


The background of the cover is a reddish-orange color. It features a black line drawing of a woman in traditional Chinese attire, including a long robe and a circular fan, standing in a bamboo grove. In the foreground, there is a large, stylized rock formation. The title is written in a white, serif font across the upper part of the image.

Critical Essays on Chinese Fiction

*Edited by
Winston L.Y. Yang & Curtis P. Adkins*



Critical Essays on Chinese Fiction

Edited with an Introduction by

Winston L.Y. Yang

and

Curtis P. Adkins



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Preface

CHINESE literature was first introduced to the West through translations in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the early years, only poetry, the classics, and historical and philosophical works were extensively rendered into French, English, and several other European languages. Very few Chinese novels and short stories attracted the attention of Western translators, and Chinese fiction was not widely translated until the 1940s. Since the end of World War II, a number of Chinese novels and a fairly large number of short stories have been rendered into Western languages.

As a result of these translations, Chinese literature began to receive critical attention in the West in the 1940s. Since the beginning of the last decade, interest in the study of Chinese fiction has grown steadily. Many critical, biographical, historical, and textual studies have been published, and in recent years comparative studies have become quite popular. There is no doubt that Chinese fiction, especially traditional novels and short stories, is now attracting wide attention.

Of the many scholars who have worked on Chinese fiction, Dr. Tien-yi Li, Mershon Professor of Chinese Literature and History at the Ohio State University, has made significant contributions. His scholarly works are valuable and useful to students of Chinese fiction. During his teaching career, which covers a period of over thirty years at both Yale University and the Ohio State University, he has trained many young and promising scholars, some of whom have already achieved distinction in the field of Chinese literature. In addition to his own publications, as editor of the *Tsing-hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, he has vigorously promoted the study of Chinese literature by publishing important studies of Chinese literary works.

Therefore, a number of Professor Li's friends, colleagues, and former students decided in 1975 to publish a volume of critical essays on Chinese fiction to be presented to Professor Li. These essays have finally been completed. We wish to dedicate them to Professor Li on the eve of his 65th birthday for his contributions to the field of Chinese literature.

These essays, written by both established and young scholars, while not uniform in their approaches and coverage, nonetheless, deal mostly with traditional fiction from historical, critical, and other perspectives. It is our hope that they will help to further our understanding of Chinese novels and short stories.

In preparing this collection of essays for publication, we wish to express, first of all, our appreciation to Professor Li himself, without whose inspiration this book would not have been published. In the early stage of the project, Professor Ping-leung Chan did a great deal of preliminary work; more recently Dr. W. L. Wong, from his base in Hong Kong, has provided quick and ready assistance; Mr. Richard Lai, Director of the Chinese University Press, and his predecessor, Dr. Francis Pan, have taken a keen interest in the project and have assisted us in numerous ways. Mr. William Ho, patient and cooperative, has helped us extensively in the production of the book. To all of them we wish to express our sincere thanks. Also, we would like to thank all those who have contributed essays to this volume. Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to our own home institutions, Seton Hall University and the University of Maryland, which have contributed in various ways to the preparation of the manuscript.

May 1, 1979

W.L.Y.
C.P.A.

Introduction

THE ten essays included in this collection deal with many important works of Chinese fiction ranging from the first consciously creative works of the T'ang dynasty (618-907) to the highly developed Ch'ing novel *Hung-lou meng*, with particular emphasis on developments in the Ming and Ch'ing periods and with some comments on a few contemporary works. In their approach to the subject matter, the authors show great diversity, including psychological and archetypal criticism, linguistic, historical, and bibliographic studies, and those on the impact of particular authors on major works of fiction. The very diversity of subject matter and approaches has thus dictated the organization of the articles on a chronological basis.

