Then he armed himself, got on his horse and went to see Chiang Shang.

The Marshal asked Ch'ung Hou-hu, "Because of the cruelty of your King, I come to attack him. Are you willing to surrender? If you are willing to yield, then I will make you a marquis(Hou侯). What do you think?" Ch'ung Hou-hu scolded the Marshal, "You are impolite. Do you know our King has ruled his country for a long time? How can I desert my King while I am depending upon him? You too are greatly indebted

(48) This three generals undoubtedly come from the "San Shih"(三尸) which are three carnivorous spirits in the human body according to the Taoist belief. See Pao P'u Tzŭ(抱朴子) of Kê Hung(葛洪), Chüan 6, Wei Chih(微旨); also Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤), Ch. 82, Kêng Shên Pu(庚申部) by Chang Chün-fang(張君房) of N. Sung dynasty.

it. It is called 'Five Valorous Array'(五武陣) because there are five generals in it, and it is also called 'Five-Tiger Array'(五虎陣), because your forces are deployed as five tigers standing by the sides of hill and river." The Marshal said, "Since you know the disposition of my armies, do you have still any audacity to attack them?" Ch'ung Hou-hu said, "My King appoints me as his general. Why not?" After saying this, Ch'ung Hou-hu armed himself and dashed into the Array on horse-back.

While Ch'ung Hou-hu shouted, he heard the beating of drums and gongs and five generals, Fêng Wên Chien, Ch'i Hung, Nan-kung Lieh, San I Shêng and Hsü Chi, appeared suddenly and encircled him. He was frightened and did not know how to break through. At that moment Yin Chiao blocked Ch'ung Hou-hu and said, "Dismount and surrender." Ch'ung Hou-hu refused and fought Yin Chiao. Yin Chiao broke the leg of his enemy's horse. Ch'ung Hou-hu fell and was taken prisoner and carried to the Marshal.

The Marshal asked Ch'ung Hou-hu, "Are you now willing to yield? You shall live if you surrender, but if not, you will be killed." Ch'ung Hou-hu said, "I am protected by my King. I have heard that one who exerts himself for his home is filial, and one who dies for his country is loyal. I prefer death to surrender." The Marshal ordered his men to set up an execution square and the executioner beheaded Ch'ung Hou-hu and brought his head to King Wu. Ch'ung Hou-hu was invested as the God of Night Patrols(Yeh Ling Shên夜靈神).

Fei Lien led his troops and challenged his rivals. Ch'i Hung took up the challenge and they fought on horse-back. The duel was indecisive after a hundred rounds. After a few rounds, Fei Lien defeated Ch'i Hung and pursued him. The Marshal wielded his whip and the Array was changed into a labyrinth, the "Eight-Diagram Array"(八卦陣). Ch'i Hung returned and fought with Fei Lien again. Fei Lien was encircled and

to our King." The Marshal said, "You do not know that the times have changed and you do not understand the rotation of the pivot of heaven." Ch'ung Hou-hu did not say anything. The Marshal asked him again, "Do you know the disposition of my forces?" Ch'ung Hou-hu said, "I know it. It is called 'Five Valorous Array'(五武陣) because there are five generals in it, and it is also called 'Five-Tiger Array'(五虎陣), because your forces are deployed as five tigers standing by the sides of hill and river." The Marshal said, "Since you know the disposition of my armies, do you have still any audacity to attack them?" Ch'ung Hou-hu said, "My King appoints me as his general. Why not?" After saying this, Ch'ung Hou-hu armed himself and dashed into the Array on horse-back.

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he reprimanded the Marshal, "Though you have encircled me, how can you capture me?" The Marshal shouted at the men in the rear and they rushed forward and captured Fei Lien. The Marshal ordered him to be decapitated. The executioner brought the head to King Wu. Fei Lien was afterwards invested as a Grand Marshal.

A general, who was ten feet tall, ran his halberd with a crecent shaped blade(Chi戟) into the horse of King Wu. He was about to kill King Wu with his halberd when he saw the King was enveloped by purple air and protected by a gold dragon. The general's name was Fang Hsiang (方相). He dismounted, threw away his weapon and paid homage to King Wu, "I beg to be executed." King Wu was extremely glad and said, "You are free." And he made Fang Hsiang the pioneer-general immediately. Fang Ch'ang(方昌), father of Fang Hsiang, was serving with the ruthless King as a court commander. Their ancestors were natives of Chü Ch'iao(拒橋).(49)

Panther-tail(Shên T'u Pao) scolded the Marshal, "You renegade, you have been a butcher and a sauce vendor. You deserted your wife because you were unable to support her. Judging from the way you act, how can you be a general?" The Marshal laughed, "I follow the way of God. I assist a moral King and fight against a ruthless ruler." During their conversation, Nan-kung Kua was shooting at his enemy. Panther-tail was angry and rushed to engage Nan-kung Kua. In not more than ten rounds, both horses stuck together and Nan-kung Kua got hold of the spear of Panther-tail. Nan-kung Kua captured his enemy alive. The Marshal had him executed and the executioner brought his head to King Wu. The King was very glad.(50)

Someone came and reported to the Marshal, "A general appears in the south-west, with his army." They approached and pitched their camp. The general ordered a soldier to inform the Marshal, "Huang Fei-hu, the Prince of Nan-Yen, and his men are willing to offer their services for the destruction of the ruthless King." The Marshal told King Wu, "Huang Fei-hu has arrived and will help you." King Wu was overjoyed and appointed Fei-hu as the General of the Vanguard of the Punitive Force.

At dusk, officers and men from both sides clashed with one another.

(49) Fang Hsiang appears in Ch.8 of Fêng Shên Yen I, as having carried the two young princes away from the palace. His story is related differently. Probably he had taken the place of Hu Sung(胡鬆) in the P'ing-hua.

(50) In Fêng Shên Yen I, Shên T'u Pao is changed into the malicious Taoist Shên Kung Pao(申公豹). The author has invented a very interesting story quite independently.

In a hurry, two enemy generals, Wei Sui and Wei Kuei, did not know their way. Seeing Yin Chiao, King Wu, Hu Ching-ta(扈敬達) all approaching him, Wei Sui fell from his horse and was killed by Ching-ta. Wei Kuei continued to fight.

The ruthless King tried to run away but was encountered by Wu Chi, the escort-general. Wu Chi shouted loudly, "Do not run." Then he killed Wei Kuei and the other enemies. The ruthless King was leading his remnants back to the capital but was again encountered by Huang Fei-hu and Yin Chiao. After a skirmish, Chou's armies suffered heavy casualties. The ruthless King went back to the capital with his defeated officers and men.

King Wu then announced that a siege of the capital would be staged with thirty-six war-camps, and soldiers would be posted on all sides. There was a lot of soldiers of King Chou surrendering to King Wu.

On the day of Wu-wu (戊午), feudal princes from all parts of the country and the Eight Earls gathered at Mêng Ferry(孟津). They came to honour King Wu. The King was so glad that he entertained them with a feast. After the party, King Wu ordered his soldiers to prepare for the encirclement of the capital. The soldiers reached T'ung Shan Pai Road(同山百陵) in the east, T'ai Hang Mountain(太行山) in the west, Sui Village(遂村) in the south, and Ch'ing River(清河) in the north. There was Stone Bridge Village(石橋村) on the Ch'ing River. There were the East Bridge Village(東橋村) and the West Bridge Village(西橋村) on the north of Stone Bridge Village. Chao Hsing Terrace(照刑臺) was situated two li west of the Wei District(衛縣). The palace of the ruthless King was situated by the side of the South North River Bridge(南北河橋). The Star Plucking Building was situated on the north of Mill Stone Ridge

Huang Fei-hu was about to kill King Chou with his big sword when King Chou ran swiftly away. The aword landed on his horse. King Chou fell but was saved by his subordinates.

Fei Chung clashed with Yin Chiao. The prince cut off the head of his enemy's horse and captured Fei Chung alive. The Marshal and all men hated him very much. Therefore the Marshal ordered his men to hack Fei Chung to death and cooked his meat in a big cauldron for dinner.

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(磨石嶺). On the north of An Tu Village(安都村), where King Chou used to spend his summer holidays, was the White Dragon Pool(白龍潭). Behind the temple there was a rocky cave named the Barn(Ts'ang Ku倉谷) where large quantities of food were stored.

The Marshal predicted that on the day of Chia-tzŭ(甲子, a week after the day of Wu-wu) when thunder came, the ruthless King would be destroyed. King Wu said, "An officer will come on the day of Kuei-hai(癸亥) to join me in attacking the capital." It was true. A general, ten feet tall, ghost-like, and shouldering a broad sword, arrived in the presence of King Wu and dismounted. King Wu was glad and said, "Indeed, you have come to join me." The man was the Son of Thunder-shock, the hero of Lu Chên Hill.

King Wu said again, "I wish a rain of blood would soak the city for three days and thunder would rock it. Then the city will destroy itself." The Marshal ordered his troops to attacked the city. While the thirty-six groups of men were shouting, thunder came and blood drizzled. The day was gloomy. They attacked the city for the whole day of Kuei-hai . Officers and men shouted and the next morning, on the day of Chia-tzŭ the battlements split.

The city was destroyed. Officers and men swarmed into the city to search for the ruthless King. Seeing that the city had destroyed itself, the citizens searched for the ruler. The ruler could not resist such a huge force. He set the palaces on fire and then armed himself with a sword and dashed out. When the ruler was on his way out, Chi Yang-kuang, the Northern Earl, shouted, "Capture the ruthless ruler." Realizing that he could not free himself, the ruler screamed and made ready to jump into the fire. Suddenly a man grasped his waist, so that he could not jump into the fire and was taken prisoner and then brought to the Marshal and King Wu.

The Marshal yelled, "Arrest Ta-chi!" His men received the order and went into the palace to search for Ta-chi but in vain. They asked the palace attendant, "Where is Ta-chi?" "She is in the Star Plucking Building" was the answer. Knowing the whereabouts of Ta-chi, Yin Chiao and Huang Fei-hu hurried to the building to capture Ta-chi. When Ta-chi

saw that her situation was hopeless she jumped from the dilapidated building. But she was blown by an evil draught and caught in the parapet. Yin Chiao caught her and brought her to the Marshal. The Marshal ordered her to be put in the dungeon. Then he ordered his men to storm the treasury. Those who had been enticed by Ta-chi and the ruthless ruler to commit evil were all executed. The descendants of those who had done good turns to others were rewarded. The families of Fei Chung and Fei Mêng, numbering three hundred, were all executed.

The Marshal had predicted that his army would be at the Mêng Ferry on the day of Wu-wu. And on the day of Chia-tzŭ, Chao Ko, the capital of Chou, should be submerged in blood. This was proved by the following two poems:

Their troops pitched camps over the bridge of Mêng River on Wu-wu,
All feudal princes and heroes came to honour King Wu.
It was in accord with the wish of heaven and of the people,
That Chao Ko, on Chia-tzŭ, was soaked in the blood of ruthless nobles.

People may laugh at the fishing-rod of Chiang Shang,
Who angled not fish but for a virtuous ruler.
With fishes swimming, a stream from Fêng Hsiang(鳳翔) will flow
To the rafters of the halls and temples in Chao Ko.

The Marshal's troops withdrew to the outskirts of the city. Now King Wu was the real ruler. The ruthless King was defeated and in the afternoon of the next day, Yin Chiao, King Wu and the Marshal discussed the matters which they must then perform. They prayed to heaven, the earth, the mountains and the rivers, and all other transcendent beings. They performed their ceremonies to console the souls of the dead and then they executed Ta-chi and the ruthless King.

King Wu, the Marshal and other generals, officers and men burnt incense and prayed. King Wu said, "I have now defeated the ruthless King. He has set up wine pools and meat forests, installed instruments of torture, cut up loyal ministers, slaughtered pregnant women, broken the shanks of people and involved many innocent persons in crimes. We

should pour a libation to their souls." Then they sprinkled dainty food and broth over the floor. The day was gloomy and they heard the bitter souls eating food. They finished the food in a short time. Someone said, "It may be that the souls are offered a sacrifice by a virtuous King."

The Marshal ordered his men to build an execution square when King Chou would be decapitated under a big white flag and Ta-chi, a small white flag. King Wu asked, "Who will be the executioner?" Yin Chiao turned up and said, "My Lord, I am willing to be the executioner. Please listen to me, King Chou trusted Ta-chi and drove me to a temple, where I spent one night. I dreamt that the deity gave me a cup of wine which I drank. I felt very strong and was able to fight against ten thousand men. He also gave me a big axe which weighed a hundred catties, and which was suitable for executing the ruthless King. I am qualified to be the executioner because this is the bidding of the deity." King Wu said, "If this is the case, I grant you your request."

King Wu, the Marshal, and other civil and military officials all dressed in cap and robe and discussed the law. King Wu said that if King Chou had destroyed thousands and thousands of lives, he and Ta-chi should be executed. Receiving the holy order from King Wu, two sections of officials and guards stood on both sides of the execution square. King Wu commanded, "Bring King Chou and Ta-chi over here." He said, "King Chou, do you know there are ten charges against you?" King Chou did not answer. Then he continued, "The first charge is, you have enjoyed yourself with Ta-chi, imprisoned my father and cut my younger brother to pieces. The second charge is, you have harmed your palace maids with burning iron, wine pools and other poisonous tools. The third charge is, you have thrown Queen Chiang to death from the Star Plucking Building and buried her beneath the seventh Wu-t'ung tree in the back garden of your palace. The fourth charge is, you have trusted Ta-chi and disinherited your prince. The fifth charge is, you have murdered honest ministers and deprived your loyal officials of their duties." After this, King Wu wept. King Chou remained silent with his eyes open. The Marshal said, "The sixth charge is, you have killed my mother.

my mother. The seventh charge is, you have cut up the wife of Huang Fei-hu. The eighth charge is, You have trusted Ta-chi and slaughtered pregnant women to find out the sex of the babies. The ninth charge is, you have trusted Ta-chi and split people's shanks. The tenth charge is, you have trusted Ta-chi and built towers,(51) wasted manpower, believed Fei Chung and created chaos." King Chou still gave no answer.(52)

King Wu and the other ministers all denounced the ruthless ruler. The people would not be satisfied even if he were cut into minute particles. Following the first beat of the drum, Yin Chiao decapitated the ruthless King under the big white flag. All were happy.(53)

After the second beat, another executioner was ready to execute Ta-chi under the small white flag. Ta-chi turned her head and flirted with the executioner, who, being amorous, dropped his sabre. The Marshal was exasperated and beheaded the executioner. Then he ordered another executioner to fulfil the mission. When the new executioner was ready to decapitate Ta-chi she turned her head again and flirted with him. The executioner could not resist her flirtation and dropped his sabre. Infuriated, the Marshal had the executioner beheaded.

Yin Chiao said to King Wu, "Listen, my Lord, I beg your permission to execute Ta-chi." King Wu granted his request. Therefore Yin Chiao used a piece of white silk to cover up her face in order not to see her bewitching countenance. Then he dealt a blow on her neck with his axe. He heard a sound and Ta-chi disappeared. He saw only sparks on the spot.

The Marshal held a devil-subduing badge in one hand and a devil-detecting mirror in the other and by the use of them he discovered that Ta-chi had changed back to the form of the nine-tailed fox which hovered in the air. The Marshal subdued the fox with the mirror and the fox dropped to the ground. The Marshal ordered Yin Chiao to put it in a seven-foot long silk bag and crushed it with a cudgel so as to distroy her evil countenance. There was a poem:

Don't look obliquely at the gods and transcendent beings,
Calamity and happiness are dependent upon each other.
Surely the evil and malicious will have their reward,

(51) Two characters are corrupt in the text.

(52) cf. Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.95, "Tzŭ-ya Enumerates Ten Charges against King Chou". (The end.)

(53) Fêng Shên Yen I, Chs.96 & 97. Both in Chüan I, Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan(列國志傳) and in the Fêng Shên, King Chou burnt himself in the fire and died. In Fêng Shên, he was assisted by an attendant Chu Shêng (朱昇) to commit suicide.

It is a matter of time and never too late.

(The end.)

Now since we have read the complete text of the "King Wu's Expedition against Chou" (Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua), which has hitherto not been translated by other scholars, it is important for me to point out why this translation is necessarily included in the present study. From foot-notes No.20-53 readers must have already found out that though the Fêng Shên Yen I is a bulky work of one hundred chapters, its author had taken a good deal of its material from this P'ing-hua, not mentioning the inspiration which he may also have drawn from it. Admitting the close relation between these two books, we may see whether there are still some gaps which we may possibly detect.

I am not in a position to say that the comparison of these books which I have put in my foot-notes is complete, every reader who has read the Fêng Shên Yen I may well be qualified to say that there is material in many chapters of Fêng Shên, especially in Chapters 12-15, Chapters 35-66, and then from Chapters 69-87, nearly sixty per cent of the contents of the whole book cannot be traced to their origins from this P'ing-hua, and await further surveys. Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua is, no doubt, one of its origins but we must admit that it is not the sole one. Gathering the results of a careful study of these two texts, we may even say that many of the characters in the Wu Wang Fa Chou, approximately two-third of them, again do not even appear in the Fêng Shên Yen I. Besides, there is not a single sentence in the Fêng Shên which can be said to have been directly taken from the Wu Wang Fa Chou without any modification. To compare the style and the writing of the former with the latter, we may even be audacious enough to say that though in some parts the plots of the stories may be congruent with each other, the length and the artistic approach of the Fêng Shên are at least several times greater than that of the Hua-pên.

Now it may be proper to suggest the possibility of discovering a "new" book, of an intermediate nature, which may help us to solve this problem. Wu Wang Fa Chou was first published in the Yuan dynasty between 1231--1233A.D. and the earliest edition of Fêng Shên Yen I we

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Now it may be proper to suggest the possibility of discovering a "new" book, of an intermediate nature, which may help us to solve this problem. Wu Wang Fa Chou was first published in the Yuan dynasty between 1231--1233A.D. and the earliest edition of Fêng Shên Yen I we

have is one published not earlier than the end of the Ming dynasty, probably between 1621-1627 A.D.(T'ien-Ch'i 天啟 of Emperor Hsi-tsung 熹宗). Shu Tsai-yang's edition of Fêng Shên claimed to have had Chung Po-ching's comments. Chung was a very famous literary critic of that period who, according to Prof. Sun Kai-ti, started his work of writing comments for book-sellers in 1623(T'ien-Ch'i Kuei-hai 天啟癸亥)(54) and the publication of that edition of Fêng Shên could not have been earlier than that period. Therefore, is it not possible that there may have been some other books which are of the same nature as Wu Wang Fa Chou and Fêng Shên and which filled up the gaps between these two books? I venture to introduce one, and that is the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan(列國志傳), also published at the end of the Ming dynasty.

I learnt the name of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan probably in 1933, after Prof. Sun Kai-ti's visit to Tokyo and the publishing of his work on the bibliography of Chinese story-books in Tokyo, Japan.(cf. 54) Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan is a book in a very rare edition, copies of which are now preserved only in, I think, a few libraries.(55) But Prof. Sun fails, in his book(P.84 and P.228), to tell us its important relation with the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua and the Fêng Shên Yen I probably because he had to read too many story-books during his stay in Japan and it was quite possible to overlook this one. In his notes on Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua (P.12) he says,

> "I am not very sure whether any books of the same nature ever existed between the Wu Wang Fa Chou of the Yüan dynasty and the Fêng Shên Yen I of the Ming dynasty(Wan-li 萬曆 1573-1619),".

He also says, "Though the length of Wu Wang Fa Chou is only about one tenth of the Fêng Shên Yen I, the skeleton of the whole thing can be found there."(P.11)

Prof. Chêng Chên-to(鄭振鐸) in his Chung Kuo Su Wên Hsüeh Shih(中國俗文學史) mentions the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan when referring to its description of Wu Yüan(伍員),(56) but nothing is said about its intermediate nature between Wu Wang Fa Chou and Fêng Shên, although he points out the story of Wu Chi(武吉) of Fêng Shên Yen I has some remote connexion with the Pien-wên(變文) which I shall discuss later.(57)

Chung Kuo

(54) See Sun K'ai-ti's Jih Pên Tung Ching So Chien Hsiao Shuo Shu Mu (日本東京所見中國小說書目), PP.147-48, Shang Tsa Ch'u Pan Shê(上雜出版社), Shanghai,1953. I have found that Chung became a Buddhist in 1621 and probably created some interest in the reading of Fêng Shên at the same time. See Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng(古今圖書集成), Shên I Tien(神異典), Ch.122, quoted Kiang-ning Fu Chih(江寧府志), on T'ien Chieh Monastery(天界寺).

(55) In the Japanese Naikakø Bunko(日本內閣文庫), Tokyo, and the Manchurian Railways Library, Dairen, according to Prof. Sun's report. I know also that there was a copy in the National Peiping University Library(國立北平大學圖書館) before July, 1937.

(56) Ch.6, P.253, Tso Chia Ch'u Pan Shê(作家出版社), Peking,1954.

(57) P.255, op. cit.

The edition which I am going to make use of is one, now kept in the Japanese Cabinet Library, Tokyo, probably published between 1615-1619, in Soochow, by Kung Shao-shan(龔紹山). It is edited together with the comments of Ch'ên Chi-ju(陳繼儒alias Ch'ên Mei-kung陳眉公) but this may not be genuine because in the list of contents, it uses both the names of Ch'ên Chi-ju but treats them as two different persons. Anyway the origin of this book must be still earlier than 1606, as Prof. Sun Kai-ti suggests that Yü Shao-yü may have been living early in the Chia-ching period of the Emperor Shih-tsung(1522-1566,世宗嘉靖).(58)

As this book is a rare one and at present no other photolithographed or popular edition is available, I am using some photostats of it, taken from the Japanese Cabinet Library, as illustrations. The contents of its Chüan I are as follows:

Newly carved Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan with Mr. Ch'ên Mei-kung's Comments revised by Ch'ên Chi-ju of Yün-chien(雲間)

Chüan I

1. Su Ta-chi bewitched at the post-house.
2. Yün-chung Tzŭ presents the devil-killing sword.
3. The Western Earl gets the Son of Thunder-shock en route to Shang.
4. The Western Earl is imprisoned in Yu Li Town.
5. King Chou instals a wine pool and a meat forest.
6. The Western Earl is released and goes back to Ch'i-chou.

In fact, the discovery of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan is very important. Though it seems with its self-explanatory title, a historical story-book concerned chiefly with the heroic affairs of the Ch'un Ch'iu period(春秋時期 722-481 B.C.), to our surprise its first Chüan deals entirely with King Wu's expedition against Chou. All the editions we have of this book were published either in 1615-1619 A.D. or probably in 1606 A.D. which does not matter very much to our study. The author of this work is anonymous, and we know only its compiler and several publishers. In the Fu-kien edition of 1606, it is claimed that it was "edited" by a certain Yü Shao-yü(余邵魚), according to a short publisher's note written by his grand nephew, Yü Hsiang-tou(余象斗) or Yü Wên-t'ai(余文台) who was a very famous publisher during the second half of Wan-li period of the Emperor Shên-tsung(神宗萬曆).

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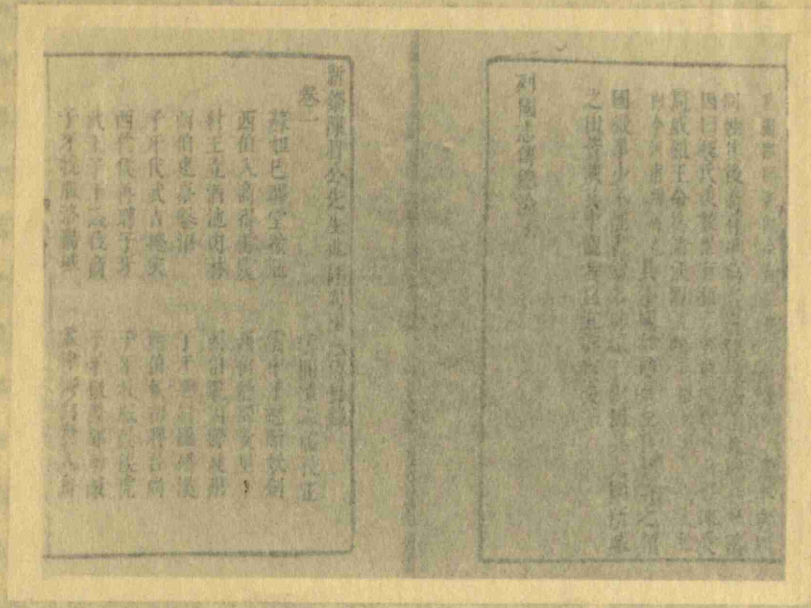
5. King Chou instals a wine pool and a meat forest.
6. The Western Earl is released and goes back to Ch'i-chou.

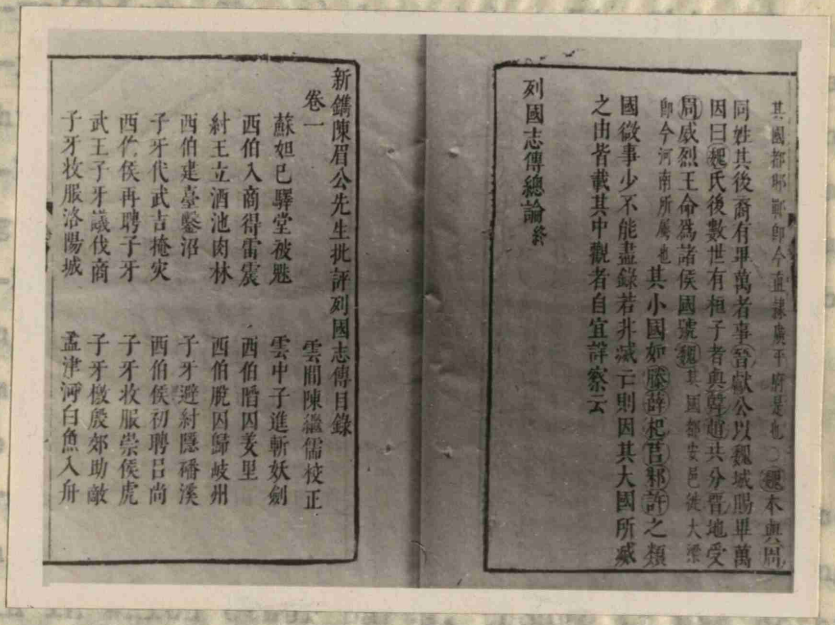
(58) P.229, op. cit.



The contents of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan

7. The Western Earl erects towers and digs a pond.
8. Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) hides himself at Pian Stream
9. Tzu-yă(Chiang Shang) prays to the natal star for Wu-Chi.
10. The Western Earl calls on Chiang Shang.
11. The Western Earl calls on Chiang Shang again.
12. Tzu-yă(Chiang Shang) captures Ch'ung Hou-hu.
13. King Wu consults Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) about punishing Chou.
14. Tzŭ-[illegible] assistance.
15. Tzŭ-[illegible]ang.
16. A wh[illegible]he Mêng River.
17. Tai-[illegible]als by a trick.
18. King [illegible]nitive force.
19. Tai-[illegible]brings prosperity to
Chou [illegible]
From [illegible]how strikingly they
resemble [illegible] is a story-book of
an inter[illegible]e evidences to show
in which [illegible]ngs of Wu Wang Fa Chou
and again [illegible] nothing to do with the
P'ing-hua, it is in fact the counterpart of the Fêng Shên Yen I which
appeared some years later. That the date of the writing of the Fêng
Shên Yen I was definitely later than that of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan
can be supported by two [illegible] first place, the writ-
ing in Chüan I of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan is somewhat simple and naive,
it needs to be polished and enlarged in order to reach the style and
standard of the Fêng Shên. And secondly, I have compared and found that
some sentences and even paragraphs in the Fêng Shên Yen I are no doubt
complete quotations from the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, especially the poems,
some of which were simply taken and transplanted, but as it was a work
of later date and possibly written or revised by a literary man, in
many places a few single words have been changed so as to make their
sense more clear or their rhyme more elaborate.

As I have found out that the writing of Fêng Shên Yen I resembles
greatly and adroitly, not only that of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan but of



新鐫陳眉公先生批評列國志傳目錄
卷一
蘇妲己驛堂被魅　雲間陳繼儒校正
西伯入商得雷震　雲中子進斬妖劍
紂王立酒池肉林　西伯陷囚羑里
西伯建臺鑿沼　西伯脫囚歸岐州
子牙代武吉掩灾　子牙避紂隱磻溪
西伯侯再聘子牙　西伯侯初聘呂尚
武王子牙議伐商　子牙收服崇侯虎
子牙收服洛陽城　子牙檄殷郊助敵
孟津河白魚入舟

其國都邯鄲即今直隸廣平府是也○魏本與周同姓其後裔有畢萬者事晉獻公以魏城賜畢萬因曰魏氏後數世有桓子者與韓趙共分晉地受周威烈王命爲諸侯國號魏其國都安邑徙大梁即今河南所屬也其小國如滕薛杞莒邾許之類國微事少不能盡錄若非滅亡則因其大國所滅之由皆載其中觀者自宜詳察云

列國志傳總論終

The contents of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan

7. The Western Earl erects towers and digs a pond.
8. Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) hides himself at P'an Stream
9. Tzu-yă(Chiang Shang) prays to the natal star for Wu Chi.
10. The Western Earl calls on Chiang Shang.
11. The Western Earl calls on Chiang Shang again.
12. Tzu-yă(Chiang Shang) captures Ch'ung Hou-hu.
13. King Wu consults Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) about punishing Chou.
14. Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) despatches Yin Chiao for assistance.
15. Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) captures the city of Loyang.
16. A white fish springs into King Wu's boat at the Mêng River.
17. Tai-kung(Chiang Shang) kills five enemy generals by a trick.
18. King Chou appoints a general to conduct the punitive force.
19. Tai-kung(Chiang Shang) destroys Chou(紂) and brings prosperity to Chou(周).

From the items given above we may clearly see how strikingly they resemble those of the Wu Wang Fa Chou. And as it is a story-book of an intermediate nature, we should be able to adduce evidences to show in which parts it is exactly similar to the writings of Wu Wang Fa Chou and again in which other parts, though it has nothing to do with the P'ing-hua, it is in fact the counterpart of the Fêng Shên Yen I which appeared some years later. That the date of the writing of the Fêng Shên Yen I was definitely later than that of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan can be supported by two strong reasons. In the first place, the writing in Chüan I of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan is somewhat simple and naive, it needs to be polished and enlarged in order to reach the style and standard of the Fêng Shên. And secondly, I have compared and found that some sentences and even paragraphs in the Fêng Shên Yen I are no doubt complete quotations from the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, especially the poems, some of which were simply taken and transplanted, but as it was a work of later date and possibly written or revised by a literary man, in many places a few single words have been changed so as to make their sense more clear or their rhyme more elaborate.

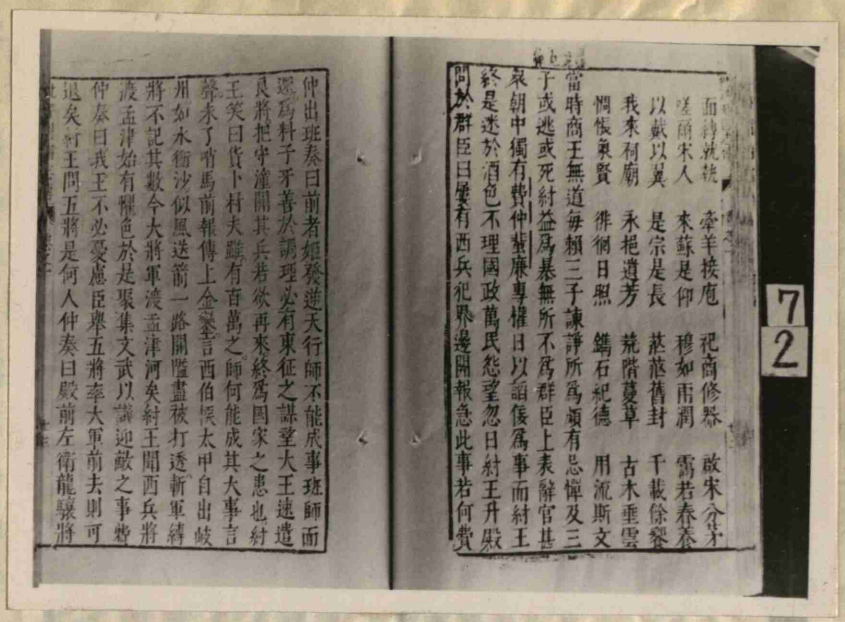
As I have found out that the writing of Fêng Shên Yen I resembles greatly and adroitly, not only that of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan but of

many other Hua-pên as well, I prefer to keep the discussion of this part untouched until necessity arises and to bring out just those parts in which the writing of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan derived directly from the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua. But, strange as it may seem, it either does not appear again in the Fêng Shên Yen I or appears in such an entirely different form from its original that one would not suspect that the Fêng Shên Yen I was not a genuinely creative work.

I will now summarize in translation the "Tai-kung(Chiang Shang) kills five enemy generals by a trick" of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I, and a part of"King Chou appoints a general to conduct the punitive force" so that we may make a detailed comparison:

(1) Five generals, Chung Shih-ts'ai, Shih Yüan-kê, Yao Wên-liang, Liu Kung-yüan and Chao Kung-ming were recommended by Fei Chung to meet the Marshal's force. Chao Kung-ming was appointed the chief and they led two hundred thousand troops and arrived at the bank of the Mêng River. After one day's fighting without definite results, Chao ordered his troops to be moved to the boats. Three of them, Shih Yüan-kê, Chung Shih-ts'ai, and Yao Wên-liang were instructed to disembark and attack the Marshal's camp. They were trapped by poisonous wine and food and were captured. The Marshal ordered the surrendered soldiers to go back and induce Chao Kung-ming and Liu Kung-yüan to come who were in turn captured and drowned in the river. This is almost entirely borrowed from the Wu Wang Fa Chou with one difference, namely, that Chao Kung-ming is made chief of them and therefore Chao and Liu were left behind in the boat instead of Shih and Chung as in the Wu Wang Fa Chou.

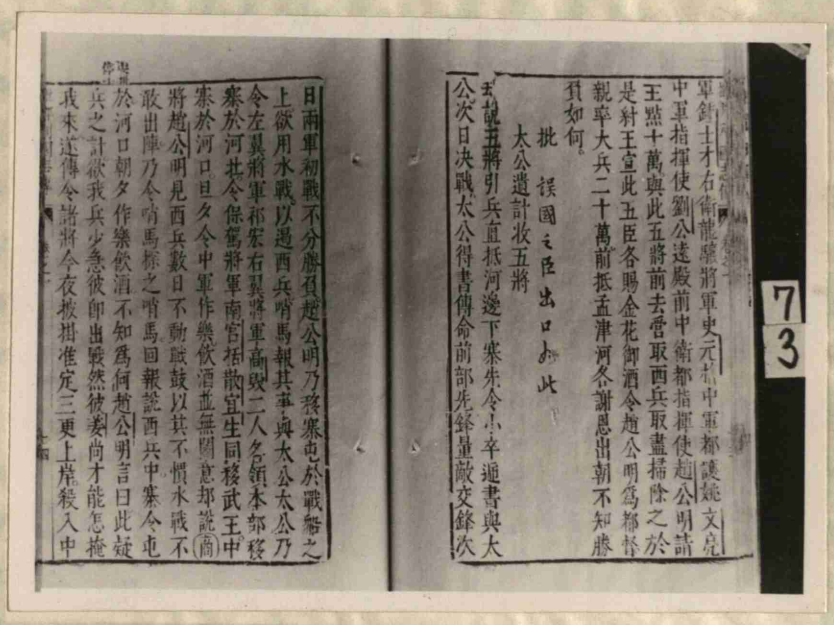
(2) The Marshal ordered his officers to pitch five camps. Nan-kung Kua was to take charge of the Kuang Wu Camp(instead of Fêng Wên-chien and Hsü Chi as in the Wu Wang Fa Chou). Chi Hung was to take charge of the Yang Wu Camp(But the name of Tan, the Duke of Chou, is deleted). Kao Hui(高毅) was to take charge of the Wu Tê Camp(instead of Kao, the Duke of Pi, and Nan-kung Lieh). Nan-kung Lieh was to take charge of the Wu Shê Camp(武涉寨), while in the Wu Wang Fa Chou Nan-kung Kua was to assist the Marshal to take charge of the Wu Shêng Camp(武勝寨). San



Tzŭ-ya kills 5 enemy generals (a)

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I

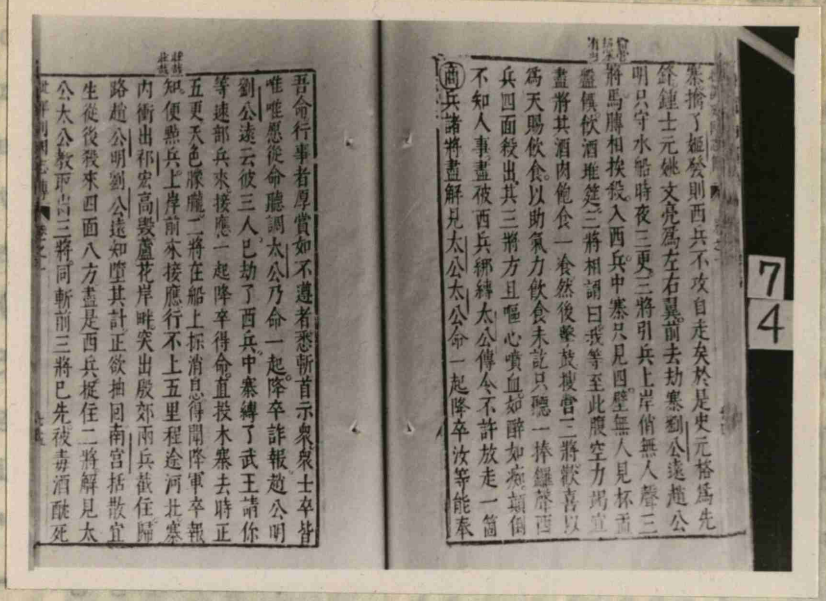
PP.72-73



Tzŭ-ya kills 5 enemy generals (b)

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I

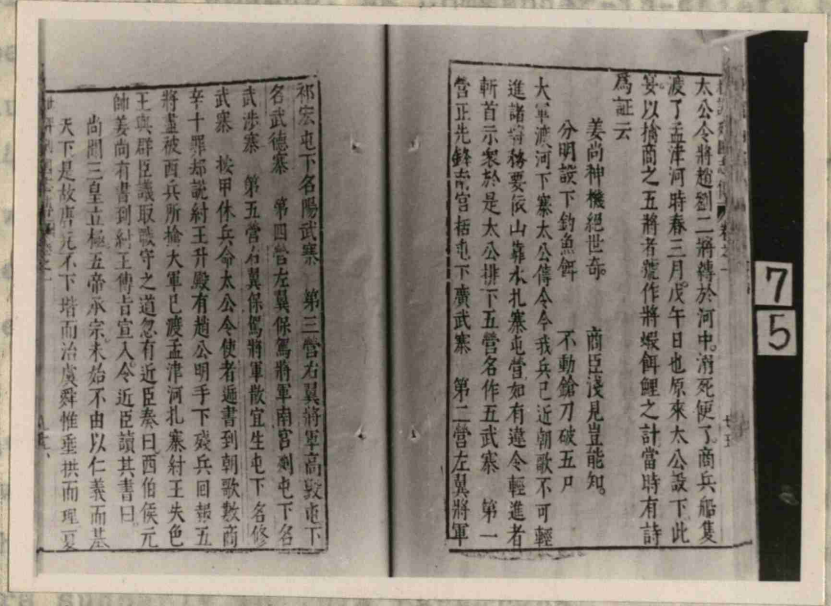
PP.73-74



Tzŭ-ya kills 5 enemy generals (c)

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I

PP.74-75



Tzŭ-ya pitches five camps

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan

Chüan I PP.75-76

I Shêng was to take charge of the Hsiu Wu Camp(instead of Shih, the Duke of Chao, Hung Yao, Yin Chiao and King Wu). Therefore, in this paragraph, the names of four camps and several generals are exactly the same as they are in the Wu Wang Fa Chou, except with a little variation in their order. The character Shê(涉) does not make very good sense in connexion with the name, and is probably a mistake for Shêng(勝).

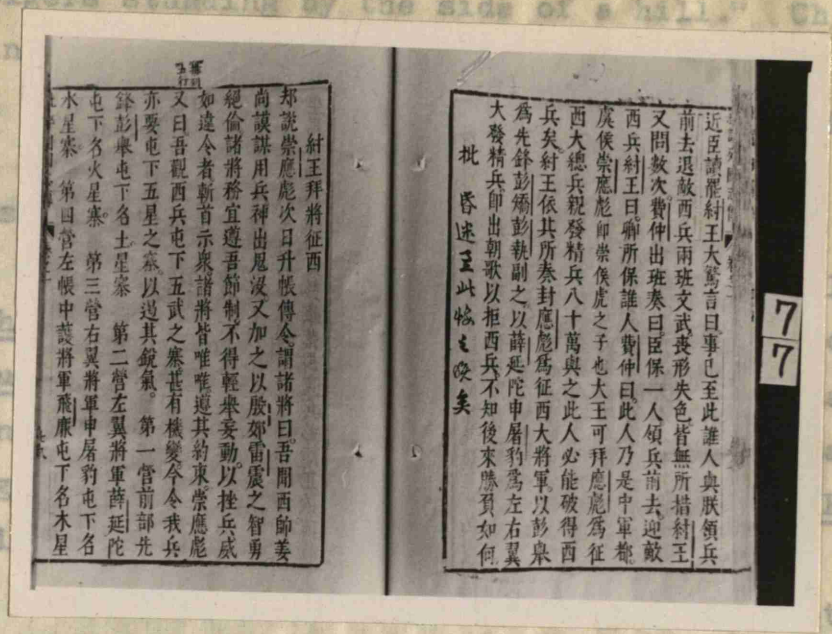
(3) King Chou, upon the recommendation of Fei Chung, appointed Ch'ung Ying-piao(崇應彪), the son of Ch'ung Hou-hu, as the Commander-in-chief; P'êng Chü as the vanguard who was assisted by P'êng Chiao and P'êng Chih; Hsieh Yen T'o and Shên T'u Pao as the left-wing and right-wing generals.

The names of the other three generals in the corresponding part in the Wu Wang Fa Chou, namely, Yao Lai Kung, Yü-chih Huan, and Sü Kêng do not appear here. Ch'ung Ying-piao takes the place of his father, Ch'ung Hou-hu, as Commander-in-chief, because Ch'ung Hou-hu has been killed by King Wu's force in Sec. 12("Tzŭ-ya captures Ch'ung Hou-hu") of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan.

(4) The five star camps pitched by Ch'ung Ying-piao and the generals who took charge of them are exactly the same as those appearing in the Wu Wang Fa Chou where the camps were pitched by Ch'ung Hou-hu. In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, Yü-ch'ih Huan was to take charge of the Venus Camp, for he was one of the vice-commanders. And here in Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, the compiler borrowed the whole paragraph from the Wu Wang Fa Chou without making any change, so that the name of Yü-ch'ih Huan, though wanting in the preceding paragraph, as we have pointed out, appears suddenly in this paragraph.

(5) In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, the P'êng brothers were killed in one battle by Prince Yin Chiao. Now in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, P'êng Chiao was killed by Yin Chiao with his axe; P'êng Chü's horse was shot by the Son of Thunder-shock and he fell down, killed by Nan-kung Kua. P'êng Chih was also encircled and died in this battle.

(6) Ch'ung Ying-piao knew also the Five Valorous Array and pointed out to the Marshal the reason for forming it. It is described

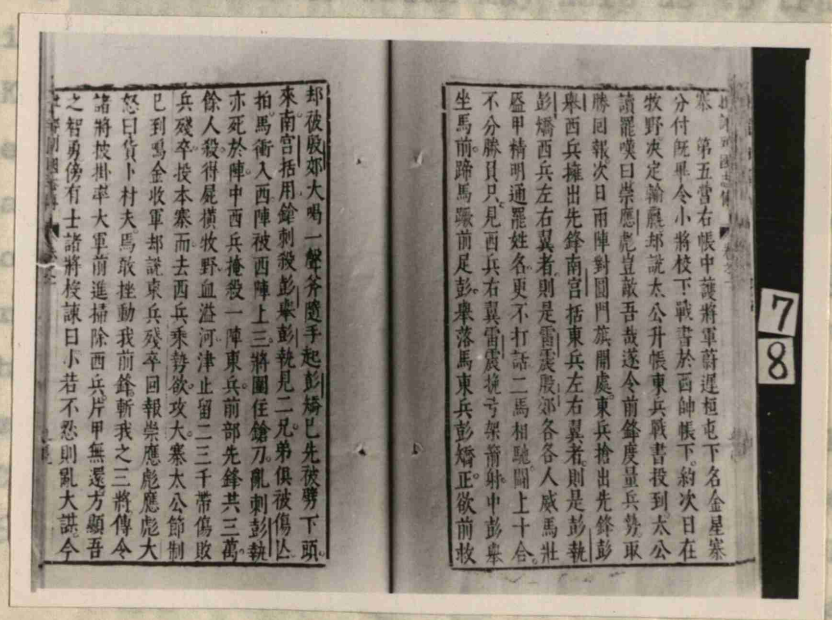


近臣讀罷紂王大驚言曰事已至此誰人與朕領兵
前去退敵西兵兩班文武喪形失色皆無所措紂王
又問數次費仲出班奏曰臣保一人領兵前去迎敵
西兵紂王曰卿所保誰人費仲曰此人乃是中軍都
虞侯崇應彪即崇侯虎之子也大王可拜應彪爲征
西大總兵親發精兵八十萬與之此人必能破得西
兵矣紂王依其所奏封應彪爲征西大將軍以彭皋
爲先鋒彭矯彭執副之以薛延陀申屠豹爲左右翼
大發精兵即出朝歌以拒西兵不知後來勝負如何
批 昏迷至此惱之喚矣

7/7

紂王拜將征西
却說崇應彪次日升帳傳令謂諸將曰吾聞西帥姜
尚謨謀用兵神出鬼沒又加之以殷郊雷震之智勇
絕倫諸將務宜遵吾節制不得輕舉妄動以挫兵威
如違令者斬首示衆諸將皆唯唯遵其約束崇應彪
又曰吾觀西兵屯下五武之寨甚有機變今令我兵
亦要屯下五星之寨以遏其銳氣 第一營前部先
鋒彭舉屯下名土星寨 第二營左翼將軍薛延陀
屯下名火星寨 第三營右翼將軍申屠豹屯下名
水星寨 第四營左帳中護將軍飛廉屯下名木星

King Chou appoints General Ch'ung Ying-piao
and Ch'ung pitches the Five Star Camps
Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I PP.77-78



寨 第五營右帳中護將軍蔚遲桓屯下名金星寨
分付既畢令小將校下戰書於西帥帳下約次日在
牧野決定輸贏却說太公升帳東兵戰書投到太公
讀罷嘆曰崇應彪豈敵吾哉遂令前鋒度量兵勢取
勝回報次日兩陣對圓門旗開處東兵搶出先鋒彭
舉西兵擁出先鋒南宮括東兵左右翼者則是彭執
彭矯西兵左右翼者則是雷震殷郊各各人威馬壯
盔甲精明通罷姓名更不打話二馬相馳鬪上十合
不分勝負只見西兵右翼雷震挽弓架箭射中彭舉
坐馬前蹄馬蹶前足彭舉落馬東兵彭矯正欲前救

7/8

却被殷郊大喝一聲斧隨手起彭矯已先被劈下頭
來南宮括用鎗刺殺彭舉彭執見二兄弟俱被傷亾
拍馬衝入西陣被西陣上三將圍住鎗刀亂刺彭執
亦死於陣中西兵掩殺一陣東兵前部先鋒共三萬
餘人殺得屍橫牧野血溢河津止留二三千帶傷敗
兵殘卒投本寨而去西兵乘勢欲攻大寨太公節制
已到鳴金收軍却說東兵殘卒回報崇應彪應彪大
怒曰貨卜村夫馬敢挫動我前鋒斬我之三將傳令
諸將披掛率大軍前進掃除西兵片甲無還方顯吾
之智勇傍有士諸將校諫曰小若不忍則亂大謀今

The death of the P'êng brothers
Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I
PP.78-79

out to the Marshal the reason for forming it. It is described as "five tigers standing by the side of a hill." Ch'ung was captured alive in this disposition and beheaded.

(7) The Marshal changed his array into an Eight-Diagram Array. General Fei Lien was encircled in it and captured by Prince Yin Chiao. The Marshal ordered him to be decapitated.

The seven illustrations cited here show clearly that Chüan I of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan depends greatly on the book Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua. But in this evidence except several names such as Chao Kung-ming, Yin Chiao, Fei Lien and Ch'ung Ying Piao, we fail to see anything which has any direct relations with the Fêng Shên Yen I. But in the illustrations which I shall give below, we shall see cases of another kind, that is, the characters and the plot in the story of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, though borrowed from the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, were again accepted by the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I but great changes were made before he put them in his own work so that they appear sometimes quite different from their originals, and sometimes even the story itself is reconstructed so that we can see only slight tinges of evidence which may help us to trace their origins.

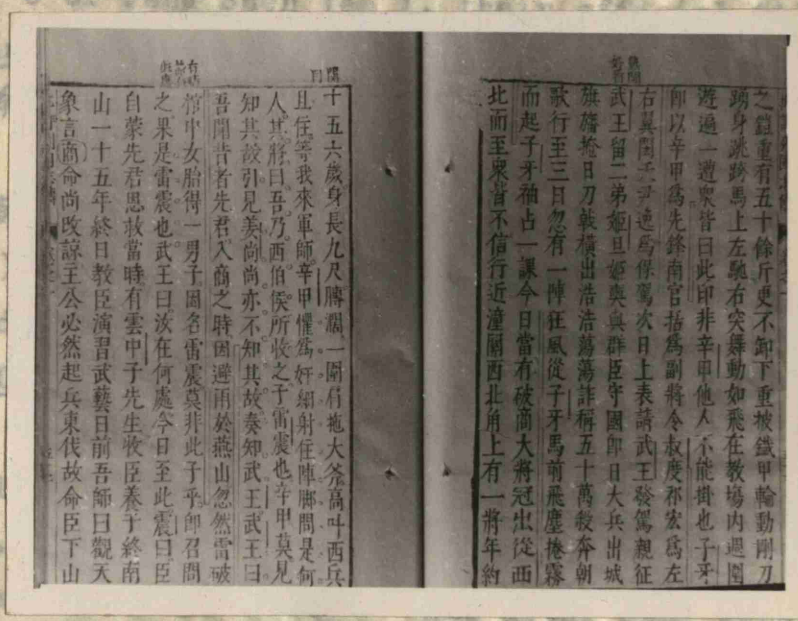
One instance of this kind is Lui Chên Tzŭ(Son of Thunder-shock) joining King Wu's force. In both Wu Wang Fa Chou and Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, he came and tendered his service to King Wu at a very late stage and it happened after the Marshal had been appointed general and the expeditionary troops were on the way. But in the Fêng Shên Yen I, he was ordered by his master, Yün-chung Tzŭ, to come to Chiang Shang's aid in the defeat of Premier Wên T'ai-shih(聞太師) and not to go back to Mt. Yen even as early as in Chapter 43, while the formal appointment of Chiang Shang and the starting of the military expedition is in Chapter 67. Because the author of Fêng Shên has planned many other missions for his hero to accomplish, he has to alter the time and place of his appearance.

Another example similar to this is the story of Wu Wên-hua. In both the Wu Wang Fa Chou and Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, the name of the hero is Wu Wên-hua(烏文畫), and the place where he was burnt to death is Ching



Ch'ung Ying-piao and Fei Lien are captured

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I PP.79-80



The Son of Thunder-shock joins King Wu

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I

PP.56-57

So Valley(荊索谷). But in Fêng Shên, the story is enlarged, and the name of the hero has been changed to Wu Wên-hua(鄔文化, the same in romanization as烏文畫 but appearing more natural to readers as the name of a person), and his death-place has been changed to a much more refined one, P'an Lung Valley(蟠龍嶺 or Dragon-coiled Valley) in Chapter 91. Where the dragon is coiled and the tiger crouches(龍蟠虎踞) has become a common-place saying in our literary works.

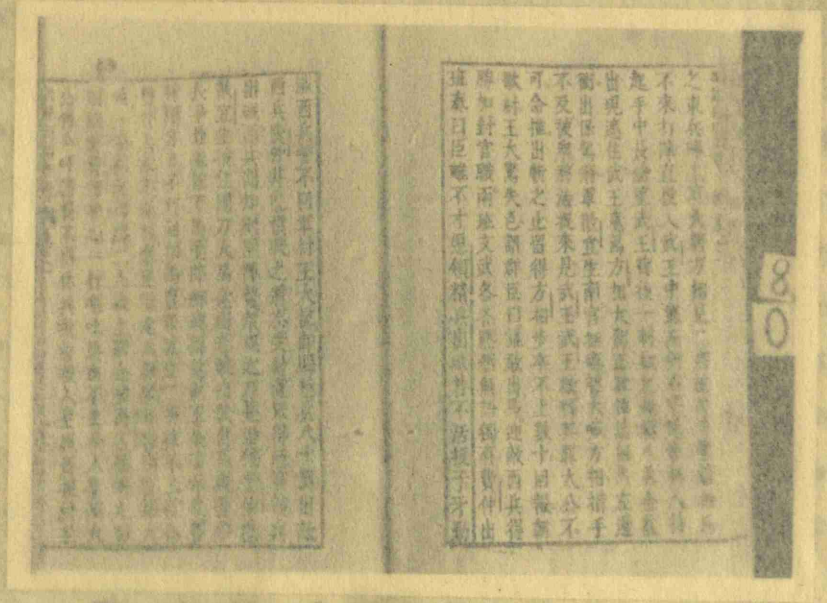
The story of Fang Hsiang is more complicated. In Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan as well as in Wu Wang Fa Chou, he was a general on King Chou's side. Encountering King Wu in the battlefield he was going to kill the King with his weapon, when suddenly he saw that he was protected by golden dragon. He surrendered, so the Wu Wang Fa Chou states, and was appointed pioneer-general. But in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, he did not surrender but was captured by enemy generals and decapitated upon the order of the Marshal. So even in these two books, though the first part of the story seems to have no differences, the end is not the same.

Now in the Fêng Shên Yen I, both Fang Hsiang and his brother Fang Pi(方弼) appear as two palace guard-generals in the court of King Chou. In Chapter 8 of Fêng Shên Yen I, their official title was Chên Tien Ta Chiang Chün(鎮殿大將軍), which resembles very much the Chih Tien Chiang Chün(直殿將軍) in Scene 19 of Pa I Chi(八義記), a play written by Hsü Yüan(徐元) of the Ming dynasty, and also the I Tui Chih Tien Chiang Chün(一對直殿將軍, a pair of guard-generals) in Scene 10 of Fên Hsiang Chi(焚香記), another play written by Wang Yü-fêng(王玉峯) also of the Ming period. In fact, the name of Fang Hsiang appears also in the book Chou Li(周禮) where he is an officer who covers his body with leopard-skin, wears a golden mask with four eyes, and holds both a spear and a shield during the ceremony to exorcise demons and drive away pestilence.(59) So that their appearances must be ugly and fearful and their stature must be tall.(60) And after many generations this Fang Hsiang has been turned into an effigy to be paraded in front of the coffin in funeral processions. He was first called Chien Mei Chiang Chün(阡陌將軍), the General in the Path between Rice-fields, or Yen Tao Shên(驗道神), Protecting God of the Road, according to the book Hsien I Pien(賢奕編)(61) of the Ming dynasty, but was afterwards erro-

(59) See Chou Li(周禮), Hsia Kuan Fang Hsiang Shih(夏官方相氏). Fang Hsiang appears also in the Hsü Han Chih(續漢志), 5, Li I Chih(禮儀志), 2; Sui Shu(隋書), Ch.8, Li I Chih(禮儀志), 3; and the Hsing T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch.16, Li Yüeh Chih(禮樂志),6. In the last two Chih, Fang Hsiang is a member in a group of 22 dancers.

(60) Hui Nan Tzŭ(淮南子), Ching Shên Hsün(精神訓), "猶顛醜也", Kao Yu's (高誘) comments. Also Shuo Wên(說文), Ch.9(a), character顛.

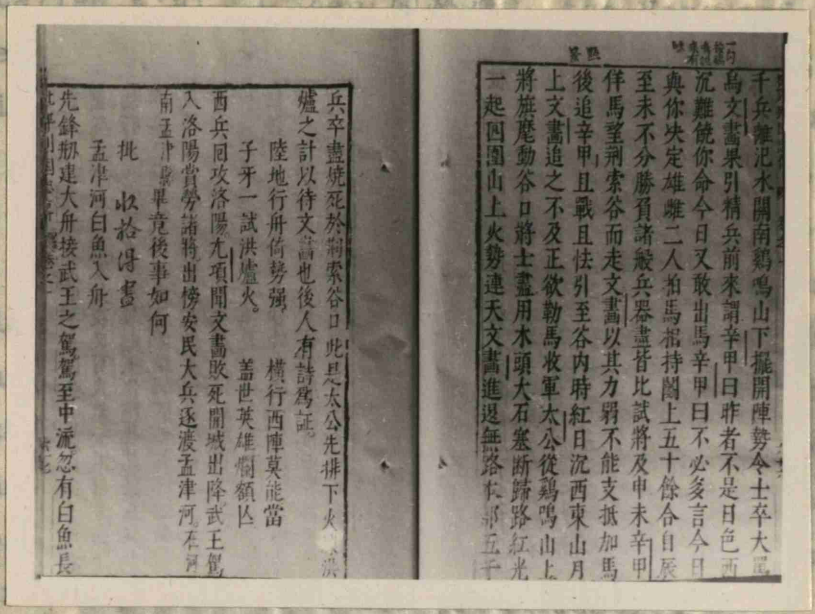
(61) See Liu Yüan-ch'ing's(劉元卿) Hsien I Pien(賢奕編), Ch.4, in Pao Yen T'ang Pi Chi(寶顏堂秘笈), and also in the Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng (古今圖書集成) Shên I Tien(神異典), Ch.40. In the Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo(古今小說), Ch.38, "Jên Hsiao Tzŭ Lieh Hsing Wei Shên"(任孝子烈性為神) there is a parable, "險道神脫了衣服,這場話非同小可".("The Protecting God of the Road takes off his clothes"---just imagine its seriousness.) In the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, Fang Hsiang's official post given by King Wu was "K'ai Lu Yin Chia Ta Chiang Chün"(開路引駕大將軍) and is translated here as Pioneer-General.



The death of Fang Hsiang

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan

Chüan I PP.80-81



The death of Wu Wên Hua

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan

Chüan I PP.66-67



The death of Fang Hsiang

Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan

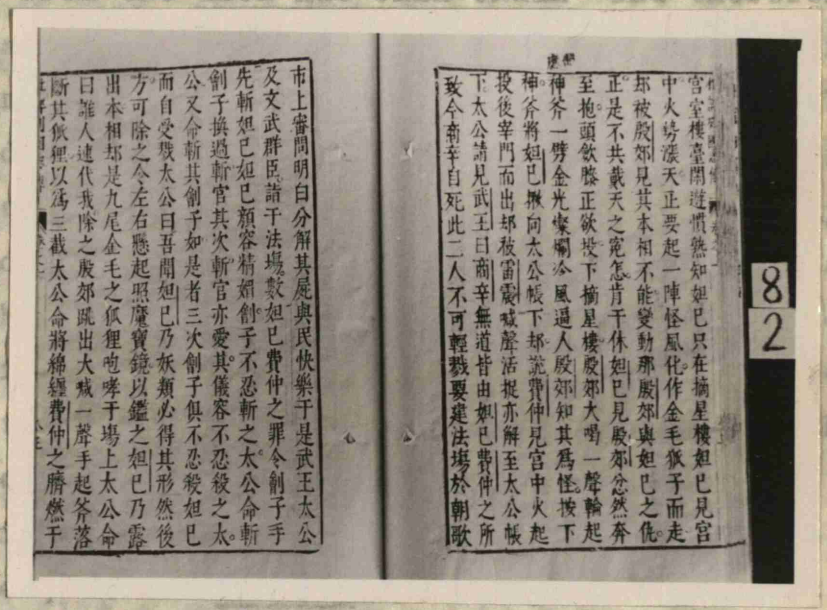
Chüan I PP.80-81

neously taken as Hsien Tao Shên(險道神, Hsien險is an erratum for Yen 驗), which has little sense. Colloquially, the Hsien Tao Shên was again called K'ai Lu Shên(開路神), the Vanguard of the Road, as he appeared during the funeral procession of Hsi Mên Ch'ing(西門慶)'s concubine in the Chin P'ing Mei Tz'ŭ-hua(金瓶梅詞話, Ch.65). Therefore, in the Fêng Shên Yen I the author made these two brothers sympathizers of Yin Chiao and Yin Hung(殷洪), King Chou's two sons, and when the latter were going to be punished by their ruthless father, these two generals came to their aid and ran the risk of escorting them away from the Court(Ch.8). Their height was more than thirty feet, and their strength was so mighty that none dared resist them. They joined King Wu's camp after being persuaded by Huang Fei-hu when he met them on the river bank(Ch.45). The whole story of Fang Hsiang in the Fêng Shên Yen I differs very much from its predecessors.

We now come to the case of Prince Yin Chiao. In the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, the story of Yin Chiao is developed very much according to the original clue in the Wu Wang Fa Chou. When King Chou ordered that Prince Yin Chiao was to be hammered to death on account of his remonstrance against Ta-chi, the sentence was again mitigated upon the advice of Pi-kan, and he was then banished to the T'ung-Kuan Pass to stay with the commander Chiang Wên-huan(姜文煥), the brother of Queen Chiang(P.20). When Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) fled away from the capital, he was followed by some two thousand refugees and they were all caught and brought into the presence of the prince Yin Chiao, who was again persuaded by Tzŭ-ya to join the expeditionary force as soon as occasion arose(P.33). At last, when the Marshal's force was approaching the Pass, he wrote a letter to the prince and the commander for co-operation and they surrendered(P.58). At the end of the story, Ta-chi was cut into three parts by the prince with his axe(P.82). But in the Fêng Shên Yen I, this story has been greatly changed, new characters are introduced and Yin Chiao, though rescued from danger and taught by the Taoist Kuang Ch'êng Tzŭ(廣成子) many magical feats of strength so that he might revenge the cruel death of his mother, he was again deceived by Shêng Kung Pao(申公豹), a Taoist of the same school as Chiang Shang whom he opposed, however,

and became a turncoat general(Chs. 63-65). This part of the story and the consequent entirely different fate of the prince in the Fêng Shên Yen I is, I think, the creation of its author.

After citing so much evidence which may probably prove that the writing of the Fêng Shên Yen I depends somewhat on the book Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, the hypothesis may still not be sound if we cannot afford to give any lines or paragraphs in the Fêng Shên Yen I which are directly quoted from the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan and therefore prove themselves to have



Ta-chi was cut off by Prince Yin Chiao
Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I P.82

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Fêng Shên Yen I is

two lines read:

混沌初分蟹古先

At the first breaking of the firmament there was P'an

太極兩儀四象傳

and their four phases

are hanging on the celestial Yin-yang influx.

Now the first two lines in the long poem at the very beginning of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I, are:

混沌初判分天地

At the first breaking of the firmament heaven and earth were divided,

二儀四象傳千載

The two alternating modalities and the four phases would last through the ages.

There are some three or four broken lines in these two poems which also agree, but I prefer to cite other instances.

In Ch.6 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when Yün-chung Tzŭ learnt that King Chou failed to kill the fox-queen(Ta-chi) with the wooden sword which he had given to the King, he sighed and wrote a short poem on the wall

and became a turncoat general(Chs. 63-65). This part of the story and the consequent entirely different fate of the prince in the Fêng Shên Yen I is, I think, the creation of its author.

After citing so much evidence which may probably prove that the writing of the Fêng Shên Yen I depends somewhat on the book Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, the hypothesis may still not be sound if we cannot afford to give any lines or paragraphs in the Fêng Shên Yen I which are directly quoted from the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan and therefore prove themselves to have had some blood-relation with each other. And after careful comparison I can say that my deduction is fortunately the right one. I am dividing these proofs into two parts. In the first part, I shall compare some poems in these two books which directly resemble each other; and in the second part, because of the limitation of the length of this thesis, I shall just make a list so that when the reprinted edition of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan appears in the future, readers may discover those points for themselves by following the direction hereafter described.

The first paragraph in the first chapter of the Fêng Shên Yen I is a long poem, in the Ku-fêng(古風) style. Its first two lines read:

混沌初分盤古先　　At the first breaking of the firmament there was P'an-ku,

太極兩儀四象懸　　The two alternating modalities and their four phases are hanging on the celestial Yin-yang influx.

Now the first two lines in the long poem at the very beginning of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I, are:

混沌初判分天地　　At the first breaking of the firmament heaven and earth were divided,

二儀四象傳生意　　The two alternating modalities and the four phases would last through the ages.

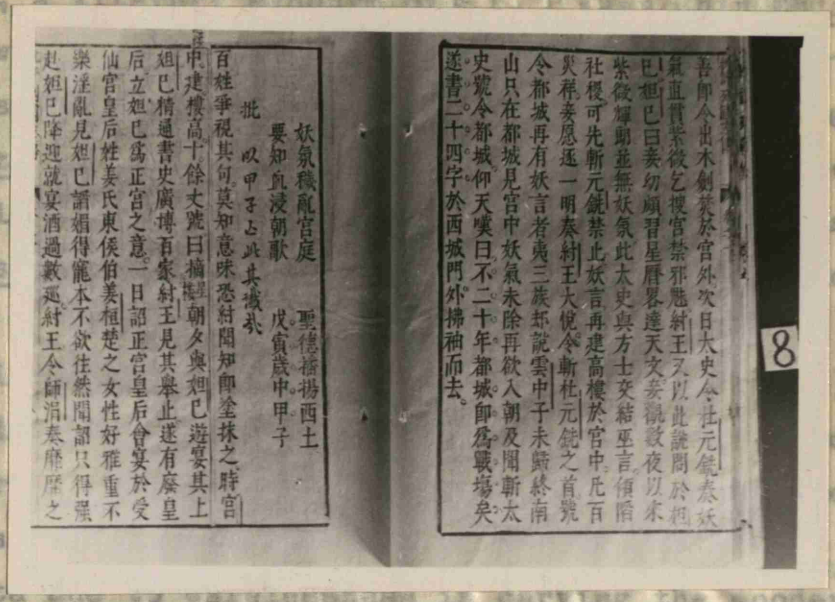
There are some three or four broken lines in these two poems which also agree, but I prefer to cite other instances.

In Ch.6 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when Yün-chung Tzŭ learnt that King Chou failed to kill the fox-queen(Ta-chi) with the wooden sword which he had given to the King, he sighed and wrote a short poem on the wall

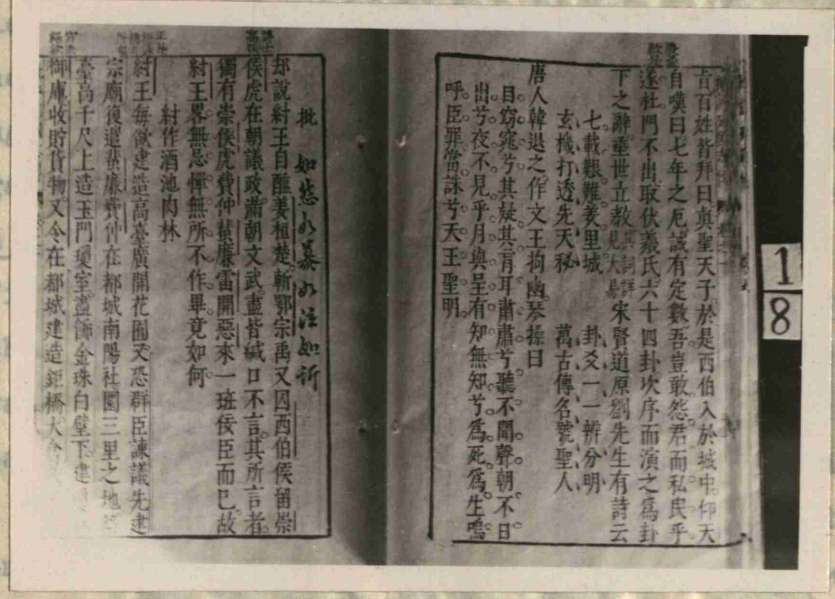
of the Royal Observatory. This poem is composed of four lines, exactly the same as that appears on the same occasion in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan except that in one place on character(Chin 浸 to imbue) of the original has been replaced by Jan 染, but their meanings are the same, and in another place, the date of Wu-yin(戊寅) is changed to Wu-wu(戊午).

In Ch.11 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when Chi Ch'ang(King Wên) was imprisoned in Yu Li Town, he studied the eight diagrams of Fu Hsi(伏羲) and did not worry about himself. The author quoted a poem written by "a scholar of later age"(Hou-jên 後人) which is merely another quotation of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I, P.17. Slight changes have been made. In the second line, the character Pien(辨 to distinguish between) is changed to Pien(變 to change). In the third line, Ta-t'ou(打透 to think out) is changed to Ts'an-t'ou(參透), which bears the same meaning but is more refined, for the same term Ts'an-t'ou(參透) is used in many Taoist and Buddhist books. The last line, Wan Ku Ch'uan Ming Hao Shêng Jên(萬古傳名號聖人, His sage name was revered by numerous succeeding generations) is changed to Wan Ku Liu Ch'uan Ta Shêng Ming(萬古留傳大聖名), though the sense is still the same, this change was obviously made to give a better rhyme. For both Ming(明 the last character in the second line) and Ming(名 the last character in the last line according to the Fêng Shên) belong to the Kêng, the eighth division of the lower P'ing tone(八庚, 下平聲) while the original Jên(人) belongs to the Chen, the eleventh division of the upper P'ing tone(十一眞, 上平聲)and sounds less harmonious with Ming(明) than the revised one.

The song played by Po-I K'ao with his flute before the King Chou and Ta-chi can be found in Ch.19 of the Fêng Shên Yen I. It is a poem composed of ten lines. The same song can be found in Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chuan I, P.24. In the fourth line, the author of Fêng Shên changed the last character Ch'ing(傾 to fall) to Ching(驚 frightened), because in the line Ch'ai P'eng Ts'an Hsi Fei Fu Ch'ing(囊盆慘兮肺腑傾, Miserable was the implement of serpent-cauldron which disturbed the mind), the last three characters do not make good sense("may the stomach fall"), but the revised one Fei Fu Ching(肺腑驚 "frightened the mind") is much



The short poem written by Yün-chung Tzŭ
Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I P.8

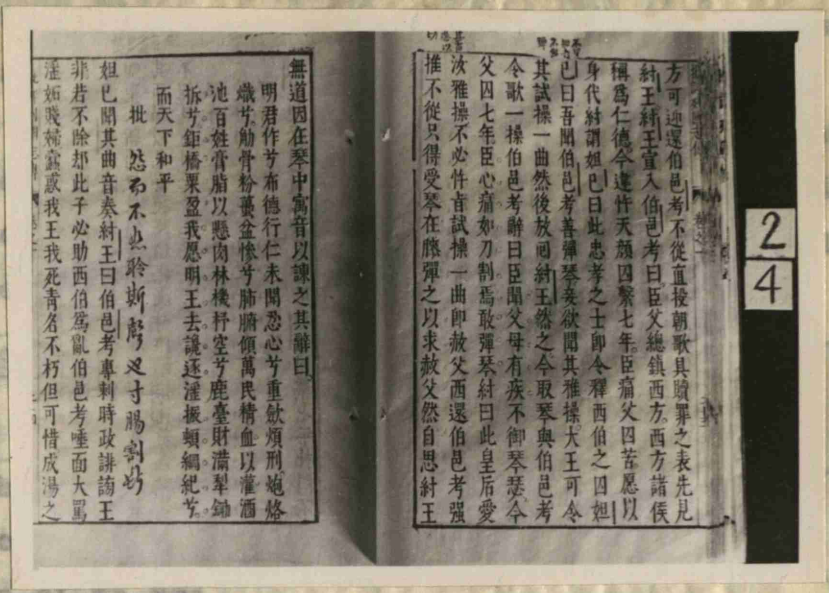


The poem telling Chi Ch'ang's life in Yu Li
Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I P.17

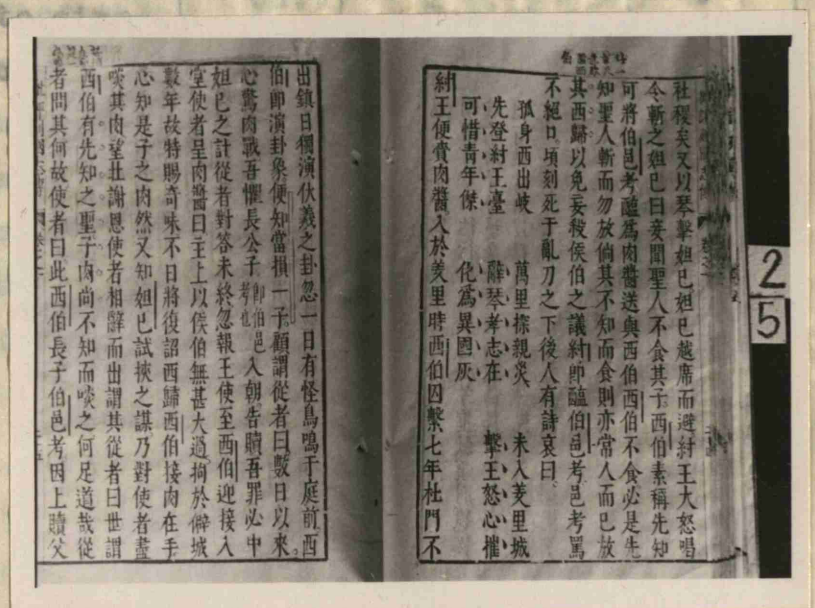
better. The fifth line, Min(民 the people) is changed to Hsing(姓 surname, a literary synonym of 民), I Kuan Chiu Ch'ih(以灌酒池 to pour into the wine-pool) is changed to Ching Ju Chiu Hai(竟入酒海 to pour into the sea of wine). The sixth line, Pai Hsing(百姓 the people) is changed to Szŭ Fang(四方 the four quarters), I(以 a particle) is changed to Ching(盡 all). The character Ts'ai(財 riches) in the seventh line is changed to Ts'ai(才 just now). The character Ch'ê(拆 to destroy) in the eighth line is changed to Chê(折 to break off). And in the ninth line, the original Wang(王 the king) is changed to Chün(君) without changing its meaning; and to it an interjection Hsi(兮) is added. In the last line, a particle Êrh(而) is deleted. All of these are but minute alternations. I suspect that the characters Ts'ai(才) and Chê(折) are only errata due to carelessness in carving the wooden blocks for printing.

In Ch.20 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when Chi Ch'ang divined the sad fate of his son Po-I K'ao, he dared not cry out, but composed a poem. It is also a plagiarism from the contents of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I, P.24, with only slight changes. In the first line, Hsi Ch'u Ch'i 西出岐 left Ch'i-chou) is changed to Pao Chung I(抱忠義 with a loyal mind). In the fourth line, Chou Wang(紂王 King Chou) is changed to Yin Chou(殷紂 King Chou of Yin[Shang]). In the seventh line, Chieh(傑 brave man) is changed to K'ê(客 man). In the other three lines, the fifth one, Tz'ŭ Ch'in Hsiao Chih Tsai(辭琴孝志在 refuses to play the flute because of his filial devotion) is changed to Fu Ch'in Ch'u Yao Fu(撫琴除妖婦 playing the flute in order to get rid of the seductive witch) and because the way of presentation in the Fêng Shên Yen I has been changed, the flirtation of Ta-chi with the prince Po-I K'ao is added. In the sixth line, Chi Wang(擊王 to hit the king) is changed to Ch'ing K'ê(頃刻 in an instant). In the last line, Hua Wei I Kuo Hui(化爲異國灰 turned to ashes in a foreign country) is changed to Hun Yu Chieh Yün Hui(魂遊劫運灰 his soul is wandering among the ashes of calamity). The original poem in Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan is supposed to have been written by scholar of later age and not by chi Ch'ang himself.

I could cite at least ten places from the Fêng Shên Yen I and point out their resemblance to other paragraphs in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan



The song played by Po-I K'ao with his flute
Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I P.24



A poem depicts the sad fate of Po-I K'ao
Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I P.24

without difficulty. But as Fêng Shén is so common a novel that it is available in any library and the abovementioned seems good enough to prove my point, and also because the other relevant parts of my study may need more space, I venture to make just a list below for the reference of scholars who may be interested, particularly in the relation between these two books.

Fêng Shén Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan 1	Remarks
Kun Chüan(鯀捐), a favourable maiden of Ta-chi, a musician. She plays a musical instrument for Ta-chi to sing and dance.	Ch.7	Shih Chüan(師涓), a sycophant of King Chou. He can compose music of a lascivious nature and slow melody known as Mi Mi Chih Yüeh(靡靡之樂). When he plays the instrument, Ta-chi dances.(PP.5-6)	Shih Chüan(師涓) or Master Chüan was the musician who followed the Marquis Ling of Wei(衛靈公) to visit Chin(晉) in 534 B.C. At night, in the reeds of the P'u River(濮水), they heard a ghost, the soul of the favourable musician of the tyrant King Chou playing his old melodies. See Wang Ch'ung's(王充) Lun Hêng(論衡), Chi Yao(紀妖) and Ting Kuei(訂鬼). See also Shih Chi(史記), Yin Pên-chi(殷本紀).
Yün-chung Tzŭ(Master in the Cloud) comes to	Ch.10	The same.PP.12, a and b.	The term Chiang Hsing( ) cannot be found in the Wu Wang

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan 1	Remarks
Mt. Yen in search of a Chiang Hsing(將星 the birth of a child who will be a general in the future and whose star is a Chiang Hsing), that is, the Son of Thunder-shock.	Ch.11	The same. But the fire will start at dusk on (Yu-shih 酉時) this day. (PP.16-17)	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, he predicts only the wind and the movement of the clay-man and clay-horse.
	Ch.17	The same(PP.19-20), but there are exactly 72	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, the number of maids is not
Yün-chung Tzŭ is a Taoist of the Yü-chu Cave(玉柱洞), Chung Nan Mountain(終南山) who presents the wooden sword to King Chou.	Ch.5	Yün-chung Tzŭ is a Taoist of the Chung Nan Mountain(the name of his cave is not mentioned.) The other part is the same. (PP.6-7)	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, Yün-chung Tzŭ is the man who meets Chi Ch'ang at the hill and discusses the future of the Son of Thunder-shock with him. His locality is unknown. The one who presents a sword to King Chou is Hsü Wên Su(許文素) of the Po-shui Cave(白水洞), Chung Nan Mountain.
Chiang Huan-chu(姜桓楚), father of Queen Chiang, is sentenced to have his hands and feet nailed and then	Ch.11	The same. P.13, b.	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou Chiang Huan-chu's name appears at the beginning of Chüan 1, but nothing about his punishment can be found in

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I	Remarks
cut to pieces.(Hai Shih,醢尸).			the book.
Chi Ch'ang predicts before King Chou that his Ancestral Temple will be on fire next day at noon(Wu-shih午時).	Ch.11	The same. But the fire will start at dusk on (Yu-shih酉時) this day. (PP.16-17)	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, he predicts only the wind and the movement of the clay-man and clay-horse.
When Ta-chi and King Chou are enjoying in revels, more than seventy palace maids who have been the attendants in the Queen's chamber are weeping and do not shout applause. They are pushed down to the serpent-cauldron to death.	Ch.17	The same(PP.19-20), but there are exactly 72 maids.	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, the number of maids is not mentioned.
Chi Ch'ang(King Wen) vomits three times the meat(of his son) which he has taken and it changes to three rabbits.	Ch.22	Not mentioned.	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou he vomits something which changes to a rabbit.
San I Shêng and Nan-kung Kua urge Chi Ch'ang to revolt against King Chou	Ch.22	Chi Ch'ang is urged by one man, General Hsing Mien(辛免). (P.27, b.)	Not mentioned in the Wu Wang Fa Chou.

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I	Remarks
after he is released and back in Ch'i-chou.			
When Chi Ch'ang orders his people to dig a pond under the Spirit Tower(靈臺),some human bones are found. He orders them to be buried in a box at another place.	Ch.23	Wraps the bones and gets them buried at some other place. (P.28, b)	Not mentioned in the Wu Wang Fa Chou.
		The Marquises of Yü(虞)and Jui(芮) have quarrelled on land. They are influenced by Chi Ch'ang's virtuous deeds and change their attitude towards each other.(PP. 29-30)	Not mentioned in the Wu Wang Fa Chou and Fêng Shên Yen I. But there are the Marquises of Têng(鄧)and Jui (芮)in the Fêng Shên Yen I(Ch.85) who are sent by King Chou to meet the Marshal's force and then surrender to him.
Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) helps Wu Chi to get release from calamity by praying to his natal star and worshipping the Dipper.	Ch.24	This trick is called Yen Hsing Chü(掩星局). (P.37,a)	No particular name for this worship in the Wu Wang Fa Chou.

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I	Remarks
This magical trick is called Ya Hsing(壓星) in Ch.24; in Ch.16, this kind of worship is also called Ya Hsing on another occasion.			
Chi Ch'ang dreams of a tiger with wings flying to him. San I Shêng explains it for him.	Ch.23	A flying bear is dreamt of. San I Shêng explains it for Chi Ch'ang. (P.39,a)	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, a flying bear is dreamt of, and Tan, the Duke of Chou, explains it.
A long poem, sung by a group of fishermen, is composed of 112 characters beginning with 憶昔成湯掃桀時.	Ch.24	Only 7 characters are different and the order of two characters is reversed.(PP.39-40)	
Another long poem, sung by a group of wood-cutters, is composed of 126 characters beginning with 鳳非乏兮麟非無.	Ch.24	Only 16 characters are different.(PP. 40-41)	The revised one in Fêng Shên Yen I makes better sense and rhyme.
A Chüeh Chü(絕句, a stanza of four lines) sung by Wu Chi.	Ch.24	Only one character is different.(PP.41-42)	

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I	Remarks
A Chüeh Chü composed by Chi Ch'ang.	Ch.24	Only two characters different. (P.42,b)	
Another Chüeh Chü composed by Chi Ch'ang immediately following the last one.	Ch.24	Only one character is different. (P.43,a)	May even be a mistake made in copying.
When Chi Ch'ang comes to the river bank and is standing behind Tzŭ-ya (Chiang Shang), Tzŭ-ya pretends not to know him and sings a Chüeh Chü(four lines).	Ch.24	Only the first two lines appear.(P.44, a)	The other lines were added by the author of Fêng Shên Yen I to complete a Chüeh Chü.
After Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) accepts the new appointment made by the Western Earl, there is a poem in the Lü Shih form(律詩, stanza of eight lines), beginning with 渭水漢頭一釣竿.	Ch.24	15 characters are different.	The revision made in the Fêng Shên Yen I observes more strictly the rules of rhythm and antitheses.
Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) attacks the city of Ch'ung(崇城), the	Ch.28-29.	In the battle, Ch'ung Hou-hu and Ch'ung Ying-piao are both captured.	Ch'ung Hei-hu seems to be the creation of the

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I	Remarks
fief of the cruel marquis Ch'ung Hou-hu(崇侯虎). Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) has arrived at a secret understanding with Ch'ung Hei-hu(崇黑虎), Hou-hu's younger brother, of Ts'ao-chou(曹州), who pretends to come to his brother's aid and seizes both Hou-hu and his son, Ch'ung Ying-piao(崇應彪). The father and son are beheaded upon the order of Tzŭ-ya.		Hou-hu is beheaded but his son is released to keep up the offerings to their ancestors. (PP.48-49)	author of the Fêng Shên Yen I. However, in Kao Ming's(高明) P'i Pa Chi(琵琶記), Scene 27, it mentions the Pei-Yüeh Hei Hu Chiang Chün (北岳黑虎將軍)and the Pei-Yüeh(Mt. Hêng恆山). In Fêng Shên(Ch. 99), Ts'ui Ying (崔英) is made the God of Pei-Yüeh, and Hei-hu is made the God of Nan-Yüeh(南岳, Mt. Hêng衡山 of Hunan).
An eulogy after the death of Chi Ch'ang composed of 80 characters.	Ch.29	The same poem. Only seven characters are different.(P.50, a)	The revised one in Fêng Shên is much better.
The whole paragraph beginning from太公望 率羣臣 奉姬發 嗣西伯之位 to皆行朝貢,numbers 63 characters.	Ch.29	The two paragraphs are identical with each other character by character except it changes the 子牙 (Tzŭ-ya) to太公望(	

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I	Remarks
		T'ai-kung Wang or Wang, the Grandad); 尚父 (Shang-fu or the Grand Master) to 師尚父 (Shih Shang-fu or the Grand Master and Adviser); and 附庸之國 (Fu Yung Chih Kuo, the dependent states) to 諸侯 (Chu Hou, the vassal states) which are equivalent terms. (P.50, b)	I (風俗通義), Ch.8; Tsung Lin's (宗懍) Ching Ch'u Sui Shih Chi (荊楚歲時記) quotes Kua Ti Tsu (括地圖) etc. About Tu Shuo Hill see also Tung Ching Fu (東京賦) in Chao Ming Wên Hsüan (昭明文選), Ch.3.
Tzŭ-ya (the Marshal's) troops are resisted by the brothers Kao Ming (高明) and Kao Chüeh (高覺) who are the Thousand li Eye and the Favourable Wind Ear. With the help of Yang Chien (楊戩) and his Tao-	Chs.75-76; 79 Ch.90	The origins of these two brothers, Kao Ming and Kao Chüeh, are detected by Tzŭ-ya himself with a devil-detecting mirror. They are the spirits of the peach trees in the Tu Shuo Hill (度朔山), once killed by two ghost-	In the Wu Wang Fa The Li Lou and Shih K'uang of the Wu Wang Fa Chou. Regarding the story narrated in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, see Wang Ch'ung's Lun Hêng, Ch.16, Luan Lung (亂龍); Ch.22, Ting Kuei (訂鬼); Ying Shao's (應劭) Feng Su Tung

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I	Remarks
ist master Yü Ting Chên Jên(玉鼎真人), Tzŭ-ya then knows that their origins are the spirits of the peach and willow trees of Ch'i P'an Hill(Chessboard Hill棋盤山) and possess the bodies of two clay ghosts in the Temple of Hsien-yüan(軒轅廟).		snatchers, Shên T'u(神荼)and Yü Lui(鬱壘)and the Emperor Hsien-yüan (Huang-ti) orders their images to be carved at the entrance of temples. (PP.60-61)	I(風俗通義), Ch.8; Tsung Lin's(宗懍) Ching Ch'u Sui Shih Chi(荊楚歲時記) quotes Kua Ti T'u(括地圖) etc. About Tu Shuo Hill see also Tung Ching Fu(東京賦) in Chao Ming Wên Hsüan(昭明文選), Ch.3.
The commander of Szŭ-shui Kuan(汜水關) is Han Yung (韓榮). He has two sons, the elder one is Han Shêng (韓昇), the younger is Han Pien(韓忭 Chs. 75-76). The two sons are killed by Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang)and the father commits suicide. The commander of	Chs.75-76; 79 and 81.	Loyang(洛陽) is garrisoned by Hsü Fang(徐芳) and his brother Hsü Kai(徐蓋), who has two sons, the elder one is Hsü Shêng(徐昇) and the younger one is Hsü Pien(徐忭). Hsü Kai is sent to meet the attack of Ch'i-chou's troops and is encircled.	In the Wu Wang Fa Chou, this story is similar to that of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan. The technique of the writing of the author of Fêng Shên Yen I can be seen from such changes.

Fêng Shên Yen I	Chapter	Comparison with Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, Chüan I	Remarks
Chieh P'ai Kuan (界牌關) is Hsü Kai(徐蓋) who at last surrenders to Tzŭ-ya(Ch.79). His younger brother, Hsü Fang(徐芳) is the commander of Ch'uan Yün Kuan(穿雲關) who disapproves very much of his brother's behaviour and is killed when the Pass is captured by Tzŭ-ya(Ch.81).		His two sons urge their uncle to dispatch more soldiers and rescue him, and when this is refused, the two sons seize Hsü Fang and surrender the city to Marshal Chiang Shang (Tzŭ-ya). Tzŭ-ya kills Hsü Fang but orders Hsü Kai to be released.(PP. 64-65)	
When King Wu is on a boat on the Yellow River, a fish bounces up about four or five feet into his cabin.	Ch.88	The fish bounces up to eight feet(P.67,b)	Not mentioned in the Wu Wang Fa Chou.

From the above list we can clearly see the close relation between Chüan I of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan and the Fêng Shên Yen I. Many fabulous characters are mixed up with historical figures in the Fêng Shên Yen I (such as Tu Yüan-hsien杜元銑, the Head of the Royal Observatory of King Chou,) and, though not found in the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, they are taken directly from the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan. Other names which may also be found in these two books and which, to ordinary readers may

sound queer and fictitious have, in fact, remote origins.(62)

By now we should be very clear about the intermediate nature of this book Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, and we must come back to the discussion of the problem, whether or not Fêng Shên Yen I was really written by the Chung-shan I Sou(the Old Hermit of Chung-shan), Hsü Chung-lin.

(62) Such characters such as Lui K'ai(雷開), Mei Po(梅伯), though their names cannot be found in Shih Chi(史記), Ch.3, Yin Pên-chi(殷本紀), appear in the Ch'u Tz'ŭ(楚辭), T'ien Wên(天問). It is said that Mei Po was one of the feudal princes of King Chou. He was cut to pieces by the ruthless King and his meat was sent to the Western Earl, Chi Ch'ang. I think this may be the earliest version of Po-I K'ao's story.

IV

Since the appearance of Hsü Chung-lin's name in Fêng Shên Yen I, Chüan 2, most scholars, Chinese and European, have reluctantly accepted this single evidence. But there are some reasons which force us to doubt its truth, especially from the bibliographical point of view. Story-books in the Ming dynasty were not treated as important books as they are to-day, and the social standing of their authors was, of course, low and despised by the intellectuals. When the manuscript of a certain story-book, (most of them were revised or enlarged editions of earlier books or earlier manuscripts which were used only by story-tellers) came to be published, the editor or compiler of the manuscript would just take a pseudonym, and both the publisher and the readers would not care very much who was the real author. Some books up to the present remain anonymous. Others may bear on their front-pages the names of their compilers as Pien Chi(編輯), but they were not necessarily the real authors. The case became stronger when a story-book had several editions. The compilers of the later editions were at liberty to add their new pen-names in them, sometimes for the sake of remembrance and sometimes perhaps just for the satisfaction of their desire of novelty; and if a guilty conscience prevented them from pilfering the whole thing, the word Pien Chi or "edited" was often the best alternative. There were still other cases. At that time, books were printed from wooden blocks. Sometimes when the owner of a book-store was not in a good financial condition, he would sell those blocks to the owner of another book-store who might either live in the same city as he or in another city several hundred miles away. Thus we have many editions of a certain book which have come from the same set of wooden blocks but with different front-pages, bearing the names of different publishers and even of different "editors".

The "editors" were mostly invited by the proprietors of book-stores to take their part of the work, and, of course, some of them might be the owners themselves, and some of the names on the front-pages might be fabricated in order to increase the value of the book. The names

of Ch'ên Chi-ju and Chung Hsing were most easily chosen because of their literary fame and because of the fact that they really had at least some connexions with the publishing circle of their time. This explains why in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan Ch'ên Chi-ju's name is also mentioned as Ch'ên Mei-kung, his other name, but they are treated as two different persons. And even in the case of Chung Hsing(Chung Po-ching), though we admit that the earliest edition of the Fêng Shên Yen I we have now(the Shu Tsai-yang edition) could not have been published earlier than 1623 A.D., we are inclined to believe that the Fêng Shên Yen I may still have had other editions earlier than this one and that the author of this novel may have lived in an earlier period than Chung Hsing and Ch'ên Chi-ju themselves. At the time when the author of Fêng Shên Yen I was living, he read the earlier edition of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan and quoted and revised a part of it and put it into his own manuscript of Fêng Shên Yen I, which, though published later, may still have been fifteen or twenty years earlier than the time of the publication of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan which we consider to be the earliest edition of the story we have.

To give many illustrations to prove that the term Pien Chi(編輯) in that period did not mean anything as serious as the term "edited" implies is not necessary, as we have too many evidences, and some of the proofs may be irrelevant to the discussion here. In general, besides the term Pien Chi, Pien Tz'ŭ(編次), Shu(述), Pien(編), Hsi Pi(戲筆), Tsuan(纂), Yen(演) or even Chi Lüeh(紀畧) are used, and only in very few cases they would reveal, beyond question, the name of the real author. In the Ch'i Hsiu Lui Kao(七修類稿), Lang Ying(郎瑛) has pointed out that " the books of the 'Three Kingdoms' and the 'Water Margin' are said to have been edited by Lo Pên(羅本), alias Lo Kuan-chung(羅貫中). There must have been still earlier editions, so that he chose the word 'edited'(Pien)."(Ch.23) Chou Liang-kung(周亮工) in reference to the controversy about the authorship of the "Water Margin" says, "I think at that time no one dared to reveal his genuine name when writing books of such a nature,"(Yin Shu Shu Wu Shu Ying 因樹書屋書影, Ch.1). I think

the opinion of these two scholars explains psychologically how such controversies have arisen.

In Kao Ju's(高儒) Pai Ch'uan Shu Chih(百川書志), Ch.6, on the book "Water Margin", the hundred-chapter edition,(Chung I Shui Hu Chuan I Pai Hui Pên忠義水滸傳一百回本), it is recorded, "The original manuscript (Ti Pên的本) of Shih Nai-an of Chien-t'ang(錢塘施耐庵), edited by Lo Kuan-chung." Now we read the front-page of another novel:

Yang's Ch'ing Chiang T'ang edition(楊氏清江堂本 of 1553 A.D.), "The Newly Carved Popular Story-book of the History of the T'ang"(Hsin K'an Tien Ts'ai Shih Chien T'ang Shu Chih Chuan T'ung Su Yen I新刊忝采史鑑唐書志傳通俗演義) is marked:(63)

"The original manuscript(Ti Pên的本) of Hsieh Chü-shih(薛居士)(64) of Chin-ling(金陵); edited by Hsiung Chung-ku(熊鍾谷) styled Ao Fêng(鰲峯)."

But in later edition, the San T'ai Kuan edition(三台館本) of Yü's Double-Peak Hall(余氏雙峯堂), Chien-yang, Fukien(福建建陽), though the contents of the book are exactly the same as the first one, the title has changed to Hsin K'an An Chien Yen I Ch'üan Hsiang T'ang Kuo Chih Chuan(新刊按鑑演義全像唐國志傳)(65) and its editor is also changed to Hung Hsüeh Shan Jên(紅雪山人) Yü Ying-ao(余應鰲). And in this edition, sentences like, "when Chung-ku(鍾谷, Hsiung Chung-ku) expands the text in a popular version up to here....."(66) still keep the original shape. Suppose we had not the opportunity and the privilege of knowing of the existence of its earlier edition, we would never be able to understand what is meant by this "Chung-ku", not mentioning the still earlier writer, Hsieh Chü-shih.

In fact this Hsiung Chung-ku has another name, Hsiung Ta-mu(熊大木), which appears in many other story-books published from the Chia-ching period(嘉靖1522-1566 A.D.) of the Emperor Shih-tsung(世宗) to the Wan-li period(萬曆1573-1619 A.D.) of Emperor Shên-tsung(神宗). Now in the earlier Wan-li edition of the novel, "The Newly Carved Popular Story-book of the Revival of the Sung"(Hsin K'an Ta Sung Chung Hsing T'ung Su Yen I(新刊大宋中興通俗演義), published by the same Double-Peak Hall(Shu-

(63) Japanese Cabinet Library, Tokyo. cf. (54), Sun K'ai-ti's Shu Mu, PP.53-54.

(64) Chü-shih(居士) has two meanings: the retired scholar or the Buddhist devotee.

(65) Archives Division, Imperial Household Agency, Japan(日本宮內省圖書寮); Sun K'ai-ti's Shu Mu, PP.55-56.

(66) "鍾谷演義至此."

ang Fêng T'ang(雙峯堂);[67] at the beginning of every Chüan, this line "edited by Hsiung Ta-mu styled Ao-fêng" is printed. Yet in the later edition, though owned by the same publisher but published under another name, San T'ai Kuan(三台館), the title of this book has changed to Hsin K'an An Chien Yen I Ch'üan Hsiang Ta Sung Chung Hsing Yüeh Fei Chuan(新刊按鑑演義全像大宋中興岳飛傳), and its editor turns out to be Yü Ying-ao.[68] The wording of the preface of Hsiung in the earlier Wan-li edition has again changed to "the master of the San T'ai Kuan says....." without any particular acknowledgement. This is not only plagiarism, it is an act of piracy.

The San T'ai Kuan edition of Ch'üan Hsiang An Chien Yen I Nan Pei Liang Sung Chih Chuan(全像按鑑演義南北兩宋志傳) is also kept in the Japanese Cabinet Library. In Chüan 1 of the Nan Sung Chih Chuan(南宋志傳) is written: "Edited by Ch'ên Chi-ju of Yün-chien", yet in the preface supposed to have been done by the master of the San T'ai Kuan, it says "In former days master Ta-pên(大本, the character本, I think, is an erratum for木, mu.).....studied the history of the Sung dynasty and compiled this book." We are not sure what Ch'ên Chi-ju's position was in connexion with his "editing"(Pien Tz'ŭ編次) of this former work. And we have the same suspicion about the editing of Hsü Chung-lin, the Old Hermit of Chung-shan(Chung-shan I Sou).

The term "I Sou"(逸叟, old hermit) is not necessarily of particular significance since we had "Lin Hai I Sou"(臨海逸叟) of Ch'ih-ch'êng(赤城), the one who wrote a preface for the series of Ku Chang Chüeh Ch'ên(鼓掌絕塵);[69] and the place Chung-shan(Nanking) is a still more general name. Nanking at that time, that is, between the Chia-ching and Wan-li period, was a very famous publishing centre. In Hsin K'an Ta Sung Chung Hsing T'ung Su Yen I(新刊大宋中興通俗演義) just mentioned, though published by the Double-Peak Hall, there is a line in Chüan 7:

"Published by Wan Chüan Lou(萬卷樓)."

And in the middle of every page near the bottom, we read again, "Jên-shou T'ang(仁壽堂, Hall of Benevolence and Longevity) which is the name of another publisher, the Chou's of Nanking(金陵周氏). It may easily

(67) Japanese Cabinet Library, Tokyo. Sun K'ai-ti's Shu Mu, P.52.

(68) cf. (67)

(69) Japanese Cabinet Library, Tokyo. Sun K'ai-ti's Shu Mu, PP.24-25. This book is an edition of 1631 A.D.(period of Ch'ung-chêng 崇禎) Fêng Shên Yen I, Chüan 2, in which only the name of Hsü Chung-lin appears. That the Shu family were publishers and book-store proprietors in Soochow we can see from the remarks on the frontis-piece of Shu's edition of Fêng Shên Yen I, but the same Shu Tsai-yang appears also in other books published approximately in the same period. The 1619 A.D.(last year of Wan-li period) edition of Hsin K'an Hsü Wên-ch'ang Hsien Sheng P'ing T'ang Chuan Yen I(新刊徐文長先生評唐傳演義, "The Newly Carved Popular Story-book of the T'ang Dynasty with Master Hsü Wên-Ch'ang's Comments") was published by the Ts'ang Chu Kuan (藏珠館) of Wu-lin(武林 or Hangchow), but a line "printed by Shu Tsai-yang" (Shu Lin Shu Tsai-yang Tzŭ 書林舒載陽梓) is again seen at the left lower corner of its cover. Though we have yet no definite proof as to Hsü Chung-lin's share in the edition of Fêng Shên Yen I published by Shu Tsai-yang, we may gather from our understanding of the general situation of the publishing circle at that time that this Shu Tsai-yang edition of Fêng Shên Yen I cannot be taken without reservation as the first edition of this novel, and that it is again very obvious that Hsü Chung-lin might have been a scholar employed by Shu's book-store to do some revision work and would not be the one who had inherited so many preceeding works on the story of King Wu's expedition against Chou and spent ten times as much patience and labour on the rewriting of the story as on the assimilation of the material which, mingled with his own ingenious creation was made into a great work of art, an outstanding masterpiece in the history of Chinese literature.

Now regarding the Shu Tsai-yang edition of Fêng Shên Yen I, scholars may again find that not only Hsü Chung-lin's name appears in Chüan 2, but Shu's own name is also printed side by side with that of Hsü as the printer and the editor of this book. But neither of these two names appears in the frontis-piece. On the front-page, we have another name,

be proved that the wooden blocks of this edition, though at first they might have belonged to the Yü's of Chien-yang, Fukien, were at last transported and sold to another publisher of Nanking. That this change can be found only in Chüan 7 of this book somehow resembles Shu Tsai-yang edition of the Fêng Shên Yen I, Chüan 2, in which only the name of Hsü Chung-lin appears. That the Shu family were publishers and book-store proprietors in Soochow we can see from the remarks on the frontis-piece of Shu's edition of Fêng Shên Yen I, but the same Shu Tsai-yang appears also in other books published approximately in the same period. The 1619 A.D.(last year of Wan-li period) edition of Hsin K'an Hsü Wên-ch'ang Hsien Sheng P'ing T'ang Chuan Yen I(新刊徐文長先生評唐傳演義, "The Newly Carved Popular Story-book of the T'ang Dynasty with Master Hsü Wên-Ch'ang's Comments") was published by the Ts'ang Chu Kuan (藏珠館) of Wu-lin(武林 or Hangchow), but a line "printed by Shu Tsai-yang"(Shu Lin Shu Tsai-yang Tzŭ書林舒載陽梓) is again seen at the left lower corner of its cover. Though we have yet no definite proof as to Hsü Chung-lin's share in the edition of Fêng Shên Yen I published by Shu Tsai-yang, we may gather from our understanding of the general situation of the publishing circle at that time that this Shu Tsai-yang edition of Fêng Shên Yen I cannot be taken without reservation as the first edition of this novel, and that it is again very obvious that Hsü Chung-lin might have been a scholar employed by Shu's book-store to do some revision work and would not be the one who had inherited so many preceeding works on the story of King Wu's expedition against Chou and spent ten times as much patience and labour on the rewriting of the story as on the assimilation of the material which, mingled with his own ingenious creation was made into a great work of art, an outstanding masterpiece in the history of Chinese literature.

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(70) Japanese Cabinet Library, Tokyo. Sun K'ai-ti's Shu Mu, P.114.

(71) The last two lines in the first poem, Ch.1 of Hsi Yu Chi. They read: "If you wish to know the meritorious work of heaven and its dexterity, you must read this Hsi Yu Shih Ê Chuan."(欲知造化會元功，須看西遊釋厄傳.) cf. A. Waley: "Monkey", Allen & Unwin, 1942.

(72) Muraguchi Shoko(村口書庫). Sun K'ai-ti's Shu Mu, PP.111-114.

Chuan(新刻全像二十四尊得道羅漢傳,"Popular Story-book of the Twenty-four Arhats") of the Wan-li period. On the cover it is engraved "in the summer of 1605, printed by Chü K'uei T'ang(聚奎堂)," but in Chüan 6, is engraved again "in the winter of 1604, printed by the Yang's"(書林楊氏梓) who were the owners of the Ch'ing Pai T'ang(清白堂). Yet the name of its "editor", Chu Hsing-tsu(朱星祚) styled Fu-lin(撫臨) appears only in the third Chüan. This may serve as an additional proof that Hsü Chung-lin was probably not the only editor or reviser of Fêng Shên. As in this Tê Tao Lo Han Chuan, the wooden blocks of which were sold within one year between 1604-1605, and the names of its different proprietors appear at different places in the same book, and the editor might be employed by only one of these proprietors, we may likewise safely conclude that Hsü Chung-lin was connected with the Shu proprietors in Soochow, since his name appears with that of Shu Tsai-yang, as doing some revision or editing work on the book Fêng Shên Yen I, which was an earlier edition bought by the Shu family for re-carving(Fan K'ê 翻刻). In Li Yün-hsiang's preface of this edition we read:

> "Mr. Shu Ch'ung-fu(舒冲甫) has bought a copy of Fêng Shên from Hupei which contains some un-finished comments by Mr. Chung Po-ching, and asks me to complete his task. ...."

And this, I think, would serve as irrefutable evidence that this so called earliest edition of Fêng Shên which we have at present can never be claimed as the "earliest" edition engraved from the manuscript of its author, and the man Hsü Chung-lin, likewise, could, therefore, not not have been its author.

V

In Prof. Joseph Needham's "Science and Civilisation in China" (Vol. I)[73] he mentions the book Fêng Shên Yen I and says that it "was put together by Hsü Chung-lin in the Ming(i.e. at some time in the 15th or 16th century)." He also refers to the work of the Indian scholar Coyaji, "who has been able to draw striking comparisons between the Persian epic the Shāh-nāmah, by Firdausi, and the Chinese epic or legend-cycle, the Fêng Shên Yen I."

I recall that it was approximately at the same time when I was feeling sceptical about the authorship of the Fêng Shên Yen I that Sir J.C. Coyajee was studying the problem of cults and legends of ancient Iran and China. In the spring of 1936, he published,"Cults & Legends of Ancient Iran and China" in Bombay.[74] Thanks to the good offices of Mr. Chou Ta-fu(周達夫), who was then in Calcutta, I read Sir Coyajee 's book only few months after its publication. One of his essays discusses the same problem as that of Pitem (1) of the Chapter one of this thesis(P.4).[75]

The version of Fêng Shên Yen I which Sir Coyajee read was the abridged translation by Dr. Wilhelm Grube. This version, entitled Fêng Shên Yen I, cannot be different from the three earlier editions and it is most possible that Dr. Grube's translation was based upon the (C) edition(Szŭ Hsüeh Ts'ao T'ang Revised Edition, cf. P.1). Though I have not seen his orginal work, I understand from the paragraphs quoted in Sir Coyajee's essay that its contents are the same as those of any other popular edition, all of which were originally based on edition(C). We all know that Fêng Shên Yen I is a song and story book, written in prose for the most part but with some poems and Tz'u(詞, a form of poetry). So that, all in all, I am afraid that the Fêng Shên can hardly be counted as an epic. Sir J. C. Coyajee calls it "an epic" and compares it with the famous Persian epic Shāh-nāmeh, expressing the opinion that the latter is adopted from part of the former, or that at least they influenced each other. When we come to account for their striking resemblances, Sir Coyajee thought a good deal might be said for the th-

(73) cf. (4)

(74) Jehangir B. Karam's Sons, Bombay.

(75) "The Shāh-nāmeh and the Fêng Shên Yen I" appeared first in the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 9th Jan. 1933.

and the epical part which narrated most of the wars and anecdotes of the reign of King Kai Kaus, and in it a considerable part was interwoven with wonders and stories of supernatural forces undoubtedly inherited from the still earlier epic Bastan-nāmeh. Amongst them, King Kai Kaus, according to Sir Coyajee, was very similar to the King Chou, the last ruler of the Shang dynasty (1154-1122 B.C.) in the Fêng Shên Yen I.

In my opinion in this and other essays of Sir J. C. Coyajee,[76] his considered opinion cannot be compared with most of the incidental evidence brought forward by him. Naturally, his knowledge of the cults and legends of ancient India and Central Asia is profound, and can undoubtedly help us, but his understanding of the historical evolution of the Chinese novel is so vague that he did not know that Fêng Shên Yen I was developed from the Hua-pên (話本) style which itself came again from the still earlier Buddhist popular literary pieces, the Pien-wên (變文)[77] and even thought of seeking corroboration from Szŭ-ma Chien 's Shih Chi (史記), a course which could only bring him to grief. Of course, we may find some familiar names such as Ta-chi, Ch'ung Hou-hu, Fei Chung, O Lai (惡來) from the Yin Pên-chi of the Shih Chi (史記殷本紀), and the name Po-I K'ao appears again in the Kuan Tsai Shih-chia (管蔡世家) of the Shih Chi and other classical texts,[78] but the stories concerning them are either fictitious or developed to such an extent that they are accepted only conventionally. However, two points indicated by Sir J. C. Coyajee are noteworthy:

(1) He thought that from the artistic point of view, the Fêng Shên Yen I was a work which had been polished and, in a way, edited and re-edited by numerous nameless Taoist poets and priests. It was so far from being the work of a single hand that we do not even know the name of the reputed author.

eory that the Saka people, who lived geographically between old Iran and China, supplied most of the common legends. Shāh-nāmeh, as we understand it, was an epic written by the famous poet Firdausi, and its contents can be separated into two parts, the historical record and the epical part which narrated most of the wars and anecdotes of the reign of King Kai Kaus, and in it a considerable part was interwoven with wonders and stories of supernatural forces undoubtedly inherited from the still earlier epic Bastan-nāmeh. Amongst them, King Kai Kaus, according to Sir Coyajee, was very similar to the King Chou, the last ruler of the Shang dynasty(1154-1122 B.C.) in the Fêng Shên Yen I.

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(76) op. cit. PP.135-159.

(77) See Cyril Birch's work, cf. (13); and R. G. Irwin: "The Evolution of A Chinese Novel: Shui-hu-chuan", Ch.3, PP.23-25, Harvard,1953.

(78) Refer Po-I K'ao(伯邑考), see Li Chi(禮記), T'an Kung(檀弓);Shang Shu Chung Hou(尚書中侯) as quoted in Ch'u Hsüeh Chi(初學記), Chüan 10, T'ai P'ing Yü Lan(太平御覽), Chüan 146. In Ti Wang Shih Chi(帝王世紀), as quoted in the Commentaries of the Shih Chi(史記), Ch.3, Yin Pên-chi(殷本紀,正義) Po-I K'ao was cooked by King Chou who sent the broth to Chi Ch'ang. According to Ch'u Tz'ŭ(楚辭) T'ien Wên(天問), it was the minced meat of Mei Po(梅伯) which King Chou sent to Chi Ch'ang. Ta-chi's name can also be found in Kuo Yü,(國語), Chüan 7, Chin Yü(晉語). For the slaughter of pregnant women, see Motzŭ(墨子), Ming Kuei(明鬼), 3.

of his chief demons thereupon undertook the task of misleading the judgement of King Kawoos and of turning him away from the path of wisdom and rectitude. King Kawoos was informed that the Prince of Hamawaran (a Saka province) had a very beautiful daughter named Sodabeh, and he forthwith sent a nobleman to demand her in marriage. The Prince of Hamawaran was most reluctant to marry his daughter to the King of Iran. The insistence of the King in his demand naturally led to war. In the end, however, the Prince of Hamawaran was defeated and Sudabeh was given in marriage to King Kawoos. But she became the evil genius of the King and was the source of many troubles which befell him. Sudabeh, having seen Prince Siyawash, fell in love with him and induced King Kawoos to order the Prince to go to the royal harem. There Sudabeh made improper advances to him which were repelled by the virtuous Prince. Vexed by his indifference, Sudabeh accused him of assailing her virtue, with the result that Siyawash left Iran.(80) We can thus find a close resemblance of the goddess Nü Kua(女媧) to Eblis, of Su Ta-chi to Sudabeh and of Prince Po-I K'ao to Siyawash. There is a striking resemblance in the names of Su Ta-chi and Sudabeh the significance of which was noted by Sir J. C. Coyajee.(81) Although we cannot be too optimistic and there is no need to emphasize the point unduly, from the resemblances both in their characters and in the development of these two stories it is easy

(2) The traditional love of the Chinese and Persians for mythology, and the connexion between the two mythologics may be attributed to the Buddhist priests who held an important position in both countries and who were fond of drawing on history and legend to illustrate their moral teaching.(79)

These conclusions reached by J. C. Coyajee coincide with items (2) and (3) in Ch. I of this thesis. In order to illustrate the similarities between the Fêng Shên Yen I and the Shāh-nāmeh, I have chosen two examples which are comparatively interesting.

(a) Sudabeh and Su Ta-chi(蘇妲己).

In the Persian story of Sudabeh we see:

Eblis, a god, took counsel with his demons to darken the life and counsels of King Kawoos(Kai Kaus) and to deprive him of his glory. One of his chief demons thereupon undertook the task of misleading the judgement of King Kawoos and of turning him away from the path of wisdom and rectitude. King Kawoos was informed that the Prince of Hamawaran (a Saka province) had a very beautiful daughter named Sodabeh, and he forthwith sent a nobleman to demand her in marriage. The Prince of Hamawaran was most reluctant to marry his daughter to the King of Iran. The insistence of the King in his demand naturally led to war. In the end, however, the Prince of Hamawaran was defeated and Sudabeh was given in marriage to King Kawoos. But she became the evil genius of the King and was the source of many troubles which befell him. Sudabeh, having seen Prince Siyawash, fell in love with him and induced King Kawoos to order the Prince to go to the royal harem. There Sudabeh made improper advances to him which were repelled by the virtuous Prince. Vexed by his inddifference, Sudabeh accused him of assailing her virtue, with the result that Siyawash left Iran.(80) We can thus find a close resemblance of the goddess Nü Kua(女媧) to Eblis, of Su Ta-chi to Sudabeh and of Prince Po-I K'ao to Siyawash. There is a striking resemblance in the names of Su Ta-chi and Sudabeh the significance of which was noted by Sir J. C. Coyajee.(81) Although we cannot be too optimistic and there is no need to emphasize the point unduly, from the resemblances both in their characters and in the development of these two stories it is easy

(79) op. cit. P.104; PP.108-109.

(80) op. cit. PP.154-156.

(81) op. cit. P.105.

Among the heroes of the Saka race in the Iranian epic, Sohrab was the son of Rustam. One of the most dramatic episodes deals with the fight between Sohrab and his father. Sohrab thrice defeated and pursued his father, while the latter saved himself only by persuading his opponent that a hero should be defeated several times ere he should be slain. And the son replied, "Twice I have given you quarter and have had pity on your old age."(82) Finally, the father resorted to prayers in order to gain some strength for the last encounter. Sohrab showed, from his appearance in the Shāh-nāmeh to the end, a bitter hatred of King Kai Kaus. Indeed, he proposed openly to bring his father over to his side with the object of overthrowing Kai Kaus. But this greatest and most promising hero of the legends(Sohrab) of Sakastan and of the house of Rustam died at an early age, having lived only long enough to identify and acknowledge his father. Rustam craved in vain for ambrosia to bring the young hero back to life. We are told also that on the birth of Sohrab his father presented him with a jewel to be worn as a bracelet. According to this account the bracelet was to serve as a mark of the paternity of Sohrab.(83) This episode is found also in the Fêng Shên Yen I in its entirety but, according to Sir J. C. Coyajee, things are managed much better there. Rustam is Li Ching(李靖) in the Fêng Shên Yen I, and Sahrab is our No-cha(哪吒), the son of Li Ching. No-cha was born with a bracelet and with that weapon he slew dragon-warriors when he was only seven years old. This powerful weapon was called the Ch'ien K'un Bracelet(乾坤圈 or the Bracelet of Vitreous & Resinous Electricity). He fought thrice with his father Li Ching who took refuge behind a Taoist(Jan Têng 燃燈道人, 燃燈 is equivalent to "lighting of the lamps") who increased the old hero's strength by touching him on the back and spitting on him---a Taoist method of imparting strength. After that the older hero got the upper hand and No-cha was compelled to acknowledge him as his father and bow to him in humiliation. While Sohrab, in the Shāh-nāmeh, died at an early age, the No-

to conclude that they may have come from the same source.

(b) Sohrab and No-cha(哪吒)

Again in the Shāh-nāmeh we read:

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(82) op. cit. P.118.
(83) op. cit. P.116-121.

-cha of Fêng Shên was brought back to life by his Taoist master who revived him with a lotus and indeed, in the Chinese novel it is only in the second phase of his existence that the hero's most important exploits were performed and in which he carried on his immortal wars for fame and glory. It is also noteworthy that while in the Shāh-nāmeh the glory of the accomplishment of seven great labours in Mazendaran was given to the father, in the Chinese story a similar great feat is ascribed to the son. For according to the Persian poem it was the father who conquered the seven demons and wild beasts of Mazendaran while the Chinese account makes the son, No-cha, overcome the seven demons of Mei-shan(梅山 Plum Mountain).

When surveying Sir J. C. Coyajee's complete work, besides those points which seem to be superficial or to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the meaning of the original text, one cannot but notice that he has very keen observation and logical reasons to back up his arguments. He points out that (a) Kaus is King Chou or Chou Wang(紂王); (b) Sudabeh is Su Ta-chi; (c) Siyawash is Yin Chiao(殷郊), one of the two sons of King Chou;(84) (d) Sohrab is No-cha; (e) Rustam is Li Ching. And furthermore, in the Iranian epic, Afrasiyab who backed up Prince Siyawash against his father, was at last driven to conceal himself in Lake Chaichasta. Strange to say it was Shên Kung Pao(申公豹) in the Fêng Shên Yen I, who sent forward one hero after another to espouse the party which was defeated in the end, and it was he who had made Princes Yin Hung(殷洪) and Yin Chiao take up arms against their Taoist masters, and it was also his fate to be imprisoned in a well or lake in the North Sea.

Is this only a coincidence, or is there some inter-relation between these two marvelous literary productions ? It is not easy to draw any conclusion as yet. The cohesion of their relationship is still something left for us to achieve. We have certainly learnt a great deal about the Saka race from Sir J. C. Coyajee, but as Prof. Herbert A. Giles rightly said, there is still a great deal about the Saka race which attracts our attention. Indeed, when carefully examined, the

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Shāh-nāmeh shows alternate strata of purely Iranian and Sakaean material. All the characters such as Sohrab, Rustam, Sudabeh, King Kaus, Siyawash were people of the Saka race, and, as inferred by Sir J. C. Coyajee, the materials of the Sakaean stratum may have been closely related to their Chinese counterparts. Firdausi,(85) the great Persian poet who did the selection from amongst the widely scattered materials, though endowed with great genius, was sometimes oppressed by the magnitude of the task of putting together into a comprehensive whole the disjecta membra of a thousand traditions which had come down from a remote past. As he himself put it:

Scattered material oppresses the mind,
But when duly arranged
It makes happy the mind and the soul.

If we do not overvalue the importance of Sir J. C. Coyajee's discovery, his essays have at least offered us three valuable suggestions:

(1) Some parts of the most striking material in the Fêng Shên Yen I may not come from the pure imagination of a particular author, but may have an earlier mythological origin. It is hoped that some eminent sinologists, engaged in the study of Buddhist and Taoist libraries, legends of India and the Central Asian area, or probing into such popular song-and-story literature as Pien-Wên(變文), Hua-pên(話本) and other material not yet discovered will be able to help us to understand more.

(2) His theory that the Saka race, who lived geographically between old Iran and China supplied most of the common legends, can be accepted as a supplementary reference to the suggestion (1) put forth by me in Chapter I of this thesis, though he has not been able to give us more convincing evidence. However, it would be rather dogmatic to say that so many parallel features are merely a coincidence.

(3) It may well be that a certain writer, who was born in a later period, who read not only the Buddhist and Taoist canons, but also those popular tales which had been edited and re-edited throughout the ages and, mingled with the religious teachings and his own familiar style with the wonderful background material of the story of the banishment

(85) Firdausī of Tūs, wrote the Shāh-nāmeh between 990-1001 A.D. (the first part of N. Sung dynasty in Chinese history) under the first of the Ghaznavid Sultans, but the Saga(Saka) material he used was much older, and had first been written down in the Middle Persian prose works which Ibn al-Muqaffa translated into Arabic. See J. Needham, op. cit. P.165; C. Brockelmann: "History of the Islamic Peoples", Eng. tr. J. Carmichael and M. Perlmann, Putnam, New York, 1947; ABD Al-Jalil, J. M. : "Brève Histoire de la Littèrature Arabe", Maisonneuve, Paris, 1943; 2nd ed.

the Old Hermit of Chung-shan or, if it was not he, was it someone else? In many Ch'ing records, as we have seen, we are told that Fêng Shên was written by "a famous Ming scholar". Besides the evidences we have already discussed, as no one knows the career of Hsü Chung-lin, it is difficult for us to attribute the adjective "famous" to this "hermit". "The Old Hermit of Chung-shan" might have been a scholar in the vicinity of Nanking, or he might have been only an imaginary figure created by unscrupulous book-sellers, since the Ming dynasty was the period when this type of forgery was most prevalent. Since we have established that it is doubtful that Hsü Chung-lin wrote the Fêng Shên Yen I because there is no other evidence to support his authorship aside from that which we have examined, we must reluctantly admit that the claims of Hsü Chung-lin must be held in abeyance, temporarily at least, until further evidence is produced. On the other hand, our problem will be solved and all our doubts dissipated, if we can marshal enough evidence to prove that the book was written by some other person with a suitable background.

of Chou by King Wu and wrote a novel which was also interlarded with many interesting and dramatic incidents, fierce combats between battling fiends and Taoist fairies with their highly subtle and miraculous weapons, ending in the final triumph of the righteous over the evil side. It is my assumption that this is the evolution which the Fêng Shên Yen I had undergone through hundreds of years until it reached its present shape.

But, then, who was this author or compiler? Was it Hsü Chung-lin, the Old Hermit of Chung-shan or, if it was not he, was it someone else? In many Ch'ing records, as we have seen, we are told that Fêng Shên was written by "a famous Ming scholar". Besides the evidences we have already discussed, as no one knows the career of Hsü Chung-lin, it is difficult for us to attribute the adjective "famous" to this "hermit". "The Old Hermit of Chung-shan" might have been a scholar in the vicinity of Nanking, or he might have been only an imaginary figure created by unscrupulous book-sellers, since the Ming dynasty was the period when this type of forgery was most prevalent. Since we have established that it is doubtful that Hsü Chung-lin wrote the Fêng Shên Yen I because there is no other evidence to support his authorship aside from that which we have examined, we must reluctantly admit that the claims of Hsü Chung-lin must be held in abeyance, temporarily at least, until further evidence is produced. On the other hand, our problem will be solved and all our doubts dissipated, if we can marshal enough evidence to prove that the book was written by some other person with a suitable background.

VI

This other hypothesis, which we shall work on, that the Fêng Shên Yen I was written by another author called Lu Hsi-hsing(陸西星) was first put forth by me some twenty years ago. Work on it started between the years 1936 and 1937, and though there were several scholars similarly interested, I published the only long article on the subject (86) which was of any value and which was later duly noticed and recognized, even though the conclusions I reached then were not entirely accepted. For instance, Prof. Chao Ching-shên(趙景深), specialist in history of the Chinese novel and drama, though entirely recognizing the merits of my argument was not entirely satisfied with the evidence (87) I adduced in support of it.

My motive in writing the present thesis is to supplement and modify my former opinion with the new materials I have discovered in the past sixteen years.

New lights on the relation between Lu Hsi-hsing and Fêng Shên Yen I have come from two sources: Mr. Chang Chêng-lang(張政烺) and Prof. Sun Kai-ti got something from the book Ch'uan Ch'i Hui K'ao (傳奇彙考), while the other source was discovered by the late Prof. Tung K'ang(董康) when he re-edited and re-published the Ch'ü Hai Tsung Mu T'i Yao(曲海總目提要)(88) and it is through the encouragement of Prof. Tung that I first came to read this work.

It happened thus: Some thirty years ago when Prof. Tung got four sets of hand-written books, entitled Yüeh Fu K'ao Lüeh(樂府考畧,"Bibliography of Dramas"), he borrowed thirty two volumes of the same book(also hand-written) from the Shêng(盛) family of Ch'angchow, and found that these two sources of hand-written material were identical and belonged to the same work, but had no way of finding out the total number of volumes. We have, however, altogether 690 outlines of plays from these volumes. Prof. Tung went to Tokyo in 1927, and there, he copied another 80 outlines(from the same source), so in all we have now about 770 outlines. The fact that the names of the dramas which are found in K'ao Lüeh also appear in the contents of Ch'ü Hai proves that K'ao Lüeh seems to be an original draft of a bibliography of dramas prepared by

(86) Liu Tsun-yan's(柳存仁) "Fêng Shên Yen I Ti Tso Chê"(封神演義的作者) in Hsi Hsing Chi(西星集), PP.42-72, published by Yü Chou Fêng Shê (宇宙風社), Shanghai, 1940.

(87) Chao Ching-shên(趙景深): Yin Tzŭ Chi(銀字集 "The Silver Letters"), Yung Hsiang Book Co. Ltd.,(永祥印書館), Shanghai, 1945.

(88) Re-published by the Ta Tung Book Co. Ltd.(大東書局), Shanghai.

the Ch'ü Hai Tsung Mu T'i Yao were the same thing.

Unfortunately the edition of Ch'ü Hai(which means the Collection of Dramas) is no longer available. To understand the nature of Ch'ü Hai, we must have a clear understanding of the historical task of censorship and revision of dramas undertaken by the official bureau established in Yangchow in the reign of the Emperor Kao Tsung(高宗). In the "Memoirs of Yangchow Boats"(Yang-chou Hua Fang Lu 揚州畫舫錄)(89) it is recorded as follows:

"In 1777, His Excellency I Ling Ah(伊齡阿), the Imperial Inspector of Salt-fields, was directed by a mandate of the Emperor to establish a bureau for the revision of dramas. The work of revision took about four years, and the Bureau was first headed by His Execllency I Ling Ah and then by His Excellency T'u Szŭ Ah(圖思阿). The Chief Revisers were Mr. Huang Wên-yang(黃文暘) and Mr. Li Ching(李經), and the Assistant Revisers were Mr. Ling Ting-k'an(凌廷堪), Mr. Ch'êng Mei(程枚), Mr. Chên Chih(陳治) and Mr. Ching Ju-wei(荊汝為)....."

From the above we learn that the task of revision was completed in the year 1781. In the same "Memoirs" there are quotations from the preface by the compiler of the twenty volumes Ch'ü Hai of Huang Wên-yang reading:

"It was in 1781 that I, being recommended by the Salt-Inspector, was engaged in the work of revision of Tz'ŭ and Ch'ü(詞曲), and at the same time I was appointed the Chief Reviser of the dramas collected by the Royal Textile Officer of Soochow, and I had, therefore, a good chance of reviewing all the dramas, old and new. The work was completed after one year. As it was a task worth doing, I tried my very best to summarize the details of each play which had been collected in the compilation. After its completion, I wrote a catalogue in one volume re-

the Textile Officer of Soochow to be presented to the Manchu Emperor in the forty-sixth year of Ch'ien-lung(乾隆1781), and it was also the original source upon which Ch'ü Hai was based. So later on, when Prof. Tung collected these paraphrases, re-edited and re-published them, he called it Ch'ü Hai Tsung Mu T'i Yao which is supposed to have been its original name. Undoubtedly, Prof. Tung thought that the K'ao Lüeh and the Ch'ü Hai Tsung Mu T'i Yao were the same thing.

Unfortunately the edition of Ch'ü Hai(which means the Collection of Dramas) is no longer available. To understand the nature of Ch'ü Hai, we must have a clear understanding of the historical task of censorship and revision of dramas undertaken by the official bureau established in Yangchow in the reign of the Emperor Kao Tsung(高宗). In the "Memoirs of Yangchow Boats"(Yang-chou Hua Fang Lu 揚州畫舫錄)(89) it is recorded as follows:

"In 1777, His Excellency I Ling Ah(伊齡阿), the Imperial Inspector of Salt-fields, was directed by a mandate of the Emperor to establish a bureau for the revision of dramas. The work of revision took about four years, and the Bureau was first headed by His Execllency I Ling Ah and then by His Excellency T'u Szŭ Ah(圖思阿). The Chief Revisers were Mr. Huang Wên-yang(黃文暘) and Mr. Li Ching(李黓), and the Assistant Revisers were Mr. Ling Ting-k'an(凌廷堪), Mr. Ch'êng Mei(程枚), Mr. Chên Chih(陳沚) and Mr. Ching Ju-wei(荊汝為)....."

From the above we learn that the task of revision was completed in the year 1781. In the same "Memoirs" there are quotations from the preface by the compiler of the twenty volumes Ch'ü Hai of Huang Wên-yang reading:

"It was in 1781 that I, being recommended by the Salt-Inspector, was engaged in the work of revision of Tz'ŭ and Ch'ü(詞 曲), and at the same time I was appointed the Chief Reviser of the dramas collected by the Royal Textile Officer of Soochow, and I had, therefore, a good chance of reviewing all the dramas, old and new. The work was completed after one year. As it was a task worth doing, I tried my very best to summarize the details of each play which had been collected in the compilation. After its completion, I wrote a catalogue in one volume re-

(89) By Li Tou(李斗), in Chüan 5, Pt.2.

This shows that the task was not finished till one year later, i.e. in the beginning of 1782. The Contents of Huang's Ch'ü Hai, can also be found in the "Memoirs of Yangchow Boats", all the 1,013 plays which were written in the Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. Amongst them, more than 770 synopses have been found and re-edited by Prof. Tung K'ang. In the Ch'ü Hai Tsung Mu T'i Yao republished by Prof. Tung, there is an outline entitled "Shun Tien Shih"(順天時, "To Obey Heaven's Will")(90) deserves our attention:

"To Obey Heaven's Will.

"The play is written by a contemporary writer. It tells of the dramatic feat of Têng Chiu-kung(鄧九公) and T'u Hsing-sun(土行孫) from Fêng Shên Chuan(封神傳), with few alterations. Têng Chiu-kung was a general of Shang, who surrendered later to Chou just to obey heaven's will.

"It is said that Fêng Shên Chuan was written by Lu Ch'ang-kêng(陸長庚), a Taoist of the Yüan dynasty(I don't know whether this is true). As in the novel, most of the Buddhas(Jan Têng然燈, Tz'ŭ Hang慈航, Chieh Yin接引, Chun T'i準提) become Taoists; while some of them(Wên Shu文殊, Pu Hsien普賢, Chü Liu㝵留) are called the disciples of Yüan Shih(元始). It is possible that the author himself was a Taoist, otherwise he would not have put the Taoists before the Buddhists. Fêng Shên Chuan is an extravaganza, in which some of the characters of the Shang and Chou court are described. Therein are historical figures and some are only imaginary. It takes the story of the expedition of King Wu(of Chou) against King Chou(of Shang) as a framework, and interweaves with it half-true and half-fanciful descriptions, in which Buddhists are mixed up with Taoists to enrich the plot. It ends with the investiture of the deities....."

This, of course, sheds a little light on our problem. Before we can offer better evidence that Fêng Shên was in fact written by Lu Hsi-hsing (alias Lu Ch'ang-kêng陸長庚, see below), it would be rash to come to any conclusion. It so happens that in the summer of 1936, Mr. Chang Chêng-lang of the National University of Peking, discovered the same "To Obey

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(90) Chüan 39.

It is a book of limited circulation.(91) At the end of Chüan 5 of the lithographed edition which I borrowed from Prof. Sun K'ai-ti, there is a remark written by a Wên Tsun I Sou(文村遺叟, Old Squire of Wên Village) which reveals the origin of Ch'uan Ch'i Hui K'ao as follows:

"Several years ago I got from a friend three copies of the hand-written Ch'uan Ch'i Hui K'ao, the style of which is similar to that of the Szŭ K'u Tsung Mu(四庫總目, an abbreviated name for Szŭ K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu四庫全書總目,"The General Catalogue and Synopses of the Four Sections of the Imperial Libraries"). Since there is no Ch'ü(曲, drama of the Yüan and Ming dynasties) collected in the'Four Sections of the Imperial Libraries', this book may well fill the deficiency. It is a book well written, with detailed research and numerous quotations, in which respect it is comparable to the synopses of the Szŭ K'u. But since it is a fragmentary copy, with the first and last parts lost, one can hardly tell who the real author was. Mr. Chi Sung-yün(季菘耘) of the east of the Lou River(婁 or Liu River劉河, east of Soochow) and I compiled a catalogue at the famous Ch'u(瞿) family's residence and we exchanged views on this matter. Mr. Chi said that he had another eight copies, and in them also no author is named. His collection does not include my three volumes and we realised that even if we combined our two sets it would still be incomplete."

From this we learn that in its original form it was also hand-written, its different copies were scattered and some of them can never be found, a situation analogous to that of Yüeh Fu K'ao Lüeh. The Old Squire of Wen Village who wrote the remarks quoted Huang Wen-yang's preface to the Ch'ü Hai, and thought the contents of such hand-written copies were similar to the Ch'ü Hai Tsung Mu T'i Yao. He says:

"The way the Ch'ü Hai summarizes the detail of each play into bibliographic form is somewhat similar to that in this book, but since they bear different titles and the contents of these hand-written copies are in such a confused state, and the order of the plays is different from

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The Ch'uan Ch'i Hui K'ao commonly circulated consists of eight Chüan, and contains 263 synopses of plays. When the same title appears in this and the Yüeh Fu K'ao Lüeh(i.e., Prof. Tung's Ch'ü Hai Tsung Mu T'i Yao), the outline are also similar. "To Obey Heaven's Will" can be found in Chüan 7 of Hui K'ao. Hence we may infer that these two books have in fact one single origin, and since their scattered copies were copied and re-copied in hand-written form, they were bound to be duplicated, and they might not even have formal titles. This book, which we inherited from the middle of Ch'ien-lung's(乾隆) reign until the reigns of Hsien-fêng(咸豐) or T'ung-Shih(同治), is still circulated in hand-written form, and "no author's name is mentioned", "with the first and last parts lost, one can hardly tell who the real author was", so it was not until quite recently that both the lithographed Hui K'ao and Prof. Tung's edition of Ch'ü Hai Tsung Mu T'i Yao were published separately. It is clear that no evidence of falsehood or forgery can be found in these materials.

When Mr. Chang Chêng-lang came across these remarks in the Ch'uan Ch'i Hui K'ao he wrote to Dr. Hu Shih(胡適) discussing this question, (92) but neither of them have probed the details. In the spring of 1937, I wrote the "Lu Hsi-hsing Wrote Fêng Shên Chuan"(陸西星作封神考) which appeared first in the Wên Shih(文史) published by the National University of Peking and was later included in my book Hsi Hsing Chi (西星集). It had been read by both Dr. Hu Shih and Prof. Sun K'ai-ti in manuscript and it was the former who had it published. In that article I pointed out:

"The importance of the information given by that single item 'To Obey Heaven's Will' has never been questioned by anyone who has conducted research on this question, yet this item may well be condemned as simple, 'isolated evidence' and may meet the same fate as that of Hsü Chung-lin---the Old Hermit of Chung-shan, if one cannot provide further proofs to substantiate it. The one who unearthed this new evidence was himself a sceptic. He even said, 'I don't know whether this is true'.

that in the Tsung Mu, it is difficult to decide whether they came originally from one single source. ...."

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(92) Tu Li P'ing Lun(獨立評論), No.209, Peiping, 1936.

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"The discovery of 'To Obey Heaven's Will' is, however, very helpful to our research, although how it is not easy to see:

" (1) We believe that the hand-written copies, including this particular item, are the products of the work of drama revision which occurred during the middle of Emperor Ch'ien-Lung's reign, and even at that time the fact that Lu Hsi-hsing was the author of Fêng Shên Yen I was already well known. Lu Hsi-hsing(Ch'ang-kêng) was a well-known native of Hsing-hua District(興化縣), Yangchow, and Yangchow was the place where the revision bureau was established.

" (2) Our informant, the author of the Yüeh Fu K'ao Lüeh (or the Ch'uan Ch'i Hui K'ao), seemed not very clear on Lu Ch'ang-kêng's history when he thought that Lu was 'a Taoist of the Yüan dynasty.' Though he described him as a 'Taoist', he could not be sure whether Lu was really a Taoist, but only inferred this from reading the contents of Fêng Shên in which 'most of the Buddhas become Taoists' and said in conclusion that 'we are inclined to think that the author himself must also be a Taoist.'

" (3) But, as a matter of fact, though the author of Fêng Shên expressed a great respect for Taoists, he intermingled them with Buddhist To point out that 'Jan Têng, Tzŭ Hang, Chieh Yin and Chun T'i have been turned into Taoists' while 'Wên Shu, Pu Hsien, Chü Liu are called disciples of Yüan Shih' and offer them as evidence that the author prefers Taoism is superfluous. It seems more reasonable to say that the author was deeply interested in both Taoism and Buddhism. When studying carefully the life and environment of Lu, it is easy to see that he was an old type Chinese scholar who also dabbled in other religions. This is most probably accurate."

In the article quoted above, I cited several passages from the "Geographical Annals of Hsing-hua District, Yangchow"(揚州興化縣志) which prove useful in the study of Lu Hsi-hsing's private life. But in them,

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there is no direct proof of the authorship of the Fêng Shên Yen I. And at that time, none of us thought it would be important to compare carefully the relation between the Fêng Shên Yen I and the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua to shed light upon this pending problem, not to mention the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan of which I think, this is its first appearance to the reading public, either Chinese or European, in the study of Chinese literature.

In order to substantiate my study and to support my belief that it was Lu Hsi-hsing who wrote the Fêng Shên Yen I, I have spent some sixteen years on this subject and my attention has been concentrated on the following points:

(a) The author of the Fêng Shên Yen I was a Taoist priest, yet he was greatly interested in Buddhism and he believed that these two religions could be combined.

(b) His knowledge of Buddhism was far more than superficial. In the study of Buddhism, he belonged to the mysterious and secret Tantric school and revealed some part of this knowledge in the Fêng Shên Yen I.

(c) The Fêng Shên Yen I was written with some definite purpose, and the investiture of the gods in the end of this book was well planned and adroitly carried out.

(d) The knowledge of the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I of popular literature was profound and he took an active part in including some Hua-pên(話本), Pao-chüan(寶卷) material and plays in his own novel.

(e) The author had a genius for literary work and he was well educated. He made some characters in his novel very vivid and full of humanity which makes them entirely different from their originals the Wu Wang Fa Chou and Chüan I of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan. Some of the heroes and their adventures were his own creation.

(f) The political background when the novel was written and the private life of the author as revealed by the novel itself must be analyzed in conjunction with other evidence so that we can prove that it was at such and such a time that this work was accomplished.

(g) And lastly, textual evidence from Lu Hsi-hsing's other works must be studied to prove that only such a particular author could do

this work.

VII

The life of Lu Hsi-hsing, alias Lu Ch'ang-keng, as it appears in Biographies of Writers(Wên Yüan 文苑, Chüan 8), "Geographical Annals of Hsing-hua District, Yangchow"(揚州興化縣志)[93] is as follows:

"Lu Hsi-hsing, alias Lu Ch'ang-kêng, was born with great gifts. When he was a young boy in the village school he had a philosophical bent. He was a very distinguished student in the Imperial District Examination which took places at Yangchow, but when after nine attempts he could not pass the Imperial Provincial Examination, he gave up the scholarly robes, put on the Taoist square hat, and went out tramping. Several times he met extraordinary persons from whom he learnt Taoist secrets, and subsequently wrote many books on Taoism and Buddhism, among which the 'Criticism of Chuangtzŭ' is regarded as superior to many other commentaries. Hsi-hsing was an avid reader, became a prominent writer and was also very fond of drawing and calligraphy. Among his contemporaries, Tsung Ch'ên(宗臣) was the most talented, but as a writer of great fame with many works published, Tsung Ch'ên should have yielded first place to him."

In this short biography mention is made of Hsi-hsing's younger brother Yüan Po(原博) and Yüan Po's grandson Shih-su(士綉) and great-grandson T'ing-lun(廷綸). In the earliest"Annals of Yangchow-fu"(揚州府志)[94] which I could find, there is a volume(Chüan 53) dealing with hermits in which Lu's story is found, and it is noted that it was based on the still earlier original records in the Hsing-hua District Annals, but nothing different can be found from the short biography quoted above. In the Hsing-hua District Annals of the Hsien-fêng(咸豐) edition[95] the names of ten books written by Hsi-hsing are recorded:

" Comments on Ts'an T'ung Ch'i of the Book of Changes(Chou I Ts'an T'ung Ch'i Tz'ê Shu 周易參同契測疏),[96] 1 Chüan; Studies in Laotzŭ(Lao-tzŭ Yüan Lan 老子元覽), 2 Chüan; A Criticism of Chuangtzŭ(Nan Hua Fu Mê 南華副墨), 8 Chüan; Remarks on Ying-fu Canons(Yin-fu Ching Tz'ê I 陰符經測疑), 1 Chüan; Remarks on the Four Hundred Characters on the Invisible Golden Pills by Chang Tzŭ-yang(Chang Tzŭ-yang Chin Tan Szŭ Pai Tzŭ Tz'ê Shu 張紫陽金丹四百字測疏), 1 Chüan; Commentary on the Invisible

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(93) Published by Tsun Ching Kê(尊經閣) in the second year of Hsien-fêng(咸豐二年), 1852.

(94) Revised and published in the fifteenth year of Chia-ch'ing(嘉慶十五年), 1810. See Chüan 53, Jên Wu Yin I(人物隱逸).

(95) Chüan 9, I Wên(藝文"Literature").

(96) Referring to the nature of Ts'an T'ung Ch'i, see Lu-ch'iang Wu (吳魯強): "A Ancient Chinese Treatise on Alchemy Entitled Ts'an T'ung Ch'i Written by Wei Po-Yang about 142 A.D." with Introduction, Notes by Tenney L. Davis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., Saint Catherine Press, Bruges.

Golden Pills(Chin Tan Chiu Chêng P'ien金丹就正篇), 1 Chüan; The External History of Fang-hu(Fang-hu Wai Shih方壺外史), 8 Chüan; The Principles of the Surangama-Sūtra(Lêng Yen Shu Chih楞嚴述旨), 10 Chüan; Hsing-hua District Annals(I Chih), and A Collection of Poems of Ch'u Yang(Ch'u Yang Chi楚陽集).

In comparing the above list, we see clearly the author's brilliant talents and his special gift for intermingling the cults and spirit of Buddhism and Taoism. There are some more of his books recorded in the Fangchow-fu Annals most of which are "Remarks" on Taoist books, but we see from the above paragraph and from note (97) that there is no Fêng Shên Chuan(Fêng Shên Yen I) included. In the History of the Ming Dynasty(Ming Shih明史),(98) eight among the ten books in the aforementioned list are also recorded, but it adopted the social name of Lu Ch'ang-kêng as that of their author, as it was given in the Yüeh Fu K'ao Lüeh and Ch'uan Ch'i Hui K'ao.

A Ch'üan-chên(全眞) Priest

From the short biography in the Hsing-hua District Annals we learn that Lu Hsi-hsing became a Taoist priest and went out tramping after he had failed many times in the examination. But what kind of Taoist priest could he be? In the Ming dynasty, which followed the method of administration of the preceding dynasties, an office called Tao Lu Szŭ (道錄司 Department of Registration of Taoist Priests) was established in the fifteenth year of Hung-wu(洪武十五年 1382) and an officer, whose rank was of the proper sixth grade(正六品), was charged with the work of this Department whose office was situated at the Ch'ao T'ien Palace(朝天宮, a Taoist temple) in the capital, and was under the administration of the Ministry of Rites(Li Pu禮部). There were sub-offices of the same nature set up in every fu(府 prefecture), chou(州 county) and hsien(縣 district). At that time Taoist priests were divided, as they had been divided in Chin and Yüan dynasties, into two categories: the Ch'üan-chên(全眞) and the Chêng-i(正一), all subject to the control of the government. The Taoist priests of the Ch'üan-chên were devoted to the study of the absorption of a sufficient dose of the elixir of everlasting life, besides their physical exercises such as assimilation of the air(Tai-hsi胎息)

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and (97) In Chüan 62, I Wên(藝文), Tzŭ Pu Tao Shih Lui(子部道釋類). Six books are not included in the "Hsing-hua District Annals" which we have quoted, they are: Wu Shang Yü Huang Hsin Yin Miao Ching Tz'ê Shu無上玉皇心印妙經測疏; Chou I Ts'an T'ung Ch'i Kou I 周易參同契口義 (3 pieces); Ts'ui Kung Ju Yao Ching Tz'ê Shu 崔公入藥鏡測疏; Lü Chên Jên Pai Tzŭ Pei Tz'ê Shu 呂眞人百字碑測疏; P'ang Mei Tzŭ Chin Tan Yin Chêng Tz'ê Shu 龐眉子金丹印證測疏 and Ch'iu Chên Jên Ch'ing T'ien Ko Tz'ê Shu 邱眞人青天歌測疏.

(98) Chüan 98, I Wên(藝文), Tzŭ Pu Tao Shih(子部道釋).

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the chief of the sect. The followers of this sect depended mainly on their charms(fu符) and magic seal(yin印) which were supposed to be efficacious against ghosts and evil-influence.(99)

The term Chin-tan(金丹 golden pill), as appears in many books of Lu Hsi-hsing, was the elixir of immortality which every Taoist priest of Ch'üan-chên sought. The Taoist alchemists had learnt long before the Ming dynasty the process of decomposing and recomposing cinnabar which, after un-interrupted heating with other ingredients for nine times nine days would turn itself into such assimilable gold.(100) But in the Ming dynasty, such practice was particularly encouraged because several emperors, through the agency of some eunuchs, were enormously interested in it, and in the reign of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung(孝宗 1488-1505), the emperor even allowed Li Kuang(李廣), his favourite eunuch, to introduce such practice to the palace, and in 1504, he promoted Ts'ui Chih-tuan (崔志端), a Taoist priest who was then the Director of the T'ai-ch'ang Bureau(太常寺卿), to the position of minister in the Ministry of Rites, and who was the first Taoist priest to whom such a high post had ever been offered.(101) In such circumstances it is not difficult to understand why Lu Hsi-hsing became a Ch'üan-chên.

The beginning of the Ch'üan-chên sect was said to be in the early part of the Southern Sung dynasty, and its founder was Wang Chê(王喆) who was said to have learnt this doctrine directly from Lü Yen(呂巖) or Lü Tung-pin(呂洞賓), a Taoist scholar of the T'ang dynasty and a miraculous character in our fabulous stories. Wang Chê and his disciples were all northerners. The seven apostles of Wang Chê were: Chiu Ch'u-

and care of the sperm. The Taoist priests of Chêng-i claimed the celestial master Chang Ling(張陵) of the Later Han dynasty as their predecessor who, it was said, having found the drug of immortality, took up his abode on Mt. Lung-hu(龍虎山, Mt. Dragon & Tiger) for a period of time before ascending alive to heaven. He founded the secret society nicknamed "Rice-thieves" for every follower of his was obliged to contribute five bushels of rice, and his venerable leadership was handed to his son Chang Hêng(張衡) and grandson Chang Lu(張魯), and even down to the present, and it is alleged a member of this family is still the chief of the sect. The followers of this sect depended mainly on their charms(fu符) and magic seal(yin 印) which were supposed to be efficacious against ghosts and evil-influence.(99)

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(99) See Ch'ing Yen Ts'ung Lu(青巖叢錄), quoted in Yü Hu Hsia Lan(玉壺遐覽), Shao Shih Shan Fang Pi Ts'ung(少室山房筆叢), Chüan 46.