In the first essay, William H. Nienhauser, Jr. describes the development of a certain type of fiction from the T'ang dynasty by pointing out that Han Yü (768-824) and Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819) were among the first to experiment with literary techniques derived from earlier rhetorical works such as the *Chan-kuo ts'ü*. By the late ninth century their followers had spread these techniques into a number of sub-genres, all of which were centered upon a contrived monologue or dialogue which provided the authors with a podium from which to satirize or teach. This study presents four examples from this corpus—Sun Ch'iao's (fl. 960-88) "Wall Inscription for the Pao-ch'eng Post-relay Station," Lo Yin's (833-909) "A Speech by the Wife from Yüeh," Lu Kuei-meng's (d. 881) "Reply of the Wild Dragon Who Was Beckoned," and Lai Ku's (fl. 870) "Persuasion concerning Cats and Tigers." After analyzing these pieces, Professor Nienhauser concludes that this sort of literature contributed to advances in the art of narrative (especially with regard to point of view, verisimilitude, and representation of speech) alien to *ch'uan-ch'i* fiction, which had adhered more closely to a historical model; and that since the authors of this fiction seem to have been "marginal men" from relatively lower social and economic strata, it is likely that these works were related to popular forms of literature. Thus, Professor Nienhauser is convinced that because of the social position of the authors and the contents of their works,

these narratives may mark some of the earliest instances of fiction being used to achieve social change in China.

The second essay on T'ang fiction is concerned with an entirely different corpus of materials. Adopting a completely different critical approach, Curtis P. Adkins applies the principles of archetypal criticism to early Chinese fiction, primarily T'ang *ch'uan-ch'i* tales. The methodology employed is based to a great extent on the theories and works of James Frazer, C. G. Jung, Joseph Campbell, Lord Raglan and Northrop Frye. The purpose of this study is to examine an autochthonous literary type from the perspective of a demonstrably universal analytical framework and to establish points of similarity and dissimilarity. This essay focuses on the central figure, the archetypal hero, and shows the correspondences between his actions and those of the universal pattern. Other characters are also analyzed to show their place in the archetypal pattern. After examining a number of T'ang tales and various pre-T'ang materials to show the development of these characters and also to distinguish the features which are distinctively Chinese, Professor Adkins concludes that early Chinese fiction, i.e., the T'ang *ch'uan-ch'i* tale, is the logical development of a native literary tradition; that the characters and events in these tales correspond to those of a universal pattern; and that the T'ang *ch'uan-ch'i* tales, as befits short fiction, emphasize only a portion of the universal pattern, namely, the trials and rewards or middle portion of heroic life, and tend to neglect the earlier and later stages.

In the next three articles the authors focus their attention on historical fiction. Winston L. Y. Yang studies the literary transformation of historical figures in the historical novel *San-kuo chih yen-i*, which has been attributed to Lo Kuan-chung (ca. 1330-1400), by analyzing the use of Ch'en Shou's (233-97) *San-kuo chih* as a source of this novel. The transformation of four important San-kuo figures, Ts'ao Ts'ao (155-220), Liu Pei (162-223), Chu-ko Liang (181-234), and Chou Yü (190-226), has been studied to shed light on our understanding of the novel and on some of its unique characteristics. Lo Kuan-chung is found to be quite inconsistent in his use of the *San-kuo chih* as a source in developing the characters of the four historical figures, since he often follows or departs from his source in portraying them when he finds it necessary. Professor Yang concludes that Lo's main contribution lies in his injecting new life into the old San-kuo cycle, in his refining the narration by introducing a more refined but simple *wen-yen*, and in his reduction of the falsification of authentic history to the minimum by doing away with many miraculous, sensational, and superstitious elements. By producing a highly readable and fairly reliable historical account, Lo has presented to the reader an interesting, dramatic, and continuous picture of San-kuo history. He created a new genre in Chinese literature and his work established for succeeding

generations the *yen-i* type of popular historical narrative, which is unique in world literature.

Lo Kuan-chung has proven to be one of the more enigmatic figures of Chinese fiction. Although he played a role of unquestioned importance in the development of Chinese fiction, the thorny problem of authorship in Chinese fiction has been complicated by the unjustified attribution to Lo of a number of major works. Among the scholars who are still sorting out the various factors, with varying degrees of certainty and equally varying results, Ts'un-yan Liu has come to the conclusion, based on a detailed textual comparison, that Lo Kuan-chung was in fact the compiler of the *San-kuo chih-chuan* (from which the later editions of the *San-kuo chih yen-i* were derived), of some parts of the *Ta-T'ang Ch'in-wang tz'u-hua*, of the T'ien Wang section of the simpler version of the *Shui-hu*, and of the *tsa-chü* play, *Lung-hu feng-yün-hui*. He may also have compiled the *Ts'an-T'ang Wu-tai shih yen-i-chuan* and the *Sui T'ang liang-ch'ao chih-chuan*. Professor Liu believes that the more sophisticated version of the *Shui-hu* in the 100-chapter editions and the popular edition of the *P'ing-yao chuan* should not be attributed to him.