(100) See Ts'ao Yüan-yü(曹元宇): "The Ancient Chinese Alchemists: Their Laboratories & Methods"(中國古代金丹家的設備及方法), The Science(科學), Vol.XI, No.1(Jan.1933); Wang Chin & others(王璡等): "The Ancient Chinese Alchemy"(中國古代金屬化學及金丹術), published by Chung Kuo K'o-Hsüeh Kung Szŭ(中國科學公司), Shanghai, 1955.

(101) See Ho Ch'iao-yüan(何喬遠): Ming Shan Ts'ang(名山藏), Chüan 11, Tien Mu Chi(典謨記); Ming T'ung Chi(明通紀), the 9th year of Hung-chih(弘治).

Seven golden lotuses. 'These seven golden lotuses,' said Master Lü, 'are the seven apostles: Chiu(丘), Liu(劉), T'an(譚), Ma(馬), Ho(邱), Sun(孫) and Wang(王). These seven persons will be able to propagate my doctrine of Ch'üan-chên. Now you had better disguise yourself as a common person and go down to the earth to win the six over to our doctrine ...' "

In the same act, the song Hun Chiang Lung(混江龍) reads:

"Striding with a dignified gait into the gate of Taoism(Hsüan-mên 玄門),

The seven golden lotuses were floating on the water."

But in Ch.38 of Fêng Shên Yen I, when Wên Shu Kuang Fa T'ien Tsun(文殊廣法天尊, a Taoist immortal who derived from the Wên Shu P'u Sa文殊菩薩, i.e., the Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva) was going to kill Wang Mo(王魔). He took out something of which the author speaks,

"This precious weapon is called Tun-lung Chuang(遁龍樁 Dragon-concealing Stake) in our Hsüan-mên(玄門), but many years afterward it would become the seven precious golden lotuses in the preaching of Buddha."

From this we can see that not only the author of Fêng Shên Yen I was a member of the Ch'üan-chên sect, but he was also in the habit of putting every thing Taoist before Buddhist. In Ch.44 of Fêng Shên, which describes the scenery of the Pa Ching Palace(八景宮) of Laotzŭ, there are couplets on scrolls reading, "Again he went out of the Han-ku Kuan(Pass 函谷關) to convert those Huns." And in Ch.65, when the Taoist Chun T'i(準提道人, derived from the Candī or Cundī in Tantric

chi(丘處機), T'an Ch'u-tuan(譚處端), Liu Ch'u-yüan(劉處元), Wang Ch'u-i(王處一), Ho Ta-t'ung(郝大通), Ma Chüeh(馬玨) and Sun Pu-êrh(孫不二), the wife of Ma Chüeh. Wang Che arrived in Ning-hai-chou( ) in Shantung in 1168, where Ma Chüeh and his wife built a monastery for him and whence he started to preach this Ch'üan-chên doctrine.(102) In the first act of the play Ma Tan Yang Tu Liu Hsing Shou(馬丹陽度劉行首)written by Yang Ching-hsien(楊景賢) of the Yüan dynasty, Wang Chê says,

"The Master Lü led me to the beach of the Eastern Sea, and threw seven golden pills into the waves and immediately the pills changed to seven golden lotuses. 'These seven golden lotuses,' said Master Lü, 'are the seven apostles: Chiu(丘), Liu(劉), T'an(譚), Ma(馬), Ho(郝), Sun(孫) and Wang(王). These seven persons will be able to propagate my doctrine of Ch'üan-chên. Now you had better disguise yourself as a common person and go down to the earth to win the six over to our doctrine ...' "

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Buddhi(102) Sung Lien(宋濂): Pa Ch'ang Ch'un Tzŭ Shou T'ieh(跋長春子手帖 "A Colophon to the Letter of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi丘處機 to Sung Tao-an宋道安"), cf. Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng(古今圖書集成), Shên I Tien(神異典), Ch. 217.

advantageous to preach our doctrine by utilizing what they have---the foundation of the great religion in the South-east?"

In Ch.78, the Taoist Chun T'i told Laotzŭ and Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun (元始天尊 The Celestial Honoured Primordial) that he saw "hundreds of scarlet flashes spouting into the air in the East and the South, and understood that there is an affinity bringing us together so that I should be able to promulgate the doctrine of the West."

Although we can find in the Tao Tsang(道藏"Two Collections of Taoist Literature"),(103) so many plagiarized works derived from Buddhist books, the novel, I believe, is the first to inspire the mind of the readers with such teachings in popular literature.

And therefore, Wei Hu(韋馱) who derived from the Buddhist tutelary god Wei T'o(韋馱), became the "tutelary god who is the Ch'üan-chên(全真) under the gate of the Law(法門) and the guardian of the three religions"(Ch.59).(104) In the eulogy(Tsan讚) in Ch.82 describing the Battle of the Myriad Immortals(Wan Hsien Chên萬仙陣)(105) the author wrote again:

"One row after another were Taoist priests and Ch'üan-chên who had been secluded in the mountains,
And on both wings were the tramping dhuta-observers(106) from seas and lakes."

And as a Ch'üan-chên himself who was of the opposite sect to the Chêng-i(正一), he conferred the title of Chêng-i Lung-hu(正一龍虎) on an evil god Chao Kung-ming(趙公明), the God of Wealth(Ch.99), who was in fact shot to death in effigy by a Taoist Lu Ya(陸壓) who I presume, was no other than the counterpart of the author himself(cf. the part referring to Lu Ya).

Three Pure Ones(San Ch'ing三清)

I think because of the two different sects of Taoism in that particular period, the author of Fêng Shên Yen I took the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua and the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan as the framework, and created the

Buddhism, and in the novel he was the convener of the "Western Religion") advised the Taoist Chieh Yin(接引道人, i.e., the Amitabha Buddha himself) to give his assistance to Chiang Shang(Tzu-ya), he said,

"Is it not advantageous to preach our doctrine by utilizing what they have---the foundation of the great religion in the South-east?"

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(103) See the contents of "Tao Tsang and the Tao Tsang Tzŭ Mu Yin Tê(道藏子目引得 "Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature") compiled by Weng Tu-chien(翁獨健), Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1935.

(104) Original text: "覆三教法門金典".

(105) See E.T.C.Werner: "Myths & Legends of China", Ch. XIII, PP. 320-324. George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1934.

(106) The original text is T'o-t'ou(陀頭) which I think is an erratum for T'ou-t'o(頭陀), the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit dhuta.

In Ch.77, in the battle of Immortal-exterminating Array(Chu Hsien Chên誅仙陣) in which Laotzŭ was fighting the T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu, he sent forth rays from his forehead which evolved into three Taoist masters. These Three Pure Ones(San Ch'ing三清), as the Shang Ch'ing(上清), the Yü Ch'ing(玉清) and the T'ai Ch'ing(太清), all came to his assistance. According to Taoist works of an earlier period, we find that in the Ling Pao Chên Ling Wei Yeh T'u(靈寶真靈位業圖"A Hierarchical Chart of the Gods of Taoism")[107] of Tao Hung-ching(陶弘景) of the sixth century, the realms of the Three Pure Ones had been vaguely indicated, but they were mingled with other gods so that the triad was not yet formed. From the period of the Northern Chou down to the T'ang, there were many Taoist monasteries named after these Three Pure Ones, especially in the T'ang dynasty. In March of 743 A.D., the Temple of Laotzŭ(Hsüan Hsüan Miao玄元廟) in Changan was turned to T'ai Ch'ing Palace(太清宮) by an imperial mandate of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung(玄宗), and thenceforth on every new year's day of the lunar year a special offering was to be made in this palace.[108] Undoubtedly the triad was now formed, and if we combine the Three Pure Ones with the San Pao(三寶 derived from the Trikāya of Buddhism) we learn from the Tao Mên Ta Lun(道門大論) in the Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤 Ch.6) we shall get a combined chart which may be the origin of P. Henri Doré, S. J.'s chart in his valuable studies:[109]

opposition and the struggle between the two Taoist sects: the Ch'an Chiao(闡教 Promulgating Sect) and the Chieh Chiao(截教 Intercepting Sect). The former Sect was represented by Laotzŭ and the Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun (The Celestial Honoured Primordial), and the latter was under the leadership of T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu(通天教主). That is why in Ch.82, one of the apostles of the Promulgating Sect, Huang-lung Chên Jên(黃龍真人) said, "Since the Celestial Honoured Primordial, Taoism has held a unique position. It is a fault of the Intercepting Sect that they even accept bandits as their followers in order to expand their influence." And in Ch.78, even Yüan Shih himself rebuked the T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu with a poem charging him with "organizing wicked clans to profane the transcendent teaching."

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(107) Ed. Chin Tai Pi Shu(津逮秘書); also Ts'ung Shu Chi Ch'êng Ch'u Pien(叢書集成初編), Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai,1935.

(108) For Yü Ch'ing Temple(玉清觀), see Chiu T'ang Shu(舊唐書), Ch.5, Kao-tsung Pên-chi(高宗本紀), the 2nd year of T'iao-lu(調露二年). For T'ai Ch'ing Palace, cf. Chiu T'ang Shu, Ch.21, Li I Chih(禮儀志), 1; Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch.5, Hsüan-tsung Pên-chi(玄宗本紀), the 2nd year of T'ien-pao(天寶二年). For these Palaces in N. Sung dynasty, see Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.8, Chên-tsung Pên-chi(眞宗本紀), the 6th year of Ta Chung Hsiang Fu(大中祥符六年,1013) and Ch.21, Hui-tsung Pên-chi(徽宗本紀), in the 3rd and the 6th year of Chêng-ho(政和三年, 政和六年, 1113 and 1116) and also Ch.104, Li Chih(禮志).

(109) "Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine", No.9, Pt.2, Vol.6, Ch.I, Changhai,1911.

Trikāya was founded.

where the Shên Pao Chün(神寶君 The Sovereign of the Treasure of the Gods, i.e., the T'ai Shang Lao Chün 太上老君 or Laotzŭ) dwelt.(110)

In the Fêng Shên Yen I, the author did not pay any serious attention to the traditional triad which formed the head of the hierarchy, so that he made the Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun(Celestial Honoured Primordial), Laotzŭ and a third patriarch T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu, the head of the Intercepting Sect, form his new triad, and he created a still higher master, the Hung Chün Tao Jên(鴻鈞道人 Taoist Hung Chün who was the personification of the vital principle in nature before the creation) who lived in the Purple Cloud Palace(Tzŭ Hsiao Kung 紫霄宮) and it was he who came down to compose the conflict between his three disciples after the battle of the Wan Hsien Chên(萬仙陣 the Battle of Myriad Immortals). So that the Lin Pao Chün or Lin Pao T'ien Tsun was out of place in this new triad. In other novels such as Pei Yu Chi(北遊記)(111) the name San Ch'ing T'ien Tsun(三清天尊, i.e., the Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing and T'ai Ch'ing) was preserved, and in Wu Ch'êng-ên's(吳承恩) Hsi Yu Chi which was written probably a little later than the Fêng Shên Yen I, the triad of Three Pure Ones with the Ling Pao T'ien Tsun(靈寶天尊) representing the Shang Ch'ing was again included.(112) It is for this

Yü Ch'ing Ching(玉清境 The Realm of Yü Ch'ing)where the T'ien Pao Chün(天寶君 The Sovereign of the Treasure of Heaven, i.e. the Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun元始天尊) dwelt.

Shang Ch'ing Ching(上清境 The Realm of Shang Ch'ing) where the Ling Pao Chün(靈寶君 The Sovereign of the Treasure of the Spirits, i.e., the Yü Ch'ên Hsüan Huang Ta Tao Chün玉晨玄皇大道君 alias the Ling Pao T'ien Tsun靈寶天尊) dwelt.

The Wonderful Realms of the Three Pure Ones (San Ch'ing Miao Ching三清妙境) on which the Trikāya was founded.

T'ai Ch'ing Ching(太清境 The Realm of T'ai Ch'ing) where the Shên Pao Chün(神寶君 The Sovereign of the Treasure of the Gods, i.e., the T'ai Shang Lao Chün太上老君 or Laotzŭ) dwelt.(110)

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(110) In E.T.C.Werner's book, op. cit. PP.124-125, he translated the Shên Pao(神寶) as "The Treasure of the Spirits", but no alternative name was given to the Ling Pao(靈寶).

(111) Ch.1; this book, as a part of the Szŭ Yu Chi(四遊記 "The Four Travels"), is also named Pei Fang Chên Wu Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti Ch'u Shên Chih Chuan(北方真武玄天上帝出身志傳), edited by Yŭ Hsiang-tou(余象斗) of the Ming dynasty. Popular edition published by Shang-hai Ku Tien Wên Hsüeh Ch'u Pan Shê(上海古典文學出版社), Shanghai,1955.

(112) Ch.7.

reason ... tradition ... word ... term ... sure ... Law ... Treasure ... Ku ... Hsü ... (113) ... Buddha, is essentially ... in the other. The Fa-shên(法身 Dharmakāya) is the ensemble of the cosmic being, of the only reality, and is the ground of all immaterial phenomena from which all different forms of living beings originate. The Pao-shên(報身 Sambhogakāya) or the reward body of a Buddha is the degree of enlightenment attained by his merit. And lastly, the Ying-shên(應身) or Hua-shên(化身 Nirmāṇakāya) is a Buddha's transformation, the earthly reflection of his enlightening power. This theory can easily be explained if we apply it to the three different manifestations of spiritual power as it is maintained in Aśvaghoṣha's (Ma Ming馬鳴) Mahāyāna Śraddhotpādāśāstra (or "The Awakening of Faith" 大乘起信論):

"Behind the universe which can be seen, three different manifestations of spiritual power are in action. The one is the underlying essence, called T'i(體). The second is the image, or Hsiang(相), the different manifestations of that essence. The third is the Yung(用), the essence in action, the energy working through the universe."(114)

In order to manifest the "three being essentially one", Su Shih(蘇軾) after reading the Sutra Lu Tsu Ta Shih Fa Pao T'an Ching(六祖大師法寶壇經 "Sutra Spoken by the Sixth Patriarch on the High Seat of the Gem of Law[Dharmaratha]")(115) exemplified this with the eye as the Fa-shên, the vision as the Pao-shên and the image as the Hua-shên.(116) So that in the Fêng Shên Yen I, the three heads of the triad were disciples of a higher master. But who was the combined "one"? Who was the "Buddha" from whom the Vairochana(毘盧遮那佛 Dharmakāya), the Loshana(盧舍那佛 Sambhogakāya) and the Sākyamuni(釋伽牟尼佛 Nirmāṇakāya) emanated in this Taoist triad? It could not be the Hung Chün Tao Jên who was a fabulous

reason that Ling Pao's position was so important in the traditional worship, and the author of Fêng Shên could not but create a new character, the Ling Pao Ta Fa Shih(靈寶大法師 Master of the Law of the Treasure of the Spirit), in his novel and put him among the twelve apostles under the Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun of the Jade Palace of Abstraction(Yü Hsü Kung 玉虛宮) in Mt. K'un Lun.(113)

The theory of Trikāya, or the threefold body or nature of a Buddha, is that the three are considered as a trinity, the three being essentially one, each in the other. The Fa-shên(法身 Dharmakāya) is the ensemble of the cosmic being, of the only reality, and is the ground of all immaterial phenomena from which all different forms of living beings originate. The Pao-shên(報身 Sambhogakāya) or the reward body of a Buddha is the degree of enlightenment attained by his merit. And lastly, the Ying-shên(應身) or Hua-shên(化身 Nirmāṇakāya) is a Buddha's transformation, the earthly reflection of his enlightening power. This theory can easily be explained if we apply it to the three different manifestations of spiritual power as it is maintained in Aśvaghoṣha's (Ma Ming馬鳴) Mahāyāna Śraddhotpādāśāstra (or "The Awakening of Faith" 大乘起信論):

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(113) The Taoist term Ling Pao(靈寶) which appears in the Han Wu-ti Nui Chuan(漢武帝內傳) is equivalent of "spirit".("靈者神也，寶者精也.") This book is probably a forgery of the 5th-6th century.

(114) Karl Ludvig Reichelt(艾香德):"Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism", PP.200-201, translated from the Norwegian by Kathrina Van Wagenen Bugge, The Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1927. See also No. 1666, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(115) Ed. Yu Ching Press, Shanghai, 1930. Translator in seudo-name: "Pupil Translator."

(116) Tung P'o Chih Lin(東坡志林), Chüan 2, "Tu T'an Ching"(讀壇經), Pai Hai(稗海) ed.

character created merely by the author of Fêng Shên Yen I. It was Laotzŭ himself. Chu Hsi(朱熹) pointed this out in his Chu Tzŭ Yü Lui (朱子語類 Chüan 125)(117) who said;

"The San Ch'ing(三清) originated from the Buddhist Trikāya. To my knowledge, the Fa-shên is the buddheity in itself; the Pao-shên is the body of enjoyment of the virtue he attained, and the Ju-shên(肉身) is the fleshy body of the Sākyamuni among men. Now the Buddhists make three images, put them side by side and worship them: this is already contradictory to the original idea. Yet this practice is again followed by Taoist priests who honour Laotzŭ as the Three Pure Ones(San Ch'ing) to form the trinity, and seat the Hao T'ien Shang Ti(昊天上帝 The Sovereign on High) under them. Is not this perverse and blasphemous? And in the popular mind, neither is Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun the Fa-shên of Laotzŭ, nor the T'ai Shang Tao Chün(太上道君) his Pao-shên, and their images are again not the same as Laotzŭ who himself occupies the third position as the T'ai Ch'ing T'ai Shang Lao Chün(太清太上老君) in the triad. Is it not again very wrong even in this plagiarism?"

This opinion of Chu Hsi of the Southern Sung dynasty was very important in the mind of the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I. The triad he created in his novel was composed of opponents of two antagonistic Sects, yet in the same novel, he made Laotzŭ emit the San Ch'ing in one person which would serve to correct the wrong impression in the popular mind as stated in Chu Hsi's words. As this point is so unimportant and minute, we may therefore presume that he had a deep interest in the Taoism of his time.

Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun(元始天尊)

We have glanced at the complete translation of the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua and the related part of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan in which very few Taoists' names are found. Nor we can see any story about the combat of the two antagonistic Sects. But in the Fêng Shên Yen I, so many Taoist stories are told and most of them are the creation of its author, based upon his profound knowledge of this religion. From the research below, we may find many interesting points to justify this observation.

(117) Chüan 125, PP.17-18, Ying Yüan Shu Yüan(應元書院) ed., 1872.

Tsun) can be found in the Sui Shu(隋書) Ching Chi Chih(經籍志) which says that he existed before the primordial void, and he had passed thousands and millions of Kalpas(劫) and his body was always the same without any change. "At the beginning of every creation of heaven and the earth, he would appear in the Jade Capital(Yü-ching 玉京) where he resided or in the wild of Ch'iung Sang(窮桑) to impart secret instructions to the people concerning their deliverance. The styles of his reign were Yen-kang(延康), Ch'ih-ming(赤明), Lung-han(龍漢) and K'ai-huang(開皇), and between two styles forty-one thousand myriads of Kalpas had elapsed." Those who were delivered by Yüan Shih were all Taoist deities of the highest grade in the hierarchy, including T'ai Shang Lao Chün(太上老君) and the Heavenly Gods of the Five Directions (Wu Fang T'ien Ti五方天帝). The name of Yüan Shih was Lo Ching(樂靜).

The above quoted statements were no doubt influenced, as the compiler of Sui Shu said, "by Buddhist work." The name T'ien Tsun(天尊 celestial honoured) was again an imitation of the Buddhist Shih Tsun (世尊 the worldly honoured), because in some other Taoist books we can still find its earlier name, the Yüan Shih T'ien Wang(元始天王).(118) When Yüan Shih was preaching his doctrine, his language was so abstruse that he had to send T'ien Chên Huang Jên(天眞皇人) to transform it into ordinary words and to explain to the audience.(119) This assistant, who appears in the Fêng Shên Yen I, is the Nan-chi Hsien Wêng(南極仙翁 Ancient Immortal of the South Pole).

The origin of Nan-chi Hsien Wêng, who I think, was the Nan-chi Lao Jên Hsing(南極老人星, the Star of the Ancient Immortal of the South Pole) appears in the Commentaries(So-ying索隱 of Szŭ-ma Chên司馬貞)of the Fêng Shan Shu(封禪書) of the Shih Chi(史記) under the text, "offerings were presented at the Temple of the God of Longevity,"(祠壽星祠) so that Nan-chi Lao Jên was originally the Star of Longevity.(120) In the Taoist text Shang Ch'ing Ching(上清經) and also in the Tung Yüan Pên Hsing Ching(洞元本行經) the assistants of Yüan Shih were Nan-chi Hsüan Chün(南極玄君) and Nan-chi Tsun Shên(南極尊神) respectively, obviously two different names for the same person. But in the year 1556(the 35th year

The origin of the Celestial Honoured Primordial(Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun) can be found in the Sui Shu(隋書) Ching Chi Chih(經籍志) which says that he existed before the primordial void, and he had passed thousands and millions of Kalpas(劫) and his body was always the same without any change. "At the beginning of every creation of heaven and the earth, he would appear in the Jade Capital(Yü-ching 玉京) where he resided or in the wild of Ch'iung Sang(窮桑) to impart secret instructions to the people concerning their deliverance. The styles of his reign were Yen-kang(延康), Ch'ih-ming(赤明), Lung-han(龍漢) and K'ai-huang(開皇), and between two styles forty-one thousand myriads of Kalpas had elapsed." Those who were delivered by Yüan Shih were all Taoist deities of the highest grade in the hierarchy, including T'ai Shang Lao Chün(太上老君) and the Heavenly Gods of the Five Directions (Wu Fang T'ien Ti五方天帝). The name of Yüan Shih was Lo Ching(樂靜).

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(118) See Han Wu-ti Nui Chuan(漢武帝內傳) and the Chên Chung Shu(枕中書) of Kê Hung(葛洪), quoted in Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng(古今圖書集成), Shên I Tien(神異典), Ch.222.

(119) Original text"改嚼天音而辯析之", Sui Shu(隋書), Ch.35, Ching Chi Chih(經籍志), 4.

(120) This is the fine star Canopus of the Ship Argo. According to M. Henri Maspero, "We are not to take North Pole and South Pole in an astronomical sense, but in a sort of topographical meaning. The N. and S. Poles are not stars close to the extremes of the imaginary prolongation of the axis of the earth, but constellations situated one to the North(the Great Bear) and the other to the South(Sagittarius) of a Chinese looking up at the sky." See "Asiatic Mythology", P.346, George G. Harrap, 1932.

of Chia-ching 嘉靖三十五年) the Emperor Shih-tsung(世宗) of the Ming dynasty influenced by his favourite Taoist priest, Tao Chung-wên(陶仲文), adopted the name Tzŭ-chi Hsien Wêng(紫極仙翁 the Ancient Immortal of the Purple Pole) for himself. Hence, the author of Fêng Shên created this Nan-chi Hsien Wêng which was a combination of both names partly inherited from Taoist studies and partly influenced by current events.(121)

In the Fêng Shên Yen I, Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun dwelt in the Jade Palace of Abstraction(Yü Hsü Kung 玉虛宮) which was situated in the Mt. K'un Lun(崑崙山). Though the Mountain appears in many chapters of Chuangtzŭ(c. 300 B.C.), the Shan Hai Ching(山海經) and the Chu Shu Chi Nien(竹書紀年),(122) we cannot but say that it was intermingled with the Buddhist Mt. Sumeru(須彌山) and its transplanted legends. It is perhaps interesting to learn that this Mt. K'un Lun, whose legend is proved to be of Taoist origin, was again regarded as a Buddhist sacred mountain where five hundred arhats lived.(123) What I am interested is the following passage which appears in the Pei Yu Chi(北遊記), Ch.14:

"In Mt. K'un Lun, there were six devils who named themselves as the six poisonous creatures(Liu-tu 六毒) of heaven, the earth, the day, the month, the year and the hour."

As I shall prove that the Szŭ Yu Chi(四遊記"The Four Travels", of which Pei Yu Chi is a part) was composed somewhat earlier than the Fêng Shên Yen I, we can see that at the time of writing the Pei Yu Chi(not of course the time when Yü Hsiang-tou 余象斗 published it, which was rather late), the traditional relation of Mt. K'un Lun and the Taoist deities was not yet formed in popular literature, and it was the author of Fêng Shên Yen I who rationalized the description.

The name of Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun appears in many Taoist texts. In the Kao Shang Yü Huang Pên Hsing Chi Ching(高上玉皇本行集經, obviously a book plagiarised from the Fu Pên Hsing Chi Ching 佛本行集經 the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra) of the Northern Sung dynasty, he rode on a "hand-carriage painted green and gilded with dragons of nine colours"(碧輦九色玄龍). It is the "nine-dragon sandalwood carriage"(沉檀九龍車) or the "sandalwood easy chair used as hand-carriage"(沉香輦) in Ch.50 of Fêng Shên;

(121) Ming Wai Shih(明外史), T'ao Chung Wên Chuan(陶仲文傳).

(122) Chapters Chih Lo(至樂), Chih Pei Yu(知北遊) and Ta Tsung Shih (大宗師) of Chuangtzŭ. See also Lu Hsi-hsing(陸西星): Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê(南華經副墨 "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ"), Chüan 5; Chs. 2, 6, 11, 13 etc. of Shan Hai Ching(山海經) and the 17th year of King Mu(周穆王十七年, 985 B.C.), Chu Shu Chi Nien(竹書紀年).

(123) Fu Shuo Hsing Ch'i Hsing Ching(佛說興起行經), Pt.1, Introduction; No.197, "The Tripitaka in Chinese". cf. Shih I Chi(拾遺記), Ch. 10.

and in Ch.77, the author even used the term "nine-dragon sandalwood hand-carriage"(九龍泥香輦). We thus see how faithful was the author to his beliefs.

The Jade Palace of Abstraction(Yü Hsü Kung 玉虛宮) where Yüan Shih dwelt in the novel can also be traced from the historical records. The Yü Hsü Kung appears first in the Yüan Shih(元史 History of Yüan Dynasty), Wên-tsung Pên-chi(文宗本紀). It was a Taoist monastery situated in Mt. Wu-tang(武當山, near Chün Hsien 均縣, Hupeh) where an idolatrous purgatory service was conducted by Taoist priests in the winter of 1329 on account of the mysterious death of the late emperor. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the Yü Hsü Kung of Mt. Wu-tang was ruined and was re-constructed in 1412.(124) I think this was the most famous Yü Hsü Palace in the Ming dynasty. Monasteries bearing the same name might also be found in the Annals of Mêng-shan(蒙山), Shantung; T'ai-ho(太和), Anhwei; and Chü-chou(衢州), Chekiang, but they are of minor importance. The Emperor Shih-tsung who as, I have related, had already conferred on himself in 1557 not only a long title composed of twenty-seven characters ending with Yü Hsü Tsung Chang Wu Lui Ta Chên Jên(玉虛總掌五雷大真人 The Great Immortal Directing the Talismans of Thunder of Yü Hsü)and also the Hsüan Tu Ching Wan Shou Ti Chün(玄都境萬壽帝君 the Sovereign of the Hsüan Tu Realm through All Generations) must have left some impression on our author.

Hsüan Tu(玄都) and Pa Ching Kung(八景宮)

Hsüan Tu(玄都 the Abstruse Land) is the name of the cave of Laotzŭ in the Fêng Shên Yen I. In Ch.44, we read,

"Ch'ih-Ching Tzŭ(赤精子) rode on fair clouds for the Abstruse Land and in an instant he arrived at this fairy mountain. It was the Cave of the Abstruse Land(Hsüan-tu Tung 玄都洞) of the Ta-lo Palace(大羅宮) where Laotzŭ resided and within it there was the Pa Ching Palace(八景宮 Palace of Eight-scenes)."

The name Hsüan Tu has a very early origin, and was adopted as the name of Taoist monastery since the sixth century.(125) But it appears also in other literary works of the Ming dynasty. In Mei Ting-tsu's(梅鼎祚) play Yü Hê Chi(玉合記), Scene 18, there is a line, "It is hoped

(124) Ming Ta Chêng Chi(明大政紀), see also Wu-tang Shan Chih(武當山志).

(125) Han Wu-ti Nui Chuan(漢武帝內傳):"玄都之墟"(the land of Hsüan Tu). See also Chou Shu(周書), Ch.5, Wu-ti Pên-chi(武帝本紀), in the 1st year of Chien-tê(建德元年 572 A.D.) and Li Tê-yü(李德裕): Mao Shan San Hsiang Chi(茅山三像記), quoted in Chüan 2, Mên Sê Hsing Hua(門客新話), Ts'ung Shu Chi Ch'êng Ch'u Pien(叢書集成初編).

And in Ch.2 of Nan Yu Chi(南遊記) we read:

"The Celestial Honoured Greatly Merciful and Greatly Compassionate Marvellous-Delight in his meditation was in the Palace of Eight-scenes ...."(有八景宮大慈大悲妙樂天尊正在打坐)

But I think the term "Eight-scenes"(Pa Ching) must have an earlier origin. It comes from the name of a kind of carriage or sedan-chair (輿 Yü) on which Taoist transcendents could ride and wheel around in the air. It is said in the Shang Ch'ing Ta Tung Chên Ching(上清大洞真經) that the T'ai Shang Yü Ch'ên Ta Tao Chün(太上玉晨大道君) who

"rode on first the carriage of One-scene and mounted on the purple clouds of eight elements;(126)
rode on then the carriage of Two-scenes and mounted on the deep crimson clouds of seven elements;
rode on then the carriage of Three-scenes and mounted on the red clouds of six elements;
rode on then the carriage of Four-scenes and mounted on the green clouds of five elements;.....

and so on until the last line:

"rode on then the carriage of Eight-scenes and mounted on the spiritual clouds of one element."

And in the Hsi Wang-mu Chuan(西王母傳) she "rode on the carriage of Eight-scenes(八景輿) to visit the Superior Palace of the Cool and Void."

Of course, the name Pa Ching can be explained in an abstract sense as we have found so many Taoist texts entitled Pa Ching should be. But in the "Two Collections of Taoist Literature"(Tao Tsang道藏), there is an illustration of the Eight-scenes together with other figurative descriptions such as the Seventy-two Caves, the Three Islands and Ten Lands,

that some day you will be an attendant at Hsüan Tu"(嘗有日詣駕玄都) which expressed the common thought of the Ming dynasty writers.

In the Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo(古今小說), Chüan 13 "Chang Tao Ling Gives Trial to Chao Shêng"(張道陵七試趙昇), Laotzŭ told Chang(the Heavenly Master):

"I shall await you at the Palace of Eight-scenes in the realm of Shang Ch'ing."(吾待子於上清八景宮中)

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and so on until the last line:

"rode on then the carriage of Eight-scenes and mounted on the spiritual clouds of one element."

And in the Hsi Wang-mu Chuan(西王母傳) she "rode on the carriage of Eight-scenes(八景輿) to visit the Superior Palace of the Cool and Void."

Of course, the name Pa Ching can be explained in an abstract sense as we have found so many Taoist texts entitled Pa Ching should be. But in the "Two Collections of Taoist Literature"(Tao Tsang道藏), there is an illustration of the Eight-scenes together with other figurative descriptions such as the Seventy-two Caves, the Three Islands and Ten Lands,

(126) The text,"初乘一景之輿，駕八素紫雲"etc. cf. Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤), Chüan 8 and Chüan 101.

of Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun was added "the Patriarch of the Highest Noumenon and Unity"(T'ai Shang Wu Chi Hun Yüan Chiao Chu太上無極混元教主), I think this explanation of Pa Ching may be acceptable.

T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu(通天教主)

The origin of the Patriarch T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu(通天教主), the leader of the Intercepting Sect(Chieh Chiao截教) is uncertain. In the Hua-pên(話本) Ch'ên Hsün Chien Mei Ling Shih Ch'i Chi(陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記)(128) of perhaps the Southern Sung dynasty, there is the T'ung T'ien Ta Shêng(通天大聖 one of the three evil spirits of the monkey),(129) and the same name appears also in the Hsien T'ien Yüan Shih T'u Ti Pao-chüan(先天原始土地寶卷) which is a sort of religious song-book which had been prevalent since the Northern Sung dynasty.(130) But my interest rose when I came to read the twenty-four poems entitled "Lyrics about the Western Parks"(Hsi-yüan Kung Tz'ŭ西苑宮詞, Kung Tz'ŭ is a kind of short poems describing mainly life in the court, and Hsi-yüan is located to the west of Peking where the summer palace was built) which were written, as the writer, Chang Yüan-kai(張元凱) said,

"For nearly thirty years the late Emperor Shih-tsung(世宗, the reign of Chia-ching嘉靖 between 1522-1566) secluded himself in the Western Palaces and devoted himself to Taoist cultivation." The thirteenth poem reads,

"The Heaven-Influenced Tower(T'ung T'ien T'ai通天臺) was built to communicate with the San-t'ai Stars(三台),
And at His Majesty's repeated commands the altars for idolatrous sacrifice on behalf of souls in purgatory were set up."

The origin of T'ung T'ien T'ai appears in the Wu Ti Pên-chi(武帝本紀)of the Shih Chi(史記). When the magician Kung-sun Ch'ing(公孫卿) persuaded the Emperor Wu Ti to build a tower, alleging that the immortals were fond of dwelling in high place, and for communication with transcendent beings the T'ung T'ien T'ai was built. In other records a similar building, the Wang Hsien T'ai(望仙臺 Immortal-expecting Tower), was built, as for instance, in 845(the fifth year of Hui-ch'ang會昌五年), in the

which are included in the book Hsiu Chên T'ai Chi Hun Yüan T'u(修真太極混元圖,[127]) and in Ch.99 of the Fêng Shên Yen I to the full name of Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun was added "the Patriarch of the Highest Noumenon and Unity"(T'ai Shang Wu Chi Hun Yüan Chiao Chu太上無極混元教主), I think this explanation of Pa Ching may be acceptable.

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(127) Tao Tsang(道藏), Tung Chên Pu(洞真部), Ling T'u Lui(靈圖類). The book concerned was written by Hsiao Tao-ts'un(蕭道存).

(128) Ch'ing P'ing Shan T'ang Hua-pên(清平山堂話本), photolithographed edition by Wên Hsüeh Ku Chi Kan Hsing Shê(文學古籍刊行社), Peking, 1955. Also in Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo(古今小說), Chüan 20, "Ch'ên Ts'ung Shan Mei Ling Shih Hun Chia"(陳從善梅嶺失渾家).

(129) This is perhaps the origin of the Hsi Yu Chi Tsa Chü(西遊記雜劇) by Yang Ching-hsien(楊景賢) of Yüan dynasty and also the Hsi Yu Chi in the Szŭ Yu Chi(四遊記 "The Four Travels"). Its relation with the Indian epic Rāmāyana, originally one of the Jātakas, can be noticed. cf. Sister Nivedita & Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: "Myths of the Hindus & Buddhists", PP.6-117, George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1914.

(130) Chüan 10, Ti Yao Wu Tung P'in(地理物動品). cf. Prof. Chêng Chên-to(鄭振鐸): Chung Kuo Su Wên Hsüeh Shih(中國俗文學史), P.341, Tso Chia Ch'u Pan Shê(作家出版社), Peking, 1954.

reign of the Emperor Wu-tsung(武宗) of the T'ang dynasty, upon the persuasion of the Taoist Chao Kuei-chên(趙歸眞).(131) Though from the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua we learn the buildings of the Moon Playing Terrace and the Star Plucking Building, the name T'ung T'ien was not affixed to any building or any person. I do not believe that any T'ung T'ien Tower was really built in the reign of the Emperor Shih-tsung, but it might be an allusion expressing how the people thought of their ruler, and a ruler who conferred on himself the reverend title of patriarch(Chiao-chu 教主) is no new to us since the Emperor Hui-tsung(徽宗) of the Northern Sung dynasty.

The terms Chiao-chu(教主), Chang Chiao Lao-shih(掌教老師 one who was in charge of the Sect) or Chang Chiao Shih-tsun(掌教師尊 the honourable master who was in charge of the Sect) appear many times in the Fêng Shên Yen I.(132) On the Promulgating Sect's side, the Chiao-chu or Chang Chiao Shih-tsun was Yüan Shih(Chs. 44 & 50); on the opposite side, T'ung T'ien was the Patriarch(Ch.46), and in the eyes of both Sects, the Chieh Yin Tao Jên(接引道人) was the Patriarch of the Western Paradise(Ch.78). Such terms can be used in two ways:

The name Chang Chiao or "to take charge of"(Chang) a certain "sect" (Chiao) can be traced as early as T'ang dynasty. It was the Director of the Department of Abstruse Worship(Ts'ung Hsüan Shu Ling崇玄署令)who took charge of all Taoist monasteries and their activities in the capital, and there was a Supervisor of Taoist & Buddhist Monasteries(Szŭ-kuan Chien寺觀監) under the Office of Religious Rites(Hung Lu Szŭ 鴻臚寺), assisting him in other affairs.(133) In the Sung dynasty, this kind of work was mainly allotted to a senior secretary of the Board of Ceremonies(Tzŭ-pu Lang Chung祠部郎中) and his assistants(Yüan Wai Lang 員外郎).(134) But from the Yüan dynasty, the administration was twofold: On the one hand a Board for the Promulgation of Government Affairs(Hsüan-chêng Yüan 宣政院) was set up, with a minister whose rank was in the lower first grade to take charge of the Buddhists and religious affairs in Tibet. On the other hand, Kublai Khan appointed several Taoist high priests to offices similar to the Patriarchate such as Chiang Nan Tao-chiao Tsung T'i Tien(江南道教總提點) and thenceforth semi-official titles, e.g., Chang Chiao, Chang Tao-chiao(掌道教) were cons-

tant(131) Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch.8, Wu-tsung Pên-chi(武宗本紀). cf. Su Ngo(蘇鶚): Tu Yang Tsa Pien(杜陽雜編), Chüan Hsia(下), Pai Hai (稗海) ed. (135)ices were continued.

(132) Chs. 44, 46, 50, 77 & 78. Chiao-chu seems to be an alternative(133) Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch.48, Po Kuan Chih(百官志).) intend

(134) Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.163, Chih Kuan Chih(職官志), 3.

"You need only go to the Jade Palace of Abstraction to see my Chang Chiao Lao-shih."

Madame grinned and said, "....You scare me with your Chiao-chu!"

But judging from every historical record, the Emperor Hui-tsung(徽宗) of the Northern Sung dynasty was the only ruler who had conferred on himself the honourable title Chiao-chu Tao Chün Huang-ti(教主道君皇帝) in the year 1115 or 1117,(136) and though at the same time he allowed his favourite Taoist Lin Ling-su(林靈素) to use the title Yü Chên Chiao-chu(玉眞教主) its sense was restricted so that it would not to be mixed up with the supreme one.(137)

I believe it is not unreasonable to think that the name T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu is a metaphor of the author for his emperor.

The Twelve Apostles

Some scholars have probed the relation between the Buddhist Trikāya and eadrly Christianity, and with reason.(138) When I use the term Twelve Apostles to indicate the "Masters of Twelve Generations"(Shih Êrh Tai Shang Shih 十二代上師) in the Fêng Shên Yen I(Ch.45), my aim is only to find out their origins and their relation to Buddhism. Because I believe the author of Fêng Shên Yen I was one, who was originally a Confucian scholar, but became a Taoist afterwards with a certain devotion to Buddhism.

In the camp of the Promulgating Sect, with Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun as the patriarch and Laotzŭ his "elder brother", the Twelve Apostles of Yüan Shih played the most important role both in King Wu's expedition against Shang(King Chou) and in the battles between them and the genii in the opposite camp. Yün-chung Tzŭ(雲中子 Master in the Cloud), Nan-chi Hsien Wêng(Ancient Immortal of the South Pole), Hsüan Tu Ta Fa Shih(玄都大法師 The Great Master of the Law of the Abstruse Land) and Lu Ya(陸

tantly conferred on Taoist leaders of every sect.(135) In the Ming dynasty, besides the Department of Registration of Taoist Priests, such practices were continued.

In the Fêng Shên Yen I the term Chiao-chu seems to be an alternative for Chang Chiao. In Ch.13, when T'ai-I Chên Jên(太乙真人) intended to intimidate Madame Shih Chi(石磯娘娘), he said,

"You need only go to the Jade Palace of Abstraction to see my Chang Chiao Lao-shih."

Madame grinned and said, "....You scare me with your Chiao-chu!"

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壁), (135) Yüan Shih(元史), Ch.9, Shih-tsu Pên-chi(世祖本紀), 6; Ch.3, Hsien-tsung Pên-chi(憲宗本紀) on Li Chên-ch'ang(李真常); and Ch.34, Wên-tsung Pên-chi(文宗本紀), 3, on Ch'üan-chên Taoist(全真教) Miao Tao-I(苗道一).

(136) Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.21, Hui-tsung Pên-chi(徽宗本紀), 3.

(137) According to Hsüan Ho I Shih(新刊大宋宣和遺事), Vol. Yüan(元集), in 1125, Lin Ling-su's title was Yü Chên Chiao Chu and Attendant at the Palace of Divinely Wonderful Clouds(玉真教主神霄凝神殿侍宸).

(138) cf. Dr. Leo Wieger, S.J.: "A History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions in China", translated by E.C.Werner, Hsien-hsien Press(獻縣), 1927.

This is to say he was not being considered in the plan of the hierarchy of our author. The Nan-chi Hsien Wêng, as we have already seen, was created to be the assistant of Yüan Shih, and for the same reason, Hsüan Tu Ta Fa Shih appeared as Laotzŭ's attendant. Their position would be higher than that of the other disciples. In the whole book, Lu Ya is an extraordinary character. He was the counterpart of the author and was created to be the leader of a group of tramping anchorites who were, to some extent, free-handed. The position of the Jan Têng Tao Jên(燃燈道人 Taoist-Master of the Burning Lamp) was higher than that of the other disciples and he acted sometimes as a Comforter.

Combining the narratives in Chs. 44 and 45, these Twelve Apostles under Yüan Shih and the places where they dwelt were:

Mt. Chiu Hsien(九仙山) T'ao Yüan Cave(桃源洞)(139).....Kuang Chêng Tzŭ(廣成子)

Mt. T'ai Hua(太華山) Yün Hsiao Cave(雲霄洞).....Ch'ih Ching Tzŭ(赤精子)

Mt. Êrh Hsien(二仙山) Ma Ku Cave(麻姑洞)(140).....Huang-lung Chên Jên(黃龍真人)

Mt. Hsia Lung(狹龍山) Fei Yün Cave(飛雲洞).....Chü Liu Sun(俱留孫)

Mt. Ch'ien Yüan(乾元山) Chin Kuang Cave(金光洞).....T'ai-I Chên Jên(太乙真人)

壓), though admittedly they belonged to the Ch'an Chiao(闡教) and therefore were under the leadership of Yüan Shih, were not regarded as his disciples for, I think, several reasons. Yün-chung Tzŭ is the character in the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, so that it was not necessary to include him as one of the twelve disciples in the mind of the author. A part of his story appears in the Fêng Shên Yen I and that was only inherited from preceding works. In Ch.51, after the fierce fighting of the Yellow River Array(黃河陣) and the Ten-Extermination Array(十絕陣) in which most of the disciples had been wounded or arrested en blŏc, when Yün-chung Tzŭ came to the camp, all the disciples said,

"Yün-chung Tzŭ is indeed to be blessed that he has escaped the Yellow River Array with his life and merits."

This is to say he was not being considered in the plan of the hierarchy of our author. The Nan-chi Hsien Wêng, as we have already seen, was created to be the assistant of Yüan Shih, and for the same reason, Hsüan Tu Ta Fa Shih appeared as Laotzŭ's attendant. Their position would be higher than that of the other disciples. In the whole book, Lu Ya is an extraordinary character. He was the counterpart of the author and was created to be the leader of a group of tramping anchorites who were, to some extent, free-handed. The position of the Jan Têng Tao Jên(燃燈道人 Taoist-Master of the Burning Lamp) was higher than that of the other disciples and he acted sometimes as a Comforter.

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Mt. Hsia Lung(狹龍山) Fei Yün Cave(飛雲洞).....Chü Liu Sun(懼留孫)

Mt. Ch'ien Yüan(乾元山) Chin Kuang Cave(金光洞).....T'ai-I Chên Jên(太乙真人)

(139) T'ao Yüan Tung(桃源洞) was one of the 36 Cave-Heavens for Taoist cultivation, see Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤), Chüan 27. This name became also the title of a song in the Yüan Ch'ü(元曲), Hsien Lü Kung(仙呂宮) Yu Hu-lu(油葫蘆), cf. Wu Ch'ang-ling's(吳昌齡) Chang T'ien Shih Tuan Fêng Hua Hsüeh Yüeh(張天師斷風花雪月), Act 1; Ch'iao Mêng-fu's(喬孟符) Tu Mu Chih Shih Chiu Yang-chou Mêng(杜牧之詩酒揚州夢), Act 2 etc. In the play Lü Tung-pin San Tu Ch'êng Nan Liu(呂洞賓三度城南柳) by Ku Tzŭ-ching(谷子敬), Act 3, in the Song Mu Yang Kuan(牧羊關) there is a line, "in charge of the 72 Blessed Lands(七十二福地) and the 36 Cave-Heavens(三十六洞天)".

(140) One of the 36 Cave-Heavens.

The belief that an immortal must have a grotto for cultivation was already a tradition long before the writing of the Fêng Shên Yen I. Besides the Hsü Wên-su and Yün-chung Tzŭ of the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, we can cite many similar cases.(144) But among these Twelve Apostles, four of them, Wên Shu(文殊 which is a part of the Chinese translation for Bodhisattva Mañjuṣrī 文殊師利), P'u Hsien(普賢 the Chinese translation for Bodhisattva Samantabhadra which means "Universal Virtue"(145) as expressed in his Chinese name), Tz'ŭ Hang(慈航 whose name was derived from the Bodhisattva Avalokiteṣvara and in Chinese Kuan-Shih-Yin 觀世音, which came about through a confusion between īṣvara[lord] and svara[sound] in translation) and Chū Liu Sun(懼留孫 whose name came directly from the Chinese translation for Buddha Krakucchanda 拘留孫佛) were either Bodhisattvas or Buddhas and were of course of Buddhist origins. So that we can only point out the Taoist origins of the other eight apostles.

Though I prefer to put aside for the time being the discussion about the four Buddhist members in the Twelve Apostles of Yüan Shih, I think it may be helpful to say something about the Jan Têng Tao Jên(燃燈道人 Taoist Master of the Burning Lamp), for it would explain why these Twelve Apostles were formed and why they were put, in many chapters of the Fêng Shên Yen I, under the command of Jan Têng.

Mt. K'ung T'ung(崆峒山) Yüan Yang Cave(元陽洞).....Ling Pao Ta Fa Shih(靈寶大法師)

Mt. Wu Lung(五龍山) Yün Hsiao Cave(雲霄洞)[141].....Wên Shu Kuang Fa T'ien Tsun(文殊廣法天尊)

Mt. Chiu Kung(九宮山) Pai Hou Cave(白鶴洞).....P'u Hsien Chên Jên(普賢真人)

Mt. P'u T'o(普陀山) Lo Chia Cave(蕗伽洞).....Tz'ŭ Hang Tao Jên(慈航道人)

Mt. Yü Ch'üan(玉泉山) Chin Hsia Cave(金霞洞).....Yü Ting Chên Jên(玉鼎真人)

Mt. Chin T'ing(金庭山)[142] Yü Wu Cave(玉屋洞).....Tao Hsing T'ien Tsun(道行天尊)

Mt. Ch'ing Fêng(青峯山) Tzŭ Yang Cave(紫陽洞)[143].....Ch'ing Hsü Tao Tê Chên Chün(清虛道德真君)

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(141) Is named the same as the grotto of Ch'ih Ching Tzŭ. One of the popular edition of Fêng Shên changes it to Yün Chiao Tung(雲交洞) but this is groundless.

(142) One of the 72 Blessed Lands.

(143) May have been named after Chang Tzŭ-yang(張紫陽).

(144) In Ta T'ang San Tsang Ch'ü Ching Shih Hua(大唐三藏取經詩話), Chüan 1, Sect.2, we have the Hua Kuo Shan(花果山) Tzŭ Yün Tung(紫雲洞). In the Ch'i Kuo Ch'un Ch'iu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), Chüan 1, we have Yen Shan(燕山), Hsien Tai Ku(線代谷) where Huang Po-yang(黃伯楊)dwelt; in Chüan 3, again we have Chung Nan Shan(終南山) Pan Shih Tung(班石洞) where Chang Huang(張晃) and Chang Tso-chün(張佐君) dwelt. In the Prelude of the play P'ang Chüan Yeh Tsou Ma Ling Tao(龐涓夜走馬陵道) by an anonymous writer of the Yüan dynasty, we have the Yün Mêng Shan(雲夢山) Shui Lien Tung(水簾洞) for Kuei Ku Tzŭ, Wang Ch'an(鬼谷子王嬋).

(145) See W.E.Soothill: "The Lotus of the Wonderful Law"(transl. of the Saddharma Pundarika Sūtra), Ch.28, "Universal Virtue", PP.260-265, Oxford,1930.

Jan Têng(燃燈), the Chinese translation for the Buddha Dīpaṁkara, was the 24th predecessor of Śākyamuni and his name(Jan Têng Fu.然燈佛) appears in many of the Chinese translated Buddhist texts including Chapter 16 of the Miao Fa Lien Hua Ching(妙法蓮華經 Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra or the "Lotus of the Wonderful Law") which is universally known. He was the Buddha who received the vow from the young Sumati, the future Śākyamuni; the legend comes from one of the Jātaka stories.(146) However, the Taoists(probably in the Ming dynasty) plagiarized the Buddhist story and maintained that Śākyamuni, failed to attain enlightenment through the teaching of his predecessors, came to China and learned the Taoist doctrines from Chin Shan Tzŭ(金蟬子) alias Jan Têng.(147)

In the Ch.45 of the Fêng Shên Yen I the author praised Jan Têng Tao Jên and said,

"Truly he was the headman in the order of the Immortals,
And he was a predecessor of the Buddha."

As he did not conceal the Buddhist origin of the Tao Jên, let us look at his dwelling-grotto again. In Ch.14 when Jan Têng Tao Jên appears for the first time in the novel,

"He came from Mt. Ling Ch'iu(靈鷲山) Yüan Chüeh Cave(元覺洞)."

Mt. Ling Ch'iu(靈鷲山) is the Chinese name for the Spirit Vulture Peak, Gṛidhrakūṭa(耆闍崛山), near Rājagṛiha(王舍城), and is the imaginary preaching site of the "Lotus' Sūtra". This name had already appeared, before the writing of the Fêng Shên, in the Pei Yu Chi(Ch.6), and in another place of Pai Yu Chi(Ch.22), the "Jan Têng Fu(燃燈佛 Dīpaṁkara) ordered Wên Shu(文殊 Mañjuṣrī) and P'u Hsien(普賢 Samantabhadra) to receive the prince," to the popular mind this shaped that Jan Têng should be represented independently. To this principle the author of the Fêng Shên yielded.

The grotto in which Jan Têng lived was, in all other chapters except Ch.45, the Yüan Chüeh Tung(元覺洞). But in Ch.45, it was Yüan Chüeh(圓覺) which is of the same sound as the former, but with more meaning. In the Mahāvaipulya Pūrṇabuddha Sūtra Prasannārtha Sūtra(Ta Fang Kuang Yüan Chüeh Hsiu To Lo Liao I Ching 大方廣圓覺脩多羅了義經), a sūtra translated into Chinese by Buddhatrāta of Kashmir(佛陀多羅) in about 694, there

(146) Sister Nivedita & Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit. PP.250-252.

(147) See Li Tai Shên Hsien T'ung Chien(歷代神仙通鑑), Chüan 5 & 15, compiled by Taoist Master Chang(張真人) and Huang Chang-lun(黃掌綸).

"Now, good men, the peerless King of the Law has the course of mahā-dharani which is called Yüan Chüeh(perfect enlightenment), from which all pure-Tathagata, bodhi-nirvāṇa and pāramitās will flow. It is to be preached only to bodhisattvas."(善男子，無上法王，有大陀羅尼門，名為圓覺，流出一切清淨真如，菩提涅槃及波羅密，教授菩薩.)
This is a quotation from the first chapter(Mañjuṣrī). I think this is the origin of the Yüan Chüeh Cave and how the Twelve Apostles originated in the mind of the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I.(148) Though Yüan Chüeh was the name of a Bodhisattva in the sūtra, its importance was emphasized when it became the course of mahā-dharani which was known only to the Tathagata himself.

In his Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê(南華經副墨"The Criticism of Chuangtzŭ") Lu Hsi-hsing wrote:

"The Buddha says that he had in fact not had anything concerning the Law from the Buddha Dīpaṁkara.佛說我於燃燈佛所，於法實無所得."(Ch.2. This is a quotation from the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā金剛般若波羅密經).(149)

In another part of the same chapter, he said,

"These are so called Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind in the Yüan Chüeh Ching(圓覺經)."(150)

In Ch.5 he wrote again,(151)

"This is what Yüan Chüeh Ching(圓覺經) says, 'When the unreal body decomposes, the unreal mind will fade away; and when the unreal mind fades away, the world of illusion will disappear.' "(幻身滅故，幻根亦滅．幻根滅故，幻塵亦滅.)

And in Ch.7,(152) he quoted two other sentences from the above-quoted paragraph in the Yüan Chüeh Ching which reads,

"Because the world of illusion will disappear, what is not illusory

were twelve Bodhisattvas, including Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, who went to the Śākyamuni one after another for enlightenment. Among these twelve Bodhisattvas, one was named Yüan Chüeh P'u Sa(圓覺菩薩 Bodhisattva Yüan Chüeh).

The meaning of Yüan Chüeh may be learned from the words of the World Honoured One himself:

"Now, good men, the peerless King of the Law has the course of mahā-dharani which is called Yüan Chüeh(perfect enlightenment), from which all pure-Tathagata, bodhi-nirvāṇa and pāramitās will flow. It is to be preached only to bodhisattvas."(善男子，無上法王，有大陀羅尼門，名為圓覺，流出一切清淨真如，菩提涅槃及波羅密，教授菩薩.)
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(148) According to Le P. Henri Dore, S.J., op. cit., No.9, Pt.2, V.6, PP.91-92, Figs.21-32, in the old Ting Hui Monastery(定慧寺) of Jukao(如皋), Kiangsu, there are images of the 12 Great Celestial Worthies(Shih Êrh Tai T'ien Shih 十二代天師) of the Yüan Chüeh Ching. This is strikingly agreeable with my deduction, since in the Fêng Shên Yen I the twelve disciples are called Shih Êrh Tai Shang Shih(十二代上師).

(149) In Lu's book, Ch.2, on Ying Ti Wang(應帝王).

(150) Ch.3 of the sūtra, "P'u Yen"(普眼章). In Lu's book, Ch.2, on Ta Tsung Shih(大宗師).

(151) Ch.3 of the sūtra, "P'u Yen". Lu's book Ch.5, on Chih Pei Yu(知北遊). The character "根" in the sūtra is "心".

(152) Ch.7 of Lu's book, on Lieh Yü K'ou(列禦寇).

will survive."(幻滅滅故，非幻不滅.)

From all the evidences given above, I think it is not a forced interpretation to say that both the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I and Lu Hsi-hsing knew quite a lot about the sūtra Yüan Chüeh Ching.

The Taoist origins of the other apostles which can be traced from texts and historical records are:

(1) Kuang Ch'êng Tzŭ(廣成子)

His name appears first in Chuangtzŭ(莊子) Tsai Yu(在宥). He lived in a cave on Mt. K'ung T'ung(空同or崆峒). It is said in Chuangtzŭ that he was visited by the Emperor Huang-ti(黃帝).

(2) Ch'ih Ching Tzŭ(赤精子)

Though invented by a Taoist Kan Chung-k'o(甘忠可), and recorded in the Ch'ien Han Shu(前漢書 History of the Former Han Dynasty) Li Hsun Chuan(李尋傳), his name appears in very few Taoist texts. It is because of the Fêng Shên Yen I, that the popular reader knows his name. However, in the Tao Tsang(道藏), in the collection of Li Tai Chên Hsien T'i Hui T'ung Chien(歷代真仙體會通鑑),(153) Chüan 2, there is a short biography of him alleging that "he discoursed the Wei Yen Ching(微言經) in the reign of the Emperor Chuan Hsü(顓頊)," who was a mythological emperor living between 2513-2436 B.C. His name also appears in Chên Hsien T'ung Chien(真仙通鑑) quoted by T'u Lung(屠隆) of the Ming dynasty in his work Hung Pao(鴻苞).

(3) T'ai-I Chen Jen(太乙真人)

In the classical texts before the Emperor Wu-ti(武帝) of the Han dynasty, the Sovereign on High(Hao T'ien Shang Ti昊天上帝) was only an abstract name.(154) But during his reign the Emperor Wu-ti was persuaded by several Taoists to identify the Sovereign on High of the ancient religion with their new invention, the Supreme One(Tai-I太一). In the Shih Chi(史記) Wu Ti Pên-chi(武帝本紀) we have,

"Among all the heavenly gods, the noblest is the Supreme One. His assessors are the Five Sovereigns."(天神貴者泰一，泰一佐曰五帝.)

This name appears again in the Han Shu(漢書) Chiao Szŭ Chih(郊祀志)which says,

"The Five Sovereigns are the assessors of the Supreme One. The Empe-

(153) In the Tung Chên Pu(洞真部), written by a Taoist priest Chao Tao-I(趙道一).

(154)"The Book of Odes", Yün Han(大雅雲漢); B.Karlgren's transl., P.223, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm,1950. Also Li Chi(禮記) Yüeh Ling(月令), the 3rd month of the summer; Chou Li(周禮), Szŭ Fu(司服).

During the epoch of the division between the North and the South, different names for the Supreme One were coined, so that in the T'ang dynasty the sacrifices to the Sovereign on High was resumed with only the Supreme One attached. At that time the astrological influence was very prevalent, and in the year 744, at the request of a conjurer, Su Chia-ch'ing(蘇嘉慶), a sort of Chiu Kung Kuei Shên T'an(九宮貴神壇Altar of the Supreme One with the Arrangements of Colours According to the Plan of the Eight Diagrams) was again built. The worship became thenceforth a dexterous performance of the Taoist priests.(157) The name T'ai-I Chên Jên(太乙真人) was created by them.(158)

During the years 1138-1140, a Taoist priest in north China(of the Chin dynasty金) by the name of Hsiao Pao-chên(蕭抱珍) had the courage to form a new sect which was called T'ai-I Chiao(太一教), and was then so prosperous that throughout the ninety years of the Yüan dynasty, the name of this Sect occurs in many records. But its activities had little influence on the official sacrifices offered to the Sovereign on High.(159)

In 1419, the Emperor Ch'êng-tsu(成祖) of the Ming dynasty ordered that the name Hao T'ien Shang Ti(昊天上帝 Sovereign on High) was to be changed to Huang T'ien Shang Ti(皇天上帝 which makes no difference in the English translation) and the sacrifice to it was offered even in 1538, the seventeenth year of Chia-ching(嘉靖十七年) of the Emperor Shih-tsung (世宗) who was a devoted Taoist. The name Huang T'ien Shang Ti comes originally from the Taoist text Laotzŭ Chung Ching(老子中經, Pt.1), also included in the collection Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤 Ch.18).

Hao T'ien Shang Ti can also be found in the Hua-pên, Ta Sung Hsüan Ho I Shih(大宋宣和遺事).(160) In the Fêng Shên Yen I, the daughter of Hao T'ien Shang Ti was Princess Lung Chi(龍吉公主) who appears from Ch.55. Another name Hao T'ien Ta Ti(昊天大帝) which seems very easy to mix with

ror ought to offer sacrifices to the Supreme One and his altar ought to be set up."(五帝泰一之佐也，宜立泰一而上親郊之.)

This was accepted by the Emperor, and a mound was raised to the Supreme One, which was in fact the name of a star under the polar star in the circumpolar constellations.(155) Its name was Yao P'o Pao(耀魄寶) in both the Chin Shu(晉書) T'ien Wên Chih(天文志) and the K'ai Pao T'ung Li (開寶通禮).(156) During the epoch of the division between the North and the South, different names for the Supreme One were coined, so that in the T'ang dynasty the sacrifices to the Sovereign on High was resumed with only the Supreme One attached. At that time the astrological influence was very prevalent, and in the year 744, at the request of a conjurer, Su Chia-ch'ing(蘇嘉慶), a sort of Chiu Kung Kuei Shên T'an(九宮貴神壇Altar of the Supreme One with the Arrangements of Colours According to the Plan of the Eight Diagrams) was again built. The worship became thenceforth a dexterous performance of the Taoist priests.(157) The name T'ai-I Chên Jên(太乙眞人) was created by them.(158)

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(155) Prof. Hsü Ti-shan(許地山): "Taoistic Thought and Taoist Religion"(道家思想與道教), Yenching Journal(燕京學報), No.2, 1927. cf. Shih Chi(史記), Ch.127, Jih Chê Lieh Chuan(日者列傳); Wang Hsi-ming(王希明): T'ai-I Chin Ching Shih Ching(太乙金鏡式經), an astrological work of the T'ang dynasty.

(156) cf. the discourses of Chao An-jên(趙安仁) in Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.99, Li Chih(禮志), 2.

(157) Chiu T'ang Shu(舊唐書), Ch.24, Li I Chih(禮儀志), 4; and Ch.18, Wu-tsung Pên-chi(武宗本紀), in the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang(會昌二年,842). Also Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch.5, Hsüan-tsung Pên-chi(玄宗本紀) and Ch.109, Wang Yü Chuan(王璵傳). During the reign of the Emperor Su-tsung(肅宗), Wang Yü was the Assist. Premier who advised the Emperor to offer sacrifices personally to the Chiu Kung Altar.

(158) Han Chü's(韓駒) poem "A Colophon for the Portrait of T'ai-I Chên Jên Painted by Li Po-shih(Lung-mien龍眠) in the Collection of Wang the Imperial Secretary"(題王內翰家李伯時畫太乙圖), the first line is "T'ai-I Chên Jên is on a lotus-leaves boat." A work of Sung dynasty.

(159) Yüan Shih(元史), Ch.202, Shih Lao Chuan(釋老傳); and also Ch.72, Chi Szŭ Chih(祭祀志), 1; Ch.21, Ch'êng-tsung Pên-chi(成宗本紀), 4, in the 9th year of Ta-tê(大德九年). T'ai-I Chên Jên appears too in the Hsi Yu Chi Tsa Chü(西遊記雜劇) or T'ang San Tsang Hsi T'ien Ch'ü Ching(唐三藏西天取經), Scene 20.

(160) Vol. Hêng(亨集).

the former one, was also the transcendent title given to Lü Yüeh(呂岳) who was the god of epidemics(Chs.58 & 99).

The honourable title of Hao Huang Shang Ti(昊皇上帝), which was probably derived from Huang T'ien Shang Ti in the Ming dynasty,(161) was given to the Ancient Emperor Fu Hsi(伏羲) who gave the drug to cure the Marshal's troops from the sufferings of small-pox(Ch.81).

I have found the name T'ai-I Chên Jên in Ch'ên Ju-yüan's(陳汝元)Chin Lien Chi(金蓮記), Scene 36. Another name, T'ai-I Chiu K'u T'ien Tsun(太乙救苦天尊), though appearing in many Hua-pên(162) was in fact a Taoistic plagiarism for the Budhisattva Kshitigarbha(地藏菩薩), and it seems unnecessary to touch upon it here.

Here are several sentences in Lu Hsi-hsing's "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" (Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê) in which may be interesting:

"T'ai-I is the Great Monad from which all things sprang."(太初即太乙也).

"We should never disturb our mind and should keep on thinking that the affinity by which persons are brought together is empty and void so that we may be able to understand the emptiness of T'ai-I."(常思一念不起，萬緣皆空，始合乎於太乙之虛.)(163)

"T'ai-I exists in the Primordial."(太乙即有始也).(164)

In fact the idea of the Supreme One was initiated by Chuangtzŭ.

(4) Ling Pao Ta Fa Shih(靈寶大法師)

We have discussed the origin of Ling Pao in the section on San Ch'ing from which this name of the Master of the Law of the Treasure of the Spirit originated. According to Yeh Pao Ching(業報經) and Ying Hua Ching (應化經), as quoted in the Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤), Chüan 6,"Ling Pao Chün(靈寶君 or Master Ling Pao) was the incarnation of the Wu Shih T'ien Tsun(無始天尊 Celestial Honoured "Without" Primordial) in the first year of the epoch Yen-kang(延康), dwelling in the Realm of Shang Ch'ing and it was he who expounded the Twelve Divisions of the Tung Hsüan Ching (洞玄經)." In the present "Two Collections of Taoist Literature"(Tao Tsang), most of the texts and treatises concerning the Ling Pao Chün are therefore in the Tung Hsüan Pu(洞玄部). A Ling Pao Lüeh Chi(靈寶略記 A Short Biography of Ling Pao) can also be found in the Yün Chi Ch'i

(161) Huang T'ien Shang Ti(皇天上帝) appears in T'u Lung's(屠隆) Ts'ai Hao Chi(綵毫記), Scene 35 & Shao Ts'ên's(邵璨) Hsiang Nang Chi(香囊記), Scene 31, both plays of the Ming dynasty.

(162) Ch.17 of Nan Yu Chi, Ch.39 of Hsi Yu Chi : the "Four Travels".

(163) Both in Ch.7, on Lieh Yü K'ou(列禦寇).

(164) In Ch.8, on T'ien Hsia(天下).

In 1119, in the reign of the Taoist Emperor, Hui-tsung(徽宗), he was honoured with a longer title Chih Hsü Kuan Miao Chên Chün(致虛觀妙真君), and in 1337, the Mongolian Emperor Shun-ti(順帝) of the Yüan dynasty conferred on him a still longer title of honour Ch'ung Hsü Chih Tê Tun Shih Yu Lo Chên Chün(冲虛至德遍世遊樂真君).(166) The work of Liehtzŭ consisting of eight Chüan was called Ch'ung Hsü Chên Ching(冲虛真經) from 742 and was possibly a forgery after the Christian era.(167)

This is, I think, how the name Ch'ing Hsü Tao Tê Chên Chün was invented. According to the explanation of a scholar, Wang Yu(王右) in a memorial to the throne in or about 1068,(168) Chên Jên(真人 Immortal) was a first title granted to deities, while Chên Chün(真君 Immortal Master) was reserved to those who had already been Chên Jên.

(6) Huang-lung Chên Jên(黃龍真人)

The name Huang-lung Chên Jên(Immortal of the Yellow Dragon) probably has not a very good textual source. I suspect that something may have hit the imagination of the author when he came across the line "The Emperor Huang-ti came to the place of the Immortal Lung Ch'iao, i.e., the Master Ning(龍蹻真人寧先生), and learnt from him the texts of 'Cock-legged Dragon'(龍蹻經) so that he could mount the clouds" from the Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien. But this is only my speculation. Huang-lung is again one of the epoch(49B.C.) in the Former Han dynasty.

(7) Yü Ting Chên Jên(玉鼎真人)

Again no Taoist texts can be found with any record of the origin of this Immortal of the Jade Urn. Though I cannot be sure of it, yet if the epoch Huang-lung(黃龍元年) of the Emperor Hsüan-ti(宣帝) of the

Ch'ien, Chüan 3.

(5) Ch'ing Hsü Tao Tê Chên Chün(清虛道德真君)

The ancient Taoist philosopher Liehtzŭ(列子 Lieh Yü K'ou 列禦寇) who appears first in the book of Chuangtzŭ in a chapter bearing the Taoist's name was probably only an imaginary person. He was first honoured by the title of Ch'ung Hsü Chên Jên(沖虛真人 The Immortal of the Void and Empty) in the year 742 by the Emperor Hsüan-tsung(玄宗) of the T'ang dynasty and thenceforth was privileged to share the sacrifices offered to Laotzŭ.(165)

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(165) Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch.5, Hsüan-tsung Pên-chi(玄宗本紀); Chiu T'ang Shu(舊唐書), Ch.24, Li I Chih(禮儀志),4.

(166) Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.22, Hui-tsung Pên-chi(徽宗本紀), 4; and Yüan Shih(元史), Ch.39, Shun-ti Pên-chi(順帝本紀), 2.

(167) Ku Yen-wu(顧炎武): Chin Shih Wên Tzŭ Chi(金石文字記), Chüan 4; Chang Ping-lin(章炳麟): Tao Han Ch'ang Yen(訄漢昌言), 4.

(168) Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.105, Li Chih(禮志), 8.

(169) In the Fêng Shên Yen I, Yang Chien(楊戩) was the only disciple of the Immortal of the Jade Urn. But historically he was also one of the favourite attendants of the Taoist Emperor.

(170)

(8) Tao Hsing T'ien Tsun(道行天尊)

The origin of this Immortal is not certain. I prefer to attribute it to the imagination of the author.

The Investiture of the Gods

Literally speaking, the investiture of the gods though the theme of this novel, was not at all a creation of the author. He might have inherited the idea from the Pei Yu Chi of the "Four Travels", but he infused into it the spirit of Taoist philosophy which maintains that life and death are in a continual seccession of beginnings and ends, together with the idea of the deliverance of the dead which had a Buddhist origin.

The sacred name of the Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti(玄天上帝 or the Supreme Lord of the Black Pavilions of Heaven) and his story were invented in the Sung dynasty. In the "Two Collections of Taoist Literature" there is a copy of Sou Shên Chi(搜神記"An Anthology of Genii") which was compiled by the Taoist Master Chang Kuo-hsiang(張國祥), the leader of the Chêng-i Sect(正一), in 1607. In Chuan 2 of this Anthology we read:

"It is learnt from the Yüan Tung Yü Li Chi(元洞玉曆記) that during the reign of King Chou(紂) of the Shang dynasty, his ruthlessness caused the six great demon-kings to mobilize the armies of their infernal force and ravage the land. So that Yüan Shih(T'ien Tsun) ordered the Yü Huang Shang Ti(玉皇上帝), the Jade Emperor who in turn decreed that King Wu(武王) of Chou(周) should fight against Chou(紂) in the upper world of light and life, while the Hsuan T'ien Shang Ti was to lead his chiefs to exterminate demons. ....."

Former Han dynasty was really the origin of the Immortal of the Yellow Dragon, then the fact that because of the discovery of an urn in the year 116 B.C. a new epoch Yüan-ting(元鼎) was promulgated may have also some relation with this Immortal of the Jade Urn. However, I prefer to cite cases from later generations. In 1105 and between 1114 and 1118, the "nine urns" were twice cast by the persuasion of Taoist sorcerers who pleased the Emperor Hui-tsung(徽宗) with such marks of worship.(169)

In the Fêng Shên Yen I, Yang Chien(楊戩) was the only disciple of the Immortal of the Jade Urn. But historically he was also one of the favourite attendants of the Taoist Emperor.(170)

(8) Tao Hsing T'ien Tsun(道行天尊)

The origin of this Immortal is not certain. I prefer to attribute it to the imagination of the author.

The Investiture of the Gods

Literally speaking, the investiture of the gods though the theme of this novel, was not at all a creation of the author. He might have inherited the idea from the Pei Yu Chi of the "Four Travels", but he infused into it the spirit of Taoist philosophy which maintains that life and death are in a continual seccession of beginnings and ends, together with the idea of the deliverance of the dead which had a Buddhist origin.

The sacred name of the Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti(玄天上帝 or the Supreme Lord of the Black Pavilions of Heaven) and his story were invented in the Sung dynasty. In the "Two Collections of Taoist Literature" there is a copy of Sou Shên Chi(搜神記"An Anthology of Genii") which was compiled by the Taoist Master Chang Kuo-hsiang(張國祥), the leader of the Chêng-i Sect(正一), in 1607. In Chuan 2 of this Anthology we read:

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(169) Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.20, Hui-tsung Pên-chi(徽宗本紀), 2; Ch. 104, Li Chih(禮志), 7.

(170) Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.468, Yang Chien Chuan(楊戩傳).

descending from heaven and hoisting his black banner of a commander-in-chief among the black flags of his troops. They fought the six demon-kings in the wild of Tung-yin(洞陰之野), were at last victorious and confined all the demons in chains in the abyss of Fêng-tu(豐都大洞). This is also written in some of the Hua-pên,(171) but the Pei Yu Chi is the story-book particularly dealing with this legend. The earliest edition of the Pei Yu Chi that we know of was edited by Yü Hsiang-tou(余象斗, styled Yü Yang-chih余仰止, Wên-tai文台, Shih-t'êng世騰) who was a book-publisher during the time of Wan-li(萬曆 1573-1619) of the Ming dynasty. But scholars believe that there must be some "old editions"(Chiu K'o舊刻) of a much earlier period.(172) In Ch.23(the last but one) of this story-book, the Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti(Chên Wu) was again given a very long title by the Jade Emperor:

> Hun Yüan Chiu T'ien Wan Fa Chiao-chu(混元九天萬法教主 The Patriarch of Myriad-Law in the Nine-Heaven of the Noumenon and Unity);
> Yü Hsü Shih Hsiang(玉虛師相 Master and Premier of Jade Abstraction);
> T'ien Tang Mo T'ien Tsun(天蓬魔天尊 The Celestial Honoured Demon-destroyer).

And under his command there were thirty-six celestial generals. On the twenty-fifth day of the twelveth month of the year, he was to be at the head of his celestial legions and descend to earth for an inspection. In this paragraph there is a list of the investiture of some forty "Dark generals".

If we set aside the historial background of the Chên Wu(173) and concentrate on the comparison of this "investiture of the gods" with that in Ch.99 of the Fêng Shên Yen I we may find that,

(1) The "investiture of the gods" appears also in the last chapter but one of the Fêng Shên Yen I.

(2) In the sacred mandate delivered by the Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun upon the investiture it was pointed out that all the deities were divided into eight divisions and every one of them was either taking charge of,

This Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti or Chên Wu(真武) had dishevelled hair, was bare-footed, clad in a black robe, girdled with a fold cuirass, and was at the head of his twelve celestial officers(Liu Ting六丁 Liu Chia六甲神), descending from heaven and hoisting his black banner of a commander-in-chief among the black flags of his troops. They fought the six demon-kings in the wild of Tung-yin(洞陰之野), were at last victorious and confined all the demons in chains in the abyss of Fêng-tu(酆都大洞). This is also written in some of the Hua-pên,(171) but the Pei Yu Chi is the story-book particularly dealing with this legend. The earliest edition of the Pei Yu Chi that we know of was edited by Yü Hsiang-tou(余象斗, styled Yü Yang-chih余仰止, Wên-t'ai文台, Shih-t'êng世騰) who was a book-publisher during the time of Wan-li(萬曆 1573-1619) of the Ming dynasty. But scholars believe that there must be some "old editions"(Chiu K'ê舊刻) of a much earlier period.(172) In Ch.23(the last but one) of this story-book, the Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti(Chên Wu) was again given a very long title by the Jade Emperor:

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(171) Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo(古今小說), Chüan 13, "Chang Tao-ling Ch'i Shih Chao Shêng"(張道陵七試趙昇).

(172) Introduction to the "Four Travels"(Szŭ Yu Chi四遊記), Szŭ Yu Chi, Shanghai Ku Tien Wên Hsüeh Ch'u Pan Shê(上海古典文學出版社), Shanghai, 1956. Lu Hsün(魯迅): Chung Kuo Hsiao Shuo Shih Lüeh(中國小說史畧), P.163. Sun K'ai-ti(孫楷第): Jih Pên Tung Ching So Chien Chung Kuo Hsiao Shuo Shu Mu(日本東京所見中國小說書目), Ch.4, Shang Tsa Ch'u Pan Shê(上雜出版社), Shanghai, ed. 1953.

(173) References may be found in the Tao Tsang(道藏), Tung Shên Pu(洞神部). There are the "Book of Revelation"(Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti Ch'i Shêng Lu玄天上帝啟聖錄) and other biographical records about him. See also Tung Chên Pu(洞真部), Pên Wên Lui(本文類), texts and books of Penitence. Also Wang Ch'i(王圻): Hsü Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao(續文獻通考), Chüan 241.

(a) Tu Chang Chin Lun Ju-I Chao Yüan Shuai(都掌金輪如意趙元帥 Marshal Chao, the Controller of the Golden Wheel and the Sceptre〔Ju-I〕)

(b) Kou Pi Êrh Yüan Shuai(苟畢二元帥 Marshal Kou and Marshal Pi.)

(c) Têng, Hsin, Chang Yüan Shuai(鄧,辛,張元帥, Marshal Têng, Marshal Hsin, and Marshal Chang.)

(a) Chin Lun Ju-I Chêng-I Lung Hu Hsüan T'an Chên Chün〔Chao Kung-ming〕(金輪如意正一龍虎玄壇眞君〔趙公明〕(174) The Immortal Master Holding the Golden Dragon and the Sceptre〔Ju-I〕 on the Wisdom Throne of the Chêng-I of Mt. Lung Hu)

(b) Kou T'ien Chün, Pi T'ien Chün(苟天君,畢天君 Celestial Master Kou and Celestial Master Pi.)

(c) Têng T'ien Chün, Hsin T'ien Chün, and Chang T'ien Chün.(鄧天君,辛天君,張天君 Celestial

or belonging to a particular Department, and they had "to walk around the three realms to inspect the meritorious or evil deeds in the human world."(Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.99) This again is accordant with one another.

(3) Some deities invested in Ch.23 of Pei Yu Chi were no doubt the forerunners and counterparts of some gods in the investiture of the Fêng Shên Yen I:

Pei Yu Chi(北遊記) or Pei Fang Chên Wu Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti Ch'u Shên Chih Chuan(北方真武玄天上帝出身志傳), Ch.23	Fêng Shên Yen I (封神演義) Ch.99
(a) Tu Chang Chin Lun Ju-I Chao Yüan Shuai(都掌金輪如意趙元帥 Marshal Chao, the Controller of the Golden Wheel and the Sceptre〔Ju-I〕)	(a) Chin Lun Ju-I Chêng-I Lung Hu Hsüan T'an Chên Chün〔Chao Kung-ming〕(金龍如意正一龍虎玄壇真君〔趙公明〕(174) The Immortal Master Holding the Golden Dragon and the Sceptre〔Ju-I〕 on the Wisdom Throne of the Chêng-I of Mt. Lung Hu)
(b) Kou Pi Êrh Yüan Shuai(苟畢二元帥 Marshal Kou and Marshal Pi.)	(b) Kou T'ien Chün, Pi T'ien Chün(苟天君，畢天君 Celestial Master Kou and Celestial Master Pi.)
(c) Têng, Hsin, Chang Yüan Shuai (鄧，辛，張元帥, Marshal Têng, Marshal Hsin, and Marshal Chang.)	(c) Têng T'ien Chün, Hsin T'ien Chün, and Chang T'ien Chün.(鄧天君，辛天君，張天君 Celestial

(174) Hsüan T'an(玄壇) is the synonym of the Tao Ch'ang(道場) in Taoism. Tao Ch'ang is a Buddhist term, see Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch. 48, Po Kuan Chih(百官志) and the Miao Fa Lien Hua Ching(妙法蓮華經), Ch. 2.

(d) T'ai Shui Yin Yüan Shuai [Yin Kao] (太歲殷元帥〔殷高〕 Marshal Yin, The God of the Cycle.)

(e) Liu T'ien Chün [Liu Chün] (劉天君〔劉俊〕 Celestial Master Liu).

(f) P'ang Yüan Shuai(龐元帥 Marshal P'ang).

(d) Chih Nien Shui Chün T'ai Shui〔Yin Chiao〕(執年歲君太歲〔殷郊〕 The Executive Director of the Board of Gods of the Cycle.)

(e) Liu T'ien Chün〔Liu Fu〕(劉天君〔劉甫〕 Celestial Master Liu).

(f) P'ang T'ien Chün(龐天君 Celestial Master P'ang).

In case (a) the Marshal Chao in Ch.23 of the Pei Yu Chi was no other than the Chao Kung-ming(趙公明) mounted on a black tiger, whose weapon was the whip,(Pei Yu Chi, Chs.11 & 12) similar to that which is described in Ch.47 of the Fêng Shên Yen I. I venture to suspect that the character Lung(龍) in the title Chin Lung Ju-I is an erratum for Lun(輪) being a mistake in transcription, because to associate Chin Lung with Ju-I does not seem to make good sense. In case (b), in most of the popular editions of the Szŭ Yu Chi(the "Four Travels") this character Kou(苟) is printed as Hsün(荀) or even Sun(筍). If these are not errata, I think the revision made by the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I is much reasonable. In Ch.59 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, Kou, Pi, P'ang and Liu were four guardian generals of Yin Hung(殷洪), the second son of King Chou.

I prefer to keep case (c) out of our discussion until later for convenience, but the evidence of inheritance illustrated here are beyond any doubt.

We come now to see what new idea the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I has infused into Ch.99 of his book, in addition to the blue-print which he inherited.

In the sacred mandate issued by the Yüan Shih which was read to the souls of the genii by the Marshal Chiang Shang(Tzŭ-ya) on the Fêng Shên T'ai(封神臺 Tower for Investiture of the Gods), we read:

Master Têng, Celestial Master Hsin and Celestial Master Chang.)

(d) T'ai Shui Yin Yüan Shuai 〔Yin Kao〕 (太歲殷元帥〔殷高〕 Marshal Yin, The God of the Cycle.)

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(e) Liu T'ien Chün 〔Liu Chün〕 (劉天君〔劉俊〕Celestial Master Liu).

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".....Life, death and transmigration, these are to revolve without end. The retribution for sins and grievances committed in a previous existence would never stop. I feel great compassion for them."

".....From now on you are delivered from the sufferings of life and death."

In this sense we understand that this investiture of the gods was similar to the meritorious deliverance of the dead, as it is said in the Ullambana Sūtra(Yü Lan Pên Ching 盂蘭盆經) which has long been the practice of both the Buddhist and Taoist coenobites. It differs greatly from the investiture of the celestial generals in the Pei Yu Chi because those generals had been subdued by the Chen Wu and were under one command. In the Fêng Shên Yen I, however, the souls of those unfortunate warriors, transcendent genii of both camps who were still expiating their sins were given the same consideration, and the investiture of all of them amounted to a sort of consecration wherein the souls of the dead prostrated before the Tower and listened to the words concerning their future as referred to in the mandate, and after that their sins were clean and their re-birth and ascension began. This consecration, in the eyes of a Taoist philosopher, is the Way itself.(175)

The reasons for this investiture of the gods as given by the Fêng Shên Yen I(Ch.15) are as follows:

"The Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun(Celestial Honoured Primordial), the Great Patriarch who was in charge of the Promulgating Sect of the Law in the Jade Palace of Abstraction, on Mt. K'un Lun, stopped his preaching because his twelve disciples had violated the law of abstinence and were 'to face the calamitous combat'(殺罰臨身). At the same time the Hao T'ien Shang Ti(Sovereign on High) commanded the twelve disciples, who were headmen in the celestial order, to submit to him and become his ministers. So that the celestial hierarchy, consisting of members of the three categories, i.e., the Promulgating Sect, the Intercepting Sect and human-kind, was formed. In this hierarchy there were three hundred and sixty-five deities who belonged to the eight divisions: the upper four were: Thunder, Fire, Epidemics and Polar Stars; the lower four were: the Stars and Constellations, the Three Fairylands & Five Sacred Mountains,

(175) In Lu Hsi-hsing's Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê(南華經副墨 "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ"), Chüan 2, on Ta Tsung Shih(大宗師), we read, "It is the Way. Without it emperors cannot be an emperor, the sun, the moon, the stars and constellations, the mountains and the rivers, cannot be themselves. Without it, the immortals cannot be immortals and sages and men of excellent virtue cannot be sages and men of excellent virtue." In Chüan 1, on Ch'i Wu Lun(齊物論) again he says, "In the eyes of one who understands the Way, what is high and low, good and evil, constant and changing, formation and destruction, are but the same thing."

to the Tower for the Investiture of the Gods and hence three ministers of the court of King Chou(紂) were captured by the Marshal's troops and Fei Chung(費仲), Yu Hun(尤渾) and Lu Hsiung(魯雄) were executed to consecrate the ceremony. In Ch.72, when Yüan Shih pressed Shên Kung Pao(申公豹), one of his disciples and the evil-star of Chiang Tzŭ-ya, to swear that he would not stand in the way of Tzŭ-ya, the author says,

"Dear reader, could the Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun forget that it was foreordained that this man(Shên Kung Pao) should be sent to collect the three hundred and sixty-five gods listed in the Proclamation of the Investiture of the Gods for him? No, it was for that reason that Yüan Shih put Kung Pao in trouble."

But how were these 365(to speak the truth, in Chs.99 & 100 of the novel they were 371 in number) gods to be depicted? To write a book in which there are 365 active characters is a tremendous task that the author was not inclined to undertake. An ingenious device which the author hit upon was to borrow the "Thirty-six Stars of the Great Bear which revolve around the pivotal star"(San Shih Liu T'ien Kan 三十六天罡), and also the "Seventy-two Stars of Evil Influence"(Ch'i Shih Êrh Ti Sha 七十二地煞) from the novel Shui Hu(水滸 or Chung I Shui Hu Chuan 忠義水滸傳, the "Water Margin"), which had no doubt already been published.(176)

By comparing Ch.99 of the Fêng Shên Yen I and Ch.71(the last chapter in the popular editions) of the Shui Hu(177) we find that,

1. In the Shui Hu the 36 and the 72 stars were all active members, but in the book Fêng Shên Yen I all of these 108 stars appeared only at this "Investiture" and nowhere else. To clear the reader from doubt,

the Rain and other good and evil genii. That the Shang dynasty should decline and the House of Chou(周) prosper was a very rare occurrence. Marshal Chiang Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) was destined to a premiership and the Yüan Shih would invest the gods with their titles and offices. These were things that could not have happened accidentally."

Yüan Shih told of the plan of building a Fêng Shên T'ai(Tower for the Investiture of the Gods) to Tzŭ-ya(Chiang Shang) in Ch.37, and in Ch.40, when Tzŭ-ya asked King Wu to offer sacrifice to Ch'i-shan(岐山 Mt. Ch'i) in person, we are told that the sacrifice was in fact offered to the Tower for the Investiture of the Gods and hence three ministers of the court of King Chou(紂) were captured by the Marshal's troops and Fei Chung(費仲), Yu Hun(尤渾) and Lu Hsiung(魯雄) were executed to consecrate the ceremony. In Ch.72, when Yüan Shih pressed Shên Kung Pao(申公豹), one of his disciples and the evil-star of Chiang Tzŭ-ya, to swear that he would not stand in the way of Tzŭ-ya, the author says,

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(176) In Li Wên-wei's(李文蔚) T'ung Lo Yüan Yen Ch'ing Po Yü(同樂院燕青博魚), Act 4, we have the 36 Kan Hsing(罡星). A play of the Yüan dynasty. ingenious contrivance!

(177) cf. List of the 108 Heroes at Liang-shan P'o, Vol.1, "Water Margin", transl. by J.H.Jackson, The Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1937. Two very small differences in the names of these stars may be found:

Shui Hu(popular editions)	Fêng Shên Yen I (popular editions and the earliest Shu Tsai-yang's(舒載陽) edition.)
a. T'ien Chieh Hsing(天捷星 Star of Heaven's Victory)	a. T'ien Chien Hsing(天建星 Star of Heaven's Construction)
b. T'ien Sha Hsing(天殺星 Star of Heaven's Executioner)	b. T'ien Sha Hsing(天煞星 Star of Heaven's Executioner)
c. Ti Ch'ou Hsing(地醜星 Star of the Earth's Ugliness)	c. Ti Hun Hsing(地魂星 Star of the Earth's Soul)

(178) (179)

The last comparison is, perhaps, of some significance. The star which is placed before the Ti Ch'ou Hsing is Ti O Hsing(地惡星 Star of the Earth's Evil), the character "惡"(O) being usually associated with the character "醜"(Ch'ou) to form a word. But when the character "醜" is changed to "魂"(Hun) which means soul, this kind of association is absent. As I have scrutinized this point from a photographic reproduction of the earliest edition of Fêng Shên and found it is just the same as in other editions, I think Shui Hu is beyond suspicion the planner of this project. But in other story-books, which were compiled earlier than the Fêng Shên, the number of 36 and 72 stars is also mentioned:

In the Hsi Yu Chi of the Szŭ Yu Chi(the "Four Travels"), in Ch.3, we read,

"The Master(Subhuti 須菩提) spoke to him in whisper of the formula of mutability about the number of the Seventy-two Stars of Evil Influence."(祖師附耳傳了他些數七十二般變化口訣真言)

In the Nan Yu Chi(南遊記),(180) Ch.5, when Hua Kuang T'ien Wang(華光

the author added a short line of characters under each group, indicating that "they were all killed in the Battle of the Myriad Immortals".(178) What an ingenious contrivance!

2. The order of stars of these two groups in both novels is the same.

3. Two very small differences in the names of these stars may be found:

Shui Hu(popular editions)	Fêng Shên Yen I (popular editions and the earliest Shu Tsai-yang's(舒載陽) edition.)
a. T'ien Chieh Hsing(天捷星 Star of Heaven's Victory)	a. T'ien Chien Hsing(天建星 Star of Heaven's Construction)
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"The Master(Subhuti須菩提) spoke to him in whisper of the formula of mutability about the number of the Seventy-two Stars of Evil Influence."(祖師附耳傳了他煞數七十二般變化口訣真言)

In the Nan Yu Chi(南遊記),(180) Ch.5, when Hua Kuang T'ien Wang(華光

(178) "俱萬仙陣亡."(Ch.99)

(179) "煞"(Sha)is another form of the character for "殺"(Sha).

(180) Included also in the Szŭ Yu Chi(四遊記 "Four Travels"). It has a sub-title: Wu Hsien Ling Kuan Ta Ti Hua Kuang T'ien Wang Chuan(五顯靈官大帝華光天王傳)

This would serve, of course, as a hint to the author of the Fêng Shên. But his plan was not complete. He had to create the different departments under the said Eight Divisions(Pa Pu 八部), and in each Division or Department there were the chiefs and staffs to function within this constitution for the good of man-kind. As E. T. C. Werner has pointed out, "These Ministries doubtless had their origin in the Ministries or Boards which at various periods of history have formed the executive part of the official hierarchy in China. But, though in general similar, their names are different and their functions do not coincide." (181)

But I think this kind of spiritual hierarchy, as created by the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I, though different in many respects from the official hierarchy even of his time, has had its great influence among the public in later generations. M. Henri Maspero noticed:

"We have too little knowledge of the relations of popular religion with Taoism throughout the centuries to see clearly in what case the Tao-shï(道士 Taoist priests) created around the popular gods new divinities that failed to win favour, or in what cases, on the contrary, popular religion arbitrarily chose or rejected among the Tao-shï creations." (182)

I maintain that the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I must have been very clever and his association with the Taoist activities of his time must have been very close so that even after many generations, images of deities originating from his novel were made and worshipped in Taoist monasteries. This proves that the popular religion has adopted his creations. We have only limited knowledge about the inner construction of a Taoist monastery in the Northern Sung dynasty, but in Wang Ch'in-jo's(王欽若) Yü Shêng Pao Tê Chên Chün Chuan(翊聖保德真君傳)(183) luckily we can find a description of the building of the Shang Ch'ing T'ai P'ing Palace(上清太平宮) in the beginning of the eleventh century:

天王 the Heavenly King of Flowery Light) was trapped by the Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti(Chên Wu), it says:

"The Supreme Lord of the Black Pavilions of Heaven told Hua Kuang, 'I have under me thirty-five celestial generals. If you will surrender I will spare your life and make you the thirty-sixth.' "

This would serve, of course, as a hint to the author of the Fêng Shên. But his plan was not complete. He had to create the different departments under the said Eight Divisions(Pa Pu 八部), and in each Division or Department there were the chiefs and staffs to function within this constitution for the good of man-kind. As E. T. C. Werner has pointed out, "These Ministries doubtless had their origin in the Ministries or Boards which at various periods of history have formed the executive part of the official hierarchy in China. But, though in general similar, their names are different and their functions do not coincide." (181) But I think this kind of spiritual hierarchy, as created by the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I, though different in many respects from the official hierarchy even of his time, has had its great influence among the public in later generations. M. Henri Maspero noticed:

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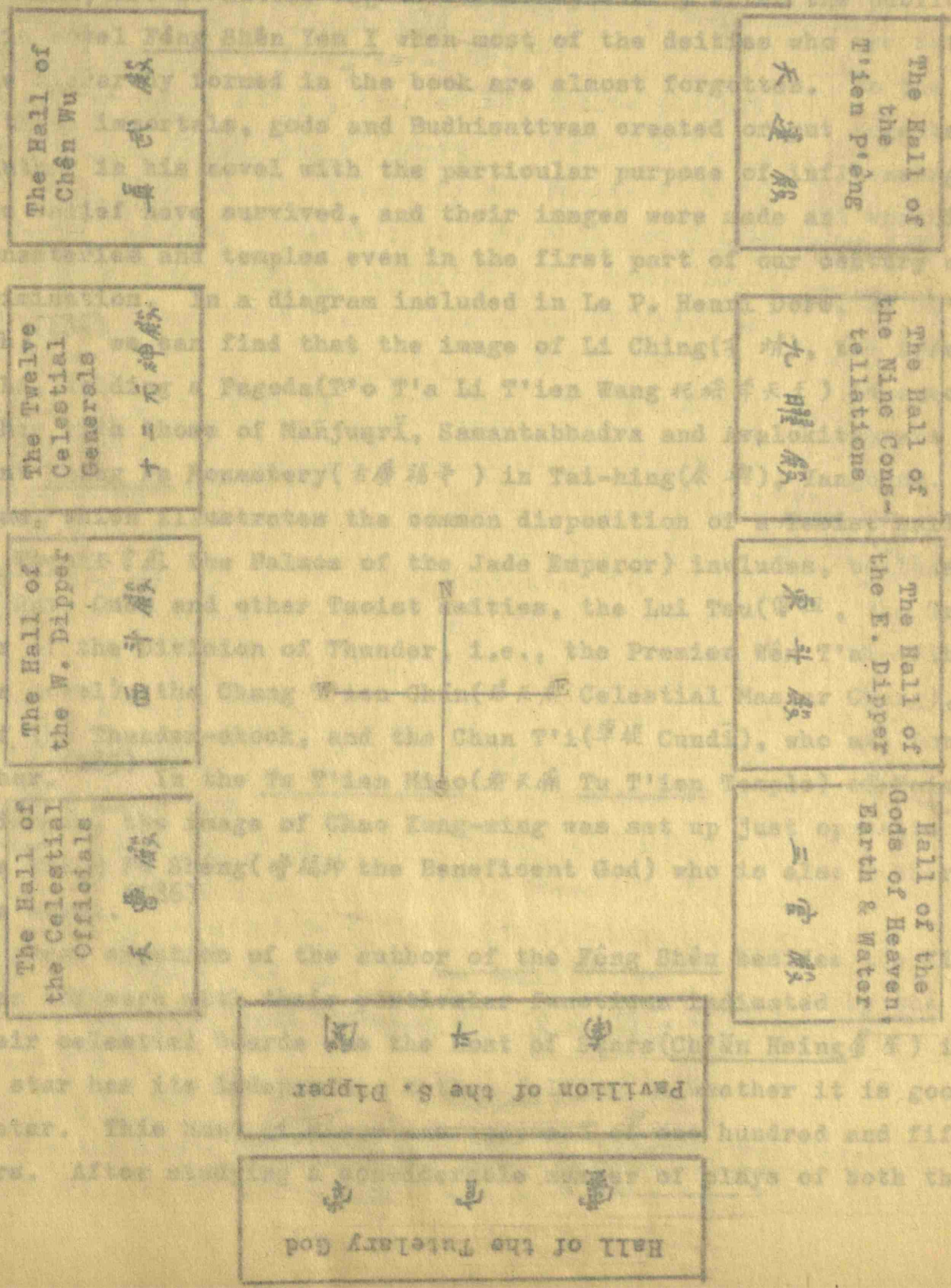
(181) "A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology", PP.318-319, Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai, 1932.

(182) op. cit. P.267.

(183) Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤), Chüan 103. cf. Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.104, Li Chih(禮志), 7; Ch.8, Chêng-tsung Pên-chi(眞宗本紀), 3.



The Hall of the Yü Shêng
Pao Tê Chên Chün
翊聖保德真君殿

The Seven Yüan Hall
七元殿

The Purple Palace
紫薇殿

The T'ung Ming Palace of the Jade Emperor
玉皇通明殿

The Hall of Chên Wu
真武殿

The Hall of the T'ien P'êng
天蓬殿

The Twelve Celestial Generals
十二元神殿

The Hall of the Nine Constellations
九曜殿

The Hall of the W. Dipper
西斗殿

The Hall of the E. Dipper
東斗殿

The Hall of the Celestial Officials
天曹殿

Hall of the Gods of Heaven, Earth & Water
三官殿

Pavilion of the S. Dipper
南斗殿

Hall of the Tutelary God
靈官殿

When glancing over the long lists of the "Investiture of the Gods" in the Fêng Shên, it would [illegible] that the Purple Star (the Purple Emperor of the North Po[illegible], the N. and S. Dippers, the Southern Dipper (Sagittarius), the Nine Constellations are all included there. But [illegible] the Jade Emperor, whose position is only inferior to that of the Three Pure Ones in the popular mind, are of little significance especially after the publication of the novel Fêng Shên Yen I when most of the deities who are outside of the hierarchy formed in the book are almost forgotten. On the other hand [illegible] immortals, gods and Budhisattvas created or [illegible] by the author in his novel with the particular purpose of [illegible] the public relief have survived, and their images were made and worshipped in monasteries and temples even in the first part of our century without discrimination. In a diagram included in Le P. Henri Doré [illegible]'s research [illegible] we can find that the image of Li Ching (李靖, [illegible] Heavenly King [illegible] Pagoda (T'o T'a Li T'ien Wang 托塔李天王) [illegible] together with those of Mañjuṣrī, Samantabhadra and Avalokit[illegible] in the Ancient [illegible] Monastery (古廣福寺) in Tai-hing (泰興), Yan[illegible]. Another diagram, which illustrates the common disposition of a Taoist Hall, Yü Huang [illegible] (玉皇殿 the Palace of the Jade Emperor) includes, [illegible] the Three [illegible] Ones and other Taoist deities, the Lui Tsu (雷祖, [illegible] Grand Master of the Division of Thunder, i.e., the Premier Wê-T'a [illegible] 聞太師 in the [illegible]) the Chang [illegible] Celestial Master [illegible]), the Son of the Thunder-shock, and the Chun T'i (準提 Cundī), who are worshipped together. In the Tu T'ien Miao (都天廟 Tu T'ien Temple) [illegible] men (海門), Ki[illegible], the image of Chao Kung-ming was set up just op[illegible] to that of the [illegible] Fu Shêng (灣福神 the Beneficent God) who is also [illegible] character in the [illegible].

A [illegible] creation of the author of the Fêng Shên besides [illegible] Division [illegible] with their particular functions indicated [illegible] names of their celestial boards [illegible] the Host of Stars (Ch'ün Hsing 羣星) in which every star has its [illegible] whether it is good or an evil star. This host [illegible] hundred and fifteen members. After studying a considerable number of plays of both the Yüan

When glancing over the long lists of the "Investiture of the Gods" in the Fêng Shên, it would be easy to find that the Purple Star(the Purple Emperor of the North Pole 中天北極 紫微大帝), the N. and S. Dippers, the Southern Dipper(Sagittarius), the Nine Constellations are all included there. But other gods which, with the exception of the Jade Emperor, whose position is only inferior to that of the Three Pure Ones in the popular mind, are of little significance especially after the publication of this novel Fêng Shên Yen I when most of the deities who are outside of the hierarchy formed in the book are almost forgotten. On the other hand those immortals, gods and Budhisattvas created or put together by the author in his novel with the particular purpose of influencing the public belief have survived, and their images were made and worshipped in monasteries and temples even in the first part of our century without discrimination. In a diagram included in Le P. Henri Dore, J. S.'s research,(184) we can find that the image of Li Ching(李 靖), the Heavenly King Li, Holding a Pagoda(T'o T'a Li T'ien Wang 托塔李天王) is erected, together with those of Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra and Avalokiteṣvara in the Ancient Kuang Fu Monastery(古廣福寺) in Tai-hing(泰興), Yangchow. Another diagram, which illustrates the common disposition of a Taoist hall, Yü Huang Tien(玉皇殿 the Palace of the Jade Emperor) includes, besides the Three Pure Ones and other Taoist deities, the Lui Tsu(雷祖, the Grand Master of the Division of Thunder, i.e., the Premier Wên T'ai-shih 聞太師 in the novel), the Chang T'ien Chün(張天君 Celestial Master Chang), the Son of the Thunder-shock, and the Chun T'i(準提 Cundī), who are worshipped together.(185) In the Tu T'ien Miao(都天廟 Tu T'ien Temple) of Haimen(海門), Kiangsu, the image of Chao Kung-ming was set up just opposite to that of the Tsêng Fu Shêng(增福神 the Beneficent God) who is also a character in the novel.(186)

A great creation of the author of the Fêng Shên besides the Eight Divisions officers with their particular functions indicated by the names of their celestial boards was the Host of Stars(Ch'ün Hsing 羣星) in which every star has its independent title, telling us whether it is good or an evil star. This host of stars was composed of one hundred and fifteen members. After studying a considerable number of plays of both the Yüan

and the Ming dynasties in addition to some Hua-pên which have been published. I am able to list those stars in the Host whose names appear also in other books of popular literature of time ancient as follows:

(184) op. cit., No.9, Pt.2, V.6, P.15.

(185) op. cit., No.9, Pt.2, V.6, P.10.

(186) op. cit., No.9, Pt.2, V.6, P.66.

1. Pai Hu Hsing(白虎星, Star of the White Tiger)

In Ch'i Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), Chüan 2; the anonymous play T'ao Hua Nü P'o Fa Chia Chou Kung(桃花女破法嫁周公), Act 3; Wang Yü-fêng's(王玉峯) Fên Hsiang Chi(焚香記), Scene 16; Shên Ching's(沈鯨) Shuang Chu Chi(雙珠記), Scene 16.

2. Huang Fan Hsing(黃旛星, Star of the Yellow Pennant)

In Ch'i Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), Chüan 2; Hsü Yüan 's(徐元) Pa I Chi(八義記), Scene 16; Hsü Fu-tsu's(徐復祚) T'ou So Chi(投梭記), Scene 19; Wang T'ing-na's(汪廷訥) Shih Hou Chi(獅吼記), Scene 8; Shên Ching's(沈鯨) Shuang Chu Chi(雙珠記), Scene 16.

3. Sang Mên Hsing(喪門星 Star of the House of Mourning)

In Ch'i Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), Chüan 2; the anonymous play Pao Tai Chih Ch'ên Chou T'iao Mi(包待制陳州糶米), Prelude; Kuan Han-ch'ing's(關漢卿) Pao Tai Chih Chih Chan Lu Chai Lang(包待制智斬魯齋郎), Prelude; Li Wên-wei's(李文蔚) T'ung Lo Yüan Yen Ch'ing Po Yu(同樂院燕青博魚), Act 1; Wu Han-ch'ên's(武漢臣) Li Su Lan Fêng Yüeh Yü Hu Ch'un(李素蘭風月玉壺春), Act 3;(187) Hsü Fu-tsu's(徐復祚) Hung Li Chi(紅梨記), Scene 23; T'ou So Chi(投梭記), Scene 22; Hsü Yüan's(徐元) Pa I Chi(八義記), Scene 16; Wang Yü-fêng's(王玉峯) Fên Hsiang Chi(焚香記), Scene 16; Shên Ching's(沈鯨) Shuang Chu Chi(雙珠記), Scene 16; Nan Yu Chi, Ch.16.

4. Tiao Kê Hsing(弔客星 Star of the Visitor to Mourning)

In Ch'i Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), Chüan 2; Wu Han-ch'ên 's(武漢臣) Li Su Lan Fêng Yüeh Yü Hu Ch'un(李素蘭風月玉壺春), Act 3; Hsü Fu-tsu's(徐復祚) Hung Li Chi(紅梨記), Scene 23; T'ou So Chi(投梭記), Scene 22; Hsü Yüan's(徐元) Pa I Chi(八義記), Scene 16; Nan Yu Chi, Ch.16.

5. Ch'i Sha Hsing(七殺星 Star of the Seven Evils)

In the anonymous play T'ao Hua Nü P'o Fa Chia Chou Kung(桃花女破法嫁周公), Act 3.

6. Kua Su Hsing(寡宿星 Star of the Widower)

In the anonymous play Chin Shui Ch'iao Ch'ên Lin Pao Chuang No(金水橋陳琳抱粧盒), Act 4; Shang Chung-hsien's(尚仲賢) Tung T'ing Hu Liu I Ch'uan

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(187) A couplet "花花太歲為第一，浪子喪門世無雙" or with a little variation appears very commonly in more than ten plays of the Yüan dynasty. The origin of Sang Mên is still earlier, see Fang Shuo(方朔): P'o Chê Pien(泊宅編), 2, on Fan Ti-chien(范迪簡); Pai Hai(稗海) ed.

In Liang Ch'ên-yu(梁辰魚) Huan Sha Chi(浣紗記), Scene 17; Kao Lien's (高濂) Yü Chan Chi(玉簪記), Scene 17; Wang T'ing-na's(汪廷納) Chung Yü Chi(種玉記), Scene 4; Hsieh Tang's(謝讜) Szŭ Hsi Chi(四喜記), Scene 18; Shên Ching's(沈璟) I Hsia Chi(義俠記), Scene 31; and the anonymous play Tsêng Shu Chi(贈書記), Scene 27.

8. Pao Wei Hsing(豹尾星 Star of the Panther's Tail)

In Hsü Yüan's(徐元) Pa I Chi(八義記), Scene 16; Hsü Fu-tsu's(徐復祚) T'ou So Chi(投梭記), Scene 19; Wang T'ing-na's(汪廷納) Shih Hou Chi(獅吼記), Scene 8; Shên Ching's(沈璟) Shuang Chu Chi(雙珠記), Scene 16.

9. Ku Ch'ên Hsing(孤辰星 Star of the Solitaries)

In Wang Yü-fêng's(王玉峯) Fên Hsiang Chi(焚香記), Scene 16; Chou Lu-ching's(周履靖) Chin Chien Chi(錦箋記), Scene 36; Shên Ching's(沈璟) Shuang Chu Chi(雙珠記), Scene 27; and the anonymous play Szŭ Hsien Chi (四賢記), Scene 2.

10. T'ien Tê Hsing(天德星 Star of Heaven's Virtue)

In Wang Yü-fêng's(王玉峯) Fên Hsiang Chi(焚香記), Scene 16.

11. Yüeh Tê Hsing(月德星 Star of the Moon's Virtue)

Same as above.

12. T'ien Hsi Hsing(天喜星 Star of Heaven's Happiness)

Same as above.

13. T'ien I Hsing(天醫星 Star of Heaven's Physician)

Same as above.

14. T'ien Kou Hsing(天狗星 Star of Heaven's Dog)

In Wang T'ing-na's(汪廷納) Shih Hou Chi(獅吼記), Scene 8.

15. Kou Chiao Hsing(勾絞星 Star of the Windlass)

Same as above.

16. Hê Sha Hsing(黑煞星 Star of the Black Evil)

In Hsü Fu-tsu's(徐復祚) T'ou So Chi(投梭記), Scene 19.

But these are only some one tenth of the stars of the Host. Some of

Shu(洞庭湖柳毅傳書), Act 3; Wang Yü-fêng's(王玉峯) Fên Hsiang Chi(焚香記), Scene 16; Chou Lu-ching's(周履靖) Chin Chien Chi(錦箋記), Scene 38; Shên Ching's(沈鯨) Shuang Chu Chi(雙珠記), Scene 27; and the anonymous play Szŭ Hsien Chi(四賢記), Scene 2.

7. Hung Lüan Hsing(紅鸞星 Star of the Marriage)

In Liang Ch'ên-yu(梁辰魚) Huan Sha Chi(浣紗記), Scene 17; Kao Lien's(高濂) Yü Chan Chi(玉簪記), Scene 17; Wang T'ing-na's(汪廷訥) Chung Yü Chi(種玉記), Scene 4; Hsieh Tang's(謝讜) Szŭ Hsi Chi(四喜記), Scene 18; Shên Ching's(沈璟) I Hsia Chi(義俠記), Scene 31; and the anonymous play Tsêng Shu Chi(贈書記), Scene 27.

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But these are only some one tenth of the stars of the Host. Some of

the other names, though not to be easily traced from popular literature, are again to be found in the books of astrology and even in the almanacs. I have no wish to trace the origin of every star which appears in the novel, and some of them, created only in the popular religion, may even be incapable of being traced. But as the constitution of this Taoist hierarchy and the pantheon of gods summed up in Ch.99 of this book has so far been considered as the most natural and reasonable arrangement, we can only say the one who contrived this "Investiture of the Gods" must have been a very learned scholar who had a profound knowledge, both of religion and public beliefs. The twenty-eight constellations(Êrh Shih Pa Su 二十八宿), though appearing in Ch.37 of the Hsi Yu Chi in the Szŭ Yu Chi(the "Four Travels"), can also be found in the Shih Chi(史記) Fêng Shan Shu(封禪書). But since the T'ang dynasty, when Tantrism was so prosperous in China, sūtras dealing with astrology were successively introduced by Vajrabodhi(金剛智) and Amogha(不空) which were afterwards mixed up with official and Taoist astrological records, forming the framework of the popular belief. For instance, the Dipper(the seven stars in Ursa Major), has long been recorded in the Shih Chi and many other official texts,(188) but in the "Tripitaka in Chinese", in the Tantric school, we may also find sūtras, talismans, and ceremonies relating to it.(189) Such influence has been infused so deeply into the popular religion that sometimes we find it difficult to tell whether it was originally a Chinese practice.

From the study of many parts of the Fêng Shên Yen I, I have found that the author was a Taoist, but had a considerable knowledge in Tantrism. We may conclude that the investiture of the gods in his book was mainly a Taoist device. The idea of the "Five Bushels"(190) (Wu Tou 五斗, constellations of the five directions, i.e., north, south, east, west and centre in which the Dippers and the Sagittarius are included), originated from the Taoists. And also there are the San Shih Hsing(三尸星 the Three Stars of the Three Ghosts in the Human-body) which, according to Taoist literature, were the ghosts dwelling in the head, stomach and feet of a human being. In the Tzŭ Wei Kung Chiang T'ai Shang Ch'ü San Shih Fa(紫微宮降太上去三尸法)(191) we know that the names of these three

(188) Shih Chi(史記), Ch.27, T'ien Kuan Shu(天官書). cf. Huai Nan Tzŭ(淮南子), T'ien Wên Hsün(天文訓); Chin Shu(晉書), Ch.11, T'ien Wên Chih(天文志).

(189) No.1307, Fu Shuo Pei Tou Ch'i Hsing Yen Ming Ching(佛說北斗七星延命經); No.1305, Pei Tou Ch'i Hsing Nien Sung I Kuei(北斗七星念誦儀軌) etc., "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(190) Ch.99, Fêng Shên Yen I, "Wu Tou Ch'ün Hsing Chi Yao O Sha Chêng Shên"(五斗羣星吉曜惡煞正神). cf. Laotzŭ Chung Ching(老子中經), Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤), Chüan 18 and Chüan 24.

(191) Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien(雲笈七籤), Chüan 83.

ghosts are P'êng Chü(彭侯), P'êng Chih(彭質) and P'eng Chiao(彭矯), who appeared already in the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua. But in the Fêng Shên Yen I, though these stars were included in the Host of Stars in Ch.99, their names were changed to those of the brothers Sa Chien(撒堅), Sa Ch'-iang(撒強) and Sa Yung(撒勇). Strictly speaking, they are not characters in the book and, can only be classified together with those "killed in the Battle of the Myriad Immortals". But why must the author change their names? Was it not because their names appeared, as well as in the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, also in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan from which many poems in the Fêng Shên Yen I were taken, and the author did not wish to reveal his secret? But as the Fêng Shên Yen I is really a marvellous work of literature, the author did not need to worry about that. In either Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua or the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan the P'êng brothers were not mentioned as stars nor was there any hint to indicate their connexion with Taoist origin. Yet in the novel we read:

In Ch.32, when Ch'ên Wu(陳梧), the commander of the Pass Ch'uan Yün Kuan(穿雲關) heard that "his brother was killed by Huang Fei-hu, he was so angry that the 'San Shih Shên'(三尸神 Three Spirits in the Human-Body) were annoyed in his body and smoke came out from his apertures."(192)

In Ch. 41, the same description is applied again to Premier Wên T'ai-shih.

In Ch.82, a line in a poem at the very beginning of this chapter reads,

"When the Three Spirits in the body were cut off the mists would disappear."

And, in the sacred mandate issued by Yüan Shih in Ch.99 again it said:

"Because the Three Spirits in your bodies had not been cut off, you were not able to escape from the kalpa which occurred in the last five-hundred years."

All of these reveal to us clearly that the author knew many things about the Taoist theory of "cutting off the Three Spirits in the body" which is again an important practice of the Ch'üan-chên Sect.

Therefore, we have, every reason to believe that the author of the

(192) Nostrils, ears, mouth and eyes.

Fêng Shên Yen I must be a Taoist priest who had close associations with the Taoist activities of the time.

be a forced interpretation to assert that the author of Fêng Shên Yen I was a bi-religious scholar after I have just claimed that he was a devoted Taoist priest. But I am afraid that this is exactly the case. To the great multitude of religious-minded Chinese people during the sixteenth century Buddhism was not at all alien. Story-books such as Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua were derived from the evolution of the style of Pien-wên(變文), the Buddhist popular tracts, fragments of which may still be seen in libraries or museums. When we read the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua we may probably be able to point out that a few terms are of Buddhist origin, but with Buddhism they have no direct relation. The plot of the death of Queen Chiang which as we have seen, reveals nothing which is foreign and is more or less congruent with the historical records,(193) is in fact a Buddhist parable.(194) The Nan Yu Chi in the "Four Travels" deals mainly with the interesting and fabulous achievements of the Budhisattva Padmaprabha(Flowery Light) who appears again in Chapters 15 and 23 of the Pei Yu Chi, and in both of these "Travels", more than once Buddhas and Budhisattvas play their important role to serve the purpose of the story-tellers. But all these books need something: the philosophical background of Buddhist thought. Compared with them the Fêng Shên Yen I is an entirely different work. It was not the kind of story-tellers' manuscript in which alien materials were accepted, transplanted and retold, but without the ability of assimilation.

We may call the tale of Nan Yu Chi which is a hybrid popular legend, a mixture of the Buddhist story and the Taoist pantheon of gods, but as literature it is vulgar and not in good taste. The story of the Heavenly King of Flowery Light's(in Chinese Hua Kuang華光) deliverance of his mother is undoubtedly a plagiarism from the Pien-wên depicting the wonderful deed and great divine power of the Mahā-Maudgalyayana(Ta Mu Chien Lien大目揵連),(195) but when his mother was delivered from hell she thought immediately of devouring men. This(Nan Yu Chi) is unrefined both in sense and writing. To put in a few terms of Buddhism merely for convention's sake is far from understanding the religion. When we encounter a pedes-

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(193) Shih Chi(史記), Ch.3, Yin Pên-chi(殷本紀): "The Marquis Chiu-hou(九侯) had a beautiful daughter whom he presented to King Chou. The daughter, though charming, was not dissolute. King Chou was infuriated and put her to death. ..."

(194) See No.211, Fa Chü P'i Yü Ching(法句譬喻經), Chüan 4, "The Tripitaka in Chinese". The story of the daughter of Chi-hsing(吉星), a Brahman.

(195) Ta Mu Chien Lien Ming Chien Chiu Mu Pien-wên(大目犍連冥間救母變文), S 2614, Collection of the British Museum; Vol.85, Ku I Pu(古逸部), "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

trian at the street-corner who claims to be a devoted Buddhist, in nine cases out of ten he cannot answer any question on the fundamentals of that religion correctly, though he may be able to utter one thousand times every day the line, "I take my refuge in Amitābha Buddha." To know the names of Kuan Yin, P'u Hsien, and Wên Shu is essy, and it is not difficult to transplant these Buddhist tales with exaggerated description, but to assimilate Buddhist thought and to adapt the language and vocabulary learned from Buddhist sūtras naturally and vividly into a Chinese novel is a tremendous task. Only very few scholars could do that and the Buddhist taste of the author of Fêng Shên Yen I must be appreciated in that light.

The Lotus Sutra

To verify this I wish to cite some ten or more instances, where Buddhist terms or remarks found in the novel, which may prove themselves to be different from the trite expressions in other story-books.

(1) Yen Fou T'i(閻浮提 Jambūdvīpa)

Two poems at the beginning of Ch.32 and Ch.80 use the transliteration of the Sanskrit word which means "the whole of a world". As it appears in verse the author used the abbreviated Yen Fou(閻浮) to suit the rhyme and style.(cf. "Lotus Sūtra", Ch.18)

(2) Ch'i Pao Chin Lien(七寶金蓮 Seven-jewelled lotuses)

I have quoted this in the last chapter which appears in Ch.38 of the novel. This may have originated from the "Treader on the Seven-jewelled Lotuses"(踏七寶華如來) in the "Lotus Sūtra".(196)

(3) Ju Shên(肉身 Fleshly body)

The verse in Ch.43 gives a hint that the Son of the Thunder-shock will attain the perfect enlightment with a fleshly body. This is mentioned again in Ch.100.

(4) Pa Pu Chêng Shên(八部正神)

In Ch.42, the magic whip given to Chiang Tzŭ-ya by Yüan Shih served particularly to smite the deities to be invested in the Eight Divisions. This is undoubtedly derived from the eight classes of supernatural beings in the "Lotus Sūtra".

(5) Ting Hai Chu(定海珠 The Pearl to Pacify Storms)

(196) "The Lotus of the Wonderful Law", Ch.9, "Prediction of Ananda, Rahula, and others".

formed into the twenty-four deva aryas."

(6) San Mei(三昧)

In Ch.48, the author stated that Lu Ya(陸壓) ".....was the spirit of san-mei." And again in Ch.43 when Yang Chien(楊戩) wished to set fire to the enemy's tents, "he employed the true-fire of San-mei from his mind." When the Premier Wên T'ai-shih was smitten by the whip of Chiang Tzŭ-ya, "the fire of San-mei spurted from his breast to a distance of three or four feet." I think this San-mei may be the samadhi(三昧地), the intent contemplation of a Buddha. (cf. "Lotus Sūtra", Ch.24)

(7) Shê Li(舍利 Sariram)

In Ch.61 when Wên Shu(Mañjuśrī) met Chun T'i(Cundī) for the first time he said to him courteously, "I have long heard of your great law which flourishes in the West. You reveal your virtuous attainment in lotuses and illuminate it with the wonderful radiance of sariram." In Ch.71 in a gāthā(偈) sung by Chun T'i he said, "Three sariram appear constantly over my forehead," and also in Ch.78 we read that, "Three sariram radiate brightly over the head of Chieh Yin(接引 Amitābha Buddha)." These sariram are the relics or ashes left after the cremation of Buddhist monks.

(8) San Shih San T'ien(三十三天 Trayastrimśat)

In Ch.65, the precious pagoda held by Li Ching was called the "Golden Precious Pagoda of the San Shih San T'ien"(三十三天黃金寶塔)." (197) This San Shih San T'ien(the Thirty-three Heavens) is the Trayastrimśas or the Indra Heaven(Ti Shih T'ien 帝釋天), the second of the six heavens of form.

(9) Ch'i Pao(七寶 The Seven Treasures or Sapta ratna)

When Kuang Ch'êng Tzŭ arrived in the land of the Western Paradise there is an eulogistic verse in which he marvelled and exclaimed, "Endless is the scenery in the Forest of the Seven Treasures."(Ch.65)

(10) Pa Tê(八德 Eight Merits)

In the same chapter 65, another line reads, "Auspicious garlands are falling over the sides of the Pond of Eight Merits." Also in Ch.71,

In Ch.47 of the novel the author wrote, "The Pearl to Pacify Storms in later generations will flourish in Buddhist hands and will be transformed into the twenty-four deva aryas."

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(197) In Ch.11, "The Precious Shrine"(見寶塔品) of the "Lotus Sūtra". There are, "七寶塔 ..... 七寶合成，高至四王天宮，三十三天." "Merits" are to be found in the widely circulated Chinese edition of the Fu Shuo O Mi T'o Ching(佛說阿彌陀經 Sukhāvatyamṛtavyūha Sūtra or Sukhāvatīvyūha).(198)

(11) Lun Hui(輪迴 Saṁsāra)

In Ch.71, when Laotzŭ scolded T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu, he said "... I shall employ my transcendent power to drag you to see our Master who will then condemn you to transmigration into the six destinations."

(12) Ch'i Pao Miao Shu(七寶妙樹 Tree of the Seven Treasures)

We have mentioned already the Seven-jewelled Lotuses and the Seven Treasures, and now we come to the Tree of the Seven Treasures. In Ch.78 when Taoist Chun T'i came to fight with the T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu in the Immortal-Exterminating Array(Chu Hsien Chên 誅仙陣) he held in his hand the Wonderful Tree of the Seven Treasures. In Buddhist sūtras the meaning of the Sapta ratna can be explained in divers ways. But here I think it can only mean Seven Jewels, which consist of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, rubies or red pearls and cornelian.

(13) Ch'i T'a T'ai Tzŭ(祇陀太子 Prince Jeta)

In Ch.79 the author wrote, "The Dhuta Fa Chieh(法戒) would afterwards be transformed to the Prince Ch'i T'a of the Shê Wei(舍衛國 name of a kingdom)." This really referred to the Prince Jeta Kumâra, son of Prasênadjit, the ground of whose garden Sudatta spread with gold to form the Jetavanavihara as a retreat for the Buddha Śākyamuni and his disciples. Shê Wei is the Chinese name for Śrāvastī. I have found that the name Ch'i T'a T'ai Tzŭ(祇陀太子) appears in the Hsiang Mo Pien-wên(降魔變文)(199) which is popular literature of an earlier stage.

(14) P'u T'i(菩提 Bodhi)

When Ch'ih Ching Tzŭ went to attack the Array of the T'ai-chi(T'ai Chi Chên 太極陣) he sang these verses, "To-day we shall be able to cut off the San-shih and to attain to the highest bodhi," which is wisdom.(Ch.82) Again in Yüan Shih's sacred mandate which we have already mentioned we read: "Though you have heard the highest Principle, you have not yet been able to bear witness to the bodhi."(Ch.99)

(15) Yeh Pao(業報 Karma or retribution for actions)

In Ch.99 when King Wu of Chou saw the instruments of punishment(the

a gāthā reads, ".....The Law is constantly preached beside the Pond of Eight Merits." These "Seven Treasures" and "Eight Merits" are to be found in the widely circulated Chinese edition of the Fu Shuo O Mi T'o Ching(佛說阿彌陀經 Sukhāvatyamṛtavyūha Sūtra or Sukhāvatīvyūha).(198)

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(198) No.366; of which Amitabha is a popular character.

(199) S 5511, Collection of the British Museum. However, this Hsiang Mo Pien originated from the Damamūka-nidāna-Sūtra(Hsien Yü Ching 賢愚經), Hsiang Liu Shih P'in(降六師品); No.202, "The Tripitaka of Chinese".

In Yüan Shih's sacred mandate we read, "Once you have fallen into the evil state of existence, there will be no way of return."(To Chao Kung-ming) Another sentence is "to sink yourself into the evil state of existence."(To Lü Yüeh 呂岳, both in Ch.99)

(17) Tan, Ch'ih, Ch'ên(貪癡嗔 Avarice, foolishness and anger)

At the beginning of the sacred mandate issued by Yüan Shih we read: "Some of you have set your mind to abide by the Law but you are smothered by greed and foolishness and you are unable to get rid of anger."(Ch. 99) These are the three vices in what is called the five serious hindrances(Pañtca Klesa).

(18) San Chieh(三界 Trailokya or Triloka, the Three Realms)

In Ch.99, Po Chien(柏鑑), the Marshal of the Emperor Huang-ti, who had been killed in the battle against Ch'ih Yu(蚩尤), was invested as the "Serene Beneficent God who was concurrently the Conductor of the Ceremony of the Investiture of the Three-hundred Sixty-five Gods of the Eight Divisions in the Three Realms"(San Chieh Shou Ling Pa Pu San Pai Liu Shih Wu Wei Ch'ing Fu Chêng Shên 三界首領八部三百六十五位清福正神) in Ch.99. In the last chapter(Ch.100) of the novel after Li Ching and others bid farewell to King Wu there is a poem, "....they have enlightenment as their aim and are beyond the transmigration in the Three Realms." These are the Buddhist Realm of Sensuous Desire(Yü Chieh 欲界), the Realm of Form(Sê Chieh 色界) and the Formless Realm of Pure Spirit(Wu Sê Chieh 無色界). "The Tathagata is the Great King of the Law in the Three Realms" and "to surpass the Three Realms and to break through the nets of the demons" are quotations from Ch.14 of the "Lotus Sūtra".

(19) 84,000(八萬四千)

In Ch.99 of Fêng Shên Yen I, when Yüan Shih's mandate appointed the Chin Ling Shêng Mu(金靈聖母 the Holy Mother of the Golden Spirit) to be the Tou Mu(斗母, Mother of the Sagittarius), she had under her command a host of 84,000 evil stars(八萬四千羣星惡煞). This figure of 84,000 is

hot pillars) he wrote this verse, "the retribution for his sins is to be burnt in the Tower himself." The author used the Buddhist term Yeh Pao to express his compassion.

(16) O Ch'ü(惡趣 Evil state of existence)

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easy to find in Buddhist sūtras. Again in the "Lotus Sūtra", we have "84,000 kalpas"(Ch.7) and "84,000 sections of the Law"(Ch.11) which are most probably the origin of this figure.(200)

To cite many more examples would be impossible because of the length of this thesis. A very striking thing which I should like to point out here is the fact that most of the instances given above can be traced to their sources from the "Lotus Sūtra". We have learned from the Nan Huang Ching Fu Mê of Lu Hsi-hsing that he sometimes gave illustrations for his discourses and criticisms of Chuangtzŭ from Buddhist sūtras. And besides some quotations in Yüan Chüeh Ching which we have already discussed, he used also some comments from Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, and particularly terms found in the "Lotus Sūtra" as supplementary materials, to his sharp and penetrating observation. Mount Sumeru may here again be referred to for comparison.

In the Fêng Shên Yen I, Mount Sumeru appears not less than seven times (Chs.47, 65, 73, 77 & 90). When the author wished to depict the magnificent and imposing height of the heavenly Yao Ch'ih(瑤池), he praised it with the verses,

"The summit was so lofty that it penetrated through the clouds, and the range of the mountains was as big as the Hsü Mi(須彌 Mt. Sumeru)."(Ch. 65)

And when he described the divine power of Laotzŭ as well as his principle of relativity he composed a poem concerning the mount,

"The five sacred mountains and the Mt. Sumeru can be sheltered in my belly."(Ch.77)

But in the Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê("Criticism of Chuangtzŭ") we find,

"If I say the great and imposing Mt. Sumeru can be put into a seed of mustard, would not then the minute particle of a soft hair be considered as a hill or a mountain?"(201)

Other Buddhist terms appearing both in the Fêng Shên Yen I(as stated above) and the Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê may be seen from the following:

"If we apply this to the transmigration[into the six ways], as said by Buddha Śākyamuni, there are surely three evil states of existence. Whosoever sinks into them would suffer and find it impossible to deliver

(200) In Ta T'ang San Tsang Ch'ü Ching Shih Hua(大唐三藏取經詩話), Chuan 1, we have "84,000 Kings of monkeys with brass heads and iron foreheads"(八萬四千銅頭鐵額獼猴王). In the "Lotus Sūtra", we also read of "84,000 precious urns", "84,000 stūpas"(Ch.23); "84,000 jewelled lotuses", "84,000 Budhisattvas"(Ch.24); "84,000 ladies of the harem", "84,000 years" (Ch.27) etc. In the Hsien T'ien Yüan Shih T'u Ti Pao-chüan(先天元始土地寶卷), a collection by Prof. Chêng Chên-to, there are "84,000 heavenly soldiers and generals".(Ch.8)

(201) Chüan 4, on Ch'iu Shui(秋水). Mt. Sumeru can also be found in Ch.7, "Lotus Sūtra".

As to the direct reference in this book of Lu Hsi-hsing's work on Chuangtzŭ to the "Lotus Sūtra" we have:

"The parable of a burning house in the 'Lotus Sūtra'...."(佛經法華火宅之喻.)(206)

As Jan Têng(Buddha Dīpaṁkara) is an ancient Buddha in the "Lotus Sūtra" who appears in the Fêng Shên Yen I, the Taoist "Abundant Treasures"(To Pao Tao Jên多寶道人), whose position in the Intercepting Sect is exactly the same as Jan Têng in the Promulgating Sect, is again derived from the same Sūtra. In Ch.11, The Precious Shrine(見寶塔品) we read,

"The Śākyamuni Buddha replies, 'In this stupa is the whole body of the Tathagata. Of yore, in the past, inumerable thousands myriads, kotis of asamkhyeya worlds away in the east, there was a domain named 'Jewel-clear.' In the domain there was a Buddha named 'Abundant Treasures'...." (207)

It is because of the Taoist "Abundant Treasures", whose name was derived from the "Lotus Sūtra", (the only sūtra where this ancient Buddha can be found,) and it is because Abundant Treasures's position under the Patriarch T'ang T'ien Chiao Chu was exactly on a level with the Jan Têng Tao Jên or the Ancient Buddha Dīpaṁkara in the opposite Sect, that I believe the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I was not only interested in Buddhism but studied particularly the same "Lotus Sūtra" which Lu Hsi-hsing had, as well as the Yüan Chüeh Ching, cited in his Taoistic, philosophical comments.

The Taoist, Abundant Treasures's, higher position in the Fêng Shên

himself."(釋氏輪迴之說而觀，三惡道中的有苦趣，一犯其中急難自脫.)(202)

"But to be floating or sinking in the six ways of the transmigration depends upon the karma. No one would be able to resist retribution in this life for actions done in his previous existence."(六道升降，隨其業力，果報臨身誰容捍拒.)(203)

"It is the Mind which works out the Three Realms and the consciousness which reflects."(三界惟心，一切惟識.)(204)

"It is said in the Chin Kang K'ê I(金剛科儀) that when everything foolish and false has been removed from the mind, bodhi will be there."(金剛科儀云：妄心盡處即菩提.)(205)

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(202) Chüan 2, on Ta Tsung Shih(大宗師).

(203) Same as (202).

(204) Same as (202).

(205) Chüan 2, on Tsai Yu(在宥). The book Chin Kang K'ê I or Hsiao Shih Chin Kang K'ê I(銷釋金剛科儀) composed by monk Tsung Ching(宗鏡) of the Sung dynasty, is a copy of Pao-chüan(寶卷), the Buddhist popular preaching song-books which was prevalent in China from the 12th century. See Chêng Chên-to: Chung Kuo Su Wên Hsüeh Shih, P.308; see also Hsiao Shih Chin Kang K'ê I Hui Yao Chu Chieh(銷釋金剛科儀會要註解), edited by monk Chüeh Lien(覺連) in the 30th year of Chia-ching(嘉靖三十年,1551)of the Ming dynasty, in the "Second Collection of the Tripitaka in Chinese", First Series(日本續藏經第一輯), edited by Nakano Tatsue(中野達慧),1912.

(206) Chüan 7, on Wai Wu(外物). The parable referred is in Ch.3 of the "Lotus Sūtra".

(207) I am using Soothill's translation, "The Lotus of the Wonderful Law", Ch.11, P.158. cf. H. Kern: "The Lotus of the True Law", Ch.11, Apparition of a stūpa, PP.227-254, Sacred Books of the East, 1884.

Yen I can be witnessed by the many narratives in Ch.73 and especially in Ch.77 when he was charged by the Patriarch T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu to draw up the battle array called Immortal-Exterminating Array near the Pass, Chieh P'ai Kuan(界牌關), to hinder the progress of King Wu and Marshal Chiang Shang(Tzŭ-ya)'s troops. In the mat-huts of the opposite camp, most of the apostles had come to assist Tzŭ-ya but before any action could be taken they had to sit in silence to await the arrival of the Patriarch----the Honourable Master who was in charge of the Sect. When they heard a tinkling of girdle ornaments in the air they knew that Taoist Jan Têng was approaching. When the Taoist Abundant Treasures heard that Jan Têng and other immortals of the Promulgating Sect had come, he sent a thunderbolt from his palm which shook away the heavy mists which covered up the Array so that his enemies could see.

This shows clearly that the Taoist Abundant Treasures was a match for Jan Têng in the mind of the author. He revealed the origin of the Abundant Treasures himself in Ch.77 in which when Abundant Treasures was engaged in a duel with Kuang Chêng Tzŭ, the author said,

"....He was the〔Buddha〕Abundant Treasures who worshipped Śākyamuni." (一個是多寶西方拜釋迦)

Another thing I would like to mention is the sentence "sitting in silence to await the arrival of their Master." In Ch.50 of Fêng Shên, when Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun came to the Yellow River Array one night earlier than Laotzŭ, he sat in silence that night in the mat-huts, with Jan Têng and Tzŭ-ya standing at the sides. In Ch.82 when Jan Têng and others came to the Battle Array of the Myriad Immortals they sat silently to await their masters. The Chinese texts are "Mo Yen Ching Tso(默言靜坐) and Mo Jan Tuan Tso(默然端坐). In Ch.15 of the Lotus Sūtra we read,

"During this time Śākyamuni Buddha sits in silence; silent also are the four groups."(208)

The Chinese version is, "是時釋迦牟尼佛默然而坐，及諸四衆，亦皆默然."

When both Yüan Shih and Laotzŭ were in the mat-huts in Ch.82, they "sat silently", and their disciples followed their example. The original texts read,

"二位師尊言過，端然默坐. .....且不言二位掌教師尊與衆門人默坐."

(208) Soothill's translation, Ch.15, P.193.

I think the comparison here may prove again that even in style of writing the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I may have been influenced by the "Lotus Sūtra".

I have pointed out that the Amitābha Buddha(the Chieh Yin Tao Jên in the novel) is the principal character in the Sukhavativyuha Sūtra. But as he was one of the sixteen princes who were disciples of the ancient Tathāgata Mahābhijñānabhibhu(大通智勝如來) who appears so many times in Ch.7, Parable of the Magic City(化城喻品) of the "Lotus Sūtra", we can find Amitābha's name also in that Sūtra.

Garuda, Mayūra and Nāgas

A Garuda(迦樓羅), one of the giant birds which feed upon the Nāgas, has been transformed in the Fêng Shên Yen I into one of the immortals of the Intercepting Sect called Yü I Hsien(羽翼仙) who was subdued and converted by Jan Têng in Chs. 62-63. As in India the Garudas have gradually changed into human shape retaining only the wings and hooked noses, the Yü I Hsien here was in human form but with a pointed mouth and sunken cheeks. In a verse eulogy the author wrote:

"His mouth was as sharp as that of an eagle. ...."

Another eulogy says,

"He would be able to eat all the Nāgas and all the fishes in the sea" (吐盡龍王海內魚).

In another paragraph in Ch.62 when "Yü I Hsien resumed his original shape he was a Garuda"(Ta P'êng Chin Ch'ih Tiao大鵬金翅鵰). This Chinese name for Garuda was not invented by the author. It appears already in the Ch'ien Han Shu P'ing-hua(前漢書平話) and in the play, Lü Tung-Pin Tu T'ieh Kuai Li Yüan(呂洞賓度鐵拐李岳) of the Yüan dynasty.(209)

Another Indian animal which assumed a human shape to defend King Chou's camps against invading troops is General K'ung Hsüan(孔宣) in Chs. 69-70. His magic weapon was the five-coloured lights emitted from his back. When he sent forth a ray from his shoulder the light would enshroud his opponent and make him lose consciousness and disappear. In Ch.70 when Taoist Jan Têng came to fight K'ung Hsüan he brought his newly converted disciple, the Garuda, with him in the air. K'ung Hsüan then resumed his original shape and fought with the Garuda breast to breast.

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(209) In Chüan 1, Ch'ien Han Shu P'ing-hua, "the Array of Ta P'êng Chin Ch'ih"(大鵬金翅陣). In the play written by Yüeh Po-ch'uan(岳伯川), Act 1, "Ta P'êng Chin Ch'ih Tiao"(大鵬金翅鳥).

be sure what bird it was." At last in Ch.70 we are told that he was a peacock with fine red feathers.

The Kung Ch'üeh Ming Wang(孔雀明王) or the Peacock King(Mayūra) is undoubtedly of Buddhist origin. The fact that in Ch. 70 of the Fêng Shên the author conceals the term Ming-wang in the verses at the very beginning of the chapter confirmed this. Since in the Buddhist, especially the Tantric sūtras, this peacock which was an incarnation of Śākyamuni, has become one of the mahārāja-bodhisattvas, it is quite natural that in in the Chinese novel it should assume a human shape and become a general. The Ārya-mahā-mayūrī vidyā-rājñī(佛母大金曜孔雀明王經)(210) and other Tantric sūtras which record the spells of this Bodhisattva were known only to the Tantrists. In one of the dharani-sūtras, the Shou Hu Kuo Chieh Chu T'o Lo Ni Ching(守護國界主陀羅尼經)(211) translated by Prajna of Kashmir during the T'ang dynasty, the origin of the five-coloured rays is revealed:

"The Buddha sent forth white rays from his head which illuminated the whole world. The green ray emitted from his mouth illuminated the East, the golden ray emitted from his right shoulder illuminated the South, the red ray emitted from his back illuminated the West and the five-coloured ray emitted from his left shoulder illuminated the North."

If the author had not possess a profound knowledge of Tantrism he would surely not be able to write the story of K'ung Hsüan in such a familiar way. I shall discuss the relation of the author with Tantrism in another section.

The Chinese legends of the dragon-kings(Nāgas) can only be attributed to the influence of Buddhism. The Lung(龍 dragon) appearing in the Book of Changes and other classical texts is, in many respects, different from the Lung-wang(龍王 dragon-king) which is the Nāga in Indian mythology. Before the coming of Nāgas to China the Chinese people worshipped only the Ho Po(河伯) or Lord of the River,(212) but since the stories of Nāgas were introduced together with the preaching of Buddhism, in the mind of

After several hours the Garuda was defeated and came back to Jan Têng, and told him, "As he was protected by five-coloured auspicious clouds I could not see his body very clearly except the two wings. I could not be sure what bird it was." At last in Ch.70 we are told that he was a peacock with fine red feathers.

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(210) No.982, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(211) No.997, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(212) See Chuangtzŭ, Ch'iu Shui(秋水); Shih Chi(史記), Ch.126, Ku Chi Lieh Chuan(滑稽列傳) on Hsi Mên-pao(西門豹) and Ch'u Tz'ŭ(楚辭) Chiu Ko(九歌), 8, The River God(河伯); A. Waley: "The Nine Songs", P.47, Allen & Unwin,1955. See also the Hsiu Shui Hsien Chü Lu(秀水閒居錄) by Chu Shêng-fei(朱勝非).

(213)

The Dragon-kings of the four seas in Ch.13 of the Fêng Shên Yen I are therefore very Chinese and have their predecessors,(214) for in the "Lotus Sūtra" we have eight dragon-kings(Nāga rāja) and in the Buddhava-tamsaka-mahavaipulya Sūtra(Ta Fang Kuang Fu Hua Yen Ching 大方廣佛華嚴經) we have ten dragon-kings.

In Ch.12 of the Fêng Shên Yen I after No-cha(哪吒) had killed the Yaksha Li Kên(李艮) of the Eastern Sea it was Ao Ping(敖丙), the third son of Ao Kuang(敖光), the Dragon-king of the Eastern Sea, who was at the head of a troop of sea-worriors, mounted on a sea-monster, the Pi Shui Shuo(避水犀), and rose from the waves to fight No-cha. This "third prince"(San T'ai Tzŭ 三太子) of the Dragon-king of the Eastern Sea in this novel originated from the Pao-chüan(寶卷) entitled Yao Wang Chiu K'u Chung Hsiao Pao-chüan(藥王救苦忠孝寶卷), Ch.5, a kind of Buddhist popular literature with which I have reason to believe the author of Fêng Shên Yen I was familiar. In the Tung Yu Chi(Ch.48) and the Hsi Yu Chi(Ch.39) of the "Four Travels", the son of the Dragon-king of the Eastern Sea was Prince Mo Chieh(摩偕) or Prince Mo Ang(摩昂), but what his seniority was among his brothers or whether he had any brothers we are not told.

In the T'ang dynasty, the records about the buildings where dragons lived are full of a religious flavour. In the Yu Yang Tsa Tsu(酉陽雜俎)(215) we are told that the sands on the beach near the dragons' palaces were all "seven treasures" and the buildings were just like those painted on the walls of the monastery. It was after the Sung dynasty that the belief of the crystal palace under the sea was formed and the Shui Ching Kung(水晶宮 crystal palace) was a very common term in the plays of the

the public Lung-wang is the chief of the Lung and therefore, naturally enough, for more than one thousand years, even official sacrifices were only offered to Lung-wang and the belief of Ho Po declined. To be harmonious with the traditional whole, the Chinese dragon-kings since the T'ang dynasty have been four, i.e., the Dragon-king of the Eastern Sea, the Dragon-king of the Western Sea etc. But on the other hand, since the idea of polytheism was deeply rooted in the Chinese mind, dragon-kings of a limited region such as a lake, or a pond, are also worshipped. (213)

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(213) Referring the official sacrifices see T'ung Tien(通典), Chüan 46, in the year 751(the 10th year of T'ien-pao 天寶十年); Sung Shih(宋史), Ch.102, Li Chih(禮志), 5, in the year of 1040(the 1st year of Kang-ting 康定元年), cf. also 1020 and 1110. See also Liu I Chuan(柳毅傳), in the Lung Wei Pi Shu(龍威秘書) ed. and Prof. E.D.Edwards: "The Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Dynasty", Vol.2, Fiction, PP.86-94, A. Probsthain, London,1938.

(214) In Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo(古今小說), Chüan 18, Yang Pa Lao Yüeh Kuo Ch'i Fêng(楊八老越國奇逢) and the Ch'i Kuo Ch'un Ch'iu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), Chüan 2, we have "Dragon-king of the Eastern Sea"; in Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo, Chüan 16, Li Kung Tzŭ Chiu Shê Huo Ch'êng Hsin(李公子救蛇獲報心), we have the "chief of the dragons in the Western Sea"(西海羣龍之長). The dragon-kings of the four seas can be found in Chs.48-56 of the Tung Yu Chi(東遊記) or Pa Hsien Ch'u Ch'u Tung Yu Chih Chuan(八仙出處東遊志傳) in the "Four Travels" and Ch.4 in the Hsi Yu Chi of the "Four Travels". The surname of the four dragon-kings is Ao(敖), but their personal names in the "Four Travels" are different from those that appear in the Fêng Shên.

(215) Chüan 14, No Kao Chi(諾皐記), Pt.1, Szŭ Pu Ts'ung K'an(四部叢刊) ed.

(216) According to Ch.1 of the Pei Yu Chi, Hua Kuang was the second son of the King of Mt. Ma Erh(馬耳山大王). Mt. Ma Erh, is the Chinese translation of the Mts. Aśvakarṇa(阿輸劍那) which means the Horse-ear(Ma Êrh馬耳) Mountains, the fifth of the seven concentric mountains around Sumeru. Therefore at the end of the Pei Yu Chi(Ch.23) Hua Kuang was invested with the title Chêng I Ling Kuan Ma Yüan Shuai(正一靈官馬元帥 or Marshal Ma the Transcendent Official of Chêng-I), and this is also the reason why Ma should be the surname of General Ma Shan in the Fêng Shên Yen I.

Krakucchanda(拘留孫佛), the first of the Buddhas of the present Bhadrakalpa and the fourth of the seven ancient Buddhas, is represented in the Fêng Shên Yen I as Chü Liu Sun(拘留孫), one of the twelve Taoist apostles under the Patriarch Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun. In the mind of the common people who read this novel there are no doubts as to the Taoist origin of Chü Liu Sun. We can find his Buddhist story in the Mahāpadhāna-suttanta(大本經) in Ch.1 of the Dīrghāgama(長阿含經) as well as in other sūtras.(217) In Ch.83 of the Fêng Shên the author hints that Chü Liu Sun, "had some affinity to the Western Land. In later generations he was

Yuan dynasty.[216] as well as in the "Four Travels".

"Flowery Light" and Krakucchanda

In Ch.63 of the Fêng Shên, General Ma Shan(馬善) was transformed from a fire on the snuff of a wick in the lamp of lapis lazuli before the wisdom-throne of Jan Têng Tao Jên in his grotto. When General Ma Shan abandoned his master and joined King Chou's camp, he was seized by General Têng Chiu-kung(鄧九公) and ordered to be executed. The executioner's sword did him no harm. When Wei Hu(韋護) hurled his Demon-Subduing Cudgel in the air it hit his head, and sparks glew out, but he was not hurt.

The origin of this part of story, I believe, was derived from the "Four Travels". In Ch.5 of the Nan Yu Chi we have,

"Hua Kuang〔華光 the Heavenly King of the Flowery Light〕was transformed from a fire on the snuff of a wick in the lamp before the Tathagata."

In Ch.15 of the Pei Yu Chi again we read,

"Hua Kuang was transformed from the cumulated fire on the snuff of a wick of the lamp before the Tathagata."

According to Ch.1 of the Nan Yu Chi, Hua Kuang was the second son of the King of Mt. Ma Êrh(馬耳山大王). Mt. Ma Êrh, is the Chinese translation of the Mts. Aśvakarṇa(阿輸剌那) which means the Horse-ear(Ma Êrh馬耳) Mountains, the fifth of the seven concentric mountains around Sumeru. Therefore at the end of the Pei Yu Chi(Ch.23) Hua Kuang was invested with the title Chêng I Ling Kuan Ma Yüan Shuai(正一靈官馬元帥 or Marshal Ma the Transcendent Official of Chêng-I), and this is also the reason why Ma should be the surname of General Ma Shan in the Fêng Shên Yen I.