The two novels *Sui shih i-wen* (1633) and *Sui T'ang yen-i* (ca. 1675) provide a good opportunity for the exploration of differences in characterization in the hands of two novelists, Yüan Yü-ling and Ch'u Jen-huo. The nature and relationship of these two works also provide material for an examination of the authors' respective responses to the issues of their times. In his study, Robert E. Hegel notes that Ch'in Shu-pao, a historical seventh-century military leader who became an embodiment of loyalty and great courage in popular legend within a few centuries after his death, figures prominently in both novels. Of the two novels, *Sui shih i-wen* is the more innovative; its author, Yüan Yü-ling, created an extensive biography of this military hero, concentrating on the development of his personality and ethics as he matures. Ch'in Shu-pao progresses through a number of distinct stages in becoming a mature leader. Yüan Yü-ling's intention was clearly to explore the processes through which each person matures—specifically persons of differing moral standards and cultural levels—and the influences that are instrumental in helping him reach adulthood. Ch'u Jen-huo's novel, on the other hand, is a patchwork of segments of narrative copied or edited slightly from earlier works of fiction, particularly *Sui shih i-wen*. However, Ch'u manipulated his borrowed elements so as to emphasize the contrasts between them in terms of the moral import of the events they describe. Ch'in Shu-pao's adventures in *Sui T'ang yen-i* are altered to illustrate the rewards received for virtuous acts and to clarify the moral obligations between which Ch'in Shu-pao must choose. This martial hero thus embodies Ch'u Jen-huo's exploration of the processes by which an ethical man chooses his course of action when confronted with moral

dilemmas—when circumstances will not allow him, for example, to be a loyal friend and a filial son simultaneously. In these two contrasting treatments of Ch'in Shu-pao, Professor Hegel sees differing philosophical stances on the part of the two novelists; he concludes that, writing late in the Ming, Yüan Yü-ling concentrated on the individual self in accordance with the Wang Yang-ming school of idealistic Neo-Confucianism, while early in the Ch'ing, Ch'u Jen-huo chose the more conservative approach of the Chu Hsi school of rationalistic Neo-Confucianism and thus made Ch'in Shu-pao become a more social being, dependent on society rather than on inner promptings for development.

The Ch'ing writer Li Yü (1611-1680?) is quite different from the two authors examined by Robert Hegel. As Nathan Mao shows, Li Yü's collections of stories, *Wu-sheng hsi* and *Shih-erh lou*, introduce innovative narrative techniques. In fact, Li was the first Ch'ing writer to vary the length of his stories. Although trained in the classics, he chose to write colloquially and straightforwardly. His characters range from the lowest on the social scale to representatives of the middle and ruling classes. Using an omniscient point of view, he tells a story and shows the motives of his characters. In nearly all his stories, he reveals complete control of his plots, which are full of surprises and sexual crises. Even though he uses the Confucian themes of loyalty, filial piety, chastity, and righteousness, he often makes the reader think about the practice of consulting an astrologer in matters of betrothal, employing match-makers in arranged marriages, the demands made on women, the excessive emphasis placed on having a male heir, the privileges of the upper classes, and other inequities inherent in the contemporary social system. Although his characterizations suffer by comparison with modern techniques, Li Yü has, nonetheless, created a number of memorable fictional characters. Li is well known as an explicit writer, but, as Professor Mao shows, he must also be recognized as a writer of consummate skill.

The relationships of the main characters in *Hung-lou meng* have been the subject of scrutiny by generations of scholars. In his own effort to shed light upon this complex subject, Ping-leung Chan has adopted an approach which involves both myth and psychological criticism. Professor Chan emphasizes that *Hung-lou meng* is a confessional novel in which its author, Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in, tells of his hopes and frustrations in his dealings with reality. Ts'ao has created Takuanyüan as his lost paradise to which he yearns to return. His dualistic view of the world is reflected in his creation of three pairs of doubles: Chia Pao-yü and Chen Pao-yü, Hsüeh Pao-ch'ai and Hsi-jen, Lin Tai-yü and Ch'ing-wen. These three pairs represents respectively Chia's superego, ego and libido. Psychologically, Chia Pao-yü's marriage with Hsüeh Pao-ch'ai seems inevitable; and, in light of John Armstrong's theory of the paradise myth, it

can also be interpreted as the compromise between reality and idealism. The youngsters are eventually banished from Takuanyüan, as Adam and Eve are from Eden once they have tasted the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Yet this banishment forces Pao-yü, as Professor Chan suggests, to face reality, whereby he achieves enlightenment, as shown by his joining the religious order.