Krakucchanda(拘留孫佛), the first of the Buddhas of the present Bhadrakalpa and the fourth of the seven ancient Buddhas, is represented in the Fêng Shên Yen I as Chü Liu Sun(懼留孫), one of the twelve Taoist apostles under the Patriarach Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun. In the mind of the common people who read this novel there are no doubts as to the Taoist origin of Chü Liu Sun. We can find his Buddhist story in the Mahāpadhāna-suttanta(大本經) in Ch.1 of the Dīrghāgama(長阿含經) as well as in other sūtras.[217] In Ch.83 of the Fêng Shên the author hints that Chü Liu Sun, "had some affinity to the Western Land. In later generations he was

(216) In Shang Chung-hsien's(尚仲賢) Tung T'ing Hu Liu I Ch'uan Shu (洞庭湖 柳毅傳書), Act 2, under the song Hsiao T'ao Hung(小桃紅); in the anonymous play P'ang Chü Shih Wu Fang Lai Shêng Chai(龐居士誤放來生債), Act 3, under the song Yüeh Tiao(越調) Tzŭ Hua Êrh Hsü(紫花兒序) and also the anonymous play Hsiao Yü Ch'ih Chiang Tou Chiang Jên Fu Kuei Ch'ao(小尉遲將鬪將認父歸朝), Act 1, Hsien Lü(仙呂) Yu Hu-lu(油葫蘆).

In Szŭ Yu Chi("Four Travels"), see (214).

(217) Also in the Tantric sūtra, Ju Lai Fang Pien Shan Ch'iao Chou Ching(如來方便善巧呪經), No.1334, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

In the Fêng Shên Yen I(Ch.45), one of the forceful weapons used by Chu Liu Sun was his magic lasso. He used this lasso and seized Chao Chiang(趙江) of the Intercepting Sect who fought for the camp of King Chou, and got Chao hung upside down on top of the mat-huts during the Earth-rent Array(地裂陣). This lasso, I think, was adapted from the Hsi Yu Chi of the "Four Travels".

In Ch.29 of Hsi Yu Chi in the "Four Travels" we know that the Demon-king of the Silver Horn(Yin Chüeh Ta Wang銀角大王) had some precious weapons,

"The Sword of Seven Stars, the Palm-leaf Fan, and the Brilliant Golden Lasso. This lasso was now kept by the Old Dame of the Ya Lung Tung (壓龍洞Dragon-Subduing Grotto)."

I have cited the list which appears in Ch.44 of the Fêng Shên concerning the dwelling places of the twelve apostles. The place for Chu Liu Sun is the Fei Yün Cave(飛雲洞) in the Hsia Lung Mountain(狹龍山). But in Ch.52(in all editions) this is changed to Fei Lung Tung(飛龍洞)of Chia Lung Mountain(夾龍山). Again in Ch.54(in all editions) the grotto Fei Lung Tung appears again. Between the two alternatives I think the Chia Lung Mountain and the Fei Lung Tung combined together may be the right one, for it is quite clear to us that these names were derived from the "Four Travels". Only after the publication of the Fêng Shên did Wu Ch'êng-ên(吳承恩), the author of the Hsi Yu Chi(or Hsi Yu Shih Ê Chuan, cf. P.111) assimilate both the name from Ch.29 of the Hsi Yu Chi(in the "Four Travels") and the name from Ch.52 of the Fêng Shên Yen I and create his own names:

able to promulgate Buddhism in the West which will prosper in the Former Han dynasty."

As this novel is set in the last few decades before 1122 B.C. the author thought it might be possible to deceive the public into thinking that Chü Liu Sun, after the example of his great master Laotzŭ, went to the West to preach his gospel after the extermination of the ruthless King Chou.

The magic lasso(K'un Hsien Shêng 捆仙繩) of Chu Liu Sun(218) is more interesting and more fascinating to us than Krukucchanda himself.

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(218) The Magic lasso appears also in "Ting Shan San Kuai"(定山三怪) in the Ching Pên T'ung Su Hsiao Shuo(京本通俗小說), and in Ching Shih T'ung Yen(警世通言), Chüan 19, "Ts'ui Ya Nei Pai Yao Chao Yao"(催衙內白鷂招妖) as Po Mo Sou(縛魔索). In Ch.29, Hsi Yu Chi of the "Four Travels" it is called Huang Chin Shêng(幌金繩). In Ch.66 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, the Princess Lung Chi(龍吉公主) also has her lasso which is called K'un Lung Sou(綑龍索). It is originally the Vajrapāśa or the diamond lasso(金剛索) in the hand of the Akṣobhya(不動明王), one of the Dhyani-Buddhas.

do the same he(or she) would employ his divine power and bid the Huang Chin Li Shih(黃巾力士 Athletes of the Yellow Turban) in the air to come at their command. This is of course a miraculous Taoist feat, but I think it is also of Buddhist origin. In the Ling Pao Chên Ling Wei Yeh T'u(靈寶眞靈位業圖) alleged to have been written by T'ao Hung-ching(陶弘景) of the first part of the 6th century, there are already four Li Shih or four generals under the command of the T'ai Shang Lao Chün in the Realm of T'ai Ch'ing.(219) From the study of some Hua-pên we understand that the "athletes" or the Athletes of the Yellow Turban are evolved gradually from the Buddhist Chin Kang Li Shih(金剛力士) which is the Vajrapani-balin. The following texts may give us a clear conception of its development:

In the Ching Chu Sui Shih Chi(荊楚歲時記)(220) we have,

"On the 8th day in the 12th month.....the people practised exorcism, applying the Chin Kang Li Shih to drive away pestilence."

The same book quotes the Ho T'u Yü Pan(河圖玉版) in which the Chin Kang Li Shih are described as giants of thirty feet tall. This Chin Kang gradually changes to Li Shih clad in golden armour or in golden clothes, because the character Chin(金) in Chinese means 'gold' too. Thus we have

"The Heavenly God sent immediately the celestial official clad in golden armours(金甲神人) and holding in his hands the mandate from the Buddha(佛牒)....."(San Kuo Chih P'ing-hua 三國志平話, Chüan 1).

"The Athlete of the Golden Clothes(金衣力士) arrived holding the jade mandate in his hands."(Ch.10, Hsi Yu Chi of the "Four Travels". Same in Ch.10, Hsi Yu Chi of Wu Ch'êng-ên.)

The name Huang Chin Li Shih which appears in the Lo-yang San Kuai Chi

" The demon said, 'the Brilliant Golden Lasso is now kept by the Old Dame in the Ya Lung Tung of Ya Lung Shan(壓龍山 Dragon-Subduing Mountain) '." (Hsi Yu Chi, Ch.34, by Wu Ch'êng-ên)

This is quite interesting, and we shall have discussion further the relation between the Fêng Shên and Wu Ch'êng-ên's Hsi Yu Chi when we come to the problem of No-cha(Naṭa).

When Chü Liu Sun wished to snatch someone with his weapon, or in general, when anyone of the Taoist transcendents of both Sects wished to do the same he(or she) would employ his divine power and bid the Huang Chin Li Shih(黃巾力士 Athletes of the Yellow Turban) in the air to come at their command. This is of course a miraculous Taoist feat, but I think it is also of Buddhist origin. In the Ling Pao Chên Ling Wei Yeh T'u(靈寶眞靈位業圖) alleged to have been written by T'ao Hung-ching(陶弘景) of the first part of the 6th century, there are already four Li Shih or four generals under the command of the T'ai Shang Lao Chün in the Realm of T'ai Ch'ing.(219) From the study of some Hua-pên we understand that the "athletes" or the Athletes of the Yellow Turban are evolved gradually from the Buddhist Chin Kang Li Shih(金剛力士) which is the Vajra-pani-balin. The following texts may give us a clear conception of its development:

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(219) Shang T'ien Li Shih(上天力士), T'ien Ting Li Shih(天丁力士), Kao Shan Chiang Chün(高山將軍) and Hêng Shan Shih Chê(衡山使者). The Pao P'u Tzŭ(抱朴子), Chüan 15, Tsa Ying(雜應) of Kê Hung mentions that genii will be revealed to a Taoist adept in an apparition. One must be familiar with the description of them so that one will be able to command them properly when they appear. In the "Two Collections of Taoist Literature" we have Tao Yao Ling Ch'i Shên Chou P'in Ching(道要靈祇神呪品經) in the Chêng-I Pu(正一部) names of those Li Shih are recorded.

(220) Han Wei Ts'ung Shu(漢魏叢書) ed.

In the Ch'ên Hsün Chien Mei Ling Shih Ch'i Chi(陳迅捡梅嶺失寶記) of the Ch'ing P'ing Shan T'ang Hua-pên(清平山堂話本),(223) we read,

"When the Tzŭ Yang Chên Chün(紫陽眞君 Immortal Master of Tzŭ-yang) finished his spell, immediately there appeared in the air two brave celestial generals wearing red turbans."

In the original texts they are called Hung Ch'i Tou Chin T'ien Chiang(紅帜兜巾天將 the Celestial Generals Wearing Red Turbans).

Though it may be difficult to guess why the author of the Fêng Shên preferred to use the "yellow turban" and not "red turban" in his novel, I have reason to believe that he, being familiar with many Buddhist sūtras, might have known the origin and its evolution in Chinese popular literature.

The origin of the Chin Kang Li Shih(密迹金剛力士 Vajrapanibalin) is recorded in many of the Buddhist canonical texts. Literally speaking this term can be explained as "thunder-bolt handed", as we learn from the Ambaṭṭha-sutta(阿摩晝經) in Ch.13 of the Dīrghāgama which says "the Vajrapanibalin was holding the thunder-bolt over the head of Mo Na(摩納) in the air. If the latter failed to give the proper answer he would use the thunder-bolt to smash his head to pieces."(224) It is said that about the era of the T'ang dynasty the Chinese had divided this Vajrapanibalin into two parts and made Chin Kang(金剛 Vajra) the name of the deva-guardian of Buddhas with the open mouth and Li Shih(力士 Balin) the name of the other guardian with the shut mouth. Therefore we have the "Snorter" and the "Puffer", the two door-wardens of the Buddhist temples.

They served as the background for the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I

(張陽三怪記) in the Ch'ing P'ing Shan T'ang Hua-pên(清平山堂話本) is called Huang Pao Tou Chin Li Shih(黃袍兜巾力士), and in the Chang Ku Lao Chung Kua Ch'ü Wên Nü(張古老種瓜娶文女, Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo 古今小說 Ch.33) it is Huang Chin Li Shih.(221) And this may sometimes be abbreviated as Li Shih.(222)

This is one side of the evolution. On the other side, there is another name which I think may have been created by Taoist priests to cope with the Athletes of the Yellow Turban of Buddhist origin. It is the Athletes of the Red Turban.

In the Ch'ên Hsün Chien Mei Ling Shih Ch'i Chi(陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記) of the Ch'ing P'ing Shan T'ang Hua-pên(清平山堂話本),(223) we read,

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(221) In plays sometimes it is also called Li Shih Huang Chin(力士黃巾) because the rhyme or the composition of couplets needs such changes. cf. Hsü Yüan's(徐元) Pa I Chi(八義記), Scene 2, "六曲闌干設着力士黃巾." A play of the Ming dynasty.

(222) See Nien Yü Kuan Yin(碾玉觀音), Chüan 1, in Ching Pên T'ung Su Hsiao Shuo(京本通俗小說) and Hsi Hu San T'a Chi(西湖三塔記) in the Ch'ing P'ing Shan T'ang P'ing-hua(清平山堂平話).

(223) Also Ch'ên Ts'ung Shan Mei-ling Shih Hun Chia(陳從善梅嶺失渾家), Ch.20, Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo.

(224) Other texts see No.30, Ekottarikāgamas(增一阿含經), Ch.22, Hsü T'o P'in(須陀品); also No.310, Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra(大寶積經), 3, Tathagata Tchintya Guhya(密迹金剛力士會). The plagiarism of the Taoists to introduce Chin Kang to the Taoist pantheon, see Shang Ch'ing Tung T'ien San Wu Chin Kang Yüan Lu I Ching(上清洞天三五金剛元籙儀經), T'ai P'ing Pu(太平部), "Two Collections of Taoist Literature".

to create his heroes, the Snorter Chêng Lun(鄭倫), the Puffer Ch'ên Ch'i (陳奇) and also the Wei Hu(韋護), originally Wei T'o(韋馱) the Porter, the one who holds a knotty cudgel(the vajra) in his hand and protects the Law.(225)

To conclude this section we must not forget T'u Hsing Sun(土行孫), the disciple of Chü Liu Sun, who could, by the use of an efficacious formula, walk and fight under the earth. This character was derived from the "local god of the soil"(T'u Ti土地), who is the leading character in the Hsien T'ien Yüan Shih T'u Ti Pao-chüan(先天原始土地寶卷), Ch. 10, Ti Yao Wu Tung P'in(地搖物動品).

Tantrism

Lu Hsi-hsing was a Taoist priest and, at the same time, a devoted student of Tantric Buddhism. This cannot be very simple. For Tantrism, a polytheism which is a mixture of the teaching of the Yogacara School in a form of mysticism and the Shivaism from which the practice of recitation of dharanis, the performance of ritual gestures, and the communication of the followers with the numberless Buddhas and Budhisattvas in their meditation, sprang. Though it flourished during the T'ang dynasty under the promulgation of the Indian monk Śubhakara(善無畏), Vajrabodhi (金剛智) and Amogha(不空), especially the two latter, who translated so many Tantric texts(which still remain), it began to decline in later dynasties in China so that in the Ming dynasty, it was the Tibetan, not the Indian, Tantrism which the Chinese devotees came into contact. That Lu Hsi-hsing was a devotee of Tantrism can be evidenced by his own work, the Lêng Yen Shu Chih(楞嚴述旨 "The Principles of the Śūraṅgama Sūtra") which is an exposition of a very famous Tantric sūtra introduced to China by Paramiti(般剌密帝) at the beginning of the 8th century. As it is a law of the Tantric School that no one might study its doctrine unless taught by a formal teacher and only after being initiated, I believe that not only Lu Hsi-hsing, who styled himself Hui-hai Ts'an Fu Ti Tzŭ Yün K'ung Chü Shih(惠海參佛第子雲空居士 the Buddha-worshipper of Hui-hai, the Devotee Yün K'ung)(226) but also the author of Fêng Shên Yen I must have been a member of that particular School, in at least a period of his life, if we can find evidence in the novel to attest to their Tantric relation.

(225) The origin of this Wei T'o is uncertain. Scholars say that he was introduced to China as guardian owing to a mistake in the transcription of a Sanskrit word of the monk Tao Hsüan(道宣); see "Asiatic Mythology", P.356. He has also been identified with Ruchika(樓至), a cousin of the Vajrapanibalin, see Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-Sūtra(Chêng Fa Nien Ch'u Ching 正法念處經), No.721, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(226) Yün(韁) or Wu Yün(五韁), the five attributes of a human being. See Lêng Yen Ching Shu Chih(楞嚴經述旨), First Series, "The Second Collection of the Tripitaka in Chinese"(日本續藏經).

I do not know whether among my readers there are any Tantric devotees, but I think it is proper to point out that during the performance of Tantric ritual gestures and the recitation of incantations(mandras), the action of snorting and puffing sometimes occur. This may be an imitation of the appearance of vajra when he is subduing the enemies and goblins which are many in the world. Inspired by this practice, the author of Fêng Shên Yen I may possibly have created his Chêng Lun who had the marvellous magic power so that when he snorted, with a sound like that of a bell, two jets of light were emitted from his nostrils which sucked up the souls of his enemies(Ch.3), and Ch'ên Ch'i who would blow out from his mouth a yellow gas that slew men(Ch.73). So that, the duel between these two generals becomes a really fascinating and exciting scene in the book.

The vajrapani holds always a thunder-bolt in his hand. This thunder-bolt in Chinese translation is called Chin Kang Ch'u(金剛杵 the cudgel of Chin Kang). As the Snorter and Puffer, and Wei T'o have, to some extent, originated from the vajrapani, the deva-guardian of Buddha or of the Law, the characters Chên Lun, Ch'ên Ch'i and Wei Hu in the novel used each a demon-subduing cudgel(or cudgels) as his precious weapon. Chêng Lun used two cudgels, and both he and Ch'ên Ch'i mounted on a wonderful monster with fire flaming from its eyes. Chêng Lun had three thousand "crow-soldiers" and Ch'ên Ch'i had three thousand "flying-tiger soldiers" as their personal guards. The description of Ch'ung Hei-hu(崇黑虎) in this novel is duplication of these two but without the two jets of light or the the yellow gas, and without the cudgels.

But when the author described the miraculous weapons of the Chun T'i Tao Jên(Cundī), one of his personal appurtenances was the Chia Ch'ih Shên Ch'u(加持神杵 the Divine Cudgel Protected by the Buddha) which is a Tantric term, and Cundī, who is the Tantric fabulous mother of seven kotis of Buddhas.(227)

When Chun T'i came to fight General K'ung Hsüan(the Peacock) in Ch.71 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, he not only wielded the "Wonderful Tree of Seven Treasures" which thrust aside the long-handled sword of K'ung Hsüan, but revealed his sacred dharmakaya(Fa Shên 法身) of

(227) No.1075, Cundīdevīdhāranī(Fu Shuo Ch'i Chü T'i Fu Mu So Shuo Chun T'i Ta Ming T'o Lo Ni Ching 佛說七俱胝佛母所說準提大明陀羅尼經), "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

the silver halberd and the streamers."

The origin of Chun T'i or Cundī can be traced to the ancient Brahmanic legends. She is a vindictive form of Pārvatī, the wife of Siva, so that we have the name "Buddha-mother"(Fu Mu 佛母) in many of the Tantric sūtras. Cundī was then associated with Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, whom the Tantric School declares to be the Dhyani Bodhisattva of Amitābha Buddha, who has vowed to succour suffering mankind and bring to them deliverance before he himself enters into nirvana.(228) Though that Avalokitesvara has various forms and to correspond to them various names in Tantric Buddhism, I have found him only in one place in Chinese stories where he is represented as a "Buddha-mother",(229) and his dharmakaya of thousand-eyes and thousand-hands is revealed. This is the Tz'ŭ Hang Tao Jên(慈航道人 Taoist of the Bark of Salvation), one of the twelve apostles of Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun, in the novel. In Ch.83 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, his dharmakaya is said to have three faces and six arms, holding a cudgel, a precious sceptre and twigs of willow; the dharmakaya of Bodhisattva Mañjusrī(Wên Shu Kuang Fa T'ien Tsun) again appears in fearful form with his face as blue as indigo, his hair and beard red, and his demon-subduing cudgel spitting fire; and the dharmakaya of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra(P'u Hsien Chên Jên) also had three faces and six arms, a demon-subduing cudgel being held in his hands. His face was purple, with a big mouth and fierce, long projecting teeth. His whole body was covered with garlands and auspicious clouds, and under his feet were lotuses. When the Chin Lin Shêng Mu(金霞聖母 the Sacred Mother of the Golden Spirit)was encircled by these three "Taoist Immortals" in the fighting she saw,

"Their faces were either blue, red or white. Some had three faces and six arms, some had eight faces and six arms or three faces and eight arms. There were again golden lamps, white lotuses, precious pearls, garlands and flower-light enshrouded their bodies."(Ch.84)

Chun T'i and these three immortals are the only four "Taoist Immortals" who reveal their dharmakaya in this novel. In this sense they are

"eighteen hands and twenty-four heads, his hands holding the sun-shade covered with garlands, the jar, the necklace, the divine cudgel protected by the Buddha, the precious file, the gold bell, the gold arrow, the silver halberd and the streamers."

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"Their faces were either blue, red or white. Some had three faces and six arms, some had eight faces and six arms or three faces and eight arms. There were again golden lamps, white lotuses, precious pearls, garlands and flower-light enshrouded their bodies."(Ch.84)

Chun T'i and these three immortals are the only four "Taoist Immortals" who reveal their dharmakaya in this novel. In this sense they are

(228) "Kuan-Yin, Regarder of the Cries of the World"(觀世音普門品), Ch.25, "The Lotus of the Wonderful Law".

(229) Ch.10, Nan Yu Chi, "Kuan-yin Fu Mu"(觀音佛母).

which have little originality. No-cha(Naṭa) was given the divine power of transforming himself at will with three faces and eight arms(Ch.76), but he is the third son of Vaiśravaṇa and his tantric origin is beyond doubt.(230)

The dwelling-place of Tz'ŭ Hang Tao Jên in the Fêng Shên Yen I, the Lo Chia Cave of Mt. P'u T'o, is undoubtedly an abbreviated transcript of the Sanskirt name, Potalaka(普陀落伽) which, though of fabulous origin, is now the name of a sacred island off Chekiang. The Pancaśirsha (Wu T'ai Shan五臺山) in Shansi and the O-mei Shan(峨嵋山) in Szechwan where the wisdom-thrones of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra were supposed to have been are not mentioned. The transcendent lion and the white elephant which were the original forms of two disciples of the Intercepting Sect who were tamed by these two immortals and condemned to serve their new masters were adapted from Chs.31 and 38 of the Hsi Yu Chi of the "Four Travels", though they too have their Buddhist origin.(231)

The Long-lobed Fixed-light Immortal(長耳定光仙 Ch'ang Êrh Ting Kuang Hsien) who was first a disciple of the Patriarch T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu but turned to the opposite side, became a follower of Chieh Yin Tao Jên (Amitabha) and "would be the Vairochana(毘盧佛) after a thousand years" (Ch.84). The Vairochana Buddha(毘盧遮那佛) is in fact the omnipresent and the omniscient Adi-Buddha, the Great Sun Tathagata(大日如來) in the Tantric School. The sutra Ta Pi Lu Chê Na Ch'êng Fu Shên Pien Chia Ch'ih Ching(大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經)(232) translated by Subhakara and the Chinese monk I-Hsing(一行) has, since the T'ang dynasty, been regarded as the most sacred and important canonical text of this School.

Last but not least I shall mention something about the T'ien-yen (天眼, Divyacakṣus or the deva-eye, the first of the abhijñā), which allows one to see things at any distance, which some of the important characters in the Fêng Shên possess. Those heroes who had three faces and six arms, Li Yüeh, Yin Chiao, Lo Hsüan possessed this third eye; Wên

all Bodhisattvas or Buddha-mothers of the Tantric School. The other characters who had three faces and six arms were Lü Yüeh(呂岳 in Ch.58), Yin Chiao(in Ch.63) and Lo Hsüan(羅宣 in Ch.64), but they are only copies which have little originality. No-cha(Naṭa) was given the divine power of transforming himself at will with three faces and eight arms(Ch.76), but he is the third son of Vaiśravaṇa and his tantric origin is beyond doubt.(230)

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(230) No-cha is represented with six arms in the play of Yuan dynasty, see Shih Chün-pao(石君寶): Chu Kung Tiao Fêng Yüeh Tzŭ Yün T'ing(諸宮調風月紫雲亭), the song Shang Hua Shih(賞花時). Also in Ch.5, Hsi Yu Chi of the "Four Travels". In Hsü Fu-tsu's(徐復祚) play T'ou So Chi(投梭記) of the Ming dynasty, Scene 19, song Hun Chiang Lung(混江龍), we have the No-cha of eight arms as described in Fêng Shên.

(231) No.460, Paramārthasaṃvarti Satyanirdŕśanāma Mahāyāna Sūtra(Fu Shuo Wên Shu Shih Li Ching Lü Ching佛說文殊師利淨律經; No.277, Fu Shuo Kuan P'u Hsien P'u Sa Hsing Fa Ching(佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經); and No.203, Chüan 2, Tsa Pao Tsang Ching(雜寶藏經), "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(232) No.848, Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

Ch.1 of the Nan Yu Chi, a deva-eye was bestowed on Flowery Light by the Tathagata but afterwards was taken away(Ch.10). But there are no other characters who were gifted with the same faculty.

In Ch.46 of the Fêng Shên, General Fang Pi, the elder brother of Fang Hsiang, is said to have possessed four eyes which were fearful enough. This may not be a deva-eye, I think, but it is still of Buddhist origin. Early in the Yu Ming Lu(幽明錄) written by Liu I Ch'ing(劉義慶) of the Liu-Sung dynasty in the Epoch of North and South, is recorded a god "with four eyes and eight arms with a golden cudgel in his hand."(234) But as to the case of Yang Jên(楊任), one of the superior ministers in the court of King Chou, whose eyes were plucked out by the ruthless king and who was saved from death by the Immortal Master Ch'ing Hsü Tao Tê Chên Chün who healed him by some transcendent power so that two new hands stretched out from the sockets of his eyes and one eye was in each hand(Ch.18), these eyes not only allowed him to see things in heaven, but also to watch anything underneath, so that he was able to tell Chang K'uei's(張奎) whereabouts when he entered stealthily into King Wu's camp(Ch.87). This was derived from the Ch'ien Yen Ch'ien Pi Kuan Shih Yin(千眼千臂觀世音 Sahasrabhujasahasranetra) whose image usually has forty arms and an eye in each hand.

Liang(溫良) and Ma Shan(馬善), the attendant generals of Yin Chiao, though not having three faces, (the face of one of them was as blue as indigo and the hair as red as cinnabar,) both had three eyes(Ch.63). Wên T'ai-shih, the faithful premier of King Chou possessed this third eye between his eyebrows which "would send forth a ray to the distance of about one foot"(Chs.27, 41 & 43). He belonged to the Intercepting Sect and was a disciple of the Sacred Mother of the Golden Spirit(Ch.42). Though we may find the description of Divyacakṣus in many texts other than Tantric,(233) yet to have so many heroes with fierce appearance and extraordinary endowment, we cannot but say, was a plan carefully worked out to form a consistent whole of which the Divyacakṣus was a part. In Ch.1 of the Nan Yu Chi, a deva-eye was bestowed on Flowery Light by the Tathagata but afterwards was taken away(Ch.10). But there are no other characters who were gifted with the same faculty.

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(233) See No.125, Ekottarikāgamas(增一阿含經), Chüan 7, (5) of the 16th, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(234) "Shu Li"(舒禮條), in 3rd Series, Lin Lang Pi Shih Ts'ung Shu (琳琅秘室叢書); also Lu Hsün: Ku Hsiao Shuo Kou Ch'ên(古小說鉤沈).

(235) when Yüan Shih said,

"Don't you remember that when we discussed the list of the gods to be invested in your Pi Yu Palace(碧遊宮), it was pasted with a cover confidentially, and the members concerned were divided into three classes: those whose nature is high and who would be transformed into immortals, those of inferior nature, who would be invested as deities, those whose cultivation is low, who would remain in the kalpa of transmigration. This is the evolution of heaven and earth."

In Ch.47, Madame Yün Hsiao(雲霄), the younger sister of Chao Kung-ming said to her brother: "....In former days when the leaders of the three schools(San Chiao 三教) held a meeting and put their signatures on the list of the gods to be invested we were all present in the Pi Yu Palace."

But what these three religions(or three sects) mentioned in the novel are seems very confusing and tends to give rise to controversy.

First of all, it seems to be correct to say that within these three schools of teachings, the Promulgating Sect and the Intercepting Sect of Taoism should be two even if the third one is uncertain. For instance, in Ch.43 the Ch'in T'ien Chün(秦天君 Celestial Master Ch'in) told Chiang Tzŭ-ya that,

"You are a disciple of the(Jade Palace of Abstraction in) Mt. K'un Lun and I am a follower of the Intercepting Sect. Why do you rely on your magic feat and insult our Sect? We Taoists---both you and I---should be ashamed of your conduct."

In the same chapter when Celestial Master Yüan(袁天君) was in the meeting to discuss how to destroy the enemies with Premier Wên T'ai-shih

IX

We have in a previous chapter(P.156) quoted a paragraph from the Ch.15 of the Fêng Shên Yen I explaining the reasons for which the investiture of the gods was decided. In that quotation there is a sentence, "the celestial hierarchy, consisting of members of the three categories, i.e., the Promulgating Sect, the Intercepting Sect and humankind was formed."(故此三教並設，乃闡教截教人道三等).

This idea can be supplemented by the conversation between Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun and T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu in Ch.77(235) when Yüan Shih said,

"Don't you remember that when we discussed the list of the gods to be invested in your Pi Yu Palace(碧遊宮), it was pasted with a cover confidentially, and the members concerned were divided into three classes: those whose nature is high and who would be transformed into immortals, those of inferior nature, who would be invested as deities, those whose cultivation is low, who would remain in the kalpa of transmigration. This is the evolution of heaven and earth."

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(235) And also Ch.65, the words that the Ancient Immortal of the South Pole said to the Golden Mother of the Jade Pond(Yao Ch'ih Chin Mu 瑤池金母).

The third school, judging from the paragraphs cited below, seems to be that school of Buddhist teaching represented by Chieh Yin Tao Jên(Amitabha) and Chun T'i Tao Jên(Cundī) who are otherwise named the "Patriarchs of the Western Land."(西方教主) In Ch.78 there is a title, "The Patriarch of the West, Chieh Yin Tao Jên," and in that chapter we read "The Patriarch of the West said.....". Again in Ch.83, besides this title "The Patriarch of the West", the author called Yüan Shih, Laotzŭ, Chieh Yin and Chun T'i, "the four Patriarchs"(Szŭ Wei Chiao Chu 四位教主).

Consistent with the statements cited above, in Ch.78 Tzŭ-ya reported to King Wu:

"The Sages of the Three Schools(San Chiao Shêng Jên 三教聖人) attended personally and hand in hand they destroyed the Immortal-Exterminating Array."

In Ch.50, Madame Yün Hsiao told the Premier Wên T'ai-shih of her arrangement in the Nine-winding Yellow River Array(九曲黃河陣), "if the Sages of the Three Schools encounter this they would not be able to escape." And in Ch.58 when Chiang Tzŭ-ya saw the fierce appearance of Lü Yüeh he said, "You have been long in the Sect and don't you know that the list of the gods to be invested was decided by the Sages of the Three Schools and is not the private opinion of my humble self?"

The argument that the Buddhist leader or leaders had attended the meeting to decide on the members of the list can be supported by the words of Chun T'i when he told Wên Shu(Mañjuśrī) that

"Ma Yüan's(馬元) name does not appear in the list of the gods to be invested."(Ch.61)

And in Ch.60 when the author hints that Ma Yüan would be converted by Chun T'i he wrote, ".....surely we may say there are sages in the Western Land."

But in other parts of the novel, the constituents of the Three Schools are varied.

In Ch.5 when Taoist Yün-chung Tzŭ, the Master in the Cloud, paid a

he said, "I have heard that Chiang Tzŭ-ya is a disciple in Mt. K'un Lun, and his Sect is not different in principle from our Sect. To slaughter and to fight against him is not proper for us to think of."

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In Ch.5 when Taoist Yŭn-chung Tzŭ, the Master in the Cloud, paid a

visit to King Chou, he emphasized the sublimity of the School of Taoism by saying:

"In the Three Schools of Teaching Taoism is the supreme one. ..... It is much better than the Confucianists who may be able to hold prominent positions in the court, but to us riches and honour are like a floating cloud. It is again much better than the Intercepting Sect, the followers of which must first injure their bodies and still find it difficult to attain enlightenment. It is sure that Taoism is supreme."

In the above quotation we see that the author says the Three Schools of Teaching are Taoism(by which he means the Promulgating Sect), the Intercepting Sect and Confucianism. As this appears at the beginning of this novel, we may suppose that the author had not planned to put Buddhism and Buddhist characters into the struggle when he wrote this chapter. But when we read the other chapters, when the conflict has been started, we find such inconsistent narratives:

When Chao Kung-ming met Jan Têng Tao Jên in the battle-field he said, "Your Master and our Master were taught by the same person. .....Don't you know that

"The green leaves, the yellow awns and the bamboo shoots,
The cape of a Confucianist, the shoes of a Taoist and the lotus(of a Buddhist),
The pink bud, the lotus-root and the lotus leaves,
Three Schools of Teaching all originated from one family." (Ch.47)

This indicates that the Three Schools of Teaching are Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. In Ch.65 when Kuang Chêng Tzŭ arrived at the Paradise of the West, he told Chieh Yin Tao Jên(Amitābha) that,

"From ancient times it is said the golden pills, the sarīram, and the teaching of benevolence and righteousness,
These Three Schools of Teaching belong to one family."

This again is confirmed by what the T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu said to his disciples in Ch.73:

"The pink flower, the white lotus-root and the green lotus leaves,
The teachings of the Three Schools are but one."

From the above quotations we gather that in the mind of the author,

though he might have planned that in his novel, the Promulgating Sect, the Intercepting Sect and the Buddhist sages from the West would form the Three Schools of Teaching and their patriarachs would be the Sages of the Three Schools, in his subsconciousness he could not but keep the traditional saying that Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism are the Three Schools of Teaching under heaven, so that such inconsistencies could occur without being noticed.

In Chinese history, the preaching of Buddhism and Taoism flourished at the end of the Later Han dynasty and ever since that time both the Buddha and Laotzŭ, the borrowed patriarch of Taoism, have been worshipped practically together and with the same reverence.(236) It would be easy to provide an environment to put these two schools of belief on an equal footing even though they were both heretical to the orthodox teaching of Confucianism. Later on, during the Epoch of the North and South these two religions did not share the same fate. The Taoists got the upper hand in the Northern Wei. Sometimes the rulers preferred the Buddhist doctrine so that in one particular case, in the year 555, the Emperor Wên Hsüan Ti(文宣帝) of the Northern Ch'i Dynasty(北齊) even ordered all Taoist priests to shave their hair and to be converted. Another time, for instance, in the year 574, the Emperor Wu-ti(武帝) of the Northern Chou(北周) looked at both religions with enemity and by dint of his command some two millions of Taoist and Buddhist priests were compelled to return to the laity. Luckily enough, five years later in 579, resumption of their worships was allowed by command of the successor to the throne, and molten images of Buddha and Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun were cast again. It was during the epoch between 420 and 589 when China was reunified under Yang Chien(楊堅), the first emperor of the Sui dynasty, that people began to compare these two schools of preaching with Confucianism and create for them a new term, the San Chiao(三教). When a visitor came to ask Li Shih Ch'ien(李士謙), a scholar in the beginning of the Sui dynasty how he regarded the three schools of teaching "he answered, 'Buddhism can be compared to the sun; Taoism can be compared to the moon; and Confucianism to the Five Planets.' So the visitor could not press him further." Again in the reign of the Emperor Wu-ti of the Nor-

(236) Hou Han Shu(後漢書), Ch.32, Ch'u Wang Ying Chuan(楚王英傳); Ch.7, Huan-ti Pên-chi(桓帝本紀); Ch.20(b), Hsiang K'ai Chuan(襄楷傳) and Ch.78, Hsi Yü Chuan(西域傳).

called San Chiao Hsü(三教序) and presented it to the court.(237)

From the founding of the Northern Chou dynasty it was an official rite that the emperor should, in a certain month of the year, summon a meeting in the great hall of the palace at which all officials at the court, and Taoist and Buddhist priests sometimes numbering two thousand persons would be present and the emperor would preside over this assembly to discuss the doctrines of these three schools.(238) Such practices continued in the T'ang dynasty and until the year 796 A.D. when it was unofficially decided that such a meeting would be held usually on the birthday of the emperor and from then until some thirty years afterwards, such an assembly was usually turned into a kind of courteous debate ending with a reasonable compromise. In the tenth month of 827 A.D. the famous poet Po Chü-I(白居易) was summoned to argue for Confucianism against other Taoist and Buddhist representatives on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of the Emperor Wên-tsung(文宗).(239)

The term San Chiao Shêng Jên is not a creation of the author of the Fêng Shên. It is seen in the Buddhist historical record Fu Tsu T'ung Chi (佛祖統紀), Ch.48, by the monk Chih P'an(志磐) that

"In the seventh year of Ch'uan-hsi(淳熙 1180) the Emperor[Hsiao-tsung 孝宗 of the Southern Sung dynasty]sent for the famous Buddhist priest Pao Yin(寶印) of the Hsüeh Tou Monastery(雪竇寺) of Ming-chou(明州 Ningpo) and asked, 'Is it not true that the doctrines of San Chiao Shêng Jên were rooted in the same principle?' "

In Act I of the play Ch'ên Chi Ch'ing Wu Shang Chu Yeh Chou(陳季卿誤上竹葉舟), by Fan Tzŭ-an(范子安) of the Yüan dynasty, a Buddhist novice says,

"Oh, it is much more reputable even than the Sages of the Three Schools(San Chiao Shêng Jên)!"(比三教聖人還張智哩!)

In some of the Hua-pên of the Ming dynasty such as Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo (古今小說), Chüan 10, T'êng Ta Yin Kuei Tuan Chia Szŭ(騰大尹鬼斷家私) in

thern Chou(c.570) when he ordered his minister Wei Chiung(韋夐) to write and compare the three schools of teaching for him, the latter answered that though the formalities of these school were different in degree, they were rooted in one principle. He elaborated this opinion in a book called San Chiao Hsü(三教序) and presented it to the court.(237)

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(237) Pei Shih(北史), Ch.33, Li Shih Ch'ien Chuan(李士謙傳); Chou Shu(周書), Ch.31, Wei Chiung Chuan(韋瓊傳). During this epoch when scholars spoke of "Êrh Chiao"(二教 the two schools of teaching) it denotes the Buddhism and Taoism. See Yü Hsin's(庾信) poem Fêng Ho Shan Hung Êrh Chiao Ying Chao(奉和闡弘二教應詔詩), Yü Tzŭ Shan Chi(庾子山集), Ch.3.

(238) Chou Shu(周書), Ch.45, Shên Chung Chuan(沈重傳). cf. Ch.5, Wu-ti Pên-chi(武帝本紀), the 3rd and the 4th year of T'ien-ho(天和三年, 天和四年, 568,569), the 2nd year of Chien-tê(建德二年,573).

(239) Chiu T'ang Shu(舊唐書), Ch.17(a), Wên-tsung Pên-chi(文宗本紀), 1st year of T'ai-ho(太和元年,827). A. Waley: "The Life and Times of Po Chü-I", PP.169-171, George Allen & Unwin, London,1949. cf. Chiu T'ang Shu(舊唐書), Ch.13, Tê-tsung Pên-chi(德宗本紀), the 12th year of Chên-yüan(貞元十二年, or 796).

the Ju Hua(入話 prelude), the story-teller enumerated the canonical texts of the three schools of teaching; in Chüan 13 of the same collection, in the Chang Tao Ling Ch'i Shih Chao Shêng(張道陵七試趙昇), again in the prelude, the story-teller said, "As early as the beginning of the world when the firmament was divided, the T'ai Shang Lao Chün created Taoism, Śākyamuni created Buddhism and Confucius created Confucianism."

But in Ch.1 of the Hsi Yu Chi in the "Four Travels", an ape advised the King of the Monkeys when he was vexed that,

"Your Highness need not worry. Within the three realms, there are the Buddhas, the Transcendent Immortals and the deities who can escape from transmigration. They will not be born again and they will not be extinct."

I think this short paragraph may have given some hint to the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I when he made the plan for the investiture of the gods in his book. The deities and the immortals could either be in the Promulgating Sect or in the Intercepting Sect, so that these two sects could be considered as two different schools. The traditional sayings of the Three Schools could of course not be applied to the scheme of this novel since the background of the story was approximately six hundred years earlier than the advent of Confucius who could by no means be regarded as a transcendent being, so it was far better for the author to create a new San Chiao himself. And, because the author, though a devoted Taoist priest and at the same time a Tantric Buddhist, was in his blood a Chinese scholar whose basic characteristic was a Confucianist he did so. Lu Hsi-hsing himself was such a typical representative. That he was a Taoist priest and a Tantric Buddhist has been proved by the district annals and by his own works. But how about his Confucianist background? The book the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ"(Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê) was published with a preface written by its author in 1578(the sixth year of Wan-li萬曆) when he was fifty-five years old(see later chapters) and therein he wrote:

"When reading Chuangtzŭ and Laotzŭ one must make his judgement with an extra eye, and one must not consider them with the ordinary views of us Confucianists."(讀莊老者當具別眼，不得以吾儒見解例之)。(240)

(240) In Chüan 2, on Ta Tsung Shih(大宗師), explaining "Tso-wang"(坐忘). "We Confucianists can only gain opinions from some different sources so as to help the solution, while the Tao(Way)maintains that things will evolve naturally; why should we be vexed and worried?"(吾儒只說得個集衆思廣衆益，大道却說個自然自然，何思何慮。)(241)

"If a Confucianist reads this he will feel rather uneasy. Well, if you can subdue your uneasiness you may be allowed to go further."(儒者讀之，殊覺刺眼。於此勘過，許汝抹過上頭關也。)

"What is said about benevolence, righteousness and morality in this chapter is different from the teaching of us Confucianists. When reading this you have to provide yourself with an extra eye."(此篇所論仁義道德，與吾儒殊旨，讀者當具刺眼。)(242)

In Chüan 3, we have the term"Chü Ju"(局儒), the "mean Confucianist"; "Chü Shih"(局士), the "mean scholar"; and in the same Chüan as well as Chüan 6, we have "we Confucianists" again. These should be sufficient to prove that Lu, after he had been a Taoist priest for so many years, still thought of himself a Confucianist but with a broad mind. I think it might be because of his broadminded nature and his liberal outlook, that he felt interested in Buddhism and eventually found that the three schools of teaching were the same in principle.

In Chüan 6, on "Kê I"(刻意), he points out,

"There is tranquillity in movement, and movement in tranquillity. Movement and tranquillity mutually produce each other and this is harmonious with the abstruse(妙). The understanding of this principle in the three schools is the same."(靜中有動，動中有靜，動靜相生，方爲合妙。此圖妙用三家一旨。)

In the same Chüan, on "Shan Hsing"(繕性) he compares the philosophical terms of these three schools, which denote the same thing:

"The Confucianists would call it 'conscience', the Buddhists would call it 'the nature to be enlightened', and the Taoists would call it the 'primordial spirit.' "(儒者謂之良知，佛氏謂之覺性，道家謂之元神。)

These are the traditional "Three Schools". In another place he even maintained that,

"The sages and virtuous men of the three schools have but one prin-

The "us Confucianists" is the "Wu Ju"(吾儒) in the original texts.

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(241) Chüan 2, on Ying Ti Wang(應帝王).

(242) Chüan 3, on P'ien Chih(駢拇).

And in the beginning of his comments he put an introduction entitled "Miscellaneous Opinions on Reading the Book of Chuangtzu"(Tu Nan Hua Ching Tsa Shuo 讀南華經雜說) in which he wrote,

"The ideas found in this canon are the supreme exposition of the teaching of the three schools. Every sentence, nay, every word flows out like a pearl and hits the mark. Only those who understand the secret of its nature would be able to mutely appreciate it."(此經大義，是三教真詮。玄言妙旨，字字珠璣，具法眼者當不自領會。)

This explains why Lu was interested in mixing up the doctrines of the three schools. But he thought it is more important to get hold of the supreme, the ever homogeneous principle which is the moumenon. The teaching in diverse ways is the form or phenomenal aspect which can be cast off as soon as one has the principle or the Tao. So that he wrote,

"It is said in the Buddhist ceremonial texts(Fu K'ê 佛科), that 'to be energetic is only to do what is expedient, but should you forsake it, you would never be able to succeed.' Again in the Taoist sayings we have, 'No matter of you adopt the cinnabar or not, you have to pass through its process.' If we understand these thoroughly, we shall see that San Chiao Shêng Jên(Sages of the Three Schools) keep but one principle."(佛科云，有為雖偏，棄之則功行不成。玄語云，用鉛不用鉛，須向鉛中作。於此會而通之，方知三教聖人宗旨不殊。)

From these quotations from Lu Hsi-hsing's "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ", it is clear that Lu, as well as the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I, maintains that the teaching of the three schools is but one. They even used the same term.

Among the fabulous "Three Schools" created in the novel, the name of "Shan Chiao (闡教 Promulgating Sect) is dignified and respectable, and it looks like a formal name. The Chieh Chiao(截教 Intercepting Sect) on the other hand is a bad name and no founder of any sect or any religion would really care to adopt it because the meaning of the character Chieh(截, to intercept, to obstruct, to cut off etc.) is always used in a bad sense. But it is in very sharp contrast to the Shan Chiao, and would doubtless create some direct effect on the mind of his readers.

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Chinese history until the Ming dynasty. Rev. K. L. Reichelt made a slight mistake when he wrote that the monk Chih K'ai(智顗) of the Sui dynasty divided Buddhist society into four principal differentiated schools, namely, the Shan Chiao(闡教) or the Hinayana School; the T'ung Chiao(通教) or the Translation School; the Pieh Chiao(別教) or the Mahayana School and the Yüan Chiao(圓教) or the Perfected School.(244) This is not exactly true. The name of the first school is Tsang Chiao(藏教) and the whole process is but an expedient and cleverly contrived syncretism which puts the diverse and incoherent doctrines together as important constituents of a whole. But this has nothing to do with Shan Chiao.

Shan Chiao(literally means "to promulgate the teaching") became the name of a religious official in the year 1382(the 15th year of Hung-wu 洪武十五年) when the Department of the Registration of Buddhist-priests (Sêng Lu Szŭ僧錄司) was formed and in that office we have Tso Yu Shan Chiao(左右闡教 The Doctrine-promulgators of the Left and of the Right), two officials whose rank was not high.(245) The Shan Chiao Wang(闡教王 Prince of Promulgating the Doctrine) was another honourable title usually bestowed on the political and religious leaders in Tibet by the emperors of the Ming dynasty.(246)

I think these Shan Chiao in the Ming dynasty may be the origin of the name, though used in a different sense, in this novel.

The term Shan Chiao was never used as a proper noun or as a noun in Chinese history until the Ming dynasty. Rev. K. L. Reichelt made a slight mistake when he wrote that the monk Chih K'ai(智顗) of the Sui dynasty divided Buddhist society into four principal differentiated schools, namely, the Shan Chiao(闡教) or the Hinayana School; the T'ung Chiao(通教) or the Translation School; the Pieh Chiao(別教) or the Mahayana School and the Yüan Chiao(圓教) or the Perfected School.(244) This is not exactly true. The name of the first school is Tsang Chiao(藏教) and the whole process is but an expedient and cleverly contrived syncretism which puts the diverse and incoherent doctrines together as important constituents of a whole. But this has nothing to do with Shan Chiao.

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(244) "Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism", Ch.10, PP.306, Shanghai, 1927. I have recently found a correction of this point in the 1934 ed. of the same book, Ch.11, P.331.

(245) See Ming Hui Tien(明會典).

(246) Ming Shih(明史), Ch.331, Hsi Yü Chuan(西域傳); also Ho Ch'iao-yüan(何喬遠): Ming Shan Tsang(名山藏), Ch.11, Tien Mu Chi(典謨記), the 11th year of Chêng-tê(正德十一年,1516). Also in Ming Shih(明史), Ch.307, Shao Yüan-chieh Chuan(邵元節傳), a jade seal engraved "Shan Chiao Fu Kuo"(闡教輔國 to promulgate the doctrine and to guide the country) was bestowed to Shao who was Minister of the Rites during the reign of Emperor Shih-tsung(世宗) and a Taoist priest.

and novelists were still suffering from contempt and the chances of publication were rare, he had to advance by vigorous effort and to imitate the successful works which were two only: the "Water Margin" and the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms", and from them the author of the Fêng Shên learnt many marvellous things.

To cite and compare the passages from the Fêng Shên with other writings is a delicate task requiring much skill, but I think it is worthwhile to go through such labours if they are helpful to our problem.

Pien-wên and Pao-chüan

The history and the discovery of Pien-wên is a subject which I think readers may study from the valuable works of Sir A. Stein, Prof. P. Pelliot, Dr. L. Giles and other scholars. Some of the Pien-wên which are of non-religious and story-telling nature, had influenced the style and contents of the Hua-pên to a considerable extent so that we may even trace the description of some parts in the Fêng Shên Yen I to this particular school of popular literature.

One of the examples is the magic feat of transformation of Yang Chien(楊戩) which can be found in many chapters in the Fêng Shên Yen I(Chs.48, 50, 54, 75, 86, 91 & 92). Especially when he was engaged with Yuan Hung(袁洪), a monkey, in a single combat, "they transformed their forms into every thing they wished so as to destroy their opponent."(Ch.92) This is an imitation of Ch.7 of the Hsi Yu Chi in the "Four Travels", but in the Hua-pên Chang Tao Ling Ch'i Shih Chao Shêng(張道陵七試趙昇)(247) and in the Hsiang Mo Pien-wên(降魔變文)(248) we can see similar descriptions.

X

When we come to the style and the writing of the novel Fêng Shên Yen I, it is not difficult to see that the author was very familiar with the Pien-wên(變文) or its transformed style, the Pao-chüan(寶卷). Of the other schools of popular literature, he was deeply influenced by the Hua-pên to which the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua and the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan belong. He had also read many plays of the Yüan and Ming dynasties. He assimilated quite a lot of their vocabularies, ways of description and some of the fabulous historical terms from such sources. As an author of a great novel produced in a period when to read novels was a luxury and novelists were still suffering from contempt and the chances of publication were rare, he had to advance by vigorous effort and to imitate the successful works which were two only: the "Water Margin" and the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms", and from them the author of the Fêng Shên learnt many marvellous things.

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(247) Chüan 13, Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo(古今小說). In this Hua-pên we can find "Shih Chüeh Ling Fan"(十絕靈旛 The Ten-exterminating Spirit Streamer) from which the "Shih Chüeh Chên"(十絕陣) of the Fêng Shên (Chs. 43-51) may be derived.

(248) S 5511, Collection of the British Museum. Another piece is in the private collection of Dr. Hu Shih. This story comes from the Damamūka-nidāna Sūtra(Hsien Yü Ching 賢愚經), Hsiang Liu Shih P'in(降六師品), T'ai Tzŭ Chuan(前漢劉家太子傳)and the Wu Tzŭ Hsü Pien-wên(伍子胥變文). (249)

In Ch.60 of the Fêng Shên Yen I there is a description of a scene on the battlefield. The fighting was desperate, but the author inserted the names of many Chinese drugs into the description so that each sentence reads like this:

"The soldiers(Ping Lang, should be 兵郎 which means "soldiers" but as it is homonymous with betelnut so that the author wrote 檳榔 betelnuts instead) shouted from horse-back, 'Seize him alive'.....

Both father and son(Fu Tzŭ, should be 父子 but as it is homonymous with seeds of aconite the author used 附子 aconite-seeds instead) died in the sand."

There are ten sentences so that the author had to select ten drugs which are homonymous with something which can happen on the battle-field and would make good sense to fit his purpose. In the Ch'in Ping Liu Kuo P'ing-hua(秦併六國平話), Chüan 2, when describing the appearance and apparel of General Shih Ch'ing-lung(石青龍) of the Kingdom of Yen(燕), the anonymous author used drug-names also. The play Yu Kuei Chi(幽閨記) written by Shih Hui(施惠) of the Yüan dynasty, contains a dialogue in Scene 25 which is composed of lines of drug-names and the same passage is retained in the Peking opera as still performed. When we trace their sources, the earlier one is the Yüan-pên(院本 play-script) of the Nü-chên Tartar Chin dynasty(1115-1234),(250) but a still more remote source would be the dialogues concealed in the meaning of drug-names we find in the Wu Tzŭ Hsü Pien-wên(伍子胥變文).

If we admit the importance of the Pien-wên in Chinese popular literature, we should also study the Pao-chüan, another form of Pien-wên but

Another example is the praying to the natal star and worshipping the Dipper by Chiang Tzŭ-ya for Wu Chi and the trick by which he taught Wu Chi to avert calamities(Ch.24). We know that this can also be found in the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua and in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, but looking for its earlier sources we find a similar practice in the Prelude of the anonymous play T'ao Hua Nü P'o Fa Chia Chou Kung(桃花女破法嫁周公)of the Yüan dynasty, and its still earlier sources are the Ch'ien Han Liu Chia T'ai Tzŭ Chuan(前漢劉家太子傳)and the Wu Tzŭ Hsü Pien-wên(伍子胥變文). (249)

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(249) Ch'ien Han Liu Chia T'ai Tzŭ Chuan, P 3645, Collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; cf. S 5547.

Wu Tzŭ Hsü Pien-wên, S 328, P 2794 and "So"(瑣), No.10, Tunhwang Chui So(敦煌綴瑣), compiled by Prof. Liu Fu(劉復).

(250) See Ch'o Kêng Lu(輟耕錄), Chüan 20, Yüan-pên(院本), "Shên Nung Ta Shuo Yao"(神農大說藥).

The evolution of the style of popular literature from the end of the T'ang dynasty(Pien-wên) up to the Ming dynasty(novels and short stories) may be summed up as the following:

(a) Prose plus Gāthā(偈, metrical hymns or chants), Tsan(讚, eulogistic verses) to form Pien-wên, Ku Êrh Tz'ŭ(鼓兒詞), and T'an Tz'ŭ(彈詞) of later periods.

(b) Developed from Form (a) we have:
Prose plus Tz'ŭ-tiao(詞調, such as Hsi Chiang Yüeh 西江月, Fêng Ju Sung 風入松 etc.) to form Ku Tzŭ Tz'ŭ(鼓子詞)(251) of the Sung, and Chu Kung-tiao(諸宮調) of the Sung and Yüan dynasties.

(c) To combine Form (a) and (b) we have:
Prose plus Gāthā, Tsan, and Tz'ŭ-tiao to form the Pao-chüan of the Ming dynasty.

(d) Prose plus Gāthā, Tsan, with some Tz'ŭ-tiao, Lien Chü(聯句, couplets), short P'ien-wên(駢文 or Szŭ Liu P'ien-wên 四六駢文) to form novels of the Tz'ŭ Hua(詞話) style.

(e) And lastly the general form of the Chinese novel since the Ming dynasty has been:
Prose(mainly) but occasionally mixed with some Tz'ŭ-tiao, poems, couplets and short P'ien-wên.(252)

Comparing the style of the Fêng Shên Yen I with the above five forms we can see that it falls in between Form(d) and (e), and a great part of its contents may be coincident with Form(d), therefore its relation with the Pao-chüan, either judging from the nature of the novel or from the style of its writing, may be still closer than we have supposed. In the novel Chin P'ing Mei Tz'ŭ Hua(金瓶梅詞話) we have on many occasions to

of later periods, beginning probably from the Sung dynasty but becoming prevalent in the Ming dynasty. As the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I was most probably a Ming scholar who lived during the period between Chia-ching(嘉靖) and Wan-li(萬曆) and had close connexions with the religious activities of the time, and this novel can only be considered as a work of popular literature, I hope we may be fortunate enough to find some of the concealed facts about this author through the study of Pao-chüan.

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(a) Prose plus Gāthā(偈, metrical hymns or chants), Tsan(讚, eulogistic verses) to form Pien-wên, Ku Êrh Tz'ŭ(鼓兒詞), and T'an Tz'ŭ(彈詞) of later periods.

(b) Developed from Form (a) we have:
Prose plus Tz'ŭ-tiao(詞調, such as Hsi Chiang Yüeh 西江月, Fêng Ju Sung 風入松 etc.) to form Ku Tzŭ Tz'ŭ(鼓子詞)(251) of the Sung, and Chu Kung-tiao(諸宮調) of the Sung and Yüan dynasties.

(c) To combine Form (a) and (b) we have:
Prose plus Gāthā, Tsan, and Tz'ŭ-tiao to form the Pao-chüan of the Ming dynasty.

(d) Prose plus Gāthā, Tsan, with some Tz'ŭ-tiao, Lien Chü(聯句, couplets), short P'ien-wên(駢文 or Szŭ Liu P'ien-wên 四六駢文) to form novels of the Tz'ŭ Hua(詞話) style.

(e) And lastly the general form of the Chinese novel since the Ming dynasty has been:
Prose(mainly) but occasionally mixed with some Tz'ŭ-tiao, poems, couplets and short P'ien-wên.(252)

Comparing the style of the Fêng Shên Yen I with the above five forms we can see that it falls in between Form(d) and (e), and a great part of its contents may be coincident with Form(d), therefore its relation with the Pao-chüan, either judging from the nature of the novel or from the style of its writing, may be still closer than we have supposed. In the novel Chin P'ing Mei Tz'ŭ Hua(金瓶梅詞話) we have on many occasions to

(251) The Chao Tê-lin's(趙德麟) Shang Tiao(商調) Tieh Lien Hua(蝶戀花) of the Sung dynasty, in Chüan 5, Hou Chêng Lu(侯鯖錄), in the 22nd Series, Chih Pu Tsu Chai Ts'ung Shu(知不足齋叢書); and the Shang Tiao(商調)Ts'u Hu Lu Hsiao Ling(醋葫蘆小令) used in the Chiang Shu Chên Wên Ching Yüan Yang Hui(蔣氏貞文敬元宵會), Ch'ing P'ing Shan T'ang P'ing-hua(清平山堂平話), are the Ku Tzŭ Tz'ŭ can be seen to-day. cf. also Chou Mi(周密): Wu-lin Chiu Shih(武林舊事), Chüan 5, in the 16th Series, Chih Pu Tsu Chai Ts'ung Shu.

(252) cf. Prof. Sun K'ai-ti: Lun Chung Kuo Tuan P'ien Hsiao Shuo(論中國短篇小說), "Tz'ŭ Hua K'ao"(詞話考), PP.42-56, T'ang Ti Ch'u Pan Shê(棠棣出版社),1953, Shanghai.

read narratives about Pao-chüan,[253] but as in later years the Pao-chüan were published only as superstitious religious pamphlets and limited to a very small variety, the quotations which I am going to cite here can mostly be found in the Chung Kuo Su Wên Hsüeh Shih written by Prof. Chêng Chên-to who is well versed in such kinds of literature. But to compare them with quotations from the Fêng Shên Yen I and the work of Lu Hsi-hsing is still a pioneer exploration.

In Ch.77 of the Fêng Shên Yen I the author said of T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu that,

"He was the founder of the Intercepting Sect. He had cultivated his spirit to such a degree that〔in his meditation〕he was able to gather the five-air in order to contact the primordial void and to concentrate the three-flowers on his forehead."(通天教主乃是掌截教之鼻祖，修成五氣朝元，三花聚頂.)

"It is rare to be able to gather the five-air in order to contact the primordial void,
And to concentrate the three-flowers on one's forehead---this will lead to longevity." (Ch.47,五氣朝元真罕事，三花聚頂自長春.)

"The concentration of the three-flowers on one's forehead is no idle talk,
Nor is the gathering of the five-air in order to contact the primordial void a frivolous thing." (Ch.13,三花聚頂非閒說，五氣朝元豈浪言.)

And in Ch.82, the eulogistic verses in praise of T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu read,

"Gathering his five-air in order to contact the primordial void he preaches the wonderful Law,
And concentrating the three-flowers on his forehead he gives discourses on assurance of no further re-incarnation."(五氣朝元傳妙訣，三花聚頂演無生.)

There is a copy of Yao Shih Pên Yüan Kung Tê Pao-chüan(藥師本願功德寶卷 or the Pao-chüan on the Vows and Merits of Bodhisattva Bhaiṣa Jyaguru Vaidurya), the earliest version of which we have was published in 1543 (the 22nd year of Chia-ching嘉靖二十二年) and is in Prof. Chêng's collection.[254] In the passage narrating the first vow of the Bodhisavattva

(253) For instance, Huang Shih Nü Pao-chüan(黃氏女寶卷), in Ch.74, Chin P'ing Mei Tz'ŭ Hua(金瓶梅詞話). cf. Yü Chêng-hsieh(俞正燮): Kuei Szŭ Ts'un Kao(癸巳存稿), Chüan 9, "Yen I Hsiao Shuo"(演義小說條) on Huang Shih Nü Shu(黃氏女書), Lien Yün I Ts'ung Shu(連筠簃叢書) ed.

(254) Chung Kuo Su Wên Hsüeh Shih, PP.312-317.

we read these couplets in a verse:

"The three-flowers concentrated on the forehead cause no movement,
And the five-air gathered to contact the primordial void is but one."
(三花聚頂元不動，五氣朝元總一顆.)

I cannot find any sentences in Lu Hsi-hsing's "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" concerning these couplets. However, in Ch.3 of the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ", Lu quoted one sentence from the Chin Kang K'ê I(金剛科儀) which is a short name of the Hsiao Shih Chin Kang K'ê I(銷釋金剛科儀), a Pao-chüan of the Sung but re-edited in the Ming dynasty. (cf. note 205) Since Lu was a scholar who read widely and often quoted Pao-chüan, he might have read other copies of Pao-chüan as well. In Ch.6 of "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" explaining the chapter Hsü Wu Kuei(徐無鬼) of Chuangtzŭ Lu wrote,

"Is it really knowing or not knowing, understanding or not understanding? How do you regard it? Ah! (畢竟是知耶，不知耶，解耶，不解耶，如何理會？咦！)

To address her mother or mère he has every freedom,
Recognizing but mère is not at all the same as mother."(稱娘作母從他喚，認母原來不是娘.)

These verses seem rather abstruse. But when we pick up the Yao Shih Pên Yüan Kung Tê Pao-chüan we are astonished to read

"It is clear enough that this is the face of〔his〕own mother,
Not recognizing him〔her〕who borrows flowers and presents them to Buddha."(分明本是娘生面，借花獻佛莫認他.)

In other places we have the following verses,

"She〔the Budhisattva〕delivers only her own sons, virtuous and good,
Great is her mercy〔to us〕, as a baby sees his own mother."(單度賢良親生子，恩實嬰兒見親娘.)

And in this Pao-chüan, it is a rule that after the interjection "Ah"(咦) or "Tut"(呲), there will be couplets of two lines and, this is exactly the same as the style of the quotation we cite from Lu Hsi-hsing's book. I do not wish to emphasize this similarity too much because using such interjections and following them with verses can also be found in other Hua-pên of a Buddhist preaching nature.(255)

(255) See P'u Sa Man(菩薩蠻) in Ching Pên T'ung Su Hsiao Shuo(京本通俗小說), Chüan 11; and Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo(古今小說), Chüan 29, Yüeh Ming Ho Shang Tu Liu Ts'ui(月明和尚度柳翠); Chüan 30, Ming Wu Ch'an Shih Kan Wu Chieh(明悟禪師趕五戒).

Kung Pu Kua(九宮八卦 Eight Diagrams in the Nine-Altars; Chs.1 & 21); Mt. Sumeru(Ch.1); Water of Eight Merits(Ch.9); Hao T'ien Shang Ti(昊天上帝 the Sovereign on High, Chs.16 & 21); The 72 Stars of Evil Influence, Manjuśrī, Samantabhadra(Ch.16) and especially the names of two passes, i.e., the T'ung Kuan Pass(潼關) and Ch'ing Lung Kuan Pass(青龍關) in Ch.20 of the said Pao-chüan, is found in the Fêng Shên Yen I as two among the five Passes. I do not think these two names together are to be found elsewhere.

The origin of the character T'u Hsing Sun may, as I have mentioned, also be a Pao-chüan, the Hsien T'ien Yüan Shih T'u Ti Pao-chüan(先天原始土地寶卷), of the Ming period.

I have pointed out that the Gāthā and Tsan(讚), and Tz'ŭ-tiao(詞調) are used in Pao-chüan. In the Fêng Shên Yen I, the Tz'ŭ-tiao such as Hsi Chiang Yüeh(西江月, Chs.32 & 36), Fêng Ju Sung(風入松 Ch.19) and others are not difficult to find. The Tsan appears in many chapters, and sometimes in one chapter(Ch.41) there are not less than three Tsan, and in many other places, the Tsan are probably mixed up with Kê(歌) or poems. The three Tsan which appear in Ch.62(on the Yü I Hsien 羽翼仙, that is the Garuda), Ch.95(on Chiang Tzŭ-ya) and Ch.44(a eulogistic poem on the fairy-land of the Palace of the Eight-scenes), are all in verse with four characters in a line. As most of the other pieces either in this book or in other Hua-pên are in verse with five or three characters in a line, I find it quite interesting that in the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ", at the end of each Chüan eeeulogistic poem with four characters in a line is always attached.

Plays and Hua-pên

It is universally recognised that the inter-relation between Chinese plays and the Hua-pên in the period of Yüan and Ming is the key to understanding their individual development. I have found in the plays many points to which the story of the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua is related and they may therefore serve mutually to prove the time of their production.

In another Pao-chüan Fu Shuo Chên Lieh Hsien Hsiao Mêng Chiang Nü Ch'ang Ch'êng Pao-chüan(佛說貞烈賢孝孟姜女長城寶卷) also of the Ming dynasty,(256) we find many terms and names which appear also in the Fêng Shên Yen I, such as Chiu Kung Pa Kua(九宮八卦 Eight Diagrams in the Nine-Altars; Chs.1 & 21); Mt. Sumeru(Ch.1); Water of Eight Merits(Ch.9); Hao T'ien Shang Ti(昊天上帝 the Sovereign on High, Chs.16 & 21); The 72 Stars of Evil Influence, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra(Ch.16) and especially the names of two passes, i.e., the T'ung Kuan Pass(潼關) and Ch'ing Lung Kuan Pass(青龍關) in Ch.20 of the said Pao-chüan, is found in the Fêng Shên Yen I as two among the five Passes. I do not think these two names together are to be found elsewhere.

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(256) Edition of about 1680, published by Chin-ling(金陵) Yung Shêng T'ang(榮盛堂); see App. BP. 313-360, Mêng Chiang Nü Wan Li Hsüen Fu Chi (孟姜女萬里尋夫集), edited by Lu Kung(路工), Shang-hai Ch'u Pan Kung Szŭ (上海出版公司), 1955.

However, to compare the Fêng Shên Yen I with such plays and Hua-pên may not help us directly in the study of its authorship, but work along this line would tell us at least what kind of works had influenced the author and at the most conservative estimate in which period this book was produced. And this would tell us which parts of the novel are the creation of the author, and the other parts, if they were not his own work, are at least what he did in revising the old materials and in reorganizing them so that they would suit his own scheme of writing.

(1) "Rolling up the veil of the shrine."

In Ch.1 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when King Chou went to burn incense at the temple of Nü Kua(女媧), suddenly a wind blew, rolling up the veil of the shrine and revealing the peerless beauty of the image of the goddess. ....

In Chüan 13 of the Hsing Shih Hêng Yen(醒世恆言)[257] is the Hua-pên K'an P'i Hsüeh Tan Chêng Êrh Lang Shên(勘皮靴單證二郎神) which is a Hua-pên of the Sung dynasty, but possibly revised by the story-tellers in the Yüan period. In this story Madame Han(韓夫人) went to burn incense at the shrine of Êrh Lang Shên(二郎神). When the veil was up, she was so much impressed by the handsome appearance of the god that she immediately felt spiritually in love with him. ....

In Ch.6 of the Nan Yu Chi, the Princess of the Kingdom of A Thousand-Fields(Chien T'ien Kuo千田國)went to burn incense at the temple of Flowery Light. She ordered the attendants to raise the veil of the shrine. Having seen the image she sighed, "The Heavenly King of Flowery Light is really a handsome god." As a result, she felt in love with the god.

(2) Star Plucking Building

In Ch.5 of the Fêng Shên Yen I and later the name of this Building, Chê Hsing Lou(摘星樓) occurs many times.

It appears, also in the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, in Chüan 1 of the Chin Ping Liu Kuo P'ing-hua(秦併六國平話) and in the anonymous play, P'ang Chüan Yeh Tsou Ma Ling Tao(龐涓夜走馬陵道), Act 3, Shuang Tiao(雙調) Tien Chien Huan(殿前歡), of the Yüan dynasty.

(3) Chiu Chien Tien

In Ch.4 of Fêng Shên Yen I when Ta-chi entered the royal palace for

(257) Edition in the Shih Chieh Wên K'u(世界文庫), Shêng Huo Shu Tien (生活書店), Shanghai,1936; also Tso Chia Ch'u Pan Shê(作家出版社), Peking, 1956.

the water-dripping eaves(Ta Shui Yen 滴水簷).

Since the T'ang dynasty the biggest hall in the palace of a prince etc. has been called Chiu Chien Tien. In the I Wên Tsung Lu(異聞總錄) and Hsüan Kuai Lu(玄怪錄)(258) we can find the following description: "On the north there was a hall as big as nine chambers combined together"(北正殿九間) which is the palace of Yama, the King of Hell.

In Scene 33 of Hsün Ch'in Chi(尋親記), an anonymous play of the Ming dynasty, when Fan Chung-yen(范仲淹) was inquiring into the case of a ruffian, he asked, "Why do you build double-eaved houses for yourself?" This hints that such houses(Ch'ung Yen Ti Shui Fang Tzŭ 重簷滴水房子) were not suitable for commoners to dwell in. In Ch.20 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, Chi Fa's(武王姬發) hall was called Ch'i Chien Tien(七間殿 hall as big as seven chambers combined together) because at that time Chi Ch'ang was only an Earl and his hall should be smaller.

(4) Shang Ta Fu, Hsia Ta Fu

In Ch.17 of the Fêng Shên, Chiang Shang(Tzŭ-ya) was appointed Hsia Ta Fu(下大夫 minister of inferior rank), and in the same chapter, Chiao Li(膠鬲) was one of the Shang Ta Fu(上大夫 minister of superior rank) in the court of King Chou.

The same official titles can be found in Hsü Yüan's(徐元) Pa I Chi(八義記), Scenes 7 8 10, and also in Sun Jên-ju's(孫仁孺) Tung Kuo Chi(東郭記), Scene 44. These are all plays of the Ming dynasty. This is the traditional way of classifying officials in our plays and Hua-pên only, and therefore, we need not cite Ch.2 in Book 10 of the "Confucian Analects".

(5) Vomiting of rabbits

In Ch.22 of the Fêng Shên, King Wên(Chi Ch'ang) vomited the flesh of his son, Po-I K'ao, three times and the meat turned into three rabbits which ran away. His son was cut to pieces by King Chou.(Ch.19)

Besides the Wu Fang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, in Chüan 1 of the Ch'i Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), Tzŭ Chih(子之) of Yen(燕), when sei-

the first time, she passed first through the imperial gate and over a bridge, then at last she reached the Chiu Chien Tien(九間殿 or hall,its area was as big as nine rooms combined together), and she waited under the water-dripping eaves(Ti Shui Yen 滴水簷).

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(258) I Wên Tsung Lu, Ch.3, Pai Hai(稗海) ed. Hsüan Kuai Lu, in Chi Ku T'ang Jih Ch'ao(稽古堂日鈔).

(6) The aerial and the spermatic souls

The ancient Chinese believed that man had two souls. One is the material and spermatic P'o(魄) which is denser, and when one dies the P'o will descend into the soil to stay along with his corpse. The other is the aerial and the superior Hun(魂), and at death, it will ascend to the air.(259) But in popular literature since the Sung dynasty, the Hun is again sub-divided into three, and the P'o into seven. This can be evidenced by nearly all the plays of the Yuan dynasty and the P'ing-hua of approximately the same period.(260)

In the whole of the Fêng Shên Yen I there are three parts concerning wicked tricks to extract the soul from the living body so as to cause immediate death to, or gradual pining away of, the enchanted person. In Ch.36, when most of the generals who fought on King Wu's side, hearing their own names shouted out by their opponent, General Chang Kuei-fang (張桂芳), their Hun and P'o became separated so that they fell down from their horses. In Ch.[illegible], before the disposition of the Ten-Extermination Array was fully carried out, Taoist Yao, or Celestial Master Yao(Yao T'ien Chün 姚天君), set up an altar on which a straw-image of Chiang Tzŭ-ya was fastened, and three lamps representing his Hun were put on its head and seven lamps symbolizing his P'o were lighted at its feet. By chanting spells and following other practices in sorcery Yao T'ien Chün hoped, (and it did succeed until the last minute,) to dim off all the lamps so that when the light vanished on the twenty-first day Tzŭ-ya would die. In Ch.48, Taoist Lu Ya suggested to, and supervised, the same practice done by Chiang Tzŭ-ya and on the last day Tzŭ-ya shot the image of the victim Chao Kung-ming with three peach-twig arrows and killed him

zed by the troops of General Sun-tzŭ(孫子, Sun Pin 孫臏), was ordered by the latter to be cut into pieces and his flesh was eaten by the soldiers.

In the Ch'ien Han Shu P'ing-hua(前漢書平話), Chüan 2, when Liu Pang (劉邦 Emperor Kao-tsu of the Former Han 漢高祖) had killed P'êng Yüeh(彭越), he sent the flesh to Ying Pu(英布) who ate it without being conscious of what it was. When he was told later of this cruel deed, he felt his throat with his fingers and vomited all the meat into the river which turned into crabs.

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(259) The 7th year of Duke of Chao(昭公七年), Tso Chuan(左傳); 535 B.C.

(260) For example: Chin Ping Liu Kuo P'ing-hua(秦併六國平話), Chüan 3; Wu Tai Liang Shih P'ing-hua(五代梁史平話), Chüan 1; Li Chih-fu's(李直夫) P'ien I Hsing Shih Hu T'ou P'ai(便宜行事虎頭牌), Act 1, Hsien Lü(仙呂) T'ien Hsia Lo(天下樂); Sun Chung-chang's(孫仲章) Ho Nan Fu Chang Ting K'an T'ou Chin(河南府張鼎勘頭巾), Act 1, Hsien Lü(仙呂) Hun Chiang Lung(渾江龍); Chang Kuo-pao's(張國寶) Lo Li Lang Ta Nao Hsiang Kuo Szŭ(羅李郎大鬧相國寺), Act 4, Tao Lien Tzŭ(搗練子), and the anonymous play Sa Chên Jên Yeh Tuan Pi T'ao Hua(薩真人夜斷碧桃花), Act 3. Also the Huan Hun Chi(還魂記), Scene 32, of T'ang Hsien-tsu(湯顯祖), a famous dramatist of the early Ming period. cf. Richard Wilhelm and C.G.Jung: "The Secret of the Golden Flower", PP.114-120, on "Animus and Anima", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1950.

actly the same as described in the Fêng Shên Yen I and is of Taoist origin. In the year 469 A.D., Emperor Ming-ti of the Liu Sung dynasty(宋明帝, the 5th year of T'ai-shih泰始五年) when putting his elder brother, Liu Wei(劉瑋), the Prince of Lu-chiang(廬江王) to death, revealed a part of his indictment as:

"He was seen very often with his hair dishevelled, his feet bare, worshipping the Pole Star. He had made a picture of the Emperor, marked with His Majesty's name and shot at it with arrows or stuck knives in it." (263)

In two anonymous plays of the Yüan dynasty, the prelude before Act 2 of the P'ang Chüan Yeh Tsou Ma Ling Tao(龐涓夜走馬陵道), and Act 1 of the Hao T'ien T'a Mêng Liang Tao Ku(昊天塔孟良盜骨), there are descriptions of the same kind. In the former play, Master Kuei Ku(鬼谷子) set up an altar with a straw image of his disciple Sun Pin fastened on it to carry out exorcism for him and to find out on what part of his body calamity would befall. In the latter play, after General Yang Yeh(楊業)was killed by the Tartars they hung his corpse on the top of the Hao T'ien T'a(Tower) and sent one hundred soldiers daily to shoot at it each one three arrows in turn, so as to cause pain to his soul.

(7) Chün Chêng Szŭ

The term Chün Chêng Szŭ(軍政司) appears in many places of the Fêng Shên Yen I. It is also a fabulous historical term which means "army

(Ch.49).

This kind of wicked witchcraft was in practice from the beginning of the Han dynasty. Still earlier, it is said in the legends of the Shih Chi(史記) that "during the reign of King Ling of Chou(周靈王 571-545 B.C.) the House of Chou was weak and the feudal princes did not come to have audience with the King. Ch'ang Hung(萇弘) who had communication with genii tried the trick of shooting the heads of wild cats, in an attempt to cause the feudal princes to come. The plan did not succeed and the people of Chin(晉) seized Ch'ang Hung and put him to death."(261) Similar sorcery can be found in the historical chronicles of any dynasty, and the most common practice is to bury a wooden image with its hands fastened and its heart pierced with a nail,(262) but in one instance it is exactly the same as described in the Fêng Shên Yen I and is of Taoist origin. In the year 469 A.D., Emperor Ming-ti of the Liu Sung dynasty(宋明帝, the 5th year of T'ai-shih泰始五年) when putting his elder brother, Liu Wei(劉禕), the Prince of Lu-chiang(廬江王) to death, revealed a part of his indictment as:

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(261) Ch.28, Fêng Shan Shu(封禪書).

(262) Sui Shu(隋書), Ch.45, Shu Jên Hsiu Chuan(庶人秀傳); Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch.149(b), Kao P'ien Chuan(高駢傳). cf. Hsüan Shih Chih(宣室志), Chüan 10, Pai Hai(稗海) ed.

(263) Sung Shu(宋書), Ch.79, Wên Wu Wang Chuan(文五王傳).

law-court"in one place, "military discipline officer" in the other place, and in the third place it may even mean "aide-de-camp".

In Ch.41 of the Fêng Shên, when Huang T'ien-hua(黃天化) mounted his jade-unicorn and dashed out of the city of Hsi-ch'i(西岐), he challenged the four brothers of the Mo family(魔家四將 i.e., the Four Heavenly Kings) openly. The Chün Chêng Szŭ in the enemy's camp reported his attack to their generals.

In Ch.67, during the ceremony of King Wu's appointment of Chiang Shang(Tzŭ-ya) as his Marshal, it was the Chün Chêng Szŭ who served as master of ceremonies. Tzŭ-ya appointed Hsin Chia(辛甲) as his Chün Chêng Szŭ.

This title appears also in many plays of the Ming dynasty. In T'ang Hsien-Tsu's Han Tan Chi(邯鄲記), Scene 17, there is a sentence, "the military laws are in the charge of the Chün Chêng Szŭ". In Mei Ting-tsu's (梅鼎祚) Yü Ho Chi(玉合記), Scene 8, we read again, "those who do not obey the orders will be sent to the Chün Chêng Szŭ for punishment." In Chang Szŭ-wei's(張四維) Shuang Lieh Chi(雙烈記), Scene 9, we read, "Chün Chêng Szŭ, please fetch me the register of newly enlisted soldiers!" In the anonymous play Yün Pi Chi(運甓記), Scene 30, the sentence"send to the Chün Chêng Szŭ to have his appearance recorded!" tells us what the functions of that officer were.

Another official title, the Tu Liang Kuan(督糧官 Superintendent of Provisions) which appears in Ch.54 of the Fêng Shên Yen I is also an invented title used by novelists and story-tellers. In Chüan 8 of the Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo, in the Wu Pao An Ch'i Chia Shu Yu(吳保安棄家贖友), it is also called Chieh Liang Kuan(解糧官). In Ch.68 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, Yang Chien, T'u Hsing Sun and Chêng Lun were charged with this post.

Both the Chün Chêng Szŭ and the Tu Liang Kuan prove that this novel was produced in the Ming dynasty. The Tsung Ping Kuan(總兵官 Commander or Brigade General) which appears in some parts of this novel was a formal official title in the Ming dynasty which I shall discuss in another chapter.

(8) Calamity for a hundred days

In Ch. 49 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when King Wu, The Son of the Thunder-shock and the No-cha were encircled and sunk into the Array of the Red Sands(紅沙陣), the Jan Têng Tao Jên said, "A hundred days will pass before they can be delivered from this calamity."

In Mêng Han-ch'ing's(孟漢卿) Chang Kung Mu Chih K'an Mo Ho Lo(張孔目智勘魔合羅), in the Prelude, it says that Li Tê-ch'ang(李德昌) would meet with calamity for a hundred days. The same story appears in Wu Han-ch'ên's(武漢臣) Pao Tai Chih Chih Chuan Shêng Chin Kê(包待制智賺生金閣), in the Prelude, and the anonymous play Ting Ting Tang Tang P'ên Êrh Kuei(叮叮噹噹盆兒鬼), also in the Prelude. These are all plays of the Yüan dynasty. In Hsü Fu-tsu's(徐復祚) T'ou So Chi(投梭記), a play of the Ming dynasty, Scene 22, under the song Shui Hung Hua(水紅花), the "blood calamity in a hundred days" is mentioned.

In Chapter 61 of the "Water Margin"(popular edition) when Wu Yung(吳用) disguised himself as a fortune-teller and went to lure Lu Chün-I(盧俊義) into a snare he told Lu that he would meet with a blood calamity in a hundred days.

But I think the most exact comparison is found in Chüan 3, Ch'i Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話) in which the Sun Pin(孫臏) was encircled in the Soul-Infatuated Array for a hundred days.

(9) To tear down posted proclamations

In Ch.87 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when the troops of King Wu approached Min Ch'ih(澠池), the King Chou was exasperated and he approved of posting proclamations on the city walls to invite virtuous and able men to come to his assistance. One day there were three heroes who came and tore down the posted proclamation.

In the Ch'i Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), Chüan 1, scholars Tsou Yen(鄒衍) of Ch'i(齊) and Chü Hsin(劇辛) of Chao(趙), hearing that the King of Yen(燕) was inviting virtuous men to his kingdom, went up to Yen and read the proclamation. In the Ta Sung Hsüan Ho I Shih(大宋宣和遺事), Chüan Hêng(亨), the Emperor Hui-tsung(徽宗) ordered that proclamations written on yellow paper be posted outside to invite able men to cause the flood to recede.

In Tung Yu Chi, Ch.38, when Yang Liu-lang(楊六郎) felt ill, the em-

peror posted a proclamation to invite physicians to cure him. Suddenly it was reported that an old man came and tore down the proclamation.

In Pei Yu Chi, Chs.3 and 4, when the Jade Emperor in his re-incarnation was the king of the Kingdom of Kê Kê(哥閣國王), the country was invaded by barbarous troops. The King ordered a proclamation to be posted under the Five-Phoenix Tower to invite able men to be his generals. The Miao Lo T'ien Tsun(妙樂天尊 The Heavenly Honoured Marvellous-Delight One) having transformed himself into a Taoist priest, came to tear the proclamation down.

In Ch.8, the crown-prince of the Kingdom of Ching Lo(淨洛國, a plagiarism of the Buddhist legend) betook himself to the wild in pursuit of an ascetic and serene life. The King posted proclamations everywhere to find him. One day Ch'en Ch'un(陳春), a wood-cutter from Mt. Wu Tang(武當山) tore down the proclamation and came to see the King.

(10) Shen T'u and Yu Lei

These two genii appear in Chs.90 and 91 of the Fêng Shên Yen I. In the novel their names are Kao Ming(高明) and Kao Chüeh(高覺), but the title of Ch.90 and a poem in the same chapter reveal their earlier origins as Shên T'u(神荼) and Yü Lei(鬱壘). I have cited some of the records concerning them in Chinese classical works when making the comparison between the book Fêng Shên Yen I and Chüan 1 of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan.

In Ch.6 of the Nan Yu Chi there is a passage, "The Local God of the Soil(T'u Ti土地) said to the Flowery Light, 'In this mountain there lived two demon-kings. One is called Thousand-li Eye, who can see everything within the distance of a thousand li. The other one is called Favourable-Wind Ear who can hear everything within the same distance. Other names for them are Li Lou(離婁) and Shih K'uang(師曠). They like to devour men and their desire is insatiable. Bones are piled up like hills."

Their names appear also in Ch.8 of the same book and Ch.23 of the Pei Yu Chi.

(11) Golden hammer

In many chapters of the Fêng Shên Yen I, the guards in King Chou's palaces were called Chin Kua Wu Shih(金瓜武士, warriors of the golden ha-

mmers), the hammers being the weapons held in their hands. When the King was exasperated he would order, "Put him to death with golden hammers!"(Chs.7,9, and 17). The term Chin Kua Wu Shih has become a particular name.

In the Ta Sung Hsüan Ho I Shih(大宋宣和遺事), Chüan Hêng(亨); in Chüan 1 and Chüan 2 of the Ch'i Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua(七國春秋平話), in Chüan 1 of the Ch'ien Han Shu P'ing-hua(前漢書平話) we encounter the same term. The same term is repeated many times also in plays of the Yüan dynasty. For instance, in Po P'u's(白樸) T'ang Ming Huang Chiu Yeh Wu T'ung Yu(唐明皇秋夜梧桐雨), Act 3, under the song Shuang Tiao T'ai P'ing Ling(雙調太平令), and in the anonymous play P'ang Chüan Yeh Tsou Ma Ling Tao(龐涓夜走馬陵道), Act 2, under the song Chêng Kung T'ang Hsiu Ts'ai(正宮倘秀才) we have a similar description.

(12) Tzŭ-t'ung

In popular literature the queen usually calls herself Tzŭ-t'ung(子童 a boy, or in work of later periods,梓童), and sometimes the king also addresses her in this way. In Ch.7 of the Fêng Shên Yen I King Chou said to Queen Chiang, "Tzŭ-t'ung(梓童), I am glad to see you here in the Shou Hsien Palace(壽仙宮)."

In the Hsiao Shuo(小說) of literary style, the Han Wu Ti Nei Chuan(漢武帝內傳)(264) the Wang-Mu(王母 or Hsi Wang-mu西王母, the Fairy-lady of the West) called herself Tzŭ-t'ung(子童). In the Ch'ien Han Shu P'ing-hua(前漢書平話) Chüan 2 and San Kuo Chih P'ing-hua(三國志平話) Chüan 1, Empress Lü(呂后) of the Former Han also used the same epithet to address herself. Tzŭ-t'ung is found also in Chia Chung-yung's(賈仲容) T'ieh Kuai Li Tu Chin T'ung Yü Nü(鐵拐李度金童玉女) Act 1 and in the anonymous play Chin Shui Ch'iao Ch'ên Ling Pao Chuang Ho(金水橋陳琳抱粧盒), Act 2.

(13) Black cow and staffs

In the Chapter 77 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, during the fighting in the Immortal-Exterminating Array Laotzŭ was mounted on a black cow(Ch'ing Niu青牛) and wielded in his hand a staff(Pien Kuai偏拐).

This seems to be very simple. But when we read the novel up to this part, we cannot provide a very reasonable explanation why Laotzŭ's weapon should be so simple and so lacking in lustre. In the Hua-pên Ch'i

(264) Lung Wei Pi Shu(龍威秘書) ed., also Ts'ung Shu Chi Ch'êng Ch'u Pien(叢書集成初編).

(18) "Cicadas feel it before the cool wind blows"

There is a couplet formerly used by story-tellers and therefore recorded in many of the Hua-pên. Small changes may be found but generally the two lines read as below:

Before the cool wind blows cicadas[would be able to]feel it,
But intrigues contrived in darkness take away men's life before they are aware of it.

The original sentences used by the author in Ch.7 of the Fêng Shên Yen I are:

"Chin Fêng Wei Tuan Ch'an Hsien Chüeh,(金風未動蟬先覺,
An Sung Wu Ch'ang Sui Pu Chih." 暗送無常死不知.)(265)

In Ch.75, the author changed the Chin Fêng to Chiu Fêng(秋風 autumn wind), and in Ch.69, with some slight changes made in the second line of this couplet, the author re-composed the first one as:

"When the golden pointed spear is thrown a flash is seen."(金槍發出神光現)

Similar couplets can be found in the Ta Sung Hsüan Ho I Shih, Chüan Hêng(亨); Chüan 1 and 5 in the Chin Ping Liu Kuo P'ing-hua, and in some plays, such as Chêng Ti'ung-yü's(鄭廷玉) Pao Lung T'u Chih K'an Hou T'ing Hua(包龍圖智勘後庭花), Act 4, under the song Chêng Kung Kun Hsiu Ch'iu (正宮滾繡球), of the Yüan dynasty and Shên Ts'ai's(沈采) Ch'ien Chin Chi (千金記) Scene 41, Wu Lin's(吳麟) Hsiu Yu Chi(繡襦記), Scene 17, of the Ming dynasty.

(19) "I have given my heart to the light of the bright Moon"

In Ch.19 of the Fêng Shên Yen I when Po-I K'ao refused the inducement of Ta-chi, she hated him and thought:

"I have given my heart to the[light of the]bright moon,(我本將心托明月,

Kuo Chung Chiu P'ing-hua (七國春秋平話) Chüan 2, the Taoist Sun Pin(孫臏) was clad in a black robe, mounted on a black cow and held in his hands a pair of staffs to call on Marshal Yüeh I(樂毅) in the enemy's camp. This no doubt is the origin of Laotzŭ's staff and black cow. The interesting point is that as Sun Pin had suffered from the cruel punishment of having his feet cutting off, a pair of staffs was necessary to support himself. Laotzŭ's lot had not been so sad, but he inherited this weapon.

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(15) "I have given my heart to the light of the bright Moon"

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(265) Chin(金), or gold, belongs to the west in the five-directions, and therefore Chin Féng is the west wind which blows in China usually in autumn. Wu-ch'ang(無常), the demon messager of death sent by Yama to take one's life.

Yet its glorious beams shine on the gutters. 誰知明月照溝渠.)

In fact this is a famous couplet from the P'i P'a Chi(琵琶記), Scene 31, of Kao Ming(高明), a dramatist during the reign of the first emperor of the Ming dynasty(about the middle of the fourteenth century). The same couplet is copied in Liang Ch'ên-yü's(梁辰魚) Huan Sha Chi(浣紗記), Scene 18, Shan Yüan's(單元) Chiao P'a Chi(蕉帕記), Scene 29, Chang Fêng-I's(張鳳翼) Kuan Yüan Chi(灌園記), Scene 20, Lu Ts'ai's(陸采) Ming Chu Chi(明珠記), Scene 31, and is slightly altered in more than ten plays of the Ming dynasty.(266)

In Scene 37 of the Pai Yüeh T'ing(拜月亭, i.e. Yu Kuei Chi幽閨記 in the anthology Liu Shih Chung Ch'ü 六十種曲), a play attributed to Shih Hui (施惠 alias Shih Yüan-mei 施元美) of the late Yüan dynasty, a couplet very similar to these two lines but with the two characters Wo Pên(我本) changed to Chih Wang(指望) in the first line is also found.

(16) "Tickling the stirrups with a whip"

In Ch.40 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, another couplet describing the soldiers who have won a battle is as follows:

"With joyful expression on the face every one of them tickled the stirrups with a whip, (喜孜孜鞭敲金鐙響,
Singing songs of triumph they rode back to their camps." 笑吟吟齊唱凱歌回.)

The same couplet is found in Scene 25 of the anonymous play Tsêng Shu Chi(贈書記) of the Ming dynasty, only with the Hsiao Yin Yin(笑吟吟) changed to Hsiao Ho Ho(笑呵呵) which makes no difference in meaning. But in Chang Fêng-I's(張鳳翼) Kuan Yüan Chi(灌園記), Scene 26, we find it exactly as quoted above. This is probably a very notable fact because in the same play, Scene 20, the couplet which we cited in the last section is also there. As these two couplets are found in both books, and as the nature of such verses is rather conventional instead of being the work of any particular writer, it is most possible that the authors were contemporaries. And Chang Fêng-I was a scholar and a dramatist of the epoch of Chia-ching(嘉靖).(267)

Couplets similar to this but with slight alterations can also be seen in many other plays of the Ming dynasty.(268)

(266) Yao Mou-liang's(姚茂良) Ching Chung Chi(精忠記), Scene 17; Hsü Yüan's(徐元) Pa I Chi(八義記), Scenes 10 & 33; Wang Ling's(汪錂) Ch'un Wu Chi(春蕪記), Scene 18; Ts'ui Shih-P'ei(崔時佩) and Li Ching-yün's(李景雲) Nan Hsi Hsiang Chi(南西廂記), Scene 36; Chu Ting's(朱鼎) Yü Ching T'ai Chi(玉鏡臺記), Scene 29; and Shên Shou-hsien's(沈受先) San Yüan Chi(三元記), Scene 18 under the song Yü Fu Yung(玉芙蓉). In T'ang Hsien-tsu's(湯顯祖) Tzŭ Ch'ai Chi(紫釵記), Scene 46; Hsü Fu-tsu's(徐復祚) Hung Li Chi(紅梨記), Scene 29; Hsü Tzŭ-ch'ang's(許自昌) Shui Hu Chi(水滸記), Scene 18; and Chêng Jo-yung's(鄭若庸) Yü Chüeh Chi(玉玦記), Scene 17, the authors revised and retained a part of this couplet.

(267) Not to be mixed up with the other Chang Fêng-I who was the Minister of Defence in the 9th year of Ch'ung-chên(崇禎九年, 1636).

(268) In Wang Yü-fêng's(王玉峯) Fên Hsiang Chi(焚香記), Scene 37; Hsü Tzŭ-ch'ang's(許自昌) Shui Hu Chi(水滸記), Scene 32; Shan Pên's(單本) Chiao P'a Chi(蕉帕記), Scene 34; Chang Szŭ-wei's(張四維) Shuang Lieh Chi(雙烈記), Scene 18; Shên Ching's(沈璟) I Hsia Chi(義俠記), Scene 13; the anonymous play Pai T'u Chi(白兔記), Scene 27 and Szŭ Hsien Chi(四賢記), Scene 30.

Relation with other novels

Apart from the "Four Travels" and other Hua-pên, the novels Shui Hu ("Water Margin") and San Kuo Chih Yen I(三國志演義 "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms") were published earlier than the Fêng Shên. The earliest edition of the San Kuo which we have, according to Prof. Lu Hsin,(269) is dated 1494(the seventh year of Hung-chih弘治七年in the reign of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung孝宗of the Ming dynasty). In a preface to the Sui T'ang Liang Ch'ao Chih Chuan(隋唐兩朝志傳) written during the first part of the epoch, Chêng-tê(正德初 , about 1508)(270) Lin Han(林瀚) mentioned that both the Shui Hu and San Kuo had been published long before he wrote that piece. So it is very possible to find that a part of the narrative in the Fêng Shên Yen I is analogous to these earlier literary masterpieces.

In Ch.9 of the Fêng Shên Yen I when Lui K'ai(雷開) led fifty soldiers in pursuit of Princes Yin Chiao and Yin Hung, they came near to a temple.

"The soldiers came to report, 'An ancient temple is over there. You may rest there for the remainder of the night and so we may continue our journey early in the morning.' 'All right,' answered Lui K'ai. When they approached the temple, Lui K'ai dismounted and looked at the tablet over the gate on which was carved, 'Hsien Yüan Miao'(軒轅廟 Temple of Hsien Yüan). It seemed that no curator was there. The soldiers pushed the gate open, and the light of their torches showed that some one was sleeping soundly under the altar. When Lui K'ai saw him, it was the Prince Yin Hung. 'This is destiny. We would have missed him if we had gone forward,' Lui K'ai sighed."

This is an imitation of Shui Hu. In Ch.13 of the Shui Hu, captain Lui Hêng(雷橫) of the Yün-ch'êng District(鄆城縣) was at the head of some twenty soldiers on patrol:

"They walked not more than two or three li and arrived at the entrance of the Ling Kuan Miao(靈官廟 Temple of the Transcendent Official), whose gate was shut. Lui Heng said, 'There is no curator in this temple. The gate is shut, and it is not possible that any one is in it. We had better push our way in and look.' They thrust in and their torches revealed naked man sleeping soundly on the altar using his ragged garments as a pillow because of the hot weather. Lui Hêng saw him and marvelled, 'This is peculiar! The district magistrate knew everything. It is true

(269) Chung Kuo Hsiao Shuo Shih Lüeh, Ch.14, P.135.

(270) According to the edition of 1619. See Sun K'ai-ti: Jih Pên Tung Ching So Chien Chung Kuo Hsiao Shuo Shu Mu, Chüan 3, Ming & Ch'ing (2), (明清部二), P.61.

that there are thieves in this village!' "(cf. J. H. Jackson's translation, "Water Margin", Vol.1, P.155.)

In Ch.13 of Fêng Shên when No-cha was taking a rest on the tower over the city gate of the Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass(陳塘關), the author wrote two lines of verse describing the heat of the weather, which is authentically an adaptation of the four-lines sung by Po Shêng(白勝) in Ch.16 of the Shui Hu. The Green Screen Hill(Ts'ui P'ing Shan翠屏山) appears in Ch.14 of the Fêng Shên as well as in Ch.46 of the Shui Hu. In Ch.59 of the Fêng Shên, Yin Hung conquered his four attendant-generals who were brigands in the Êrh Lung Shan(二龍山 Mt. Êrh Lung), the mountain on which the brigands in its valley were defeated by Lu Chih-shên(魯智深) and Yang Chih(楊志) in Ch.17 of the Shui Hu. In Ch.75 of the Fêng Shên Yen I when T'u Hsing Sun entered slyly into the Szŭ Shui Kuan Pass(汜水關) with the intention of stealing away the Five-cloud Camel, the mount of Yŭ Yüan(余元):

"Yŭ Yüan already knew it. He went into deep meditation in which his spirit had left the physical body. His snoring was as noisy as thunder. T'u Hsing Sun came out from underground. ....After he had stolen the camel, and thinking that Yŭ Yüan was still in meditation and was not aware of his presence, he raised his iron bar and hit Yŭ Yüan's ear heavily, but the body did not move. He gave it another stroke, but Yŭ Yüan made no response. T'u Hsing Sun said, 'How naughty this wicked Taoist is! I had better go and wait for information to-morrow.' "

This is an imitation again of Ch.53 of the Shui Hu. When Li K'uei(李逵) struck the Immortal Lo(Lo Chên Jên羅真人), blood of a white colour came out from his body. Li K'uei laughed and said, "I have the luck to witness that this fellow has a virginal purity."

Many passages in the Fêng Shên Yen I may again be shown in contrast with some of the San Kuo.

In Ch.19 of the Fêng Shên, when Po-I K'ao was leaving Hsi-ch'i(西岐) for the capital, his mother T'ai Chi(太姬) inquired of him, "Your father is held in custody in Yu Li, and now you leave us again. To whom are the internal and external affairs of our land to be entrusted?" Po-I K'ao answered, "The internal affairs may be entrusted to Chi Fa, my you-

nger brother, while in external affairs you may rely on San I Shêng. Military affairs you may entrust to Nan-Kung Kua."

This is similar to Ch.29 of the San Kuo. When Sun Ts'ê(孫策) was dying he told his mother, "If you cannot make a decision on any internal affair you may hereafter consult Chang Chao(張昭), and Chou Yü(周瑜) you may entrust with external affairs."

In Ch.29 of the Fêng Shên, when Ch'ung Hou-hu was decapitated, Tzŭ-ya told his brother Ch'ung Hei-hu that he should separate his house into two courts and stay together with his sister-in-law and nieces. This is an imitation of a passage in Ch.25 of the San Kuo. When Kuan Yü(關羽) was compelled to stay with his sisters-in-law, he divided the house into two courts and himself stayed in the outside one.

In Ch.29 of the Fêng Shên, when King Wên(Chi Ch'ang) was dying he entrusted the state affairs to Tzŭ-ya. Tzŭ-ya prostrated himself before the bed, weeping and said, "Your servant has been greatly favoured by Your Majesty. Even if my liver and brains are spilt on the ground, I cannot repay your kindness." These are the same as Chu-ko Liang's(諸葛亮) words in Ch.85 of the San Kuo.

The two following passages are strikingly analogous:

"Wu Chi(武吉) led King Wên and his followers to the entrance. King Wen laid his hand on the gate, hesitating. A lad came out and opened the gate. King Wên inquired of him smiling, 'Is your master in?' 'No, sir. He has gone to ramble with Taoist friends,' the lad replied. King Wên inquired again, 'When will he be back?' The lad said, 'I am afraid it is uncertain. He may come back soon, or in a day or two, or in three or five days.' "(Ch.24, Fêng Shên Yen I.)

"Liu Hsüan-tê(劉玄德) dismounted in front of the villa and knocked at the gate of the cottage. A lad came out. .....The lad said, 'My master went early this morning.' Hsüan-tê asked,'Where?' The lad said,'He has gone rambling and I cannot tell his whereabouts.' Hsüan-tê asked again, 'When will he come back then?' The lad answered, 'This again is uncertain. May be in three or five days, may be in ten or more days.' " (Ch.37, San Kuo Chih Yen I. Cf. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor's translation, "San Kuo, or Romance of the Three Kingdoms", Vol.1, P.389.)

the same in all editions. This is a minute change, but I think it may be helpful to our understanding of the relationship between these two novels.

The appearance of Kuan Yü(關羽 or Kuan Kung關公 as a reverential name, "his eyes were phoenix-like and his eyebrows resembled silkworms"丹鳳眼臥蠶眉 , Ch.1, San Kuo Chih Yen I) is typical and it seems not easy to adapt it into another novel. Yet in the Fêng Shên Yen I, one of the important characters, Huang Fei-hu, has the same appearance(Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.33).

Although I have cited so many quotations from these two novels and the "Four Travels" and other Hua-pên, to prove my thesis that their relationship with the Fêng Shên Yen I was very close, and although in many parts were analogous to one another, I have not the slightest wish to belittle the work which the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I did. I would rather wish to eulogize his great success in planning such a voluminous and refined novel which, with the previous legends and Hua-pên as its skeleton and enriched by his profound understanding of both Taoism and Tantric Buddhism and his literary talents, can be placed side by side with the other two great novels without losing a jot of its glory. Furthermore, as a great novel more than sixty or seventy percent of the story as a whole was the creation of its author. A careful analysis of some of its prominent parts may possibly help us in probing into the problem of its authorship.

XI

Now we come to a discussion of some of the prominent figures in this novel. The author created them vividly and did not rely on any previous legends or knowledge of them. He rather chose and compared those miscellaneous and discordant materials and put them into a unified system which became the Chinese pantheon, revised and reorganized by him. The story of Li Ching(李靖) and his three sons, especially the third one, No-cha, in this novel may serve as an outstanding illustration.

In this novel Li Ching was first a commander of the Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass(陳塘關) in the court of the ruthless King Chou(Ch.12), but he was also a Taoist, and for a period of years he had learnt the process of Taoist cultivation from the Immortal Tu O (度厄真人) of the K'un Lun Mountain though he was unable to reach the final attainment. He had three sons: the eldest, Chin-cha(金吒), was a disciple of Wen Shu(Manjusri), the second, Mu-cha(木吒), was a disciple of P'u Hsien(Samantabhadra) and the third one, No-cha(哪吒), a disciple of the Immortal T'ai-I. Both the father and his three sons joined the side of King Wu in the expedition. Though they all knew some magic feats and possessed prodigious weapons, they are treated as human beings. Unless we study some of the Tantric sūtras and compare them with the Chinese Hua-pên, we can hardly know their origins or the invaluable part created by the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I.

Li Ching, bearing the same name as the historical hero in the early part of the T'ang dynasty, is no doubt derived from the Buddhist heavenly king Vaisravaṇa.

We have learned from many Buddhist texts the legends of the "Four Great Kings". According to the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra translated by Jñānagupta in 587,(271) they are, Dhritarāshṭra(提頭賴吒 or Ch'ih Kuo 持國天王) in the East, who leads the Gandharvas(乾闥婆) who are musicians in heaven; Virūdhaka(毗留勒义 or Tsêng Chang 增長天王) in the South, who is the sovereign of the Kumbhaṇḍas(鳩槃茶) or deformed demons; Virūpāksha(毘留博义 or Kuang Mu 廣目天王) in the West, who is king of the Nāgas(龍王) who dwell in their palaces at the bottom of lakes; and Vaisravaṇa(毘沙門 or To Wên 多聞天王) in the North, who is head of the Yakshas(夜义), who

are (271) Chüan 16, Shê Kung Ch'u Chia P'in(捨宮出家品).

The author of the Fêng Shên Yen I adapted these four heavenly kings to his novel(Chs.31-40) and called them "the four generals of the Mo family"(魔家四將). He made them brothers and commanders who took charge of the Chia Mêng Kuan Pass(佳夢關) under the command of the Premier Wên T'ai-shih. Their individual names are Mo Li-ch'ing(魔禮青), Mo Li-hung (魔禮紅), Mo Li-hai(魔禮海) and Mo Li-shou(魔禮壽). But in Ch.31 when they were summoned by Premier Wên T'ai-shih, the author wrote, "the four heavenly kings(Szu T'ien-wang 四天王) strode forward," and unconsciously revealed their origins and afterwards in Ch.99 they were given the titles of Tsêng Chang T'ien Wang(Mo Li-ch'ing), Kuang Mu T'ien Wang(Mo Li-hung), To Wên T'ien Wang(Mo Li-hai) and Ch'ih Kuo T'ien Wang(Mo Li-shou) respectively. In Ch.40 the author describes the weapons of these four brothers through the mouth of General Huang Fei-hu as follows:

"The eldest brother Mo Li-ch'ing is twenty-four feet height, with a face resembling that of a crab, and the hair of his beard is like copper wires. He fights always on foot with a long spear, and he has a sword which is called 'Blue Cloud', on which there are charms and a seal saying 'earth, water, fire and wind.' The wind caused by the brandishing of this magic sword is a black wind in which hundreds of thousands of spears would run and cut off the limbs of men. Following the wind is a blaze in which flaming golden serpents cover the atmosphere with black smoke. The weapon of Mo Li-hung is an umbrella called 'Umbrella of Noumenon and Unity'(Hun Yüan San 混元傘) which is decorated with emeralds and precious pearls of divine power which are threaded together to form the words: 'to pack up the universe'. When this umbrella is opened heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, will be covered up by darkness and when it is rolled the world will be shaken. Mo Li-hai carries a spear and on his back there is a four-stringed guitar(P'i P'a 琵琶) which will produce the same effect as the 'Blue Cloud Sword' when played on and the four strings correspond to 'earth, water, fire and wind.' Mo Li-shou carries two whips and a bag in which is concealed a peculiar creature resembling a rat, Hua Hu Tiao(花狐貂 the striped marten). When hurled into the air this creature will assume the shape of an elephant with wings its ribs

are strong and brave genii.

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and will devour every one."

The combat between these four brothers and the heroes from the camp of King Wu can be found in Chs.39-41 of the novel. They were engaged in mortal combat with the Li brothers, Chin-cha, Mu-cha and No-cha in Ch.40. If the reader knows that Li Ching, the fabulous father of these three Li brothers is in fact derived from one of these four heavenly kings, the Vaisravaṇa, the ingenuity of the author of this novel can be appreciated. Because before the publishing of this novel, in many other works the Vaisravaṇa and the Chinese god Li Ching, invented because of the historical hero of the T'ang dynasty, had long been amalgamated and formed a single name, P'i Sha Mên T'ien Wang Li Ching(毘沙門天王李靖 or Li Ching, the Heavenly King of Vaisravaṇa). Though in the English equivalent it appears peculiar and even impossible, the Chinese translation from the Sanskrit "Vaisravaṇa" since the T'ang dynasty has been P'i Sha Mên(毘沙門), the last character of which Mên(門), though senseless in this connexion, means "gate". So that several generations after, in popular literature, the term P'i Sha Mên had lost its original meaning and become the name of the P'i Sha Gate, and it is therefore natural enough to have a heavenly general, like Li Ching, to take charge of it.(272)

The historical figure of Li Ching had long been admitted into the Taoist pantheon. He was, in the year 760, enshrined with Chiang T'ai Kung(姜太公 or Chiang Shang) as one of the ten famous historical generals.(273) In the anonymous work, Li Wei Kung Pieh Chuan(李衛公別傳) it is said, "When Li Ching was poor, he took a journey in the valleys and stayed in a cottage. When it was mid-night there came a woman who handed him a vase and said, 'Heaven has instructed you to pour down rain.....'"(274) and as we know in the Buddhist legends that it is Virupaksha(not Vaisravaṇa) who is the king of the Nāgas, we understand that even in the T'ang dynasty the popular mind could not properly distinguish the function of these two guardians of Mt. Sumeru. In an inscription on a tablet erected in the Temple of Vaisravaṇa in Ning-hwa District(寧化縣), Fukien, dated about 920, we read,

"P'i Sha Mên(Vaisravaṇa) is a Sanskrit word which means 'universal or much hearing'(To Wên多聞). .....He dwells on the north of Mt. Sumeru,

(272) In Yang Ching-hsien's play T'ang San Tsang Hsi T'ien Ch'ü Ching(唐三藏西天取經), Act 9, we read "P'i Sha Mên Hsia Li T'ien Wang" (毘沙門下李天王) which means the Heavenly King Li under the P'i Sha Gate. In Ch'i Kuo Ch'un Ch'iu P'ing-hua, Chüan 3, we have "P'i Sha Mên T'o T'a Li T'ien Wang"(毘沙門托塔李天王) or P'i Sha Mên, the Heavenly King Li who holds in his hand a pagoda. Sometimes the story-tellers thought since there was a P'i Sha Mên(gate), it was wise to create another P'i Sha Kung(毘沙宮) which means P'i Sha Palace. In Nan Yu Chi, Ch.11, we have "P'i Sha Kung Li Ching T'ien Wang"(毘沙宮李靖天王). In a long eulogistic poem in Ch.12 of the Fêng Shên, there is a palace in heaven called K'un Sha Kung(昆沙宮) which is obviously an erratum.

(273) Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書), Ch.15, Li Yüeh Chih(禮樂志), 5.

(274) Ku Chin Shuo Hai(古今說海), Shuo Yüan Pu(說淵部), Vol. Chi(己). Also Ts'ung Shu Chi Ch'êng Ch'u Pien.

in the crystal palace, and is the chief of Yakshas(夜叉)." (275)

From this narrative we see why in so many Chinese records it has become an undeniable fact that Yakshas live at the bottom of the seas with the dragon-kings in marvellous crystal palaces loaded with wonderful treasures. The legends of these two heavenly kings have long been mixed in the popular mind into one.(276) As Li Ching was such a famous historical hero, the Taoist priests could not excuse themselves if they failed to utilize his prestige. It is said in an anonymous work, Yüan Hsien Chi(原仙記) of the T'ang dynasty,(277) that Li Ching was still alive in the epoch of Ta-li(大曆 766-779) and became a Taoist immortal. Besides the book on military strategy attributed to him in the Hsin T'ang Shu(新唐書) I Wên Chih(藝文志), the Taoist priests again ascribed to him some canonical texts dealing with the worship of the Pole Star and astrology which are found in the "Two Collections of Taoist Literature". (278) To identify him with the popular legends of Vaisravaṇa is advantageous both to the Buddhist and Taoist beliefs.

It is said that the Vaisravaṇa helped the Emperor T'ai-tsung(太宗) during the war of pacification in the founding of the T'ang dynasty. In some Tantric texts, the story is dated in the year 742 A.D. (the 1st year of T'ien-pao天寶元年 in the reign of Hsüan-tsung玄宗), when the city of An-si(安西) was besieged by the troops of five states, Tashkend, Samarkand....., Vaisravaṇa appeared above the tower of the city-gate with his celestial soldiers and defeated the invading troops. The sūtra reads,

"It was in the 1st year of T'ien-pao, the cycle being Jên-wu(壬午), when the city of An-si, Kansu was besieged by the troops of Tashkend, Samarkand.....five states. On the 11th day of the second month the commander of the city sent a petition for reinforcements. The Emperor told the Monk I-Hsing(一行禪師), 'An-si is twelve thousand li away from our capital and it would take eight months for our reinforcements to reach there. I am afraid the city will fall.' I-Hsing said, 'Why does Your Majesty not supplicate the celestial soldiers of the Vaisravaṇa, the heavenly king of the North for help?' 'How do I get his help?'the Emperor inquired. I-Hsing said, 'Your Majesty need only summon the foreign priest Amogha and he will do everything.' Amogha was summoned and said,

(275) See Ninghwa Hsien Chih(寧化縣志 "Annals of the Ninghwa District") of the Ming dynasty, quoted in Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng(古今圖書集成), Shên I Tien(神異典), Chüan 54. The essay was composed by Huang T'ao(黃淘) for Wang Shên-chih(王審知).

(276) In Ta T'ang San Tsang Ch'ü Ching Shih Hua, Chüan 1, "今日北方毗沙門大梵天王水晶宮設齋." ("To-day the Vaisravaṇa of the Indra Heaven, the Guardian of the North, will feed Buddhist priests in the Crystal Palaces.")

(277) Quoted in Chiu Hsiao Shuo(舊小說), 2nd Series, Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1910.

(278) Li Ching's name appears in the Tao Chiao Hsiang Ch'êng Tz'ŭ Ti Lu(道教相承次第錄 "Order of Taoist Teaching") in Yün Chi Ch'i Ch'ien, Chüan 4. In the Tao Tsang, Tung Shên Pu(洞神部), Fang Fa Lui(方法類 methods), T'ien Lao Shên Kuang Ching(天老神光經) is attributed to him.

'Your Majesty sent for me. Is it not because the city of An-si is besieged by the troops of five states?' The Emperor answered, 'Yes.' Amogha said, 'Bring your urn and follow me to the place of worship and I will supplicate the celestial soldiers of Vaisravaṇa the heavenly king of the North to rescue the city from danger.' Hardly had he finished chanting his spells for the fourteenth time when the Emperor saw celestial soldiers clad in armour standing in front of the hall. 'Who are they?' the Emperor asked. 'Tu Chien(獨健), the second son of Vaisravaṇa, who is leading the celestial troops to An-si has come to say farewell.' The Emperor fed them with food and dispatched them. In the fourth month the commander of An-si reported again, 'On the 11th day of the second month before noon, thirty li from the city, on the north-east and in the mist there was a general who was ten feet tall at the head of some three to five hundred soldiers all equipped with armour. Near twilight, the sound of the drums and the hubbub shook the mountains and the earth within three hundred li and they stayed there for three days. The troops of the five states all retreated. The strings of their bows were gnawed through by golden rats and their other equipment was broken and became useless. Some of the enemy soldiers who were old and feeble could not escape, and were going to be killed by our men. Then there was in the air a loud voice which ordered, 'Release them and do not kill.' We looked at the place and saw Vaisravaṇa revealing himself over the tower of the north-gate of the city with a bright light behind him. A portrait has been made and is attached to this report. .....

"Vaisravaṇa defends our boundaries and comes to the relief of our besieged garrisons to carry out the orders of the Buddha. His third son Naṭa(那吒) follows him holding up a pagoda with both hands. It is said by the great priest of the Tripitaka, Amogha, that on the first day of every month the Vaisravaṇa assembles his devas and genii; on the eleventh day his second son Tu Chien would say farewell to the father and go on a tour of inspection; on the fifteenth day the four heavenly kings would meet and on the twenty-first day Naṭa would receive or give back the pagoda to his father."

The above quotations are translated from the Tantric P'i Sha Mên I

Kuei(毘沙門儀軌"The Ceremonies in the Worship of the Vaisravaṇa") alleged to have been translated from the Sanskrit by Amogha himself. As Amogha's name appears also in the text it cannot be taken as an impartial translation.(279) However, as Li Ching was such a famous general in the T'ang dynasty, who fought many victorious battles against the Turks, it is again very reasonable for the sentimental Chinese to identify him with one of the four newly-introduced Mahārāja-devas or the four heavenly kings.

The legend of the pagoda held in the hand of Vaisravaṇa was developed from Tantric texts into a very complicated and interesting story in the Fêng Shên Yen I(Chs.12-14). I think probably the pagoda was a mistake for the parasol originally held by Vaisravaṇa as is stated in the Ekottarik-āgamas(增一阿含經):

"The heavenly king Vaisravaṇa held in his hand a parasol of the seven treasures(七寶之蓋) which was over the Tathagata in the air to protect the Tathagata from dust and soil."(280)

But since the circulation of the Tantric sūtras was more or less encouraged by the authorities in the T'ang dynasty, the public accepted that legend without scepticism.(281) According to a Tantric saying, Naṭa(No-cha) is the third son of Vaisravaṇa who attends his father and holds the pagoda with both hands. But on the twenty-first day of every month, when the son is charged to go on some mission, so that they have to separate, Naṭa gives the pagoda to his father. This is not at all a thrilling story and there is no combat. The author of the Fêng Shên Yen I who created his own story of No-cha, the third son of Li Ching, based upon his profound knowledge of religious beliefs and popular literature which make No-cha one of the famous heroes in Chinese literature. In order to analyse the parts which are the creative work of the author and to explain from what sources some of his materials may be taken, I separate the story of No-cha below into several sections.

Mu-cha and Chin-cha

Before the publication of the novel Fêng Shên Yen I and the Hua-pên Szŭ Yu Chi("The Four Travels"), No-cha's(哪吒) name was usually Na-cha(那吒) in many of the plays of the Yüan dynasty which preserved the original translation which is found in the Tantric sūtras.(282) In the Hsi Yu Chi

(279) No.1249, P'i Sha Mên I Kuei; No.1247, Pei Fang P'i Sha Mên T'ien Wang Sui Chün Hu Fa I Kuei(北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法儀軌); No.1248, Pei Fang P'i Sha Mên T'ien Wang Sui Chün Hu Fa Chên Yen(北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法真言), all translations of Amogha, in "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(280) Hsü T'o P'in(須陀品), 30, Ekottarikāgamas, Chüan 22, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(281) In the year 838 A.D.(3rd year of K'ai-ch'êng 開成三年), on the 15th day of the 12th month, Lu Hung-chêng(盧弘正) wrote an inscription for the statue of Vaisravaṇa in the Hsing T'ang Monastery(興唐寺毗沙門天王記) describing him as"having a sabre in his right hand, and in the left hand a pagoda." cf. Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng, Shên I Tien(神異典) Chüan 91.

(282) In Yang Ching-hsien's T'ang San Tsang Hsi T'ien Ch'ü Ching, Act 8, "Na-cha San T'ai Tzŭ"(那吒三太子); anonymous play Mêng Lieh Na-cha San Pien Hua(猛烈那吒三變化) in the Ku Pên Yüan Ming Tsa Chü(孤本元明雜劇) edited by Wang Chi-lieh(王季烈), Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1941; anonymous play Ting Ting Tang Tang P'ên Êrh Kuei(叮叮噹噹盆兒鬼), Act 1, "Hê Lien Na-cha"(黑臉那吒, the black face Naṭa), Act 2, "Na-cha Fa"(那吒法 the magic law of Naṭa), the last two are influenced by Tantric works. Besides, Na-cha(那吒) appears in many plays of the Yüan dynasty and there is always the song Hsien Lü Kung(仙呂宮) Na-cha Ling(那吒令).

(Ch.7) of the "Four Travels", the second son of Li Ching is Hui An(惠岸) who was a disciple of the Kuan Yin(Budhisattva Avalokiteṣvara), but his name, Mu-ch'a(木叉), is not mentioned except in one verse, and not in the prose part of Ch.21. This is the name the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I adopted. The origin of the name Mu-ch'a can be found in Chüan 18, Kan T'ung Pien(感通篇) of the Sung Kao Sêng Chuan(宋高僧傳) of Tsan Ning (贊寧), who was a follower of the Monk Sangha(僧伽), said to be an incarnation of the Avalokiteṣvara of eleven faces and died in 710 A.D.. Apart from Mu-ch'a, Hui An was also one of his disciples. So that in popular literature, Mu-ch'a and Hui An were mixed up into one person and, as in the "Four Travels", he remains a disciple of Kuan Yin. It was the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I who changed the character Ch'a(叉) to Cha(吒) in his novel so that the name could have the same second character as No-cha. In some popular editions of the "Four Travels" the character Ch'a(叉) has also been changed.

Now in the Tantric works though the second and the third sons of Vaisravaṇa(Tu Chien and Naṭa) play rather an important part, his other sons, especially his first son, is not mentioned. I have read through a large number of sūtras about Vaisravaṇa and consulted some Buddhist scholars in Japan,(283) but they could not give me any definite opinion. In Oda Tokuno's(織田得能) "Buddhist Thesaurus"(佛教大辭典) and in the Chinese work Fu Hsüeh Ta Tz'ŭ Tien(佛學大辭典) edited by Ting Fu-pao(丁福保) based upon it,(284) we may find that the names of P'i Sha Mên Wu T'ung Tzŭ(毘沙門五童子 Five Attendants of the Vaisravaṇa) included Tu Chien and Naṭa, but no origin is given. I think they may be identical with the "Five Yakshas" which appear under the sub-title "Princes and family members"(諸小王及眷屬) in Caturmahārāja(四天王品) in Chüan 6 of the Ch'i Shih Ching(起世經)(285) who are, in translation, the Fifty-foot(Wu Chang 五丈), the Wild(K'uang Yeh 曠野), the Golden Mountain(Chin Shan 金山), the Long Fellow (Ch'ang Shên 長身) and the Hair of A Needle(Chên Mao 針毛). They appear(translated literally from the Sanskrit) also in the Caturmahārāja of the Shih Chi Ching(世記經), and in Chüan 19 of the Dirghāgama(長阿含經) as "Five Genii-attendants of Vaisravaṇa."

But this does not explain satisfactorily the record in the Mahāvaipulya Mahāsaṃnipata Sūtra(大方等大集經)(286), in Caturmahārāja(四天王護持品),

(283) Dr. Henmi Baiei(逸見梅榮), Professor of Buddhist Art, Tama University(多摩美術大學) and others. I have also consulted the Chinese Buddhist priest T'an Hsü(倓虛), aged 85, a disciple of the late T'i Hsien(諦閑) of the T'ien T'ai Sect(天台宗) and some Tantric scholars.

(284) The 4th ed., I Hsüeh Shu Chü(醫學書局), Shanghai, 1939.

(285) No.24, "The Tripitaka in Chinese", trans. by Jnanagupta. cf. No.25, Ch'i Shih Yin Pên Ching(起世因本經), Chüan 6 & 7.

(286) No.397, trans. by Dharmaraksa.

Perhaps such confusion would explain why the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I, though knowing a good many of the Tantric legends, and adopting (in Ch.99 of the novel)(287) the Chinese names for the four heavenly kings as "Protectors of the Tripitaka and the Country, and Regulators of Wind and Rain", abandoned the use of the name of Tu Chien and, in order to be congruent with the younger brothers, invented Chin-cha(金吒), as the eldest son of Li Ching. Chin-cha, though his origin does not appear in any reliable records, may, I suspect come from the Tantric dharanis. I have found in Act 1 of the anonymous play, Yüeh Ming Ho Shang Tu Liu Ts'ui(月明和尚度柳翠) of the Yüan dynasty, the Buddhist priest chants this spell:

"An! Ch'ih Ling Chin-cha, Chin-cha, Sêng Chin-cha, O Chin Wei Ju Chieh Chin-cha, Chung Pu Wei Ju Chieh Chin-cha. An!....." (Listen! I am speaking of Chin-cha. Chin-cha, monk Chin-cha, I come to release for you Chin-cha, not to tie up for you Chin-cha. Listen! 唵! 盡臨金吒, 金吒, 僧金吒, 我今為汝解金吒, 終不為汝結金吒唵!.....)

Since the author was devoted to both religions and is proved to have known many plays and much popular literature, he might have made use of materials such as those quoted above in his creation.

A lump of flesh was born

The story of No-cha's mother giving birth to him, in Ch.12 of the Fêng Shên Yen I is as follows:

"Li Ching's wife, née Yin(殷氏), had conceived for three years and six months, so that he became very much vexed at it. .....The wife dreamed one night at three strokes of the watch that a Taoist priest entered her chamber. She was indignant and shouted, 'This is my inner room, how

which maintains that each mahārāja has ninety-one sons but gives no names. And this does not explain the case(in the Janavasabha suttanta 闍尼沙經 in Chüan 5 of the Dirghāgama) of the other god who, because of his accumulated merits would be re-born after his death as a son of Vaisravaṇa in the Caturmahārājakāyika(四天王天). In the Buddha's Preaching Jên Hsien Ching(佛說人仙經 Jên Hsien being the Chinese translation for ṛṣi jina) concerning the future of King Bimbisāra(頻婆娑羅王), it alleges that he will be re-born as the son of Vaisravaṇa.

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(287) Tsêng Chang, Kuang Mu, To Wên, Ch'ih Kuo, see No.665, Suvarṇa-prabhā Sottamarāja Sūtra(Chin Kuang Ming Tsui Shêng Wang Ching 金光明最勝王經), 11 & 12.

awoke, and her body was wet with cold sweat. She was frightened and before she could tell all about the dream to her husband, she was again seized with a birth spasm. Li Ching went to the sitting room which was adjoining and thought over this matter. Suddenly two maids came out exclaiming 'Madame has given birth to a monster!' Li Ching held his sword and rushed into the chamber. The room was filled up with red mist which emitted a strong fragrance. A lump of flesh was rolling round the room like a wheel, Li Ching chopped it up with his sword and a baby jumped out and bathed the room in red light. The boy was very handsome, his face was as white as powder, on his right wrist was a golden bracelet and his belly was covered with a piece of red silk gauze, which shone with a golden glow.-----He was a god, an avatar of the Ling Chu Tzŭ(靈珠子 Master of the Intelligent Pearl) and was destined to be the vanguard under Marshal Chiang Tzŭ-ya."

"To give birth to a lump of flesh" is something new in the Chinese novel. But similar cases can be cited from the Buddhist sūtras translated into Chinese as early as the third century. In the tale of Putrāḥ (百子同產緣) in Chüan 7 of the Avadānaśatakam(撰集百緣經)(288) it is said that "when the Buddha was in the country of Kapilavastu(迦毘羅衛國) under the nyagrodha tree(ficus Indica 尼拘陀樹下), there was an elder who was very rich and his treasures were abundant and beyond measure. He married a wife from a notable family whom he loved very much, and with music and dances he used to entertain her. Now she conceived and when ten months elapsed she gave birth to a freak---a lump of flesh. The elder was vexed about it and thought it inauspicious. ...." In the Fu Kuo Chi(佛國記"A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms")(289) under the "stupa in the Vaisali"(毘舍離國塔) it is recorded,

"....On the up stream of the Ganges River there was a king whose concubine gave birth to a lump of flesh. The formal wife was jealous and said it was inauspicious, so she ordered this lump to be put in a wooden box and thrown into the river. Another king went out for an ex-

dare you, a stranger, come in!' The Taoist priest said, 'Hurry up, madame, receive your marvellous child!' No sooner did Li Ching's wife open her mouth than the priest pushed something to her breast and she awoke, and her body was wet with cold sweat. She was frightened and before she could tell all about the dream to her husband, she was again seized with a birth spasm. Li Ching went to the sitting room which was adjoining and thought over this matter. Suddenly two maids came out exclaiming 'Madame has given birth to a monster!' Li Ching held his sword and rushed into the chamber. The room was filled up with red mist which emitted a strong fragrance. A lump of flesh was rolling round the room like a wheel, Li Ching chopped it up with his sword and a baby jumped out and bathed the room in red light. The boy was very handsome, his face was as white as powder, on his right wrist was a golden bracelet and his belly was covered with a piece of red silk gauze, which shone with a golden glow.-----He was a god, an avatar of the Ling Chu Tzŭ(靈珠子 Master of the Intelligent Pearl) and was destined to be the vanguard under Marshal Chiang Tzŭ-ya."

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(288) No.20, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

(289) Fu Kuo Chi, James Legge's transl., "A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms", Ch.25, P.73, Oxford, 1886.

cur... which he found a thousand bab... took ...en they were brave and strong and victorious in fighting. Now the king sent them to invade their own country, and the father was much worried. ....."

This kind of Buddhist story would not pass without leaving some traces in the Hua-pên.

In the Hsin Pien Wu Tai Liang Shih P'ing-hua(新編五代梁史平話), Chüan 1, we read,

"The wife of Huang Tsung-tan(黃宗旦) conceived for fourteen months. One day she gave birth to a substance which looked like a lump of flesh, but inside it was a piece of purple silk gauze in which was wrapped a baby. When the wrapper was opened purple mist of dazzling brilliance filled the room." Thus his mother gave birth to Huang Ch'ao(黃巢).(290)

Again in the Ch'ien Han Shu P'ing-hua(前漢書平話), Chüan 3, when "Madame Po(薄姬 a concubine of the first emperor of the Former Han dynasty) was in labour Queen Lü(呂后) went to see her. She was glad to find that the baby was a freak without eyes or eyebrows, like a lump of flesh."

In the anonymous Yüan play, Chin Shui Ch'iao Ch'ên Ling Pao Chuang Ho(金水橋陳琳抱粧盒), in Act 2, when Queen Liu(劉后) ordered the palace maid K'ou Ch'êng-yü(寇承御) to stab the baby prince and throw him into the river from the bridge, the latter hesitated for she saw "red light and purple mist enshrouding the body of the prince."

We may now admit that the novel Fêng Shên Yen I has a closer relation with the "Four Travels" than with other Hua-pên. In Ch.8 of the Nan Yu Chi, the Buddha of Light(光佛) told the Flowery Light "to be re-incarnated in the shape of a lump of flesh". So that the Flowery Light, floating about in the air in spirit arrived at the village Hsiao Chia Chuang (蕭家莊) of Wu-yüan(婺源), Anhwei, and darted into the womb of Madame Hsiao who had conceived for twenty months. "Now the maid came out to report to the elder, 'Madame has given birth.' 'A boy or a girl?' the elder asked. 'It is neither a boy nor a girl. It is just like the belly of an ox.' The elder was very much frightened." When they decided to throw the lump away into the river, it floated up again, until the Buddha

cursion on the river and opened the box in which he found a thousand babies who were extraordinarily handsome and dignified. The king took care of them until they grew up, when they were brave and strong and victorious in fighting. Now the king sent them to invade their own country, and the father was much worried. ....."

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(290) Hsin Pien Wu-tai Shih P'ing-hua, photolithographed edition, published by Prof. Tung Kang, Wu-chin Tung Shih Sung Fên Shih(武進董氏誦芬室), 1911. Popular edition published by the Chung Kuo Ku Tien Wên Hsüeh Ch'u Pan Shê(中國古典文學出版社), Shanghai, 1954.

of Li T'ien-fu(李天福), a king of the Kingdom of Hsi-hsia(西夏國), was pregnant for three years and sixty days. The king was vexed about it and thought it inauspicious. When the baby was born at last, the whole chamber was "full of an extraordinary fragrance."

The combat and the story of the pagoda-bearer

"....When No-cha was only seven he was six feet in height. It was in the fifth month, the weather was hot and that made No-cha irritable and uneasy. He went to request his mother to allow him go out of the Pass for a walk. The mother was very fond of him and approved his request but said, 'You must be accompanied by an attendant and mustn't stay outside very long lest your father should come back.'...." (Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.12)

In Ch.1 of the Nan Yu Chi we read: "The young Intelligent Light(靈光公子) prostrated before his mother and said, 'Your son knows that the hills around here have lovely scenery. Please allow me to ramble about them.' The mother said, 'You may go, but you must be accompanied by an old servant, lest you rush into calamity. Do not stay too long and forget your home-work.'"

When we come back again to the Fêng Shên Yen I:

"No-cha and the attendant went out of the Pass for about one li, when he was covered with perspiration and could not continue their journey. They decided to rest under the shade of some willows. Sitting there he unfastened his [illegible], opened his coat and enjoyed the cool air. A stream of [illegible] between two banks of willows with a lively current was in front of them. A gentle breeze blew over its surface, and the murmur of the water flowing through the rocks could be heard. No-cha hastened to the [illegible] and cried out, 'I will bathe here on the rock.' 'Hurry up,' the attendant reminded him, 'and take care of yourself. Your father will be anxious if he returns and does not find you.' No-cha

of Light transformed himself into a monk to advise the elder that it was not a lump of flesh, and that inside it were five children.

No-cha's mother was pregnant for three years and six months. I think this is derived from the Pei Yu Chi, Ch.6, which depicts one of the reincarnations of the Chên Wu(眞武). In that story it is said the queen of Li T'ien-fu(李天富), a king of the Kingdom of Hsi-hsia(西霞國), was pregnant for three years and sixty days. The king was vexed about it and thought it inauspicious. When the baby was born at last, the whole chamber was "full of an extraordinary fragrance."

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agreed. He stripped off his coats, and dipped his seven feet of red silk gauze, which covered his body, into the water as a towel. When this precious gauze was immersed in the water its brilliant ray turned the river to a reddish colour, and as No-cha stirred it up in the stream heaven and earth were shaken and the river trembled. This river was called Chiu Wan Ho(九灣河 Nine-bend River) and was situated at the mouth of the Eastern Sea. Ao Kuang(敖光), the Dragon-king of the Eastern Sea, surprised at this unexpected earthquake, ordered his inspector-Yaksha, Li Kên(李艮), to go at once and find out the cause. When the Yaksha reached the river he saw that the river was red and a child was bathing there, dipping his red silk gauze in the water. He cleft the water asunder and shouted angrily: 'What prompts you, little child, to make the river red and the crystal palaces to shake?' No-cha turned back and saw a monster coming out of the water, a monster whose face was as blue as indigo, whose hair was as red as cinnabar, whose mouth was big with long projecting teeth and who had in his hand a halberd. No-cha scolded, 'You monster, how can you speak like a human being?' The Yaksha was exasperated and said, 'I am an appointed officer. How dare you insult me?' He jumped up to the bank and brandished his halberd towards No-cha. No-cha was naked and he could only jump aside, took off the bracelet from his right arm and hurled it in the air. This bracelet was a precious weapon bestowed on the Immortal T'ai-I by the Yuan Shih T'ien Tsun of the Jade Palace of Abstraction as a token in the Chin Kuang Cave where T'ai-I dwelt. It fell upon the head of the Yaksha and the substance of his brain spilled on the ground and he died. No-cha ignored his corpse but smiled and said, 'He has stained my precious weapon!' He sat himself again on the rock, smiling and washing the bracelet. The crystal palaces were shaken again and even more violently. When Ao Kuang was vexed the soldiers came back to report, 'Yaksha Li Kên was killed by a child on the bank.' The dragon-king was frightened, 'Li Kên was appointed by the Jade Emperor; who dared to murder him?' Saying this he summoned his men, intending to go himself. No sooner had the dragon-king finished his words than Ao Ping(敖丙), his third son, requested permission to go for his father. So that Ao Ping, at the head of a troop of sea-warriors, mount-

ed on his cleaving-water monster, and with his trident in hand, left the palaces. The foam of the breaking waves was so furious that the river seemed to rise several feet. No-cha stood up, marvelled, 'This is a flood!'....."(Ch.12)

In Ch.48 of the Tung Yu Chi, when the Eight Immortals(八仙) were crossing the Eastern Sea, Lü Tuan-pin(呂洞賓) initiated an idea, "During our crossing would it not be fine for each of us to throw one precious thing into the sea so that our divine power may be revealed?" And hence, "When the Dragon-king of the Eastern Sea was holding a meeting in his crystal palace, he saw a dazzling light penetrating into his palaces making the walls transparent. He dispatched his son, Prince Mo Chieh(摩竭), with a group of mariners to go around in the sea to investigate."

This Mo Chieh, probably a re-incarnation of Bimbisāra, who was a king of Magadha(摩竭) converted by Śākyamuni and died and was re-incarnated as a son of Vaisravaṇa,[291] has been changed into Ao Ping in the above quotation from Fêng Shên Yen I, and has lost his original Buddhist flavour. Comparing this short paragraph from the Tung Yu Chi with the composition and description of the corresponding paragraphs in the Fêng Shên Yen I, we can see the artistic approach of the latter and are inclined to believe that the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I was a literary man.

The combat between No-cha and Ao Ping, the third son of the dragon-king, had a tragic end. No-cha put his foot on Ao Ping's neck and struck his forehead with his bracelet, thus killing him. No-cha pulled out the sinews of the little dragon and went back, saying he would make a good belt of it for his father to fasten his cuirass on. The dragon-king, hearing of the death of his son, went to see Li Ching, and put the latter in a very embarrassing position. Li Ching, being ignorant of his son's prodigious feats, denied his guilt. But No-cha came out and apologized for what he had done, and told the dragon-king that his son's sinews were intact. The dragon-king was exasperated and told Li Ching that he would lodge a complaint at the court of Jade Emperor against father and son.

"After No-cha had consoled his parents he went to Mt. Ch'ien Yüan,

(291) No.9, Fu Shuo Jên Hsien Ching(佛說人仙經), "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

his bosom, and told him what to do the next morning. 'After that,' the master said, 'you may go back to Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass. If anything unusual happens, you must tell your parents that I shall be responsible for your misdeeds.'

"The next morning No-cha reached the Pao Tê Gate(寶德門),(292) the gate in heaven. .....After a while he saw the dragon-king approaching wearing his celestial robes, but because of the magic spells on his bosom, the dragon-king could not see him. No-cha was so angry that he strode forward from behind dealt the dragon-king with his bracelet such a heavy blow that immediately he fell to the ground. ....."(Ch.12)

".....No-cha then partially pulled off the celestial robe of the dragon-king and revealed the scales under his left ribs. He tore off some forty or fifty of the dragon-scales and the dragon-king was wounded and suffered a violent pain. He begged his assailant to spare his life. No-cha said, 'If you want me to spare your life you must give up your law-suit against me before the Jade Emperor, and follow me back to Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass.' The dragon-king could not free himself and yielded to what No-cha said, transforming himself into the shape of a small black snake and hid in No-cha's sleeve and they descended from heaven. ....." (Ch.13)

Some references can be cited here for comparison and we can see how clever the author was in composing his ingenious and complicated plot which outweights all the materials he had made use of.

In Ch'in Ping Lêu Kuo P'ing-hua, Chüan 2, there is a sentence, "to fasten the cuirass he should use the sinews of the old dragon." In Ta T'ang San Tsang Ch'ü Ching Shih Hua, Chüan 2, (7), the Monkey-monk(Hou Hsing Chê 猴行者) pulled out the sinews from a dragon with nine heads for a belt to hold the cuirass.

According to Min Shu(閩書), there was a Taoist priest named Yü Chên-chai(俞震齋) living in the epoch of Hung-wu(洪武), i.e., during the reign of the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, who was called upon by an old woman:

Chin Kuang Cave and told his Taoist master Immortal T'ai-I of his adventures. The master ordered him to unfasten his coat, and drew spells on his bosom, and told him what to do the next morning. 'After that,' the master said, 'you may go back to Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass. If anything unusual happens, you must tell your parents that I shall be responsible for your misdeeds.'

"The next morning No-cha reached the Pao Tê Gate(寶德門),(292) the gate in heaven. .....After a while he saw the dragon-king approaching wearing his celestial robes, but because of the magic spells on his bosom, the dragon-king could not see him. No-cha was so angry that he strode forward from behind dealt the dragon-king with his bracelet such a heavy blow that immediately he fell to the ground. ....."(Ch.12)

".....No-cha then partially pulled off the celestial robe of the dragon-king and revealed the scales under his left ribs. He tore off some forty or fifty of the dragon-scales and the dragon-king was wounded and suffered a violent pain. He begged his assailant to spare his life. No-cha said, 'If you want me to spare your life you must give up your law-suit against me before the Jade Emperor, and follow me back to Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass.' The dragon-king could not free himself and yielded to what No-cha said, transforming himself into the shape of a small black snake and hid in No-cha's sleeve and they descended from heaven. ....." (Ch.13)

Some references can be cited here for comparison and we can see how clever the author was in composing his ingenious and complicated plot which outweights all the materials he had made use of.

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(292) Ch.39, Hsi Yu Chi of the "Four Travels", the Pao Tê Kuan(寶德關) is the Gate in heaven where Li Ching dwells.

him to save her life. Yü said, 'Can you transform yourself to a small shape so that I may hide you in my alms-bowl?' The dragon followed his advice and transformed herself into a snake wriggling into the bowl."

The story of No-cha is not yet finished.

"One day as the weather was excessively hot, he felt restless and annoyed, and ascended the tower over the city-gate. ....On the weapon-stands he found a wonderful bow called Ch'ien K'un Kung(乾坤弓 the heavenly bow) and three arrows called Chên T'ien Chien(震天箭 heaven-shocking arrows) which he appreciated very much, and did not know that they were inherited by the Emperor Huang-ti and since then no one was strong enough to use them. He was so glad of this discovery and he seized the bow and shot an arrow toward the south-east. With a startling sound the sky was covered with red mist and auspicious clouds were hanging around. ....." (Ch.13)

In Chüan 13, in the chapter of the "Competition in Martial Exercises for the Hand of Yashodhara" of Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra, we have the following paragraph:

"The prince Siddhartha thereupon asked, 'Is there any good bow in this city which will suit my strength?' The father, King Suddhodana was very glad and said, 'Yes, there is.' 'Where is it then, Your Majesty?' asked the prince. 'Your grandfather Simhahanu(獅子頰 the lion's cheek) had a bow which is now kept in the temple and flowers are offered to it. No man has ever been able to bend it.' The prince urged the king to send for it, and when it had been fetched, all the Shakya nobles were allowed to have a trial, but no one could string, nor draw it. Then the minister Mahanama was given an opportunity. He exhausted all his energy yet he could not move a single inch of the string and so he presented it to the prince. The prince remained seated in balance and without moving, he seized the bow with his left hand and bent the string with a single finger of his right hand. A startling noise broke out throughout the city Kapilavastu which made all the people frightened. 'What noise is it?'... ..." (293)

".....that she was a female-dragon....will be struck to death by lightning on account of her failure in regulating the rains. She begged him to save her life. Yü said, 'Can you transform yourself to a small shape so that I may hide you in my alms-bowl?' The dragon followed his advice and transformed herself into a snake wriggling into the bowl."

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(293) No.190, "The Tripitaka in Chinese", trans. by Jnanagupta; also Sister Nivedita & Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit., PP.261-2.

twelve-inches thick. Upon the challenge of the tributary messenger, no one in the court, nor even the general, could pierce its surface with an arrow. The prince, who was only seven, claimed that he could shoot through it. ....."He seized the bow with his left hand and put on the arrow with his right hand.....the arrow darted off and pierced the surface with the feather of the arrow left outside."

The age of Nu-cha and that of the said prince were seven years. We can see that Nu-cha's story is derived again partly from the Pei Yu Chi and both originated from the story of the Buddha.

Nu-cha's arrow darted off to a far distance and accidentally killed a Taoist disciple of the Madame Shih Chi(石磯娘娘), who was a goddess of the Intercepting Sect. Shih Chi sent the Athlete of the Yellow Turban to bring Li Ching to her grotto in the K'u Lou Shan(Mt. Skeleton骷髏山) and pressed him for an explanation. Li Ching avowed his innocence and was set free so that he could investigate the matter. Nu-cha again admitted to his father what he had done, and followed Li Ching to Shih Chi's place to settle the matter. At the entrance to the grotto he had a desperate clash with the Madame, and though he had hurled all his precious weapons they fell into her hand and sleeves. Nu-cha fled to Mt. Ch'ien Yüan for protection. His master, the Immortal T'ai-I had a violent quarrel with Shih Chi on his behalf, and the quarrel ended in a fierce hand to hand conflict. At last T'ai-I hurled his powerful weapon, a lamp-shade of nine fire-dragons, into the air, which fell on the Madame and rendered her senseless. T'ai-I clapped his hands and immediately a flame rose up in the shade and in the roaring blaze she died. The dragon-kings of the Four Seas now got a warrant from the Jade Emperor to arrest Nu-cha's parents. Nu-cha, with secret instructions from his master T'ai-I, rushed back to Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass. When he saw the dragon-kings, he shouted in a terrific voice:

" 'It was I who killed Li Kên and Ao Ping and I should forfeit my life. How can you molest my parents?' After this, he spoke to Ao Kuang, 'I am not to be slighted. I am an avatar of Ling Chu Tzŭ, the Intelli-

In Ch.2 of the Pei Yu Chi, the King of the Kingdom of Ko Ko(哥閣國) received a tribute from the Western tribes. It was a brazen drum twelve-inches thick. Upon the challenge of the tributary messenger, no one in the court, nor even the general, could pierce its surface with an arrow. The prince, who was only seven, claimed that he could shoot through it. ....."He seized the bow with his left hand and put on the arrow with his right hand.....the arrow darted off and pierced the surface with the feather of the arrow left outside."

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" 'It was I who killed Li Kên and Ao Ping and I should forfeit my life. How can you molest my parents?' After this, he spoke to Ao Kuang, 'I am not to be slighted. I am an avatar of Ling Chu Tzŭ, the Intelli-

gent Pearl. By the command of the Yuan Shih I have descended to this world to fight for the establishment of the coming dynasty. I am determined to rip open my stomach, pluck out my intestines and pick out the bones, to return to my parents what I got from them. Are you satisfied with that?' To this Ao Kuang agreed, and No-cha did as he had just said: he fell down to the ground and his souls dispersed. His corpse was put into a coffin and was ordered by his mother to be buried."(Ch. 13)

It is learnt from the commentaries and the expository notes of the Ch'an School(禪宗 or in Japanese Zen) of Chinese Buddhism that there are many historical and hereditary "cases"(Kung An公案 or in Japanese Koan) handed down from generation to generation by the learned priests of this school of contempalation as materials for their followers to study and to reflect upon. Most of these Kung An are metaphysical and to some extent mystical, and as cultivation in meditation involves some experiences which are not explicit and subject to communion between the learner and the Patriarch or the predecessors, so it has relation with Tantrism.(294) The story related in the Fêng Shên Yen I about No-cha(Naṭa) quoted above is one of the Kung An which appears in Chüan 2 of the Wu Têng Hui Yüan(五燈會元), a work written by Monk P'u Chi(普濟) of the Sung dynasty, and is retold in the Chüan 2 of the Chih Yüeh Lu(指月錄), edited by Ch'ü Ju-chi(瞿汝稷) of the Ming dynasty, as follows:

"Prince Naṭa, rending himself asunder, gives his flesh back to his mother and his bones to his father, and then manifesting his original body and by his miraculous powers preaches the Dharma for the benefit of his parents."(295)

This Kung An is a case which was preached as early as the Sung dynasty. But, though it looks like a part of a Buddhist legend with some details probably omitted, it occurs in no canonical texts and is found to be fabulous. In Chüan 6 of the Tsu T'ing Shih Yüan(祖庭事苑), a work composed by Monk〔Ch'ên陳〕Shan-ch'ing(善卿) about 1099 A.D., it says,

"In the monasteries there is the legend of his 'giving his flesh back to his mother and his bones to his father,' but nothing referring it can be found in the texts of the Tripitaka and no one knows what its

(294) Nan Huai-chin(南懷瑾): Ch'an Hai Li Ts'ê(禪海蠡測), Ch.15, Ch'an School and Tantrism(禪宗與密宗), PP.205-211, Ching Ming Hsüeh Shê (淨名學舍), Taipei, 1955. cf. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki(鈴木大拙): "Essays in Zen Buddhism", Second Series, P.94, Luzac & Co., London, 1933.

(295) Nataṛs relation with Tantrism was still very clear in records as well as in the public mind. cf. Hung Mai(洪邁): I Chien San Chih(夷堅三志), Chüan 6, on "Ch'êng Fa Shih"(程法師條), Han Fên Lou(涵芬樓) ed.; T'ai P'ing Kuang Chi(太平廣記), Chüan 92, I Sêng Lui(異僧類), on Nataṛ. In most of the Yüan plays, Nataṛ is a fearful god(狠那吒).

ing for his life with his parents, was faced with the problem of food. His father intended to kill his wife. Therefore the young prince dismembered himself and cut off his own flesh everyday to feed his parents until one day he was so thin and lean that he had only three slices of meat to offer. He presented two to his parents and the last slice which was so dear to him was given to a hungry wolf who was a transformation of Indra himself.(296)

The prince was an incarnation of Śākyamuni in his previous age. The prince Hsü Shê T'i in this Buddhist legend was seven, and his father was the third prince. It is quite possible that the public mixed up the Jātaka story with the Tantric one because in some of the Tantric texts, for instance, in the Pei Fang Pi Shā Mên T'ien Wang Sui Chün Hu Fa T Kuei(北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法儀軌 "Ceremonies in the Worship of the Heavenly King Vaisravaṇa, the Protector of the Army"),(297) Nataṛ was regarded as "the second son of the third prince of Vaisravaṇa, the Heavenly King of the North"(北方天王吠室羅摩那羅闍第三王子與第二王孫) and in this text Nataṛ addresses Vaisravaṇa as "my grandfather"(我祖父天王). I hope this suspicion is not entirely absurd. Furthermore, this legend appears also in Chüan 1 of the Ta Fang Pien Fu Pao Ên Ching(大方便佛報恩經), and as I have found another story about the "re-incarnation from the lotus" also in that sūtra which is also similar to the description of No-cha's re-incarnation in the novel, I think both these stories may have influenced the author besides the Kung An directly referred to.

The story of No-cha's re-incarnation and the combat between the father and son is a very dramatic one and it reveals again the literary

origin is."

In the "Tripitaka in Chinese", I have found perhaps two cases which may have some relation with the legend of Nataṛ which has been adapted in the Fêng Shên Yen I. One appears in the Tsa Pao Tsang Ching(雜寶藏經), Chüan 1, subtitled "A Prince Fed His Parents with His Own Flesh". It was the prince Hsü Shê T'i(須闍提太子), a young prince of seven years old. His grandfather, the King of Varanasi(婆羅奈) had been assassinated by an usurper who killed also his two sons. The father of the young prince was the third son. Now the young prince when flying for his life with his parents, was faced with the problem of food. His father intended to kill his wife. Therefore the young prince dismembered himself and cut off his own flesh everyday to feed his parents until one day he was so thin and lean that he had only three slices of meat to offer. He presented two to his parents and the last slice which was so dear to him was given to a hungry wolf who was a transformation of Indra himself.(296)

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(296) No.203, "The Tripitaka in Chinese". cf. No.156, Ta Fang Pien Fu Pao Ên Ching(大方便佛報恩經), Chüan 1, Hsiao Yang P'in(孝養品).

(297) No.1247, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

gift possessed by the author.

"No-cha's souls, being dispersed, had nowhere to go, drifting about in the air. They went directly to the grotto of the Immortal T'ai-I. Chin-hsia(金霞童兒), the younger disciple of T'ai-I saw it at the entrance, came to the master and said, 'I wonder why No-cha is now borne on the wind and drifting about freely.'...."(last paragraph, Ch.13 and first paragraph, Ch.14, Fêng Shên Yen I.)

We know from the previous narratives of the novel that No-cha was an avatar of Ling Chu Tzŭ, the Intelligent Pearl. By why was he so named? I think the following paragraph from Ch.2 of the Nan Yu Chi may explain both this name and the last paragraph I have just quoted:

"The Intelligent Light(靈光 Ling Kuang).....was enveloped by the Purple Emperor(紫微大帝) with the magic weapon Nine-bend Pearl(九曲珠) ..... and died in that Pearl. The souls of the Intelligent Light borne on the wind had nowhere to go, and were seen by the Celestial Honoured Greatly Merciful and Greatly Compassionate Marvellous-Delight(大慧慧慈妙樂天尊) who was in his meditation in the Palace of Eight-Scenes. Watching the souls drifting about, he thought....."

As the Chinese character is mono-syllabic, it is easy to pick out the character Ling(靈) and Chu(珠) from this paragraph to form a new name and give it to No-cha as his other title since the description of his re-incarnation is partially derived from here.

"The Immortal(T'ai-I) charged No-cha, 'This is your place no more. Return to Ch'en T'ang Kuan Pass and see your mother in dreams, request her to build a temple for you to dwell in on the Ts'ui P'ing Hill(翠屏山 Green Screen Hill), forty li away from the Pass. Sacrifices will be offered to you for three years and after that you may be re-incarnated. Go ahead and do not tarry.' During the third watch of that night No-cha appeared in a dream to his mother, saying, 'Mother, my souls have nowhere to go and I have suffered bitterly. Pray build for me a temple on the Ts'ui P'ing Hill that I may be worshipped for a certain period and thereafter I can be re-incarnated.' When she awoke, she cried bitterly, and told the request to Li Ching. Li Ching was exasperated, and blamed his son once more for the disaster he had brought on them.

No-cha repeated his request in vain on several successive nights and at last he warned the mother, 'You know that my temper is bad. If I lose my control over it, you know who will suffer.' The mother was scared and sent some servants to go secretly to the Hill and build the temple with a statue of No-cha set up in it. The temple of No-cha attracted many pilgrims and the incense burnt to him was ever increasing. .....

"One day, after inspecting his troops at drill Li Ching, with a troop of soldiers, was passing the place. He saw many pilgrims flocking to the place and asked his aide-de-camp, 'Why is this Hill thronged with people?' 'For the last six months the god of the temple has performed miraculous deeds and answered his worshippers. Therefore pilgrims from every quarter come to worship him,' the officer answered. 'What is the name then of this god?' Li Ching asked. 'The temple is called the Spiritual Palace of No-cha.' 'No-cha! What!' Li Ching was enraged and ordered, 'Stop! I want to go to the temple myself.' He dismounted at the entrance to the temple and entered the hall in which a lively image of his son was erected with some idols as his retinue. Li Ching pointed to the statue and rebuked it, 'While you were living you were a source of trouble to your parents. And now, look, you even deceive the people after your death!' He wielded his whip and smashed the statue to pieces, and kicked away the other images. He ordered his troops to set fire and burn down the temple, and the multitude was dispersed. .....

"When his father visited the temple No-cha had just entered into meditation in such wise that his spirit disappeared from the throne. On his return he found the temple had been burnt to ashes, and his retinue came to him with tears in their eyes. After he was told what had happened, No-cha grumbled, 'I have returned what I got from you and broken off all our relations. Why should you come here to molest me, burn down my place and leave with no fixed abode.' No-cha's souls after half-a-year had acquired some nourishment through the food offered to him and was somewhat visible, so he went instantly to Mt. Ch'ieh Yüan and appealed to his master. The Immortal T'ai-I said, 'Since you re-

turned the flesh and bones to your parents, Li Ching had no right to interfere with the offerings. But Chiang Tzŭ-ya is soon to descend from the K'un Lun Mountain to help King Wu and you will be one of his vanguards. Well, I think I can do something for you in this matter.' He ordered the Chin-hsia to bring two stalks of lotus and three lotus leaves to him, and with them he made a human shape on the ground, using the stems to represent the joints and articulation of the bones, and set the seed of a golden pill in the middle. He employed his divine power and spoke the magic spells while he pushed No-cha's souls toward the lotuses, and suddenly there sprang up a young No-cha who was handsome and full of vitality, with a rosy complexion, purple lips, intelligent eyes and was sixteen feet tall. Thus was No-cha re-incarnated from lotuses." (Ch.14)

As I have said, in Chuan 3, Lun I P'in(論議品 Discourses) of the Ta Fang Pien Fu Pao Ên Ching there is a Buddhist legend which can be summarized as follows:

"The King of Varanasi(波羅奈王) married a Madame of Doe-mother who conceived and gave birth to a lotus which was cast into a pond. The lotus then grew five hundred leaves and under each leave a boy was born. When these five hundred boys grew up they became giants who were each strong and brave enough to fight against a thousand men single-handed. Among these five hundred brothers, from the first one to the four hundred and ninety-ninth all forsook their noble life and became Buddhist priests. The youngest brother attained the fruition of a Pratyeka-Buddha ninety days later and, manifesting his miriculous powers, he preached the Dharma for the benefit of his parents."

This can be cited as an illustration that re-incarnation from a lotus had a religious background. In the paragraph in Chüan 2 of the Wu Têng Hui Yüan I have quoted, the last sentence of the text is "現本身，運大神通，為父母說法，"(manifesting his original body and by his miraculous powers preaches the Dharma for the benefit of his parents), and now in this sūtra the corresponding sentence is "為父母現大神變" which would make no difference in the translation. Probably we may consult Ch.27, "King Resplendent and Buddha Thunder-voice"(妙莊嚴王本事品) of

the "Lotus Sūtra", in which the two sons Pure Treasury(淨藏) and Pure Eyes(淨眼) of the king, worrying about their father's attachement to the heretical teaching which deviated from the right course, revealed to him some of their supernatural powers(現種種神變) and brought him to faith and discernment.(298) So that we may believe the original story of No-cha(Naṭa)'s "rending himself asunder gives his flesh back to his mother and his bones to his father" was only a kind of revealation of supernatural powers(現神變), and it was because of the imagination and the literary gifts of the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I that the story becomes so impressive and full of emotional appeal.

".....The Immortal T'ai-I asked No-cha to follow him to the peach-garden and taught him personally how to use his 'fiery-pointed spear'(火尖鎗) which the master now bestowed on him. After that, the Immortal gave him the wind-wheel and fire-wheel which he might tread on while chanting incantations and which served him as a magic vehicle; and also a bag made of panther skin in which were the magic bracelet, the red silk gauze and a brick of gold which completed his new armour. No-cha prostrated himself before his master once more, and after thanking him, held the magic spear in hand, safely mounted his wind-and-fire wheels and darted straight to the Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass and challenged Li Ching his father." (Ch.14)

Now, in order to prove again how the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I adapted and utilized confused and promiscuous materials from previous works, we may list some of the arms used by No-cha with their earlier appearances in other Hua-pên as follows:

(a) Fiery-pointed spear. In Act 4 of the anonymous play of the Yüan dynasty, Han Kao Huang Cho Tsu Ch'i Ying Pu(漢高皇濯足氣英布), the spear used by Hsiang Yü(項羽) is a "fiery-pointed spear."

(b) Wind-wheel. The wind-wheel is originally the wheel, or circle of wind below the circle of water and metal upon which, according to the Buddhist teaching, the Earth rests. It appears in many sūtras including the Śūraṅgama-Sūtra(楞嚴經), Ch.4. In Nan Yu Chi(Ch.2 and Ch.11) and Pei Yu Chi(Ch.15) it is one of the arms of the Flowery Light(Hua Kuang 華光 or Ling Yao靈耀, San Yen Ling Yao三眼靈耀, Ling Yao with a deva-

eye.)

(c) Fire-wheel The Alātacakra, a wheel of fire produced by rapidly whirling a fire-brand. In Chüan 3 of his Lêng Yen Ching Shu Chih (楞嚴經述旨"The Principles of the Śūraṅgama-Sūtra")(299) Lú Hsi-hsing says "as the whirling of a fire-brand reality does not exist"(如旋火輪，無有實體.) In Nan Yu Chi(Ch.2 and Ch.11) and Pei Yu Chi(Ch.15), the fire-wheel is also a weapon of Flowery Light.

(d) Gold brick. The gold brick is also one of the arms of Flowery Light in Nan Yu Chi(Ch.2 and Ch.11) and Pei Yu Chi(Ch.15). But both the gold brick and the fire-wheel are attributed to Flowery Light also in Yang Ching-hsien's(楊景賢) T'ang San Tsang Hsi T'ien Ch'ü Ching(唐三藏西天取經), Act 8, a play of the Yüan dynasty. In Hsü Fu-tso's(徐復祚) T'ou So Chi(投梭記), Scene 19, in the song Hun Chiang Lung(混江龍), these two weapons belong to Nata of eight-arms(八臂那吒), and it is a work of the Ming dynasty.

(e) Magic bracelet. In Ch.11 of the Nan Yu Chi, one of the weapons of No-cha is a "purple-gold bracelet with raised flowers"(Hung Hua Tzŭ Chin Ch'üan紅花紫金圈) and it is the origin of the magic bracelet (Ch'ien K'un Ch'üan乾坤圈the Bracelet of Vitreous & Resinous Electricity) in the Fêng Shên Yen I.

The climax of the dramatic struggle between No-cha and his father Li Ching may be summed up here:

"Li Ching, hearing that No-cha had come again with his magic arms, was infuriated. He mounted his black horse and came out to meet No-cha with his halberd with crescent-shaped blade. The fighting had not lasted many minutes when Li Ching was in a profuse perspiration and compelled to flee for his life. No-cha pursued him with desperate efforts and nearly caught him when Mu-cha, the second son of Li Ching and disciple of the Immortal P'u Hsien(Samantabhadra), came on the scene. Although they were brothers they had not known each other before and No-cha had to tell Mu-cha the whole story. Mu-cha rebuked No-cha and called him a parricide, and defended the father with his precious sword. No-cha hurled the golden brick in the air which fell on the back of Mu-cha and hurt him. No-cha resumed his pursuit, and as Li Ching, being much ex-

(299) The First Series,"Second Collection of the Tripitaka in Chinese" (日本續藏經第一輯), 1912.

hausted did not wish to be overtaken by his son, he drew his sword and was about to commit suicide when he was stopped by a Taoist who was no other than the Wên Shu Kuang Fa T'ien Tsun(Mañjuṣrī) who was invited to come by T'ai-I Chên Jên to give No-cha an impressive lesson. Wên Shu now hid Li Ching in his grotto and seized the naughty hero with his 'Dragon-concealing Stake'----which was also called 'Seven Precious Golden Lotuses'----which in a mist of dust fastened No-cha's neck and feet with three golden rings and bound him to a golden stake. Wên Shu ordered Chin-cha, his disciple and No-cha's eldest brother to beat No-cha black and blue with a staff until T'ai-I himself appeared. At the intercession of T'ai-I No-cha was released and both father and son were brought before the two Taoist masters. T'ai-I rebuked the father for his petty-minded action and told him to go home. After Li Ching's retreat, he instructed No-cha not to bear any grudge against his father and charged him to return to the grotto in Mt. Ch'ien Yüan on the pretext that he would stay with Wên Shu and play chess. No-cha, raging with anger, taking advantage of the absence of the two masters, pursued his father again. When Li Ching was in danger of falling into the hand of the son, another Taoist, the Jan Têng Tao Jên of the Yüan Chüeh Cave in the Vulture Peak, appeared on the scene as if by accident, who sheltered Li Ching behind and No-cha demanded single combat with his father, he increased Li Ching's strength by spitting on him and touching him on the back. Li Ching was then able to get the upper hand in the fighting and No-cha was worsted. No-cha was beside himself with rage. He jumped aside suddenly and tried to pierce Jan Têng with his spear, but the thrust was repelled by a white lotus flower emitted from the latter's mouth. After a fruitless argument with the Taoist master No-cha wielded his weapon again and as Jan Têng raised his sleeve upwards an object was hurled into the air which emitted radiant beauty and when falling, enveloped No-cha in it and rendered him motionless. Jan Têng tapped it with his hand and flames broke out and made No-cha yield and acknowledge Li Ching as father and bow to him in humiliation. After the reconciliation had been made, Jan Têng Tao Jên instructed Li Ching to relinquish his official post and go into seclusion until the rise of King Wu, and

gave to Li Ching the magic weapon which was a golden pagoda of elegant workmanship which would serve to safeguard No-cha from rebellion against his father and to consolidate the reconciliation." (Ch.14)

This is the independent story of No-cha as it appears prominently in Chapters 12-14 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, and in most part, I believe, it is the creation of the author except in those minute points which I have discussed. After having consulted the Tantric texts which I have already quoted, we can see that the fantastic story of the pagoda though with some hints of being inspired by the texts is a wholly fabulous invention and only by skilful ingenuity can it be made so natural and so full of human sense. In Ch.83 of the Wu Ch'êng-ên's Hsi Yu Chi which is no doubt the enlargement of the Hsi Yu Chi in the "Four Travels", there is a paragraph which seems to be either the origin of these Chapters 12-14 of the Fêng Shên Yen I or a synopsis of these same Chapters but with variations of different degrees. I am inclined to take the latter view and believe that the writing of the Wu Ch'êng-ên's Hsi Yu Chi was later than this novel for these reasons:

(1) As I have pointed out in the discussion of the magic lasso, the name Ya Lung Tung(壓龍洞 Dragon-Subduing Cave) of the Ya Lung Shan(壓龍山 Dragon-Subduing Mountain) which appears in Ch.34 of Wu Ch'êng-ên's Hsi Yu Chi was derived from Ch.52 of the Fêng Shên Yen I(Fei Lung Tung 飛龍洞 Flying-Dragon Cave of the Chia Lung Shan 夾龍山 Dragon-Pinching Mountain).

(2) In Ch.52 of Wu's Hsi Yu Chi, the eighteen Arhats tried with the sand of golden pills to subdue the devil, which sunk its feet to the depth of more than three feet. This sand is derived from the Red Sand Array(紅沙陣) in Ch.49 of the Fêng Shên Yen I.

(3) The T'ao T'ien Chün(陶天君 or Celestial Master T'ao), one of the four attendant-generals forming the retinue of the Premier Wên T'ai-shih in the Fêng Shên Yen I is an invention created by the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I for a particular reason(see next chapter). In any one of the earlier works before the Fêng Shên Yen I, whether Taoist canonical texts or popular literature, we can find the other three T'ien Chün but not this one. This fact strengthens the hypothesis that this particular

character was created with a purpose. But he appears also in Wu Ch'êng-ên's Hsi Yu Chi(Ch.4 etc.).

(4) Ying Chiao in his transformed figure is an ugly and evil god. "His face was as blue as indigo,....and he had long projecting teeth" (Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.63). He was canonized as the T'ai Sui(太歲 the God of the Cycle) in Ch.99 of the Fêng Shên. Now in Wu's Hsi Yu Chi there is a line of verse, "The other had a blue face and protruding teeth as ugly as the T'ai Sui."(Ch.56)

(5) In Wu's Hsi Yu Chi, when Sun Wu-k'ung(孫悟空) was repelled by Hsüan Chuang(玄奘), he thought of "going to the islands(Hai Tao 海島) but he was rather ashamed to meet those immortals in the three fairy-lands(San Tao Chu Hsien 三島諸仙)" (Ch.57). This is probably influenced by the Hai Tao and the immortals there(Hai Tao Tao Yu 海島道友) in Chs. 38, 47 and 59 of the Fêng Shên Yen I. In Ch.59 of the Fêng Shên when Lü Yüeh(呂岳) was defeated by the troops of Chiang Tzŭ-ya, he fled to the Hai Tao as his last resort.

(6) In Wu's Hsi Yu Chi(Ch.60), the Demon-king of Oxen(Niu Mo Wang 牛魔王) rode on a 'water-proof golden-pupils monster'(Pi Shui Chin Ching Shou 辟水金睛獸). I think this name was invented after the 'fire-spitting golden-pupils monsters'(Huo Yen Chin Ching Shou 火眼金睛獸) ridden by Chêng Lun, Ch'ên Ch'i and Ch'ung Hei-hu in the Fêng Shên Yen I.

(7) In Ch.61 of the Wu's Hsi Yu Chi there are the "four great Vajras"(四大金剛) which are no doubt an adaptation of the "four great heavenly kings". One of their dwelling-places is in the Chin Hsia Tung (金霞洞 Golden Clouds Cave) of Mt. K'un Lun. In fact this Chin Hsia Tung is exactly the name of the grotto where the Yü Ting Chên Jên(玉鼎真人 Immortal of the Jade Urn) lives in the Fêng Shên Yen I and Mt. K'un Lun is the sacred mountain of the Promulgating Sect.

(8) The name of Chin-cha does not appear in the Hsi Yu Chi of the "Four Travels", but it appears in Ch.83 of Wu's Hsi Yu Chi, in a paragraph which is now open to question.

(9) In Ch.38 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, the monster Lung Hsü Hu(龍鬚虎) when stirred up by Shên Kung Pao(申公豹), was prepared to devour Chiang Tzŭ-ya, and exclaimed when seeing him approach, "If one could eat a slice

of the flesh of Chiang Shang, he would prolong his life for a thousand years more!" This idea does not appear in the "Four Travels", but is repeated twice in Chs.32 and 40 of Wu's Hsi Yu Chi to the effect that if any one could eat a slice of the flesh of Hsüan Chuang he would prolong his life.

(10) In Ch.45 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, in order to break through the ranks of the Boisterous Wind Array(風吼陣), a "wind-stopping pearl"(定風珠) was to be borrowed from the Immortal Tu O(度厄真人). Now in Ch. 59 of Wu's Hsi Yu Chi, Sun Wu-k'ung was fanned away by the wind and he had to borrow a "wind-stopping pill"(定風丹) from the Budhisattva Ling Chi(靈吉菩薩). This story does not appear in Ch.37 of the Hsi Yu Chi in the "Four Travels".

(11) In Ch.34 of the Hsi Yu Chi in the "Four Travels" when the black ox of Laotzŭ stole its master's diamond ring and descended from heaven with it, though it fought fiercely with many gods it never encountered the gods of the Department of Fire. But in Ch.51 of Wu's Hsi Yu Chi, it fought against many genii of the Department of Fire whose weapons were fire-dragons, fire-horses, fire-crows, fire-rats, fire-swords, fire bows and fire arrows. The fire-crows first appeared in Ch.9 of the Nan Yu Chi and both the fire-crows, fire arrows and fire-dragons appear in Ch.64 of the Fêng Shên Yen I and were a part of the arms of Lo Hsüan(羅宣). The "fire-horse" may be derived from the "horse of red smoke"(Ch'-ih Yen Chü赤烟駒), a mount of Lo Hsüan.

The above points when studied separately may probably be regarded as accidental and some of them may even be refutable, but as some of them seem to be invulnerable and when they are found together in the same book, it would be ridiculous to overlook their significance. And besides, it is easy to sum up a long story and to write a synopsis of it as is done in Ch.83 of the Wu's Hsi Yu Chi, but it would be a very difficult and thankless task to develop a short paragraph into a thrilling story of some twenty thousand words. Therefore, it is most reasonable to believe that these three chapters(Chs.12-14) of the Fêng Shên Yen I and all the other chapters except those parts inherited from the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua and Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan are the original work

of its author.

Prof. Lu Hsin has told us that the approximate data of Wu Ch'êng-ên is about 1510-1580,[300] and the earliest editions of the Hsi Yu Chi by Wu Ch'êng-ên we have were all published in the late epoch of Wan-li(萬曆), probably after 1592.[301] It is therefore safe enough if we suppose the novel Fêng Shên Yen I was first planned in the middle part of Chia-Ching(嘉靖).

(300) Chung Kuo Hsiao Shuo Shih Lüeh, Ch.17, P.168.

(301) Jih Pên Tung Ching So Chien Chung Kuo Hsiao Shuo Shu Mu, PP. 101-102. Shih Tê T'ang's(世德堂) edition, dated "the fourth day of the fifth month in the year Jên-ch'ên(壬辰)."

XII

From the studies in the previous chapters I am inclined to accept three important facts: first, the author of the novel Fêng Shên Yen I was one who was once a Taoist priest and his knowledge of Taoism was profound and specialized; second, although a Taoist priest, he was nevertheless a devoted Buddhist belonging to the particular sect called Tantric, and he assimilated into his work a considerable number of its religious tenets; and third, the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I knew many things about the popular literature of his time and he absorbed some of the best parts of the Hua-pên, Pao-chüan and plays into his novel. And out of these he created one of the masterpieces in Chinese literature. In some of the previous chapters I have cited and compared n the work of Lu Hsi-hsing and the related parts in the novel with the intention of proving that looking at the facts stated above, from any view-point we can not but admit that the particular personal environment of Lu Hsi-hsing fits in strikingly well with the conditions required of the author of this novel and in several points the analogy proves itself that Lu and the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I may be identical.

A novel of the Ming dynasty

In order to strengthen the hypothesis that Lu Hsi-hsing was the f author of this novel, we have to prove with literal evidences that (a) g this novel was written in a particular epoch, say the Chia-ching(嘉靖), of the Ming dynasty; (b) Lu Hsi-hsing was qualified to be its author - because in the novel a part of his own thought and his personal life e were also depicted; and (c), though it is most difficult to satisfy ourselves as far as this part is concerned, I think the result would be conclusive if we could find out some meaningful phrases, clauses or sen-s tences in Lu Hsi-hsing's other works which may be identical with clause: and sentences in the Fêng Shên Yen I and if we can prove that the way of writing such clauses or sentences was not commonplace but that it came from the same brush.

First, I think, we must prove geographically that the Fêng Shên Yen I was written in the Ming dynasty.

The city of Yu Li where Chi Ch'ang(King Wên) was imprisoned appears in Pt. 2 of the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua. In the Wu Wang Fa Chou the story-teller told us "this city was located seven li north of Tang-chou and is the T'ang-yin District in our days(i.e., Yüan dynasty)."

Now in the Fêng Shên Yen I, Yu Li appears in Chs.11 and 20. And in Ch.20 under the name "Yu Li city" there is a double-line note, "It is the T'ang-yin District of Hsiang-chou(相州), Hopei(河北 north of the Yellow River) of to-day."

In Ch.100, the last chapter of the Fêng Shên Yen I we read again,

〔The Kingdom of〕Wei(衛) It is now Chi-chou(冀州) of Peking. (即今北京冀州是也)

〔The Kingdom of〕Chi(薊) It is now Shun-t'ien Fu(順天府 Shun-t'ien Prefecture) of Peking.(即今北京順天府是也)

There is no need for an historian to point out that the name Shun-t'ien Fu and Peking were adopted not earlier than the year of 1404 A.D., the 2nd year of Yung-lo(永樂) in the reign of the third emperor of the Ming dynasty.

In Chüan 76(Chih Kuan職官Official Duties & Ranks) of the Ming Shih (明史History of Ming Dynasty) there is a Tsung Ping Kuan(總兵官) or the commander who may either have been a commander-in-chief taking charge of the frontier affairs(總鎮一方者為鎮方) or the military officer defending a city or a separated area(獨鎮一路者為分守，各守一城一堡者為守備), and sometimes a city may have been defended by one chief-commander and several assistant-commanders(亦主將同守一城者為協守). Under this system the Tsung Ping Kuan was often a "duke, a marquis, or an earl who would be military-governors of a certain zone"(凡總兵副總兵率以公侯伯都督充之). This institution as well as the name Tsung Ping Kuan existed in the Ming dynasty only. In the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty though the name Tsung Ping was still retained, the official duties and rank had been reduced to a very low place.

Influenced by current thought and treatment of this officer, the Tsung Ping Kuan appears many times in the novel Fêng Shên Yen I as the commanders of several Passes in the court of the King Chou:

In Ch.12 of the Fêng Shên Yen I we read, "the commander(Tsung Ping Kuan) of the Ch'en T'ang Kuan Pass was a general by the name of Li Ching."

The same title, Tsung Ping Kuan, appears also in Chs.31, 53, 62 attached to Chang Fêng(張鳳), Têng Chiu-kung(鄧九公) and Han Yung(韓榮). He is also called Tsung Ping(總兵), as appears in Ch. 36 where, when the military spy(探馬) came to report to the commander, Chang Kuei-fang (張桂芳), he addressed the latter as Tsung Ping which also agrees with what is found in Chüan 76 of the Ming Shih.

In Ch.30 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, Huang Fei-hu when giving his subordinates a scolding he said, "the family of my ancestors has up to the present been loyal to the king for seven generations and we have for more than two hundred years benefited from the country." It was precisely a little more than two hundred years if we count from the end of the epoch Chia-ching(1566) to 1353, when the first emperor of the Ming dynasty rose in revolt against the Mongolian rulers.

The emperor did not meet his ministers

In Ch.17 of the Fêng Shên Yen I Chiao Li(膠鬲) wept and admonished King Chou, "The people suffer greatly from the cruel punishment you have imposed on them, and now Your Majesty isolates Yourself from Your ministers so that they can not come into contact with you, and the government is clogged with dark and gloomy clouds."

In Ch.26, the author tells us again, "The King cared little for the state affairs....the court was isolated absolutely from him and the distance between the King and his ministers was ten thousand li."

In Ch.27 Huang Fei-hu was telling the situation to the Premier Wên T'ai-shih who had come back from the frontier, "We have remonstrated many times but His Majesty treats our admonitions as waste paper and we are isolated from him and there is no help for it."

In Chs.27, 41 and 85 we may find similar descriptions which may be summarized by the conversation between Huang Fei-hu and Shang Yung(商容), a retired Prime Minister, "The King himself dwells in the inner harem and never presides over the court. We receive imperial orders from him only through messengers. The ministers find no means to see His Majesty in person; it is as if there are ten thousand li from the

government officers to the gate of the royal palace. ....The inner harem has no direct communication with outside and the ministers are isolated from the ruler."

Hsitorically speaking, these are not the deeds of the King Chou who ruled the nation between 1154-1122 B.C.. They were rather those of the emperors of the Ming dynasty, the only dynasty in which emperors indulged themselves with such wantonness that they even refused to come out to the court and secluded themselves from the routine duties. In the Wan An Chuan(萬安傳) of the Ming Shih(Ch.168) we find,

"In 1471, the seventh year of Ch'êng-hua(成化), most of the ministers complained that they were isolated from the Emperor and they suggested that His Majesty(the Emperor Hsien-tsung憲宗) should hold meetings with the ministers. P'êng Shih(彭時), Shang Lu(商輅), the Grand Secretaries of State, solicited humbly the Grand Eunuch to grant their wishes and at last the ministers were allowed to meet the Emperor on a certain day at an appointed time, but were warned beforehand not to talk too much as His Majesty was not yet familiar with them. During the appointment P'êng Shih, Shang Lu and Wan An, at the head of the others, were presented to His Majesty. When the discussion of one or two cases had just been finished, Wan An exclaimed hurriedly, 'Long live the Emperor!' and made a gesture of retreat, and P'êng Shih and the others were then compelled to follow his example, kotowed and left the palace."

From 1471 to 1486, there were some fifteen years in which the Emperor Hsien-tsung had not seen his ministers. The Emperor Hsiao-tsung(孝宗), following the example of his predecessor, in the eighteen years of his reign officially met his ministers only once in two or three years and that not regularly.(302) And from 1524, the 3rd year of the epoch Chia-ching, the Emperor Shih-tsung indulged in the same practice and in and after 1542 he even secluded himself from the palaces and lived in the Hsi-yüan(西苑 the imperial garden situated at the west of the Peking city). In the Ting Ju-k'uei Chuan(丁汝夔傳) of the Ming Shih(Ch.204) there is a passage:

"The troops of the Mongols were approaching the capital. As the Emperor had not presided over the court for many years, the ministers

(302) See Ch.181, Hsü P'u Chuan(徐溥傳), Ch.181, Liu Chien Chuan(劉健傳) of the Ming Shih.

audience which was finally granted. The ministers assembled themselves before dawn and waited impatiently until tiffin time when the Emperor presided over the Feng T'ien Hall(奉天殿). He did not utter a single word but instructed Hsü Chieh to summon those ministers to the gate of the imperial palace and reprimanded them with a mandate." (In the year 1550)

In Ch.85 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when four Passes out of five had fallen into the hands of the enemy Wei-tzŭ(微子) thought,"The enemy troops are so close yet the King seems still unaware of the impending danger." In another passage of the same chapter the author writes, "For years King Chou had not given audience to his ministers. Now he presided over the hall, and the ministers were greatly stimulated."

The Emperor Mu-tsung(穆宗) ruled the country for six years only, in half of which he seldom met his ministers. The reign of the Emperor Shên-tsung(神宗) was forty-seven years(1573-1619), and he had audiences with his ministers in the first seventeen years only,(303) and for twenty-four years between 1590 and 1615 he never met his ministers except on one or two occasions.(304)

Campaigns in the South-east

In the reign of the Emperor Shih-tsung China was in a tumultuous state. The Japanese pirates landed on many places along the coast off Chekiang, Fukien and Kiangsu; robbed the people of almost every farthing they had, and left the districts in desolation. The plunderers were in league with a traitorous cabal so that the resisting forces were weak and they were able to indulge themselves unrestrained. In north China, the Mongols who were nomads scattered in Inner Mongolia, invaded the northern frontiers and in 1550 approached the vicinity of Peking. The commanders who were in charge of defense were sometimes accused of being anxious to gain military success and to provoke hostilities. In 1548, Tsêng Hsiao(曾銑), the Commander-in-chief incharge of the defensive work of three-side frontiers and concurrently the Vice-minister of War, who was planning to recover the irrigated zone of the Yellow River north of

could find no means to report to him the danger which was hanging over his head. Hsü Chieh(徐階), the Minister of Rites, supplicated for an audience which was finally granted. The ministers assembled themselves before dawn and waited impatiently until tiffin time when the Emperor presided over the Feng T'ien Hall(奉天殿). He did not utter a single word but instructed Hsü Chieh to summon those ministers to the gate of the imperial palace and reprimanded them with a mandate." (In the year 1550)

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(303) See Ch.217, Wang Chia P'ing Chuan(王家屏傳), Ming Shih.

(304) In the 1st month of 1590, the Emperor met officially Shên Shih-hsing(申時行) and other ministers at the Yü Tê Palace(毓德宮). See Ch.20, Shêng-tsung Pên-chi(神宗本紀). cf. Ch.230, Wan Kuo Ch'in Chuan(萬國欽傳); Ch.230, Ma Mêng Chêng Chuan(馬孟禎傳) and Ch.217, Wu Tao Nan Chuan(吳道南傳) of the Ming Shih.

the Ordos was jailed on false charges and put to death. In Ch.75 of the Fêng Shên Yen I when King Chou was vexed to hear bad news from the front Ta-chi said,

"These are all due to the fault of those commanders defending the frontiers who make unreliable reports informing the court that the troops of King Wu, estimated at six hundred thousand men, have come to invade our Passes. They bribed some of your ministers who in turn report to you deceitfully so that Your Majesty cannot but open your granaries and issue food and supplies to them and the commanders would just squeeze them out of everything which they have received from you."

In Ch.84, an assistant-commander, Kung-sun To(公孫鐸) of the Ling T'ung Kuan Pass(臨潼關) said,

"Now that the traitorous and deceitful ministers are in power, who accuse the frontier commanders of having sent back false information and squeeze money and supplies and gain their merits only through bribery, they rejected all the news from the front and even decapitated the messengers."

Only when studying the history of the Ming dynasty can we understand that the description in these passages is not imaginative and in the novel we find again two separated fronts, which beside the expedition of the King Wu, are occasionally touched upon. These are the front on the north and the front on the south-east.

Premier Wên T'ai-shih was the general who fought against the barbarous invasion from the north which is known in the book as the invasion from the North Sea(北海). In Ch.18, Yang Jên(楊任), who remonstrated with King Chou against his remorseless deeds, said, "Premier Wen T'ai-shih has been fighting the invaders around the North Sea for more than ten years and is unable to return to the capital." In Ch.27 the same facts were again stated to King Chou by Premier Wên himself.

In Ch.30, Huang, the Imperial Concubine(黃妃), scolded King Chou, "You libertine! Do you not think of the meritorious deeds of my brother Huang Fei-hu, who defeated the pirates in the East....?"; and in Ch.31 Huang Fei-hu told Chang Fêng(張鳳), the commander of the Ling T'ung Kuan Pass(臨潼關), "I have fought some two hundred battles with the invaders

from the Eastern Sea and brought tranquillity to the country." And in Ch.40 we hear that the four Mo brothers "had been under the command of Huang Fei-hu fighting against the rebellion on the Eastern Sea." The situation can be seen from Chiao Li's remonstrance in Ch.17, "Fire has never ceased off the coast and peace is maintained neither in the East nor in the South. In addition to such a tumultuous situation some feudal lords are rising in rebellion."

As the pirates, the Japanese rojin, together with those Chinese scoundrels, were sheltering on some islands in the sea, the term Hai Tao(islands) was used as a wicked and debased term in this novel and only those immortals of the Intercepting Sect or those Taoists who deviated from the right path dwelt there and cultivated their black art.

In Ch.14 of the novel when No-cha was pursuing his father he cried, "Even if you take refuge on a Hai Tao I will follow you and take your head in revenge."

In Ch.33, Yü Hua(余化) of the Szŭ Shui Kuan Pass(泗水關) captured Huang Fei-hu with a "Soul-taking Banner"(戮魂旛), "which was given to him by the One Breath Immortal(一氣仙) of P'êng-lai Island(蓬萊島) and it was a weapon of the heterodox school." The Yü I Hsien,(羽翼仙 the Immortal with Feathers and Wings), in Ch.62 came also from the Island. In Ch.38 when Premier Wên sought help from his Taoist friends he went to the Nine-dragon Island(九龍島), and in Ch.57 Lü Yüeh who modestly called himself an alchemist, came also from the Shêng Ming Shan(聲名山 Mt. Shêng Ming) of the Nine-dragon Island. Further, Madame Yün Hsiao (雲霄娘娘) and her two young sisters who in the end were canonized as "the Three Ladies of the Privy"(Ch.99), also dwelt on the Three-fairy Island(三仙島).

Wên Chung(Premier Wên T'ai-shih) and T'ao Chung-wên

The Premier Wên T'ai-shih(聞太師) whose name is Wên Chung(聞仲) and who plays a very important part in the first half(up to Ch.52) of this novel is not an historical character like Chiang Shang(Tzŭ-ya) or King Chou. He was invented by the author. But I think it is interesting to know why this character was invented and whether he was modelled upon some real person.

The Emperor Shih-tsung was very fond of degenerate Taoist practices. It is said that from 1542 he retired from the palace and dwelt in the imperial garden at the west of the Peking city mainly for the sake of indulging in such cultivation. In supplicating long life he gave himself to idolatrous thanksgiving services nearly every day from the beginning of his reign, and ordered some of his ministers and literary followers to compose Ch'ing Tz'ŭ(青詞 supplications in an euphuistically antithetic style) for the altars. In 1536(the 15th year of the epoch of Chia-ching) he appointed as Minister of Rites Shao Yüan-chieh (邵元節), a Taoist priest who gained the Emperor's favour by praying earnestly, and not in vain, for the birth of a new prince.(305) When Shao Yüan-chieh was growing old, his magic deeds were not as efficacious as before, and in order to lighten his burden he alleged that there was a film in his eye so that he was prevented from seeing demons and recommended another Taoist, T'ao Chung-wên(陶仲文), to take his post, who in turn stood high in the Emperor's favour and won enduring fame which was even greater than that of Shao. In the biography of T'ao Chung-wên(陶仲文傳), Chüan 307 of the Ming Shih we read,

"From 1542, after the unsucessful murder case〔in which a palace-maid attempted to kill the Emperor by suffocation〕he〔the Emperor〕moved to the palace in the imperial garden west of Peking and did not come out to preside over the court nor to attend the annual ceremonial of the sacrifice to Heaven and Earth. He concentrated on the study of the elixir vitae and none of his ministers was received by him except T'ao Chung-wên to whom he gave audience with respect. He granted him a seat and called him 'my master'."

T'ao Chung-wên was at first a treasury-keeper at Liao-tung(遼東), but he earned favour gradually by his meritorious deeds. He exterminated some demons who appeared in the palace and were subdued by T'ao with his talismanic water and sword. In 1539 when the Emperor was en route to the south and passing Wei-hui(衛輝), T'ao was in his retinue and he prophesised an accidental fire which occurred in the Emperor's travelling lodge and killed many attendants. In 1541 a spy of the Mongolian troops was caught at Tatung(大同), and the Emperor, on account

(305) Shao Yüan Chieh Chuan(邵元節傳), Ch.307, Ming Shih; also Shao Yüan Chieh Chuan in Ming Wai Shih(明外史), quoted in Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng, Shên I Tien, Ch.215.

Senior Guardian of the Crown Prince(少師) which was, as the historians say, an extraordinary case in the history of the Ming dynasty.(306)

I have very strong reasons to suspect that Premier Wên Chung(聞仲), i.e. Wên T'ai-shih(聞太師) in the Fêng Shên Yen I is the counterpart of this historical Taoist priest T'ao Chung-wên. First of all, the term T'ai-shih(太師) is an honourable title that is the First Grade Senior Guardian of the Crown Prince, while the historial figure got the Second Grade Senior Guardian of the Crown Prince. T'ao Chung-wên came to power after he had served a few years in the North-east and he was given the title of Shao-shih(少師 Second Grade Senior Guardian of the Crown Prince) on account of some military gain attributed to his influence. This again resembles the statement in the novel that the Premier Wên(or Wên T'ai-shih) defended the northern boundaries for fifteen years (Ch.27). Furthermore, T'ao Chung-wên started a campaign to erect the Altar of the God of Thunder(雷壇) in every county and district in commemoration of the Emperor's birthday which was solemnly observed by most of the officials,(307) and Wên T'ai-shih was canonized by Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun in Ch.99 of the novel as the "Ancestor of Thunder"(雷祖) and was identified with the Taoist traditional God of Thunder, the "Chiu T'ien Ying Yüan P'u Hua T'ien Tsun"(九天應元普化天尊).(308)

The proper name of Wên T'ai-shih is Wên Chung(聞仲) which is obviously the name of T'ao Chung-wên(仲文) read in inverted order. But the characters文 and聞, though homonymous, are not the same word. Here I may cite a good example for comparison. In Chs.69 and 86 of this novel, General Wên P'in's(文聘) surname is written as "文", but it is changed to "聞" in Ch.99(in all editions). I pointed this out in previous discussions and I still believe that it is not an erratum due to engraving but was so written by the author. When describing Wên Chung, psychologically he would certainly have thought that these characters were identical.

The surname of T'ao Chung-wen is T'ao(陶). In Ch.41 and other ch-

of this military gain, further extended his favour and bestowed on T'ao Chung-wên, then Minister of Rites and a Second Grade Junior Guardian of the Crown Prince(少傅少保), the honourable title Second Grade Senior Guardian of the Crown Prince(少師) which was, as the historians say, an extraordinary case in the history of the Ming dynasty.(306)

I have very strong reasons to suspect that Premier Wên Chung(聞仲), i.e. Wên T'ai-shih(聞太師) in the Fêng Shên Yen I is the counterpart of this historical Taoist priest T'ao Chung-wên. First of all, the term T'ai-shih(太師) is an honourable title that is the First Grade Senior Guardian of the Crown Prince, while the historial figure got the Second Grade Senior Guardian of the Crown Prince. T'ao Chung-wên came to power after he had served a few years in the North-east and he was given the title of Shao-shih(少師 Second Grade Senior Guardian of the Crown Prince) on account of some military gain attributed to his influence. This again resembles the statement in the novel that the Premier Wên(or Wên T'ai-shih) defended the northern boundaries for fifteen years (Ch.27). Furthermore, T'ao Chung-wên started a campaign to erect the Altar of the God of Thunder(雷壇) in every county and district in commemoration of the Emperor's birthday which was solemnly observed by most of the officials,(307) and Wên T'ai-shih was canonized by Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun in Ch.99 of the novel as the "Ancestor of Thunder"(雷祖) and was identified with the Taoist traditional God of Thunder, the "Chiu T'ien Ying Yüan P'u Hua T'ien Tsun"(九天應元普化天尊).(308)

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(306) T'ao Chung Wên Chuan, Ch.307, Ming Shih; also T'ao Chung Wên Chuan, Ming Wai Shih.

(307) T'ao Chung Wên Chuan, Ch.307, Ming Shih.

(308) cf. Chiu T'ien Ying Yüan Lui Shêng P'u Hua T'ien Tsun Yü Shu Pao Ching Chi Chu(九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經集註), by Po Yü-Chan(白玉蟾), in Tung Chên Pu(洞真部), Yü Chüeh Lui(玉訣類); Chiu T'ien Ying Yüan Lui Shêng P'u Hua T'ien Tsun Pao Ch'an(九天應元雷聲普化天尊寶懺), in Tung Chên Pu, Wei I Lui(威儀類), in the "Two Collections of the Taoist Literature".

apters Wên T'ai-shih had four attendant-generals who were Têng Chung(鄧忠), Hsin Huan(辛環), Chang Chieh(張節) and T'ao Yung(陶榮). They had been highwaymen occupying the Yellow Flower Mountain(黃花山) before they were subdued by Wên T'ai-shih, and, after their death, were deified as the four Celestial Masters(四天君) who were at the head of the twenty-four celestial masters in the Department of Thunder(Ch.99). Among these four generals, T'ao Yung is a very noteworthy character.

Anyone who has read the Pei Yu Chi would not fail to tell us that there are three Celestial Masters(三天君) in that Hua-pên. The reader may be referred to the following quotations:

"Têng Ch'êng(鄧成), who had charge of thunder and was〔one of the〕 celestial master〔s〕, dwelt in the T'ai Hua Palace(太華宮)."(Ch.17)

"Celestial Master Têng(鄧天君), Celestial Master Hsin(辛天君)..... escaped by riding on the clouds to the T'ai Hua Palace."(Ch.18)

"The Jade Emperor appointed these three celestial masters as Marshals Têng, Hsin and Chang of the Department of Thunder(雷部鄧辛張元帥). Têng Ch'êng's position was equivalent to that of a magistrate of a prefecture; Hsin Chiang's(辛江), to a magistrate. Both shared their work with Chang An(張安)." (Ch.18)

"There came Têng, Hsin and Chang." (Ch.19)

As they are generals under the Hsüan Wu(玄武 or the Hsüan T'ien Shang Ti 玄天上帝), in Ch.23 of the Pei Yu Chi they were canonized officially by the Jade Emperor as:

"Marshals Têng, Hsin and Chang."

It is undeniable that this is the origin of the four celestial masters in the Fêng Shên Yen I. But as "Têng, Hsin and Chang"(鄧辛張) are put together in the Pei Yu Chi in many places without exception and the name T'ao Yung or anyone bearing the surname T'ao does not appear at all in this Hua-pên, it is not a forced belief if we say that the character T'ao Yung is a creation of the author of the Fêng Shên.

Another strong evidence to prove that T'ao Yung is an invented character is that all the other three celestial masters' names can be traced in the Taoistic texts while this T'ao T'ien Chun's(陶天君) origin remains vague. In the Tao Fa Hui Yüan(道法會元) or the "Collection of

the Taoist Charms and Talismans" which is included in the Chêng-I Pu(正一部) of the "Two Collections of Taoist Literature" we have Têng T'ien Chün(Celestial Master Têng), Hsin T'ien Chün(Celestial Master Hsin) and Chang Shih Chê(張使者 Envoy Chang) who are regarded as messengers of thunder and lightning.(309)

The four celestial masters T'ao, Chang, Hsin and Têng appear in Ch. 51 of Wu Ch'êng-ên's Hsi Yu Chi, though they have different personal names. But in Chs.4 and 87, they are named in the order "Têng, Hsin, Chang, T'ao" in which "Têng, Hsin and Chang" are knitted together. This serves as a proof that Wu Ch'êng-ên's work was composed some years after the publication of the Fêng Shên Yen I.(310)

Designations

We have spent a lot of time on the discussion of the epoch in which the Fêng Shên Yen I was written. Much evidence has been given that it was written during the epoch of Chia-ching and published some years before Wu Ch'êng-ên's Hsi Yu Chi made its appearance to the reading public. Now we may compare again some designations used in this novel with those in Wu's Hsi Yu Chi and in plays written by playwrights of approximately the same epoch in the Ming dynasty, so that we may confirm that the Fêng Shên Yen I could not have been written by earlier writers.

In Ch.20 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when San I Sheng wrote a private letter to Fei Chung, he addressed him in an obsequious and polite way:

"Your humble servant(Pei Chih 卑職) San I Shêng, having prostrated himself a hundred times before the table(T'ai Hsia 臺下) of his favourable master the Superior Great Minister Fei, announces....."

This is similar to the style of a letter appearing in Ch.11 of Wu's Hsi Yu Chi, which reads,

"Your humble and loving younger brother, Wei Chêng(魏徵), having prostrated himself before the table(T'ai Hsia 臺下) of his beloved elder brother, Senior Secretary Ts'ui Lao Hsien Shêng(崔 老先生)....."

The T'ai Hsia(臺下) is a common designation used in correspondences of the Ming dynasty. It appears also in another letter in Ch.43 of Wu's Hsi Yu Chi.

Lao Hsien Shêng(老先生) is a vocative used to address a superior or

(309) Chs.76-82; cf. Chêng-I Pu, Têng T'ien Chün Hsüan Ling Pa Mên Pao Ying Nei Chih(鄧天君玄靈八門報應內旨).

(310) See also Ch.31, Ch.45 of Wu's Hsi Yu Chi.

year before the Ming dynasty, but to give them the prefix Lao(老), which means senior or old, was a practice pertaining to the society of the Ming dynasty.

In Ch.20 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, "The envoy said, 'The imperial mandate orders the release of His Excellency Earl Chi Ch'ang(Chi Po Lao Ta Jên 姬伯老大人) only.' "

In Ch.27, "Premier Wên T'ai-shih said, 'Hsien Shêng(Sir), I am glad to know that you are Fei Chung. What service can I do for the Hsien Shêng(you, sir) at this court?' "

In the Ming Fêng Chi(鳴鳳記) written by Wang Shih-chên(王世貞), who was contemporary with people of the Chia-ching epoch, we may find both the designations Hsien Shêng and Lao Ta Jên(Scene 3); and in Li Mêng-yang's(李夢陽) Pi Lu(貶錄), a collection of historical anecdotes, the author noted that those eunuchs serving as go-betweens of the cabinet and the inner chambers addressed the ministers as Hsien Shêng.(311)

There is another interesting term Pên(本), which is the colloquial term for Tsou-I(奏議 memorial to the throne) used very commonly in the popular literature of the Ming dynasty(312) which means the small folded paper on which it was written.

In Ch.56 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, "The report of Han Yung(韓崇) soon reached the capital. Chang Chien(張嫌), who was one of the Superior Great Ministers, was greatly alarmed when reading this Pên....."

In Ch.62 we have again, "Fang Ching-ch'un(方景春), a great minister of the second rank, received suddenly this Pên and was enraged at the surrender of Su Hu(蘇酋) to Chi-chou."

Wang Shih-chên was a contemporary of the notorious Yen Sung(嚴嵩), who was for many years the de facto premier in the epoch of Chia-ching, and was depicted by Wang in his play Ming Fêng Chi in the following passage:

"[Yen Sung] gave order to the imperial secretaries that 'all the

male stranger in the Ming dynasty, and it may also be abbreviated to Hsien Shêng(先生), or Ta Jên(大人) which is equivalent to Lao Ta Jên(老大人), an official of rank, or "Your Excellency". Both the terms Ta Jên and Hsien Shêng appear in the ancient classics more than a thousand years before the Ming dynasty, but to give them the prefix Lao(老), which means senior or old, was a practice pertaining to the society of the Ming dynasty.

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"〔Yen Sung〕gave order to the imperial secretaries that 'all the

(311) See Pi Lu, Chiu Hsiao Shuo(舊小說), Vol.Wu(戊), Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1910. For the term Hsien Shêng, see also Shên Shou-hsien's(沈受先) San Yüan Chi(三元記), Scene 28; Lao Hsien Shêng, see T'ang Hsien-tsu's(湯顯祖) Han Tan Chi(邯鄲記), Scene 25, which is a work of earlier Ming and Ch'ên Ju-yüan's(陳汝元) Chin Lien Chi(金蓮記), Scene 7; Sun Jên-ju's(孫仁孺) Tung Kuo Chi(東郭記), Scene 32; see also Liang Chang-chü's(梁章鉅) Ch'êng Wei Lu(稱謂錄), Chüan 32, ed.1884.

(312) See Prof. E. D. Edwards: "A Classified Guide to the Thirteen Classes of Chinese Prose", Bulletin, S.O.A.S., University of London, Vol.XII, Pts 3 & 4, PP.774-776, 1948.

Tsou Pên(奏本) which come from the provinces should not be presented to the Emperor without discrimination. They should be sent directly to My cabinet as soon as I come to the office.' "(Scene 20, "待我入朝，送將本到我閣下.")

This term Pên may be found in many other chapters in the novel.

The author of the Fêng Shên Yen I

That the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I was a famous literary man and could not have been a commoner can again be proved by the bulky and elaborate work he had done in planning the plot and the constituent parts of this novel which contains no less than seven-hundred and five thousand characters.(313) Most of the clues concerning the later part of the novel are given as early as in the first thirty chapters and some of them are underlaid in poems and eulogistic verses. The discription and narratives in the different chapters are self-explanatory:

In Ch.1 when Madame Nü Kua was enraged by the blasphemous poem written on the wall of her temple by King Chou and she was anxious to retaliate, she mounted her argus pheasant and headed for the capital. "On her way through the clouds, suddenly two jets of red light were emitted from the earth and prevented her from proceeding. Nü Kua knew that they came from the Princes Yin Chiao and Yin Hung, who would be canonized as the God of the Cycle and the God of Five-kinds of Cereals respectively and become famous celestial generals."

".....No-cha said to Ao Kuang the dragon-king, 'I am none other than the avatar of Ling Chu Tzŭ, a disciple of the Immortal T'ai-I of the Chin Kuang Cave in Mt. Ch'ien Yüan. By the mandate of the Palace of Jade Abstraction I was to be reborn as the son of Li's family at the Ch'ên T'ang Kuan Pass. Now the House of Shang is declining and the House of Chou is destined to prosper and Chiang Tzŭ-ya will soon be despatched to descend from Mt. K'un Lun. I shall be his vanguard in the expeditionary forces against King Chou.' "(Ch.13)

The reasons for the predestinated investiture of the gods as recorded at the beginning of Ch.15 have been cited.

"Yang Jên(楊任), who was rescued by the Ch'ing Hsü Tao Tê Chên Chün, would stay in Mt. Ch'ing Fêng until years later when he would be sent to

(313) Statistics according to the popular edition of the Fêng Shên Yen I, published by the Tso Chia Ch'u Pan Shê(作家出版社), Peking, 1955.

at Lin-t'ung(臨潼), the author added, "This Hsiao Yin will appear again in the Ten-Extermination Array which will not be narrated until later chapters."(314)

Again in many chapters the author intimated the future of his characters which are all congruous with the development later on. In Ch. 34 in a verse we learn "No-cha with eight-arms", but it is not until Ch.76 that No-cha was given such miraculous power by his master. In the eulogistic verses in Ch.42 he praises Premier Wên T'ai-shih and his four attendant-generals and points out that "they were the generals in the Department of Thunder....the four Celestial Masters" but these are not known to us until the canonization.

Throughout the whole book the author has shown again at many places that though he had absorbed a lot from popular literature in writing this novel, his knowledge of the classics is proficient and profound and greatly excels that of the story-tellers or writers of Hua-pên. In Ch.5 when asked by the King Chou why the Promulgating Sect excels the other two schools Yün-chung Tzŭ chanted to him a long passage in euphuistically antithetic style which could only have been done by a learned scholar. A stanza in four lines sung by Mu-cha in Ch.14 is again a good poem, and the poem appearing at the beginning of Ch.49 sung by Ch'ing Hsü Tao Tê Chên Chün is also praiseworthy for its rhymes, tone and antitheses. In Ch.9, when Princes Yin Hung and Yin Chiao were blown away by a gale caused by Kuang Ch'êng Tzŭ, the author writes an eight-line verse in which he uses "pied wagtails"(Chi Ling鶺鴒) as an allusion to the affection of brothers which comes from the Book of Odes.(315) In Chs.67 and 68, quotations from the Book of History(316) are also given, and in Chs.86, 98 and 99, terms such as "禋祀"(Yin Szŭ, offerings to the Splendid Heaven Sovereign on High),(317) "柴望"(Ch'ai Wang, the burnt offering to heaven and offering to the hills and streams)(318) and "祼將" (Kuan Chiang, to pour out the libations)(319) could only have been used by one who was familiar with classical literature.

help Chiang Tzŭ-ya defeat the Array of Epidemics. (Ch.18. The so called the Array of Epidemics〔Wên Huang Chên 瘟癀陣〕will be seen in Ch.80.)

And in Ch.31, when Hsiao Yin(蕭銀) bowed farewell to Huang Fei-hu at Lin-t'ung(臨潼), the author added, "This Hsiao Yin will appear again in the Ten-Extermination Array which will not be narrated until later chapters."(314)

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(314) In fact Hsiao Yin does not appear in the description of the fierce Ten-Extermination Array combat in Chs. 43-51. But we find another character Hsiao Chên(蕭臻) instead in Ch.46.

(315) "Book of Odes", Ch'ang Ti(常棣), Karlgen's transl., P.107; A. Waley: "The Book of Songs", P.203, Allen & Unwin,1954.

(316) See Ku Wên Shang Shu(古文尚書), Wu Ch'êng(武成); also Shang Shu (尚書), T'ai Shih(太誓).

(317) See Chou Li(周禮), Ta Tsung Po(大宗伯), "以禋祀祀昊天上帝".

(318) See Shang Shu, Shun Tien(舜典), "柴望秩於山川".

(319) "Book of Odes", Wên Wang(文王), Karlgen's transl., P.185; Waley's transl., P.250.

Now it is time for us to come back to the book Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê or "The Criticism of Chuangtzŭ", which the "Hsing-hua District Annals" criticized as "superior to many other commentaries" and which is probably a masterpiece of Lu Hsi-hsing. Twenty years ago I borrowed it from the National Peking Library(I can not exactly remember the edition) and I learnt also that the Library of the National University of Peking has a series of hand-written copies of the same book, while the Chekiang Library also has a hand-written copy and a Wan-li(萬曆) edition of the Ming dynasty.(320) The book is also recorded in the "Bibliographical Notes on the General Catalogue of Szŭ K'u Ch'üan Shu"(四庫全書總目提要)(321) as quoted below:

"The Criticism of Chuangtzŭ, 8 Chüan, by Lu Hsi-hsing.

"Hsi-hsing, alias Lu Ch'ang-kêng or the External Historian of Fang Hu(方壺外史) was a Taoist of the Ming dynasty. When Chiao Hung(焦竑) wrote his Chuang-tzŭ I(莊子翼"Wings to Chuangtzŭ") he quoted many passages from this book, from which we know that Lu was a scholar earlier than Chiao. There is a preface written by his nephew Lu Lü(陸律) in the sixth year of Wan-li(1578), from which we know also that Lu Hsi-hsing lived just before his later admirer(Chiao). The theme of this book, ...is to combine both Taoism and Buddhism into a great family ....."

From the above, two things might be derived:

(1) Though we have not seen the original copies of the Wan-li edition, we know from the preface that Hsi-hsing was alive in 1578, and we may deduce that when Chiao Hung finished his compilation of "Wings to Chuangtzŭ" in the sixteenth year of Wan-li(1588),(322) Hsi-hsing was already dead. Hence we may infer that Hsi-hsing's death must have occurred somewhere between 1578 and 1588. And among those books written by Lu recorded in the District Annals, there is an earlier edition of the Hsing-hua District Annals(邑志) compiled by Lu Hsi-hsing himself. In the Yangchow-fu Annals it is also written: "Hsing-hua District Annals, 9 Chüan, compiled by Lu Hsi-hsing, native of this District."(323) Though we cannot trace the exact year when Lu was editing these Annals, we learn from Hsien-fêng's(咸豐) edition(1852) of Hsing-hua District

(320) The Chekiang Library Monthly(浙江圖書館館刊), Vol.4, No.5.

(321) Chüan 147, Section of Tzŭ(子部), Taoist Literature(道家類), App.(存目).

(322) Chüan 146, "The Bibliographical Notes on the General Catalogue of Szŭ K'u Ch'üan Shu", Section of Tzŭ, Taoist Literature.

(323) Chüan 62, Literature(藝文), App.(附錄).

(324)

Annals that in the nineteenth year of Wan-li(1591), the District Magistrate Ou-yang Tung-fêng(歐陽東鳳) had revised the Annals which were three years later than the latest possible year(1588) for Lu's death. As Lu would not have been able to take up such a heavy task as the compilation and revision of a geographical annals in his early years, it is very possible that he did this work some years after he had become a Taoist. It is also written in the Hsien-fêng edition of the District Annals that:

"The Temples of the Planet Mars----one is located in the Szŭ-t'u Li(司徒里 Szŭ-t'u Lane)--the signboard of which was in the handwriting of Lu Hsi-hsing."(324)

The most probable deduction is that he had come back at last to his native place after his long expedition, and after that had some relations with the local temples, and stayed in Hsing-hua until he died. A strong evidence to prove this is that he was buried at P'ing Wang P'u (平望鋪), ten li away from the northern outskirts of Hsing-hua City(see both the District and Fu Annals). And it is also a matter of fact that the time between the two revisions of the Annals could not have been very short, and since we know already that 1591 was the year when Ou-yang Tung-fêng was revising the Annals, the year of Lu's revision must have been far earlier, and consequently the year of Lu's death may have been still earlier than we estimated, for many years must have elapsed after the death of the first compiler before a second revision became necessary.

But the above deduction is based only upon the estimation hinted by the "Bibliographical Notes on the General Catalogue of Szŭ K'u Ch'üan Shu" that Lu was living earlier just before his admirer Chiao Hung. This estimation was seen not to be true either for I discovered quite recently from another work of Lu's "The Outlines of the Sūraṅgama-Sūtra" (Lêng Yen Ching Shuo Yüeh 楞嚴經說約) which was recorded neither in the District nor in the Fu Annals. It has only one Chüan, and is published together with Lu's "The Principles of the Sūraṅgama Sūtra"(Lêng Yen Ching Shu Chih 楞嚴經述旨) in Vol. 89 of the First Series, in the "Second Collection of the Tripitaka in Chinese"(大日本續藏經). At the beginning

(324) Chüan 1, Geographical Surveys(輿地志), Temples(祠祀).

in two lines:

"In the 29th year of Wan-li, in the cycle Hsin-ch'ou(辛丑 1601), in the fifth month, Lu Hsi-hsing alias Ch'ang-keng, writes in the boat in the Lu River(潞河 the W. Sw. ni. near T'ung-hsien 通縣, Hopeh) when he is eighty-two."

As this foreword does not appear to be a forged one, we may therefore conclude that though we do not know the year of his death, we can at least say he did enjoy a long life and by reckoning we find that Lu Hsi-hsing was born in the year 1520, the 15th year of Chêng-tê(正德) in the reign of the Emperor Wu-tsung(武宗). When Chiao Hung finished his work on Chuangtzŭ(1588) Lu was sixty-nine years old, and in 1591 when the District Magistrate, Ou-yang Tung-fêng, revised the Hsing-hua District Annals Lu was seventy-two. Since Lu was still healthy enough to write the "Outlines of the Sūraṅgama Sūtra" at the age of eighty-two, we will not wonder if ten years before he composed the District Annals which were published, as a rule, in the name of the District Magistrate. A copy of this 1591's edition of the Hsing-hua District Annals is now, I understand, preserved in the Congress Library in the United States. I have a letter from Mr. Wang Ên-pao(王恩保) of the Congress Library stating that in that edition no biography of Lu Hsi-hsing can be found. This may serve as supplementary evidence to prove that Lu's foreword in the "Outlines of the Sūraṅgama-Sūtra" is genuine, while one is alive his biography would not appear in the Annals.

(2) Hsi-hsing(literally, star in the west) was Lu's formal name and Ch'ang-keng(the Venus Planet) his Tzŭ(字 style, another name). The name Ch'ang-keng comes originally from the Book of Odes.(325) He had a further name Yün K'ong Chü Shih(屬空居士 The Buddhist Devotee Who Believes that the Five Attributes of A Human Being Are Non-existent)(326) which appears only in his Tantric works. The name, Fang Hu Wai Shih, or the External Historian of Fang-hu might have come from the book Shih I Chi (拾遺記) of Wang Tzŭ-nien(王子年 or Wang Chia 王嘉) which reads:

"Three hills are there in the Eastern Sea. They are described as being in the shape of three gourds(壺 Hu, gourd). The first one is the

of this small book there is a foreword written by Lu himself which ends in two lines:

"In the 29th year of Wan-li, in the cycle Hsin-ch'ou(辛丑 1601), in the fifth month, Lu Hsi-hsing alias Ch'ang-keng, writes in the boat in the Lu River(滤河 the N. Canal, near T'ung-hsien通縣, Hopeh) when he is eighty-two."

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"Three hills are there in the Eastern Sea. They are described as being in the shape of three gourds(壺 Hu, gourd). The first one is the

(325) "Chi-ming(star) in the east, Ch'ang-kêng in the west", in Hsiao-ya(小雅), the poem Ta Tung(大東).

(326) Wu Yün(五蘊), the five attributes of a human being, i.e., form, perception, consciousness, action and knowledge. "五蘊皆空"(the five attributes of a human being are non-existent objectively), see Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra(Pan Jo Po Lo Mi To Hsing Ching 般若波羅密多心經), No.251, "The Tripitaka in Chinese".

Fang-hu(方壺), or the Fang Chang Hill(方丈); the second is the P'êng-hu(蓬壺), or the P'êng-lai Hill(蓬萊); and the last is the Ying-hu(瀛壺), or the Ying-chou Hill(瀛洲)."(327)

That Lu Hsi-hsing was an admirer of Taoism and Buddhism can be seen from his choice of names. In the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" he styled himself Wai Shih(外史, External Historian) in Chs.4 and 5, or Fang-hu Wai Shih in Chs.4, 7, and 8. The book entitled Fang Hu Wai Shih mentioned in the Annals is a work on Taoist physical cultivation which was highly praised by Li Tai(李戴), the Minister of Civil Office, in his preface of the "Outlines of the Sūraṅgama-Sūtra". From the fact that Lu Hsi-hsing's first name is closely related to his other name, and that the third name again alludes to some mysterious Taoist studies, it might be conjectured that he might well have made allusions about himself and his life in his own writings. Were the novel Fêng Shên Yen I really written or compiled by him, it should be possible to find some literal evidence to prove this supposition.

We have seen in the short biography of Lu Hsi-hsing that he had an intimate friend Tsung Ch'ên(宗臣). Tsung, who was a native of Hsing-hua, highly renowned in the literary field and was also one of the so-called "Seven Writers of Chung Yüan"(中原七子). In the Annals of Yang-chow-Fu, we see an item from the earlier K'ang-hsi's(康熙) edition of the same Annals,(328) which supplies us with some materials about the early life of Tsung Ch'ên, from which we may deduce the friendship between these two writers:

"When Tsung Ch'ên was studying in the native college, some swallows nested in a lotus-lamp(Lien-hua Têng蓮花燈) hanging in his quarters. Tsung was then congratulated by his schoolmates: 'This is an omen for your Lien Têng(聯登, to be successful in two successive examinations)!' In the years Chi-yu(己酉) and Kêng-hsü(庚戌), i.e. 1549-1550, Tsung actually passed the Imperial Provincial and Senior Examinations successfully, thus fulfilling the prophesy."

The fact that Tsung passed the Imperial Senior Examination and got the Chih-shih(進士 approximately Ph.D.) in 1550 is also recorded in the Ming Shih,(329) so that the above item about Tsung Ch'ên is reliable.

(327) This book was written by Wang Chia(王嘉) or Wang Tzŭ-nien(王子年) of the Fu Ch'in(苻秦) during the epoch of division between north and south. See Shih I Chi, Chüan 1, on Kao Hsin(高辛), Han Wei Ts'ung Shu(漢魏叢書) ed.

(328) "Hsing-hua District Annals" were again revised and published by District Magistrate Chang K'ê-li(張可立) in the 21st year of K'ang-hsi(康熙二十一年,1682).

(329) Chüan 287, Wên Yüan(文苑 Literature), under Li P'an Lung Chuan (李攀龍傳).

This states first that Tsung "was studying", then when he "actually passed the.....examinations" which means that since Tsung was a very successful scholar, it would not have taken him many years to participate in the Provincial Examination, as he was already "a renowned student" in his native district. Yet we know already that Lu Hsi-hsing "was a very distinguished student" and Tsung Ch'ên was "among his contemporaries", and we can easily conclude that their friendship began when they were together in the native college. In 1550 when Tsung passed the Imperial Senior Examination he was twenty-six,(330) and Lu, as we shall learn was, thirty-one.

Yet the close friendship between Tsung Ch'ên and Lu Hsi-hsing is not evident if we read the Yangchow-Fu and the Hsing-hua District Annals only. In the "Bibliographical Notes on the General Catalogue of Szŭ K'u Ch'uan Shu" there are the "Complete Works of Tsung Tzŭ-hsiang"(宗子相集, Tzu-hsiang was Tsung Ch'ên's second name) which I have for many years anxious to get, and which I read in the private Yüeh Yüan(約園) Library of the late Chancellor Chang Shou-yung(張壽鏞) of Kwang Hua University (光華大學) in 1939. It is an early edition of the thirty-sixth year of Wan-li(1608), and in it is much material which would make us believe that there might be a counterpart to Lu Hsi-hsing in the novel Fêng Shên Yen I who is named Lu Ya(陸壓). Some of the vivid descriptions of him in the Fêng Shên, so far as I can judge, are self-portraits of the life of the author, Lu Hsi-hsing himself.

Lu Ya

In the novel Fêng Shên Yen I, there are the righteous Promulgating Sect's Taoists headed by the supreme Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun of the Jade Palace of Abstraction, and under him we have the Twelve Apostles(the Twelve Generations of Disciples). There are also many magicians who, although Taoists themselves, are still free from such ordered and ritualistic restrictions, of whom Lu Ya is the leader.

Lu Ya occupies a high position among the Taoists in this book. It seems that he is not at all the disciple of Yüan Shih or Laotzŭ, hence his position is somewhat different from that of Wên Shu(Mañjuśrī), P'u Hsien(Samantabhadra), Tz'ŭ Hang Tao Jên(Avalokiteṣvara), T'ai-I and the

(330) See (329).

In the Tsu-Extermination Array story narrated in Chs.44-51, anyone sent by Jan Tàng(Lìpaóhuna) to enter first into these fierce battles was destinated to die with the exception of Lu Ya who entered the Fire-blazing Array(Jiǎo Yǎ), broke through the ranks and killed the enemy. (Ch.48)

Chao Kung-ming was able to capture and fasten the Immortal Yellow-Dragon on the top of a flag-staff, with his forehead(Ni Wan Kung 泥丸宮) dabbed with a seal and talisman so that he was kept motionless.(Ch.47) In Ch.49 Madame Pi Hsiao(碧霄娘娘), the younger sister of Chao Kung-ming, caught Lu Ya with her golden bushel(Hun Yüan Chin Tou 混元金斗) and fastened him as he had fastened the Immortal Yellow-Dragon. Five hundred soldiers were ordered to shoot at him at the same time. It was miraculous to see how all the arrows and iron barbs turned to ashes and Lu, transforming himself into a rainbow, disappeared. But in Ch.50, the Twelve Apostles were all caught by the golden bushel and none of them was able to recover.

When there are decisive combats(for instance, the Myriad-Immortals Array in Ch.84) to eliminate the vicious deities of the Intercepting Sect, or When Chiang Shang(Tzŭ-ya) is in trouble, Lu Ya plays an important role in saving him.(Chs.69-70) It is he who contrives to shoot and and kill the malignant Chao Kung-ming, which is held to be a great triumph achieved by the Chou(Ⅱ) side.(Ch.48) It is also he who gives the gourd of darting knives to Chiang Tzŭ-ya which proves very useful when Ta-chi and the other two evil spirits are executed.(Chs.84,93 and 97) All these examples illustrate that Lu Ya can never be overlooked as an unimportant character.

We have pointed previously that according to the memoirs of Ch'ing scholars, some of the characters in this novel, such as Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun, No-cha, Chao Kung-ming, Ta-chi....can be traced in historical or legendary records, yet we can not find out anything about Lu Ya from such sources. It is possible that this was an imaginary character created by our author as a pure, free and sublime Taoist existing in an ideal environment.

rest. Illustrations can be cited from the novel:

In the Ten-Extermination Array story narrated in Chs.44-51, anyone sent by Jan Têng(Dīpaṁkana) to enter first into these fierce battles was destinated to die with the exception of Lu Ya who entered the Fire-blazing Array(烈焰陣), broke through the ranks and killed the enemy. (Ch.48)

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Lu Hsi-hsing was a learned man who was deeply versed in the complete philosophical work of Chuangtzŭ. The character Ya(壓) corresponds to Yen(厭) which means to pacify(鎮), to drown(沉) and to calm (安).

In the Chapter Tsê Yang(則陽) of Chuangtzŭ, we read:

".....He conceals himself among the populace, buries himself on the side-walk, his voice is faint but his ambition is boundless. .... Though he renounces the world and his heart disdains to notice it, yet he may be drowned on land."(其自埋於民，自藏於畔，其聲銷，其志無窮 . .... 方且與世違，而心不屑與之俱，是陸沉者也.)

Lu Hsi-hsing explained the last sentence by saying "One who ought to be prominent yet secludes himself from the public."(陸而沉者，言其當見而反隱者.)(331)

In popular literature, sometimes a star(Hsing星) is to be repressed (Ya壓) so that its evil influences may be driven off. In the San Kuo Chih P'ing-hua(三國志平話), Chüan 3, when Chu-ko Liang was dying he made a magical trick to repress his own star as a general(壓住將星). The trick by which Chiang Shang(Tzŭ-ya) outwitted King Wên(Chi Ch'ang) in saving Wu Chi's life is called Yen Hsing Chŭ(掩星局) or "trick to cover-up the star" in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan, but in Chs.16 and 24 of the Feng Shen Yen I, the term Ya Hsing(壓星) appears more than once. It will be safe, I think, to say that the character Ya(壓) is bound to have some relation with Hsing(星 star).

In Ch.48 of the Fêng Shên Yen I when Lu Ya makes his first appearance he told Jan Teng Tao Jen that he was "a loafer from the West K'un Lun Mountain"(貧道乃西崑崙閒人). The term "West K'un Lun Mountain" is noteworthy. Though we know geographically Mt. K'un Lun is situated in the west of China, but here in this term the character Hsi(西) is not applied generally, and in order to clarify the point the author created another "East K'un Lun Mountain", and in Ch.48 when Ch'ih Ching Tzu was going to kill his opponent he prostrated himself towards the "East K'un Lun Mountain"(東崑崙) though this symmetrical term does not appear in any other chapters. I think this "East K'un Lun Mountain" was created particularly to camouflage the character Hsi put before K'un Lun through

(331) "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ", Chüan 6.

Lu Ya's mouth. There is another character in the novel, the Immortal Tu O(度厄真人) who is said to have dwelt in the "West K'un Lun Mountain"(Chs.3 and 12). But the name To O(literally means "to pass all distress and peril") comes from a sentence from the Pan Jo Po Lo Mi To Hsin Ching(般若波羅密多心經 Prajñāpāramitahṛdava Sūtra) which reads,

"觀自在菩薩(332)行甚深般若波羅密多時，照見五蘊皆空，度一切苦厄."

(Bodhisattva Avalokiteṣvara in his deep meditation reflected that any one of the five attributes of a human being was objectively non-existent, and that this discovery would deliver people from all distress and peril, ..."

Since we have learnt that Yün K'ung(蘊空) was derived from a sentence in the above quotation and was used by Lu Hsi-hsing as his Buddhist name, I think it is quite natural for him to create the Tu O(度厄) by the same method from the next sentence, and since he has hidden the character Hsi in the K'un Lun Mountain where his counterpart is supposed to dwell, was it not natural enough that in his mind an association was formed so that the Immortal Tu O became the only character in the novel who lived in the West K'un Lun Mountain besides Lu Ya?

The above deduction, though conjectural, is not without foundation. In Ch.48 Lu Ya called himself San Jên(散人) which means "a good-for-nothing fellow", "a man who has no talent as a Taoist", as well as a loafer. There are other San Jên , besides Lu Ya, who are also Taoists found in this novel. They possessed also prodigious power and wonderful weapons, and in Ch.47, the Ts'ao Pao(曹寶) and Hsiao Shêng(蕭升), two San Jên from the Wu I Mountain(武夷山) did even greater magic feats than that of the Immortal Yellow Dragon, Kuang Ch'êng Tzŭ and other immortals. This term appears in a passage in Ch.2, "Criticism of Chuang-tzŭ" which may be quoted:

".....It can be established as a theory that anything which is too useful may not be able even to preserve itself from perishing. Therefore, if you find yourself useful, you will be in danger as a San Jên on the verge of death, and how can you understand me a San Mu(散木 useless wood), who may endure alone?"(333)

As San Jên is a Taoist style which was used by many Taoist scholars,

(332) Another name for Kuan Shih Yin(觀世音 Regarder of the Cries of the World) or Budhisattva Avalokiteṣvara.

(333) Chüan 2, on Jên Chien Shih(人間世).

(334) and as in 1555,(the 34th year of Chia-ching) the Emperor Shih-tsung even conferred the title T'ung Miao San Jên(通妙散人) on a certain Taoist who had gained his favour through the recommedation of Prince Hui(徽王),(335) I dare not say this is the sole origin of the San Jên which appeared in the novel. But Lu Ya called himself also a rustic(野人) in Ch.48, and in the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" we find the term again, as the author refers modestly to himself,

"It seems not necessary for a rustic like myself to say anything more on this point."(不消山野為添註腳矣.)(336)

I think this coincidence may not be accidental.

The following items may be helpful in strengthening the opinion that the Fêng Shên Yen I was written by Lu:

(1) We have learnt from Lu's biography that "he was a very distinguished student....but when after nine attempts he could not pass the Imperial Provincial Examination, he gave up the scholarly robes, put on the Taoist square hat and went out tramping." We read this both in the Yangchow-Fu and Hsing-hua District Annals. In Ch.48 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when Lu Ya called on Jan Têng, he twice sang,

"I have cast off the honour which would have been mine if I had passed the imperial examination into the flowing stream,
and abandon myself to be a free hermit."

Again he says:

"Why not relinquish this dirty world,
give up fame and fortune to the scattered leaves,
and just enjoy the bright moon and the gentle breeze?
I am a scholar who has escaped renown on earth,
and am now a happy, old hermit with clouds and water."

These do not sound like the verses of an immortal being, but are rather the echoes of the thoughts of a Chinese scholar who "has given up the scholarly robes, put on the Taoist square hat", because he could not pass the Examination sucessfully. When we compare the line "A scholar who has escaped renown on earth"(人世間逃名士) with the following passage in the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" Ch.6):

"....he renounces the world and his heart disdains to notice it....

(334) Such as Liu Hsü San Jên(六虛散人) Hsü I-yüan(胥一元) who wrote the Huang Ti Yin Fu Ching Hsin Fa(黃帝陰符經心法); Yün Fêng San Jên(雲峰散人) Hsia Tsung-yü(夏宗禹) who wrote the Wu Chên P'ien Chiang I(悟眞篇講義), see Tung Chên Pu(洞眞部), Yü Chüeh Lui(玉訣類), "Two Collection of Taoist Literature".

(335) Ming Shan Tsang(名山藏), Chüan 11, Tien Mu Chi(典謨記).

(336) Chüan 2, on Ta Tsung Shih(大宗師).

who escapes renown on earth. Why then should the Master praise him? It is because he did not think of his own sagacity and hated to make a show of himself, and thereupon approximated his conduct to perfection." (方且與世違而心不屑與之俱.....其絕人逃世有如此. 夫子何以取焉? 謂其不自聖而自見而有幾於道也.),

and a poem entitled "On Paying A Visit to Lu Ch'ang-kêng and Not Finding Him at Home"(出訪陸長庚不遇) written in rhymed verses with five characters in each line(五言排律) in the "Complete Works of Tsung Tzŭ-hsiang"(Tsung Ch'ên), which contains the following couplet:

"You mean to escape forever from this earthly life, 汝謂長逃世,
And I prefer to be shut up in solitude together with you. 吾將共閉關." (337)

I think these will serve as an effective comment on that verse sung by Lu Ya: "I am a scholar who has escaped renown on earth."

(2) In Ch.48 of the Fêng Shên Yen I when Lu Ya found that both Jan Teng(the Comforter of the Twelve Generations of Disciples) and the other Immortals did not know him, he said contemptuously:

"I am a poor Taoist who has travelled over the Five Sacred Mountains and crossed the Four Seas, yet I remain a rustic. Pray listen to my song:

A poor Taoist who was originally a guest from Mt. K'un Lun,
On the south bank near that stone bridge was my old residence. ...."

As many lines full of the appreciation of a Taoist life follow, it is difficult to explain the background of the verse we quote here. There is another verse: "Everybody laughs at me for my hobby of Taoism," which gives, incidentally, the clue that this Lu Ya was not, in the mind of the author, a supernatural being, but merely one who longed for such supernatural life.

In Ch.34 when Huang Fei-hu entered the city of Ch'i-chou, he inquired for the residence of the Premier Chiang Tzŭ-ya. The commoners answered, "It is near the Little Golden Bridge"(小金橋頭便是). And in Ch. 36 when No-cha was sent by his master to Ch'i-chou, he also inquired about Tzŭ-ya's residence and he was again told the "Little Golden Bridge".

(337) Chüan 9. (王惠) and other three "sages" of the Intercepting Sect came to Chao-ku (朝歌), the capital of King Chou, they asked the people where the residence of Premier Wên T'ai-shih was. It was answered by a courageous one, who was not scared at their fearful countenances, "Straightforward to the south, at the Double-Dragon Bridge." (石橋南二龍橋就是。)

And again, in Ch.63, "Yin Chiao discovered a grotto on the south bank near the stone bridge" outside the T'ao Yüan Cave of his master K'uang Ch'êng Tzŭ.

When we compare the real life of Lu Hsi-hsing with that verse "on the south bank near the stone bridge was my old residence" (石橋南畔有舊宅) we find a remarkable coincidence:

There are two letters "To Lu Ch'ang-kêng" from Tsung Ch'ên,(338) and the second one reads as follows:

"My father wrote me that heavy rains came in the sixth month which caused egrets and terns to stay in my Madonna-Lily Chamber (Fu-yung Kuan 芙蓉館). In that case I am afraid that your South Villa (Nan Shu 南墅) will not be able to resist the waves, and that your tables will be immersed in water."

Of course, we do not know that the "South Villa" was situated "on the south bank near the stone bridge", yet it was undoubtedly an "old residence" of Hsi-hsing's before he became a Taoist priest. This letter also reveals the poor circumstances of Hsi-hsing's early years. We learn also from this letter that he was already married, had two or more sons, and that the eldest had already passed childhood.

Again it is possible that Lu Hsi-hsing's "old residence" was not far away from the water. If this is so, then it is reasonable to assume that a stone bridge was near. In Tsung's Complete Works there is again a "Short Biography of Mrs. Lu (Lu Hsi-hsing's mother)", a paragraph of which we quote here:(339)

".....I (Tsung Ch'ên) passed the Imperial Senior and Final Examinations before Ch'ang-kêng, and was engaged in official duties; then I was sick and given leave to come back to my native district, Ch'ang-kêng

When Wang Mo(王魔) and other three "sages" of the Intercepting Sect came to Chao-kê(朝歌), the capital of King Chou, they asked the people where the residence of Premier Wên T'ai-shih was. It was answered by a courageous one, who was not scared at their fearful countenances, "Straightforward to the south, at the Double-Dragon Bridge."(在正南二龍橋就是.)

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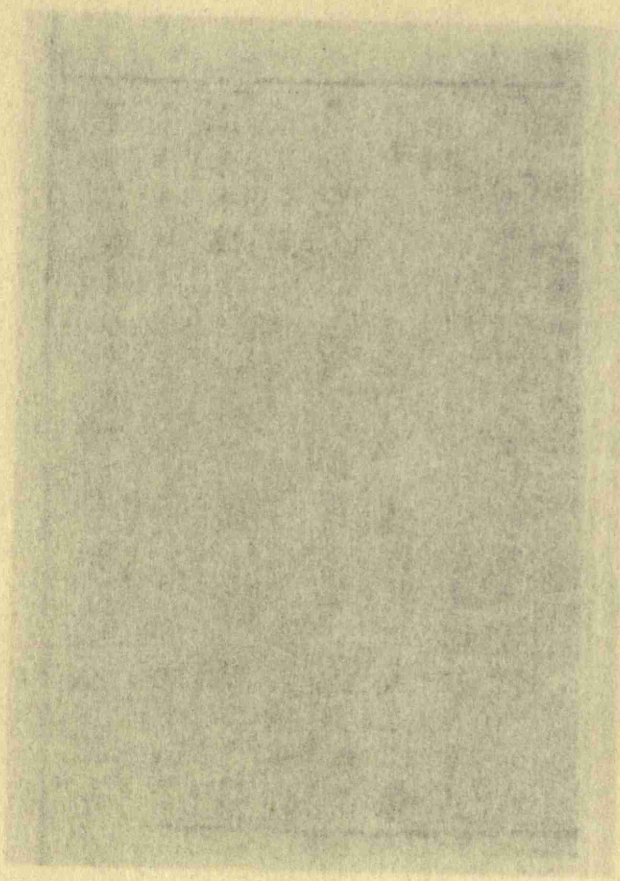
(338) Chüan 14, Letters, "The Complete Work of Tsung Tzŭ-hsiang".

(339) Chüan 12, Essays.



"The Complete Work of Tsung Tzŭ-hsiang"
ed. 1606 A.D. (a)

called on me frequently in a single boat....."

The poem which we quoted above[340] described [illegible] residence in its first stanza as follows:

"When I go to the country I often tie my boat, [illegible]

Because [illegible] of a hill. [illegible]

On the [illegible] under a thousand trees,

[illegible]

While [illegible] 一水間.

One of [illegible] characters in four lines) "To [illegible]

"Your [illegible] the river, looks lofty,

江上薛[illegible]

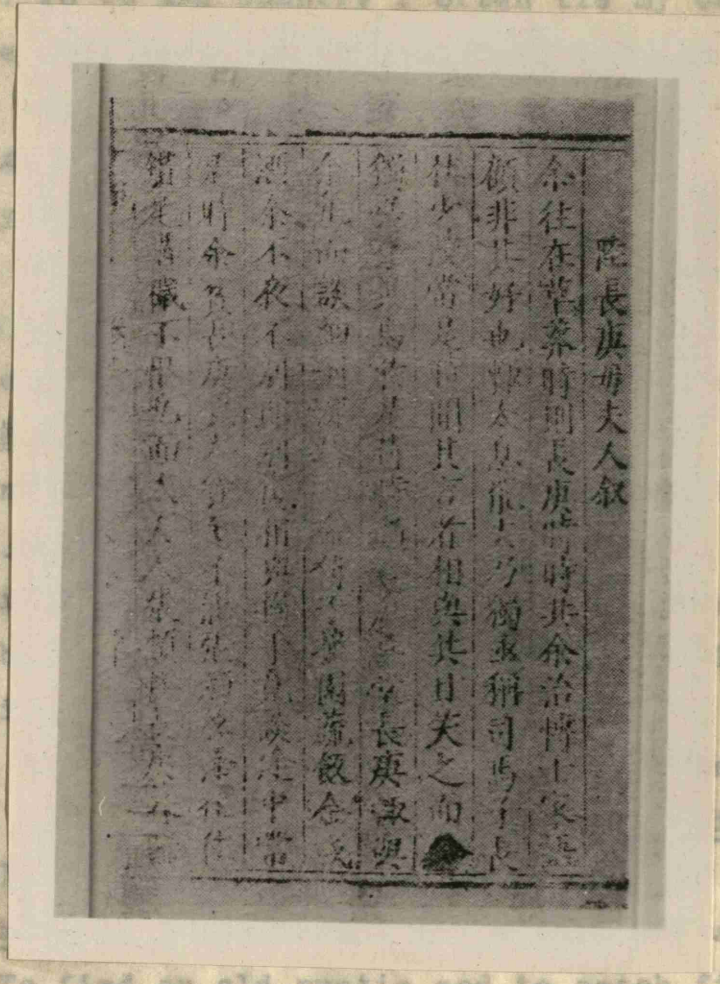
The wi[illegible] beckon me to you every year." [illegible]

Through Ea[illegible] manently, the verse "on the south [illegible] ld residence" seems relevant and wi[illegible]

(3) Lu [illegible] himself. His book "A Collection [illegible] ih I 楚陽詩選) although unobtainab[illegible] his contemporaries. In the Fêng S[illegible] atedly:

".....To find an old rustic and to catch fish with him, 尋野叟，同垂釣，

and to find a poet to sing verses together." 覓騷人共賦吟.



"The Complete Work of Tsung Tzŭ-hsiang"

ed. 1608 A.D. (a)

Again:

"To sing verses astonishes heaven and the earth, 閒吟詩句驚天地，

and to play the harp lulls my tranquil mind." 靜理瑤琴樂性情.

Such verses could never be sung by characters in any other story-books. In Ch.64 a song was sung by Li Ching, which says, "To gather purplish elixir fungus in the mountain, to fix up my fish-hook by the bank of the stream." (高山採紫芝，溝邊理釣絲.) In Chs.23, 49, 66 and 72, are other poems and eulogies in which fishing and fish-rods are also referred to. It seems to me that the author, conciously or unconciously, had the idea of elevating Le Ya's position in his novel, thereby he fortuitously disclosed at the same time facets of his own life. When he

called on me frequently in a single boat....."

The poem which we quoted above[340] described Lu's residence in its first stanza as follows:

"When I go to the country I often tie my boat, 出郊頻繫艇,
Because your house is not built on the side of a hill. 築室不依山.
On the way the wood-cutters are labouring under a thousand trees, 樵者千林下,
While your Villa is isolated by water." 人家一水間.

One of his short poems (Ch'i Chüeh 七絕, seven characters in four lines) "To Lu Ch'ang-kêng"[341] begins with:

"Your cottage, built against rocks beside the river, looks lofty, 江上莊堂倚石孤,
The wine-bottles and purple chrysanthemum beckon me to you every year." 清尊紫菊歲相呼.

Through Hsi-hsing may not have lived there permanently, the verse "on the south bank near that stone bridge was my old residence" seems relevant and without inconsistencies.

(3) Lu Hsi-hsing was fond of writing verses himself. His book "A Collection of Poems of Ch'u Yang" (Ch'u Yang Shih I 楚陽詩逸) although unobtainable to-day, was widely appreciated by his contemporaries. In the Fêng Shên Yen I the Taoist Lu Ya sang repeatedly:

".....To find an old rustic and to catch fish with him, 尋野叟同垂釣,
and to find a poet to sing verses together." 覓騷人共賦吟.

Again:

"To sing verses astonishes heaven and the earth, 閒吟詩句驚天地,
and to play the harp lulls my tranquil mind." 靜理瑤琴樂性情.

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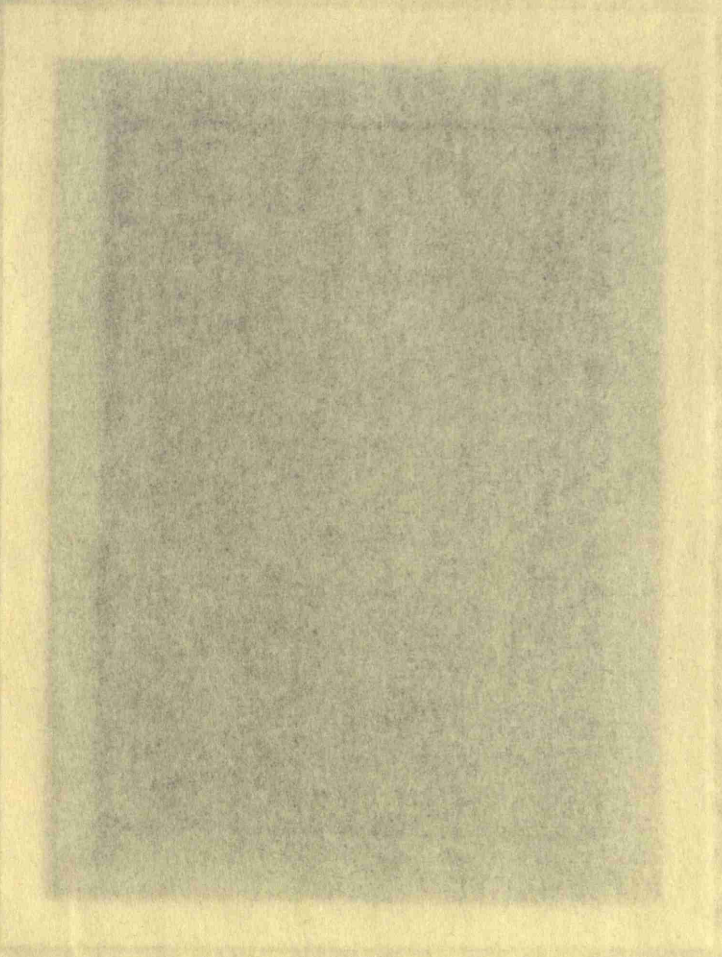
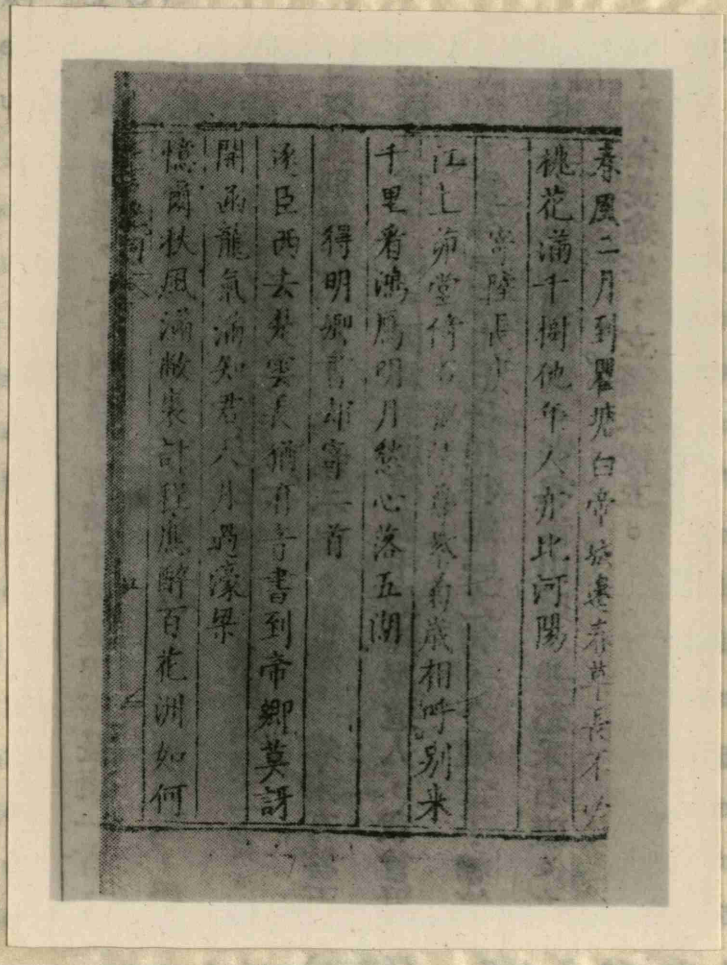
(340) cf. (337).

(341) Chüan 11.





春風二月到瞿塘白帝城邊春草長不必
桃花滿千樹他年人亦比河陽
寄陸長庚
江上茆堂倚石[illegible]幾歲相呼別來
千里看鴻鴈明月愁心落五湖
得明卿書却寄一首
逐臣西去楚雲長猶有青書到帝鄉莫訝
開函龍氣滿知君八月過濠梁
憶爾狀風滿敝裘計程應醉百花洲如何

"The Complete Work of Tsung Tzŭ-hsiang"
ed. 1608 A.D. (b)

described Lu Ya and others' love of fishing, he told what was his own hobby, and it is also described in Tsung Ch'ên's poem:(342)

"The dragon-sword becomes more colourful by the side of glass,
龍劍斗邊色,
The hook is at rest when it is lying on the stone. 漁竿石上閒.
You yourself have to pluck leaves from the purplish elixir fungus,
玄芝應自摘,
And who will be silly enough to admire the laurels? 叢桂好誰攀?...."

This should be regarded as more than coincidental.

(4) We have learnt from the "Bibliographical Notes on the General Catalogue of Szŭ K'u Ch'üan Shu" that Hsi-hsing had another name, the External Historian of Fang-hu, a style which Hsi-hsing used also in publishing his "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ". Most of the records again ascribed the "External History of Fang-hu" in eight Chüan to Lu. I scrutinized the "Complete Works of Tsung Tzŭ-hsiang" and found that there are eleven essays and poems relating to Hsi-hsing, but there is not even one short poem concerning the so-called "External Historian". Therefore we may infer that this extra name of Hsi-hsing was not very popular even when he was living, or he adopted this name in his later age when Tsung Ch'ên was dead. The latter inference may be accepted since Tsung died in 1560(343) and the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" was not published until seventeen years later(1578). But I think that Hsi-hsing may have had another name "The Hermit of the Five Sacred Mountains"(Wu Yüeh Shan Jên) which may have used when he put on the square hat and became a Taoist. In a poem "A Night Gathering of Friends---To Hsi-hsing"(諸子夜集因寄長庚) by Tsung Ch'ên (344) we read:

"Hearing that you have turned into a Taoist, a companion of the clouds, 聞君已作猿霞客,
The wonderful flowers on the stone you can now appreciate singly."
石上瑤華只自看.

Hsi-hsing was not present at the gathering, for at that time he had not only turned Taoist, but may also have left his native Hsing-hua too. In the eight-line verses with five characters to the line(Wu Lü 五律) in the same book, we have another poem "In Reply to the Hermit of the Five

(342) cf. notes (337) & (340).

(343) Chüan 287, Ming Shih; in the "Hsing-hua District Annals", Chüan 9, there is an elegy on the death of Tsung Ch'ên written by Lu Hsi-hsing.

(344) Chüan 7, Ch'i Lü(七律 eight-line verse having seven characters to the line).

Sacred Mountains"(答五岳山人見寄)(345):

"Where does a piece of cloud come from? 片雲何處至,
My heart feels depressed because we are apart. 為爾獨依依.
Thank you for the Fu on the Green Hill which you sent me, 寄我青山賦,
Melancholy indeed it is haunting the Ts'ai-shih Chi. 悲愁采石磯.
The bright moon of Chiu-hua Mountain is still there, 九華明月在,
When will you come back---O Five Sacred-Mountain Hermit? 五岳幾時歸?
A solitary traveller on a long journey, 蕭索長途客,
The frost descends and yet he has no proper clothes." 玄霜未授衣.

The hero of this poem must have been one of Tsung Ch'ên's old companions, yet Tsung did not know his whereabouts. He called himself "A Hermit of the Five Sacred Mountains", and he had just begun his travels. He sent too a long Fu(賦, an irregular, matrical, rhyming composition) entitled "The Fu on the Green Hill" to Tsung Ch'ên, and to write verses is, of course, one of the traditions of a scholar. Then who is this Hermit of the Five Sacred Mountains? In Ch.5 of the Fêng Shên Yen I Yün-chung Tzŭ chanted a long Fu which was composed, no doubt, by an old hand. When we read Ch.48 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, we hear Lu Ya's voice:

"I am a poor Taoist who has travelled over the Five Sacred Mountains and crossed the Four Seas, yet I remain a rustic. ...."

Again he sang:

"I would stroll either along the Three Hills or the Five Sacred Mountains,
And enjoy myself on the islands surrounding P'êng-lai(蓬萊)."

Since we have proved that Hsi-hsing took the name "External Historian of Fang-hu" to show his admiration of "the islands surrounding P'êng-lai", who knows that he did not adopt yet another name, "A Hermit of the Five Sacred Mountains" because in imagination he was so fond of strolling along the Five Sacred Mountains? The poem, "In Reply to the Hermit of Five Sacred Mountains" is found at the end of Chüan 6(cf.note 345), and traditionally, poems referring to "monks, Taoist-priests and nuns"(Fang Wai 方外) are put at the end of a work. Hence we see that the hero of this poem could be nothing but a Taoist. And when we probe into Tsung's relationship with scholars and friends, we find that the

most (345) Chüan 6, last poem.

most probable person was Lu Hsi-hsing, whose sudden departure would depress Tsung.

If this hypothesis is tenable, the verse "Melancholy indeed it is haunting the Ts'ai-shih Chi" is again reflected in Ch.13 of the novel where the one with whom No-cha fought his valiant combat was Madame Shih Chi(石磯娘娘). In Chüan 6 of the Sou Shên Chi(搜神記) edited by Chang Kuo-hsiang(張國祥) in 1607,(346) there is Hsiao Chi Niang-niang(蕭磯娘娘 Madame Hsiao Chi), who was the second wife of Liu Pei(劉備) during the first part of the third century, and who drowned herself in the river near Wuhu(蕪湖), and was canonized as a goddess only from the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The character "磯"(Chi) means "jetty". If this be the origin of the Madame Shih Chi in the novel, then I think the author must have travelled to that place, Ts'ai-shih Chi(采石磯 Ts'ai-shih Jetty), where a decisive historical battle between the Nü-chên Tartars and the Chinese was fought in 1160, and combined the names of the goddess and the Jetty together to form one of his imaginary immortals.

(5) I take my fifth proof from the Chia-ch'ing Ch'ung Hsiu Ta Ch'ing I T'ung Chih(嘉慶重修大清一統志"Geographical Encyclopaedia of the Ch'ing Dynasty Revised in the Reign of Chia-ch'ing").(347) In this Encyclopaedia, referring to Yangchow's scenery and antiquities, on the Star-Plucking Building(摘星樓) we have this note:

"Situated at the north-west corner of Yangchow-Fu city. According to ancient Annals when Chia Szŭ-tao(賈似道) built the Pao-yu Citadel(寶祐城), he erected this building on it, on which a big signboard with 'The Best Quarter in the Three Cities'(三城勝處) hung. That tower was the Star-Plucking Building."

This shows that the Star-Plucking Building was closely related to the "Chias". I pointed out previously that as well as in the Fêng Shên Yen I, the Star-Plucking Building appears also in the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, the Chin Ping Liu Kuo P'ing-hua, and also in the anonymous play P'ang Chüan Yeh Tsou Ma Ling Tao, of the Yuan dynasty. But in Ch. 30 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, ("Chou Chi Persuades Huang Fei-hu to Rebel against King Chou"), when King Chou compelled Huang Fei-hu's wife Chia

(346) "Two Collections of Taoist Literature", Kao(高) 1105-06.

(347) Szŭ Pu Ts'ung K'an Hsü Pien(四部叢刊續編), Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai.

to prove that the author of this novel was a native of Yangchow, and also a learned man, familiar with the scenery and antiquities of the prefecture(Fu). Thus he put a "Star-Plucking Building" in his book, and associated the building with the name "Chia", with which he was naturally familiar as a native of Hsing-hua, Yangchow. In the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, the wife of Huang Fei-hu is a Kêng(耿氏) not a Chia.

(6) In this novel, the weapons carried by both the Promulgating Sect and their opponents are, as a rule, wonderful and mysterious. Lu Ya Tao Jên on the other hand carried only the dry rind of a gourd, which contained some darting knives. Yet this small gourd proved instrumental in ending the Shang dynasty. In Ch.84 of the Fêng Shên Yen I we read:

".....When the other Taoists departed, Lu Ya shook hands with Chiang Tzŭ-ya and said, 'We shall not meet again after this parting; during the future of this campaign, though you may encounter malignant enemies, there is some one else who may solve your difficulties. But I know there are further embarrassments, in which you must use my treasure to rid yourself of them. Now I give you this gourd which may help you a lot.' Tzŭ-ya thanked him once more."

Unmistakably in Ch.97, when Tzŭ-ya executed Ta-chi:

".....He took out the precious gourd bestowed by Lu Ya from his furnace, put it on the table, and lifted up the lid. Suddenly a stream of bright light gushed out. Tzŭ-ya knelt to supplicate this treasure to turn about," and Ta-chi was immediately beheaded.

We see how solemnly the author described this gourd! The word gourd (Hu Lu葫蘆) in ancient Chinese can be written "瓠" or Hu, as we have seen in the Book of Odes,(348) "In the eighth month the gourds are cut." I suppose that the gourd(Hu Lu) of Lu Ya came also from that "Fang-hu" of the "External Historian", that is a name of Lu Hsi-hsing himself. Otherwise, a simple gourd with some flying knives would not be prized by a Taoist master who was the chief of the third group of mysterious magi-

to drink with him, Chia, unable to bear such a shameful insult committed suicide by jumping from the Star-Plucking Building.

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(348) Pin Fêng(豳風), Ch'i Yüeh(七月). In B. Karlgren's transl., op. cit., P.98; and in A. Waley's transl., op. cit., P.166.

cians.

(7) The theme of Lu's book the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" is said to be "the intention to combine both Taoism and Buddhism into a great family", and in the Fêng Shên Yen I, "Buddhists are mingled with Taoists." This proves that it is not true to say that the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I was an admirer of Taoism only. From self-explanation of Lu Ya in Ch.48 of the Fêng Shên we also see such characteristics as:

".....I never go to the Hsüan Tu(Abstruse Land) to bow before Lao-tzŭ,
Nor go to the Jade Palace of Abstraction to worship Yüan Shih.
I stroll either along the Three Hills or the Five Sacred Mountains,
And enjoy myself on the island surrounding P'êng-lai."

Again:

"I am not envious of rich and noble men,
Nor watch prominent officials with a jealous eye,
And I remain anonymous in the Jade Palace of Abstraction,
When I visited Hsüan Tu and looked at the thousand peach-trees,
I took three cups of wine and left without bonds."

The first line of the above verse again fits in with the opinion expressed in Ch.7 of the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ".(349) In these few lines we see that Hsi-hsing had refused to be the disciple of some other Taoists, and they reveal also his other hobby---drinking. Tsung Ch'ên's "A Short Biography of Mrs. Lu" narrates the poverty of Hsi-hsing's early days as follows:

"He sent his son to pluck vegetables from the garden to entertain me with a meal; sometimes he gave me wine too."

Again:

"He drank wine and toasted the health of his mother, and sang of his ambition to be a hermit."

Thus it is unnecessary to argue that Hsi-hsing was not fond of wine.

In Ch.47 of the novel, Hsiao Shêng and Ts'ao Pao, two members of the San Hsien(散仙), in replying to Chao Kung-ming, sing, "Our life is committed to a pot of good wine."

In Ch.64, a song was sung by Li Ching to Lo Hsüan in which we read,

(349) On Wai Wu(外物): "The people who have not been able to rid themselves of worldly affairs, are covetous of richness and power as well as fame."(只為世緣上看得不透，遇富貴則貪富貴，遇功名則戀功名。)

"When I am helplessly intoxicated with wine, I shall sing these poems in my belly."

The author praises King Wên, because he had the capacity to drink a hundred cups(Ch.11); and also Pi-kan(比干), because his capacity was even greater---up to hundred gallons.(Ch.25)

In Ch.15 when Chiang Tzŭ-ya descended from the K'un Lun Mountain and entered Chao-ko, the capital of Shang, he stayed in his friend, Sung I Jên's(宋異人) villa. He was warmly entertained by Sung, but he refused to eat any meat. As to wine, he did not refuse insistently, for he was convinced by Sung's words that "even the immortals go to the P'an-t'ao Hui(蟠桃會 to the Flat-peach Party) held on 3rd day of the third lunar month in honour of the goddess Mother Wang-mu(王母)."

In Ch.40 when Huang T'ien-hua(黃天化) descended from the mountain to join King Wu's forces, he was given a feast by his father, Huang Fei-hu, with wine and meat. On the next day he even took off his Taoist priestly robes and wore a luxurious dress. He was seriously taken to task by his master for the meat diet and the dress, but nothing improper was found in the liquor.

(8) Lu Hsi-hsing, as well as his fictional counterpart Lu Ya, was a man who regarded the rich and the noble with contempt and was never engaged in any official duties, yet in the background of his works we read with sympathy a hint of unmitigated tragedy.

In Tsung Ch'ên's "Biography of Mrs. Lu" we read:

".....And afterward, Hsi-hsing and I took part in the examination at Yangchow-Fu, but unfortunately, both of us failed and then returned. He sighed dolefully and said, 'Only heaven knows why I sigh for the loss of a humble degree! Yet I cannot help thinking that my dear mother, a widow, has taught me diligently, and I have achieved nothing to console her or my dear father's spirit."

From these words we understand that Hsi-hsing's father was dead when Hsi-hsing was still a child, and to console his mother and to relieve her heavy burden, he was forced to take the examinations. Therefore his failure was something which distressed him. Not long after, when Tsung

ch'ên passed the final examination in Peking(1550) and came back to his native district on sick leave, "Ch'ang-kêng(Hsi-hsing) called on (him) frequently in a boat":

"During the night he sighed several times. 'Why do you sigh?' I asked. He replied, 'My mother is getting old, and I....' "

We therefore conclude that Hsi-hsing, after being unlucky as many as "nine times" in his examinations, was at last compelled to desist and try another profession. In the songs of Lu Ya, the Taoist, is:

"To visit Taoists and immortals amongst clouds even in the deepest caves,
To wash away those fancies and vain hopes while sitting on a sand-bank.
I have already exhausted my seven emotions and six desires,
And left my honour and success in a flowing stream."

We see clearly, from these lines, the depressed state of mind of an unlucky author, and when we read the impressive descriptions of the poverty-stricken family of Chiang Tzŭ-ya(who was appointed the Premier of King Wu when over eighty years old), and the acts of filial piety performed by Wu Chi for his mother, we have a profound understanding of the life and aspirations of our author.

Textual Comparison

I have cited some passages previously from the "Criticism of Chuang-tzŭ" and compared them with many lines in some Pao-chüan, a sort of popular literature in which the author of the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" is proved to have been interested; and at the same time, there are many sentences in the novel which resemble only the texts of Pao-chüan. This is important because Pao-chüan was closely connected with Taoist worship in the Ming dynasty, and the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I may have been the first to introduce such verses into the realm of literary work.

When studying the text of the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" and comparing it with that of the novel, we find that they strikingly resemble each other. As other books on Tantrism such as the "Principles of Sūraṅgama Sūtra", or on Taoist physical cultivation such as the "External History of Fang-hu" do not appear to have shared such resemblance, our compari-

son may be concentrated on these two books. The edition of the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" which I am using is a lithographic one published by the Shou Ku Book Store(受古書店), in Shanghai, based upon an earlier edition published by the Ch'uan Hsin Shu Shih(傳薪書室) in 1885. The style of this "Criticism" is of course literary, but in many chapters Pai-hua(白話 or colloquial style) are also found,(350) which proves that the author of this "Criticism" was also familiar with the writing of Pai-hua. Quotations resembling lines of Pao-chüan in Chüan 6 of this work have previously been pointed out.

"Forget the trap when you have caught the fish"

This line is a quotation from the Wai Wu(外物) of Chuangtzŭ. " A bamboo fish-trap is used for fishing, yet when you have caught the fish, you forget the trap."(筌者所以在魚，得魚而忘筌.) In the refrains at the end of his "Criticism" Lu wrote two lines: "When you have got the idea, you forget the words; when you have caught the fish, you forget the trap."(得意忘言，得魚忘筌.)(351)

In Ch.47 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, the Immortal Ch'ih Ching Tzŭ told Chao Kung-ming in verse:

"In my cultivation I have realized the abstruseness beyond the region of objective existence,

When I have got the idea, I simply forget the fish-trap."

The original text is: "會得陽仙物外玄，了然得意自忘筌." The characters "物外"(Wu Wai) obviously come from the topic of this particular chapter (外物 Wai Wu) in Chuangtzŭ, and the second line of the verse summarizes tersely the sentences which appear in Chüan 7 of Lu's "Criticism".

Similar instances can be seen:

In Ch.55 of the Fêng Shên Yen I the author describes the gale:

"〔The wind〕shook the pines with the roar of tiger and dragon which was answered by echoes from ten-thousand apertures."

The original of the last part of the above quotation is "萬竅怒號" which comes from the Ch'i Wu Lun(齊物論) of Chuangtzŭ, though the last character is generally written as "呺" which can be pronounced either as Hao or Hsiao and both mean the voice of anger. In Chüan 1 of Lu's "Criticism" he eulogized this passage of Chuangtzŭ and in his quotation

(350) For instance, Ch.1 on Ch'i Wu Lun(齊物論), "做夢的莊周", "不知莊周乃是變來的蝴蝶," Ch.2 on Ta Tsung Shih(大宗師), "分明狀出一個屢服的樣子" and similar illustrations can be found in many other chapters.

(351) Ch.7, on Wai Wu(外物).

he used the character "號"(Hao), in spite of the fact the character "号" appears simultaneously in his book.

In Ch. 5 of the novel, when Yün-chung Tzŭ explained to King Chou the pleasure of becoming a Taoist priest he sang:

"The refined and cultured mind resembles the passage of Ch'iu Shui (秋水),

And in exhilaration even thoughts of T'ien Ti(天地) become a hindrance."

It is obvious that the topics of two chapters of Chuangtzŭ appear here. If the author of this novel had had no particular interest in the philosophical work of Chuangtzŭ, he would not have cited them.

T'ien Mên

In Ch.45 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, when Chü Liu Sun(Buddha Krakucchanda) entered into the Earth-Rending Array, "he thought it was dangerous and immediately he opened his T'ien Mên(天門) wherefrom rosy clouds were emitted which protected his body."

In Ch.50, when Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun came back from the Yellow River Array he told Jan Têng that all his Twelve Apostles had had their T'ien Mên shut fatally and become laymen.

T'ien Mên is a metaphysical term for the forehead in the practice of Taoist cultivation. It originated in the T'ien Yün(天運) of Chuangtzŭ and Ch. 10 of Laotzŭ, and in both of these philosophical works T'ien Mên can only be explained as organs of the body, but in Lu's "Criticism" he added,

" 'T'ien Mên', is the home of the spirit. When [a Taoist] is able to open his T'ien Mên, there will be no more hindrance in his mind which will prevent him from being contented and composed." (天門者,靈府也.天門開,則蕩蕩無礙,而如如自在矣.)(352)

Similar comments can also be found in Chüan 6 which deals with the chapter Kêng Sang Ch'u(庚桑楚) of Chuangtzŭ:

"A formless place where [the spirit] goes out and comes in and where life and death are determined is called T'ien Mên. (然而不見其形也,而出入生死由是焉,是以謂之天門.)

In Ch.48 of the novel Ch'ih Ching Tzŭ sang:

"Clearly I understand there is no difference between life and death,
了知生死無差別，
Yet the bliss obtained from opening the T'ien Men is inconceivable."
開了天門妙莫論.

Yüan Shên

In Ch.34 of the Fêng Shên Yen I, the "Immortal T'ai-I, sitting on his Pi Yu Ch'uang(碧遊床 or wisdom-throne), entered into meditation...." (太乙真人坐碧遊床運元神 .)

In Ch.75, Chü Liu Sun, "sitting on his rush kneeling-mat, entered into meditation by tranquillizing his mind....." (懼留孫正坐蒲團默養元神.)

The Chinese text for "entered into meditation" is Yün Yüan-shên(運元神).

In Chüan 3 of Lu's "Criticism" we find this sentence:

"To enter into meditation in tranquillity freely and independently." (元神默運 ,獨往獨來.)

And the term Yüan Shên appears in many chapters of the same book.(353)

Ni Wan Kung

"Ni Wan Kung"(泥丸宮) again is a metaphysical term in Taoist physical cultivation. In Ch.44 of the novel we learn that "the souls, both the subtle and the inferior, of Tzŭ-ya had left his Ni Wan Kung on account of the sorcery of the Celestial Master Yao." In Ch.47 when the Immortal Yellow-dragon was captured by Chao Kung-ming, the latter dabbed his Ni Wan Kung with a seal and talisman to prevent him from escaping in spirit. In Ch.83, "when Chun T'i Tao Jên(Cundī) pointed at the forehead of Wen Shu Kuang Fa T'ien Tsun(Mañjuśrī), his Ni Wan〔Kung〕was opened, from which lights and an auspicious mist were emitted."

In Chüan 1 of Lu's "Criticism", we find,

"The Taoists maintain that when this Tu Mê(督脈the vein in the middle course) can pass through, it follows that the breath can be directed up to the Ni Wan....." (訓玄教家通此督脈 , 引氣而上行至泥丸 .)(354)

Yü Ching Chin Ch'üeh

In Ch.46 of the Fêng Shên when Tz'ŭ Hang Tao Jên(Avalokiteṣvara) was to fight the Wind-Roaring Array he sang,

"To worship Yüan Shih at the Golden Gate of the Jade Capital,...."

(353) Ch.1, on Ch'i Wu Lun; Ch.2, on Ying Ti Wang(應帝王) and Ch.3, on T'ien Ti(天地).

(354) On Yang Shêng Chu(養生主).

The original text reads"Yü Ching Chin Ch'üeh Ch'ao Yüan Shih." (玉京金闕朝元始 .)

In Lu's "Criticism" we find a name which strikingly resembles this:

"To ride on the white clouds, visit the realm of the Emperor and become an immortal at the Golden Gate of the Jade Purity. (Wei Yü Ch'ing Chin Ch'üeh Chih Hsien Chên 為玉清金闕之仙真 .)(355)

When we compare these two Chinese terms we find that only in one character do they differ from each other.

Ching Hsing and Ch'ing Yün

In Ch.45 of the Fêng Shên when Chü Liu Sun opened his T'ien Mên, rosy clouds appeared to protect him. The original text of "rosy clouds" is "Ch'ing Yün"(慶雲), literally, auspicious clouds.

There is another phrase, "the lucky stars and rosy clouds"(Ching Hsing Ch'ing Yün 景星慶雲) which appears in Ch.98 of the novel in praise of the peace and tranquillity which existed under King Wu. The same phrase "Ching Hsing Ch'ing Yün" can be found in Chüan 3 of Lu's "Criticism".(356)

Wind Wheel

As I have pointed out the "wind wheel" is a Buddhist term and in the novel it combines with the fire wheel(Alātacakra) to serve as a vihicle of No-cha. But the author of the novel appears to know its origin very well and in some chapters he used this term separately in his description:

In Ch.34 when No-cha was descending from the mountain, a poem reads, "Treading on the wind-wheels in the air.....". In Ch.93, Chiang Tzŭ-ya told the disciples "the white light which emitted from the flying knives of Lu Ya moves speedily like the rolling of the wind-wheel." The description appears again in Ch.94 when the author describes the sword hurled into the air by Mu-cha.

In Chüan 2 of Lu's "Criticism" we find,

"Wind-wheel is the circle of wind which rests on space, as it is said in the Buddhist books. It is the deepest among the various strata under the earth."(357)

Ti, Shui, Huo, Fêng

(355) Ch.2, on T'ien Ti.
(356) On Tsai Yu(在宥).
(357) On Ta Tsung Shih.

Ti, Shui, Huo, Fêng

In Lu's "Criticism" there are at least three places(in Chs.2, 4 and 5) where the same terms "Ti, Shui, Huo, Fêng" can be found. In Chüan 2, the author mentions particularly,

".....these are the Ti, Shui, Huo and Fêng from the Yüan Chüeh Ching (圓覺經)."(358)

And we have quoted this sūtra(Mahāvaipulya Pūrṇabuddha Sūtra Prasannārtha Sūtra) in the discussion of the Twelve Apostles.

Huang T'ing Ching

Huang T'ing Ching(黃庭經), a famous Taoist canon which is cited in Chüan 1 of Lu's "Criticism"(359) appears again in more than ten places in the novel.(360) A similar case is the designation "Tao Tê Chih Shih" (道德之士) which though literally it means "the virtuous men", here means, in almost twenty places in this novel, the Taoist priests(361) of the Promulguting Sect. This designation undoubtedly originated in Chüan 5 of the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" which reads,(362)

"Those Tao Tê Chih Shih who live in a tumultuous age when the ruler is dull and the ministers rotten; what a bore if they find that they are in such a dilemma that they could neither advance nor retire...."

Readers may wonder that though the name of Huang T'ing Ching and the Tao Tê Chih Shih appear so many times in the novel, their appearance in Lu's "Criticism" is less frequent. This sounds quite reasonable, but in this particular case, I think my deduction may be supported by strong analogy. In this novel, these two terms appear to be the key-words throughout the whole book, and therefore the author of the novel uses them repeatedly. In Lu's "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" there is a couplet "Hsü

When discussing the magic weapons used by Mo Li-ch'ing(Virudhaka) we have learned that on his sword four characters "Ti, Shui, Huo, Fêng"(地，水，火，風 earth, water, fire and wind) were written. As this term represents the elements from which everything is created according to Buddhist thought, we find it appears repeatedly in Chs.40, 44, 84 and 99. When T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu was defeated in the Myriad-Immortals Array he thought,

"I can only go back to my Palace, re-establish the Ti, Shui, Huo, Fêng and form a new sect."(Ch.84)

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(358) Same as (357).

(359) On Hsiao Yao Yu(逍遥遊).

(360) Chs. 23, 24, 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 47, 49, 50, 63, 64, 72 & 82.

(361) Chs. 12, 13, 35, 42(twice), 46, 60(twice), 79(twice), 80, 83, 90, 91 & 94(twice).

(362) On Shan Mu(山木).

Ching T'ien Tan, Chi Mo Wu Wei"(虛靜恬淡，寂寞無為, be humble and quiet, undisturbed in tranquillity; enjoy the solitary life without doing anything.). Though they originated from the T'ien Tao(天道) of Chuangtzŭ, these eight characters were adopted by Lu as key-words and each one of them represents the number of a Chüan in his work, i.e., Chüan 1 is called "Hsü"(虛), Chüan 2 is called "Ching"(靜) etc., besides quotations of the whole couplet scattered through the book. With the exception of Chüan 2 and Chüan 7 of his "Criticism" in which such quotation is lacking, it appears once in the author's preface and in Chüan 8, twice in Chüan 1 and Chüan 3, and seven times in Chüan 5, eight times in Chüan 6, and eleven times in Chüan 4 in which the chapter T'ien Tao is included. This proves that Lu often repeats himself in his philosophical work as well as in the novel.

Ling T'ai

In Ch. 45 of the Fêng Shên Yen I when Wên Shu Kuang Fa T'ien Tsun (Mañjuśrī) reveals his Fa Shên(法身 Dharmakāya) during the combat, the author, in praise of his meritorious feat, wrote:

"His body is wonderful since he has proved to have the spirit-tower."(悟得靈臺體自殊)

This "spirit-tower" is again a Taoist abstract term. In Chüan 7 of Lu's "Criticism" Lu quoted two lines from a song composed by a Taoist master which is called Hsü Ching T'ien Shih Ta Tao Ko(虛靜天師大道歌) and reads,

"If you wish to keep your spirit within your body, 要得身中神不出，
Don't let anything be left in the spirit-tower." 莫向靈臺留一物.(363)

In a poem appearing at the beginning of Ch.50 of the novel there is this verse, "Who says〔that it is easy〕to give mystic conception in the spirit-tower〔in order to attain to immortality〕?" (誰道靈臺結聖胎), and in the Ta Tao Ko as quoted in Chüan 3 of the "Criticism"(364) we read a line, "Naturally a spiritual conception will be formed〔in the spirit-tower〕by him who possesses the pure heart of an infant." (自然赤子結靈胎)

The same term "spirit-tower"(Ling T'ai靈臺) appears also in Chs. 46 and 51 of the novel.

(363) On Wai Wu.

(364) On Tsai Yu(在宥).

Particular combinations of Buddhist terms

In a poem appearing at the beginning of Ch.22 of the novel, the author used a term "Ai Yüan"(愛緣) which means "affinity of love" and appears also in Chüan 5 of the "Criticism".(365)

In the sacred mandate issued by Yüan Shih in Ch.99 of the novel we have, "Some of you have made up your mind to abide by the law, but you are smothered by greed and foolishness and you are unable to get rid of anger;" "hence you are immersed in life, death and transmigration and not delivered." (生死輪迴，煩惱未已.) The last sentence is analogous to a sentence appearing in Chüan 4 of the "Criticism" which reads, "This is the cause of life, death and transmigration."(生死輪迴莫不由此.)(366) In Ch.34 of the novel the author points out that unless one is a transcendent being one can hardly get rid of three things: "vexation, foolishness because of anger(and greed) and desire." (煩惱，嗔癡，愛慾.) These again can be compared with Chüan 4 of the "Criticism": "Because they cannot get rid of love and desire, people become greedy and foolish, and endless vexation follows from which they seek no deliverance." (世人皆以恩愛而生貪著，遂有種種無明煩惱，不自脫解.)(367)

I have mentioned that the frame-work of the earliest story of Nocha(Nata) is in fact one of the "cases"(Kung An 公案) usually learnt by the Buddhists of the Ch'an Sect(禪宗 or the Meditation Sect). The term Kung An appears twice in Lu's "Criticism".(368) In Chs.1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the "Criticism" the author quoted several times the stories concerning leading Buddhists of this particular School, and in these Chüan, various names such as Ch'an Tsung(禪宗), Ch'an Chia(禪家), Ch'an Lin(禪林) and Ch'an Yüan(禪苑) are used which denote approximately the same thing. Lu Hsi-hsing, being a scholar of Tantric Buddhism, certainly had opportunity to make himself familiar with this school. Some of the teachings in physical cultivation of the Ch'ai Sect and Tantrism are held in common, and in the textbooks for beginners of Ch'an Buddhism, spells of the Tantric school are also put into daily exercise.(369)

In the Fêng Shên Yen I when Chiang Tzŭ-ya was sorely distressed he composed a poem the last line of which reads,

"Whenever my ambition has been realised, 何時得遂平生志，

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(365) On Chih Pei Yu(知北遊).

(366) On Chih Lo(至樂).

(367) Same as above.

(368) Chüan 3, on Tsai Yu; Chüan 4, on Chih Lo.

(369) See Ch'an Mên Jih Sung(禪門日誦), Chao Ch'ing Hui Kung Ching Fang(昭慶慧空經房) ed., Hangchow.

I would sit on the bank of a brook and follow the ways of an old Ch'an Buddhist." (Ch.15) 靜坐溪頭學老禪.

Hung Mêng

In the Chapter Tsai Yu(在宥) of Chuangtzŭ there is this passage:

"When Yün Chiang(雲將) was rambling about eastward, he passed by Fu Yao(扶搖) and met Hung Mêng(鴻濛) accidentally. ....."

All the three characters are here fabulous persons. Hung Mêng is the personification of Ch'i(氣 the great atmosphere); Yün Chiang, of the clouds; and Fu Yao, of the wind, according to Lu's comment in Chüan 3 of the "Criticism". When Hung Mêng was asked some questions by Yün Chiang, he simply refused to answer and said, "I don't know." In explaining this passage Lu says,

"Why should Hung Mêng answer him with a flat refusal? Nay, when Hung Mêng gave him a refusal, this refusal is the only proper one. Don't you remember the story of Hun Tun(渾沌)? When he had no aperture at all, he was alive; but when his friends bored holes on his body, they killed him instead. .....Where knowledge is, there is no place for the great Way." (370)

How strikingly does this resemble the following verse from Ch.77 of the novel Fêng Shên Yen I which was sung by T'ai Ch'ing, one of the transformations of Laotzŭ:

"Hun Tun never possesses the knowledge of his own age, 混沌從來不計年,
At the point when the Hung Mêng(the great atmosphere) was divided
I came first. 鴻濛剖處我居先.

Two particular characters

In the novel Po Chien(柏鑑) lived a general during the reign of the Emperor Huang-ti. He was killed in the battle against the barbarous Ch'ih Yu(蚩尤), and his apparition appealed to Chiang Tzŭ-ya for deliverance in Ch.37. He was then charged to build the Fêng Shên T'ai (封神臺 the Tower of Investiture of the Gods) and was afterwards Conductor of the Ceremonies during the canonization.

In the Chapter Tê Ch'ung Fu(德充符) of Chuangtzŭ we have the following passage:

"Chung Ni(仲尼 or Confucius) said, 'Men do not look in flowing water

(370) Chüan 3, "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ", on Tsai Yu.

as a mirror, that they took an earth spray, [illegible] and is at rest it can be set as an example for others. All plants are nourished by the earth, yet there are pines and cypresses which alone are evergreen. (仲尼曰，人莫鑑於流水，而鑑於止水。惟止，能止衆止。受命於地，唯松柏獨也在，冬夏青青。)

Lu Hsi-hsing explained this passage in an accurate and detailed account.(371) It is from this passage, I presume, the name of Po Chien (literally 柏, Po, cypress; 鑑, Chien, mirror) is derived.

Another interesting character is the Hung Chün Tao Jên(鴻鈞道人), the master of the patriarchs of both Sects in the novel.

In the Chapter Hêng Hsien Chu(庚桑楚) of Chuangtzŭ we have the following:

"One must know how to stop at the point which one can never overstep, for it is the apex of one's development. If one does not obey this natural law, one will be defeated by T'ien Chün(天鈞), the heavenly check and balance."

In explaining what "T'ien Chün" is, Lu Hsi-hsing said in his "Criticism":(372)

"T'ien Chün is equivalent to what we call Hung Chün(鴻鈞). It is to be deplored that there are so many people who do not observe this but seek only for lucky occurrences and take the wrong road." (天鈞猶言鴻鈞。蓋不即是則故作妄為，而僥倖於其所難必者，抑又多矣。)

The conduct of T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu, the Patriarch of the Intercepting Sect, can be quoted as an example of such a person, and therefore the author of the novel, who is no other than Lu Hsi-hsing himself used the name Hung Chün as their supreme master, who is in fact the personification of Nature.

In Ch.54 of the novel, in a gāthā chanted by Hung Chün Tao Jén himself we read,

"The Way is taught to three disciples, 一道傳三友，

Two Sects, the Promulgating and the Intercepting, have they formed. 二教闡微分。

Talented leaders they are of the Taoistic teaching, 玄門都領青，

The Hung Chün, their supreme master, is transformed from the Atmosphere." 一氣化鴻鈞。

as a mirror, but they look in still water.' When one's mind is at rest, it can be set as an example for others. All plants are nourished by the earth, yet there are pines and cypresses which alone are evergreen." (仲尼曰，人莫鑑於流水，而鑑於止水。惟止，能止衆止。受命於地，惟松柏獨也在，冬夏青青。)

Lu Hsi-hsing explained this passage in an accurate and detailed account.(371) It is from this passage, I presume, the name of Po Chien (literally柏, Po, cypress;鑑, Chien, mirror) is derived.

Another interesting character is the Hung Chün Tao Jên(鴻鈞道人), the master of the patriarchs of both Sects in the novel.

In the Chapter Kêng Sang Chu(庚桑楚) of Chuangtzŭ we have the following:

"One must know how to stop at the point which one can never overstep, for it is the apex of one's development. If one does not obey this natural law, one will be defeated by T'ien Chün(天鈞), the heavenly check and balance."

In explaining what "T'ien Chün" is, Lu Hsi-hsing said in his "Criticism":(372)

"T'ien Chün is equivalent to what we call Hung Chün(鴻鈞). It is to be deplored that there are so many people who do not observe this but seek only for lucky occurrences and take the wrong road." (天鈞猶言鴻鈞。蓋不即是則故作誤為，而僥倖於其所難必者，抑又多矣。)

The conduct of T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu, the Patriarch of the Intercepting Sect, can be quoted as an example of such a person, and therefore the author of the novel, who is no other than Lu Hsi-hsing himself, used the name Hung Chün as their supreme master, who is in fact the personification of Nature.

In Ch.84 of the novel, in a gāthā chanted by Hung Chün Tao Jên himself we read,

"The Way is taught to three disciples, 一道傳三友，
Two Sects, the Promulgating and the Intercepting, have they formed. 二教闡截分。
Talented leaders they are of the Taoistic teaching, 玄門都領袖，
The Hung Chün, their supreme master, is transformed from the Atmosphere." 一氣化鴻鈞。

(371) Chüan 2, on Tê Ch'ung Fu(德充符).

(372) Chüan 6, on Kêng Sang Ch'u(庚桑楚).

Final evidence

I have thus far given more than a dozen textual evidences found by comparing the novel and the "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ"(Nan Hua Ching Fu Mê) which are analogous to each other. Some of these, I think, are conclusive, because they are, on the one hand, not seen in any other works dealing with Chuangtzŭ, nor on the other are they found in any other novels except the Fêng Shên Yen I.

But it may be more interesting if we can provide some direct evidences from the novel itself. The following illustrations may serve this purpose.

The only extant copy of the earliest edition of this novel(Shu Tsai-yang's edition) has a subtitle which I quoted at the beginning of this thesis, reading:

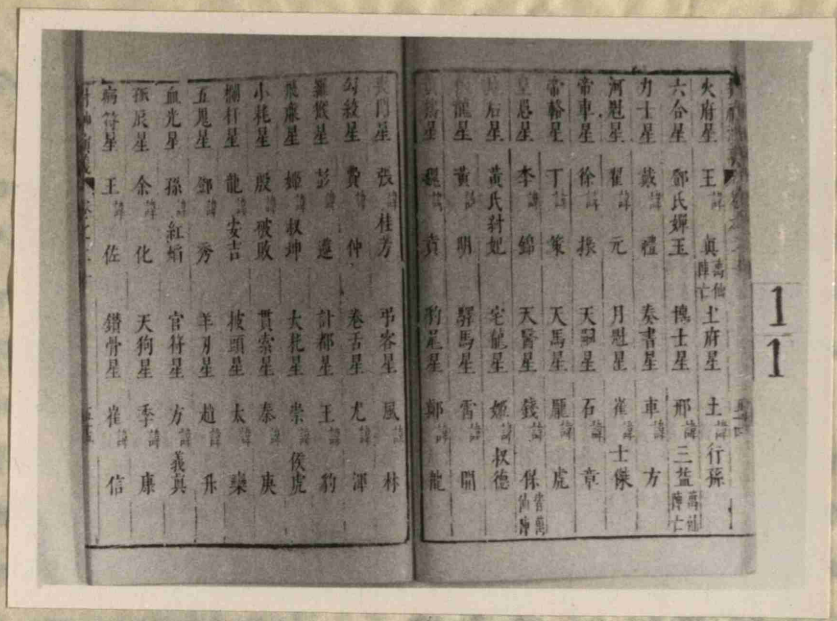
"A Critical, Pictorical, External History of the Expedition of King Wu of the Chou Dynasty against King Chou of the Shang Dynasty; Fêng Shên Yen I."

The original text of "External History" is Wai Shih(外史) which means at the same time the "External Historian". As Fang Hu Wai Shih or the External Historian of Fang-hu is another name for Lu Hsi-hsing, and Lu has another book entitled, Fang Hu Wai Shih, I suspect that these two characters Wai Shih appearing in this sub-title may have been especially adopted by the author to serve as a hint so that people would know that its author was a scholar who was also named "External Hsitorian".

Lu Ch'ang-kêng(陸長庚) is another name of Lu Hsi-hsing. As I have pointed out more than once, he had formed a habit of associating his name with his own works. I have for many years believed that this novel is not an exceptional case. Therefore, due attention has been paid to the character Lu Ya whose surname is Lu.

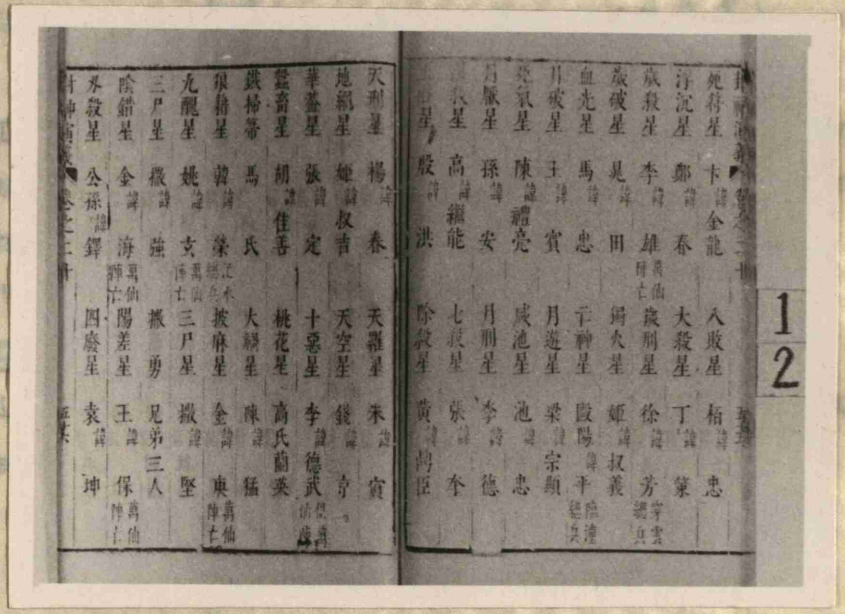
People who are familiar with this novel may have possibly noticed the following names:

Ch'ên Kêng(陳庚), the van-guard of Kung Hsüan Ch.69
Ch'ên Kêng(陳庚), the follower of Lü Yüeh Ch.80
Huang Kêng(黃庚), who died in the Myriad-Immortals Array Ch.99



Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.99

Shu Tsai-yang's edition (a)



Fêng Shên Yen I, Ch.99

Shu Tsai-yang's edition (b)

Shên Kêng(沈庚), one of the 28 constellations who died in the Myriad-Immortals Array Ch.99

Sung Kêng(宋庚), one of the 28 constellations who died in the Myriad-Immortals Array Ch.99

Chou Kêng(周庚), the Star of Earth Meditation(地默星) Ch.99

Ch'ên Mêng-kêng(陳夢庚), the Star of Earth Dog(地狗星) Ch.99

Why should the author name so many characters with this particular word "Kêng"? Is it not that he has concealed his own name intentionally in this work? Scholars have hitherto maintained that the only extant copy of the earliest edition of this novel(now preserved in the Japanese Cabinet Library, Tokyo) does not differ greatly from the other editions. This is generally true, but Ch.99 of that edition must be treated as exceptional. I venture to provide two photos taken from this particular edition, which throw some light on these two particular persons:

Ch'in Kêng(秦庚), Star of Kuan-So(貫索星) (In other editions it is Chiu Yin丘引)

Chin Kêng(金庚), Star of P'i-Ma(披麻星) (In other editions it is Lin Shan林善)

I think these discoveries would undoubtedly strengthen what I have deduced. The last character Chin Kêng(金庚) is the most interesting. In the Book of Odes(373) we have,

"Ch'i-ming(Star) in the east, 東有啟明,

Ch'ang-kêng(Star) in the west."西有長庚.

And it happens that "Chin"(金or gold) denotes the west in the traditional belief of the "Five Elements".(374)

(373) See note(325).

(374) Li Chi(禮記),Yüeh Ling(月令); Huai Nan Tzŭ(淮南子), T'ien Wên Hsün(天文訓).

CONCLUSION

After examining all the evidences, I have arrived at the conclusion that the author of the Fêng Shên Yen I is Lu Hsi-hsing. The following is a résumé of my findings which, I hope, will help to clarify the points mentioned in the previous chapters.

Since the publication (in photolithography) of Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua, a book from the Japanese Cabinet Library collections, it has become known that the P'ing-hua is the predecessor of the commonly known edition of Fêng Shên Yen I. The Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua was written in the middle of the Yüan dynasty during the reign of Emperor Ying-tsung(英宗 1321-1323 A.D.) while the earliest edition of Fêng Shên Yen I appeared at the end of the Ming dynasty, a difference of some 300 years. The contents of the Fêng Shên Yen I are in many respects different from those of the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua.

I have found out that Chüan 1 of Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan is actually an intermediary between the Wu Wang Fa Chou P'ing-hua and Fêng Shên Yen I. The edition of the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan from which I quoted is also preserved in the Japanese Cabinet Library. From the photostatic copies(375) of the book appended to my thesis, it will not be difficult to see its inter-relation with the Fêng Shên Yen I. Passages and verses in certain chapters of Fêng Shên Yen I are virtually the revised version of those in the Lieh Kuo Chih Chuan. The table on p.95 to p.104 shows a comparison between these books. It clearly proves that Fêng Shên Yen I is the latest of the three.

A large part of Fêng Shên Yen I was very well written as far as literary merits are concerned, and presumably was penned by a man of letters. Printed in the first page of Chüan 2 of Fêng Shên Yen I, the earliest known text preserved in the Japanese Cabinet Library, were the words "edited by Hsü Chung-lin, the Old Hermit of Chung-shan". So far, this is the only evidence in hand. In the absence of any further clue, scholars in the past thirty years have had to accept, though reluctantly, that Hsü Chung-lin as the author of the novel.(376)

As I have indicated on p.122, it was found from Yüeh Fu K'ao Lüeh

(375) The use of photostatic copies of the book has the kind permission of the Japanese Cabinet Library.

(376) See Note 2 in Liu Shih-tê's(劉世德) Fêng Shên Yen I Ti Szŭ Hsiang Nei Yung Ho I Shu Miao Hsieh(封神演義的思想內容和藝術描寫), Kuang Ming Jih Pao(光明日報), Dec.9th 1956, Peking.

and Ch'uan Ch'i Hui K'ao about twenty years ago, that Lu Hsi-hsing was the author of Fêng Shên Yen I. I have written a long article on this subject, and in view of the lack of further evidence, the discovery was considered of no more importance than the proposition that Hsü Chung-lin was the compiler of the book. Since then I have continued my quest for the true author and in the past sixteen years been trying to find out whether the book should really be attributed to Lu Hsi-hsing.

I wish particularly to point out the fact that the author of Fêng Shên Yen I must necessarily have been a Taoist priest, because his knowledge of Taoism was far beyond that attained by an average layman scholar. In Chapter VII, I specially point out the relationship between Golden Lotus and Hsüan-mên(p.131), two special terms used in the novel. I have also traced the origin of San Ch'ing(pp.132-136); elucidated the hand carriage of Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun(pp.138-139); the Eight Scenes Palace(pp.139-141) as well as other details. It is my opinion that no one except a Taoist priest would be expected to possess such a refined(detailed) knowledge of Taoism. The proposition that the author was a Taoist priest also finds support from the "District Annals of Hsing-hua" which says that Lu Hsi-hsing became a Taoist priest in the latter part of his life.

Being a scholar, Lu Hsi-hsing, however, never gave up his Confucian thoughts after he had become a Taoist priest. He had also absorbed Buddhist ideas and had become a person deeply imbued in the spirit of Taoism and Confucianism as well as of Buddhism. The exposition of these three religions and the desire to amalgamate them can be noted from his "Criticism of Chuangtzŭ" and the same is also evident in Fêng Shên Yen I(see pp.187-194). It is of special interest to note that many Buddhist terms and allusions were used in Fêng Shên Yen I with particular reference to the Bodhisattvas, revealing their sacred Dharmakara and many other matters relating to Tantrism(pp.182-186). The latter is actually beyond the knowledge of persons affiliated with other sects of Buddhism.

I found that in his other works, Lu Hsi-hsing had quoted the Yüan Chüeh Ching (Mahāvaipulya Pūrnabuddha Sūtra Prasannārtha Sūtra). In

Fêng Shên Yen I, the Twelve Apostles of Yüan Shih T'ien Tsun are, in fact, re-moulded characters from the Yüan Chüeh Ching(pp.143-148). Lu Hsi-hsing had composed a textual criticism of Lêng Yen Ching(Sūrangama Sūtra) which is one of the main scriptures of Tantrism. This is a proof that he had avowed his faith in Tantrism. We can find his work in the "Second Collection of the Tripitaka in Chinese".

Apart from its religious characteristics, the Fêng Shên Yen I is mainly a work of popular literature. I have pointed out the relationship between this novel and the Hua-pên(pp.201-216). Apart from the fact that they have many terms in common, a comparison of the narration on the birth of No-cha(Naṭa) in the Fêng Shên Yen I and the similar incident in "Four Travels" will further reveal that the Fêng Shên Yen I was written after the pattern of Hua-pên(p.235). There is yet another kind of popular(Buddhist) literature(written in a special narrative style) called the Pao-chüan which was very popular in the middle of the Ming dynasty(pp.196-201). I have found that the verses "to gather the five-air in order to contact the primordial void and longevity" in Fêng Shên Yen I is also contained in the Pao-chüan(see pp.199-200). From what Lu Hsi-hsing quoted from Chin Kang K'ê I(a book of Pao-chüan), we can further infer that he, as a Taoist priest, had studied other books of Pao-chüan.

None of the important points just mentioned has ever been noticed by other scholars who have studied the authorship of this novel. Nor indeed were they known to me when I published my article in 1937. It remains for me to make some further remarks about the historical and geographical backgrounds in which the author wrote his novel. Chapter XII deals entirely with the surroundings and scenes in the book. Incidentally, the scenes in the novel correspond to the actual conditions prevailing in the period of Chia-ching. The character, Wên Chung(Premier Wên T'ai-shih) in the novel, as I have indicated, is just a copy of the then Taoist leader, T'ao Chung-wên(pp.251-255) and Patriarch T'ung T'ien Chiao Chu may even suggest Emperor Shih-tsung(pp.141-143). That the author was a native of Northern Kiangsu may be judged from the fact that deities worshipped in Taoist temples in several districts

of Northern Kiangsu are identical with some of those appearing in the novel(see p.161, and p.147(a), note(148)). Furthermore, the book Yüeh Fu K'ao Lüeh which suggests that Lu Hsi-hsing is the author of Fêng Shên Yen I was composed in Yangchow(pp.120-122), a city near Hsing-hua District, the native place of Lu Hsi-hsing.(Hsing-hua District was under the jurisdiction of Yangchow Prefecture.)

In order to refute the proposition that Fêng Shên Yen I was written by Hsü Chung-lin, I have described at some length the circumstances under which novels were written at the end of the Ming dynasty(Ch.IV, pp.106-112). As I have pointed out, the names of authors printed on books during that period are sometimes questionable. I have also compared the terms and expressions used in Lu Hsi-hsing's other works with those used in Fêng Shên Yen I and have obtained concrete evidence that Lu is the author of the book. The latter part of Ch.XII(pp.277-286) is devoted to this purpose.

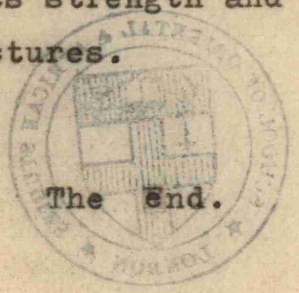
The most important discovery is the special relationship existing between Lu Hsi-hsing and Lu Ya, another character in the novel(pp.263-277). The names of many characters in the novel bear the Chinese character Kêng. This is most significant in view of the fact that the character is also found in Lu Hsi-hsing's alias Lu Ch'ang-kêng. As I have pointed out that in Ch.99 of Fêng Shên Yen I(the Japanese Cabinet Library's text), two more characters in the novel had the character Kêng used in their names. Never before has any scholar pointed out this textual difference, and it appears that the character Kêng used in many names of characters in the novel is a hint by the author himself that the book is composed by him whose name bears the same character.

As I have pointed out in Chapter I, there are three editions of Fêng Shên Yen I, the contents of which are, for the most part, the same except that in Ch.99 of the earliest edition wherein differences exist in respect of the names of the characters. It shows that the later editions had possibly been revised and two characters with Kêng as names eradicated.

A photostatic copy of the Japanese Cabinet Library's edition of Fêng Shên Yen I(Ch.99) is appended as an evidence of my discovery(pp.287-

288).

The evidences marshalled on the foregoing pages, some of which have hitherto been inaccessible, are impressive both in number and in weight. The most gratifying feature about them is that they all support one another and none conflicts with any other. The aggregate of this evidence has convinced me beyond the shadow of doubt that the real author of the Fêng Shên Yen I is Lu Hsi-hsing, the Taoist priest from Hsing-hua District, Yangchow, and later a Buddhist convert, who lived during the first half of the sixteenth century, between the reigns of the Emperor Shih-tsung(世宗, Chia-ching嘉靖) and the Emperor Shên-tsung(神宗, Wan-li萬曆) of the Ming dynasty and not Hsü Chung-lin, the Old Hermit of Chung-shan, as has been generally believed. The conclusion I have thus arrived at flows naturally, nay, inevitably from this evidence and is built entirely on its strength and irrefutability and not on my personal preference or conjectures.



The End.

288).

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