The second essay on the *Hung-lou meng* involves an entirely different approach but has the same goal of elucidating a well-known aspect of this novel. Chün-jo Liu isolates a total of seventy-six passages which exhibit the element of *ch'iao*, unexpected coincidence or timeliness (or synchronicity in Ping-leung Chan's analytical framework), and subjects these passages to a detailed analysis to determine their degree of syllabicity and their grammatical categories. She attempts to arrive at an understanding of some primary signals in the narrative style of vernacular Chinese. The passages from the novel were selected for their roles as links in the narration. They may be regarded as the paradigm of the element of *ch'iao* in narrative structure. The distributions of grammatical signals, e.g. nouns, verbs, pronouns, etc., in various syllabic configurations are noted in this descriptive study. The occurrences of the verbs of action, e.g. verbs of going; verbs for change of position or motion; and of the verbs of perception, e.g. *t'ing* (to hear) or *chien* (to see), in high-frequency syllabic configurations seem to suggest that action, motion and perception create the foreground of *ch'iao*. In addition to the distribution of grammatical signals, Professor Liu also examines the ambiguity in the positions of the internal pauses within a sentence. Since the positions of the pauses affect the meaning of a sentence, they may be viewed as the foreground of the *wen-ch'ï* (life force in writing). The internal pauses may be considered the boundaries of the syllabic configurations. Consequently, the syllabic configuration should be considered a primary signal in the structure of the narrative style of vernacular Chinese. This study reveals the function of the *caesura* in the sentence and the relationship between the actual events described and their linguistic formulation.

Although fiction did not enjoy high status in traditional China, this view was the product of moral and aesthetic judgments rather than a political one. Until the Manchu dynasty, the *Shui-hu chuan* was the only work of fiction to suffer for political reasons. This situation changed, however, when the Manchus set about to destroy all works containing anti-dynastic sentiment. In his bibliographic research on Ch'ing censorship, Tai-loi Ma presents an exhaustive study of the lists of censored materials and discovers that several novels were included as politically offensive to the Manchu court for varying reasons. Mr. Ma points out that, contrary to the general belief, novels were not vigorously persecuted by Ming and Ch'ing officials and that even during the literary inquisition of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, well known for its systematic and

comprehensive operation, only seven novels were mentioned in the various lists of prohibited books: *T'ui-lu kung-an*, *Chen-hai ch'un-ch'iu*, *Chiao Ch'uang hsiao-shuo*, *Ting-ting ch'i-wen*, *Ch'iao-shih yen-i*, *Shuo Yüeh ch'üan-chuan* and *Ying lieh chuan*. All were proscribed solely for political reasons: the first five novels were about the warfare between the Ming government and the Manchus, and the last two were concerned with struggles between the Han and the non-Han ethnic groups (the Jurchens and the Mongols respectively). There were no erotic novels in any Chinese *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. There were four kinds of index; only those compiled by the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu Commission and the Grand Council had nationwide authority. Local officials seem to have been more repressive than the central government, and titles in provincial and local lists may have been banned only locally and temporarily. Consequently, both the *Shuo Yüeh ch'üan-chuan* and the *Ying lieh chuan*, Mr. Ma points out, have survived in large quantities. The five novels about contemporary events did not fare so well. One work has been lost, while another survives only in a fragmentary form. Nevertheless, the existence of manuscripts demonstrates that some people were not afraid to copy and keep prohibited works. This study also shows the working of the censorship process and its successes and failures.

In the last essay, Dr. William McNaughton takes up the important modern Western historiographical idea—promulgated by both Troeltsch and Toynbee—that, as the amount of historical data available to historians grows to colossal proportions, the only way to effectively handle them will lie in imaginative literature—in fiction. Dr. McNaughton suggests that, in practice at least, this idea has been understood in China for a very long time (the Chinese, of course, have been accumulating historical data in large quantities for some time, too). He considers its application in Chinese historical writing and especially in some of the great Chinese historical novels, such as those attributed to Lo Kuan-chung; and he looks briefly at its apparent effect on some modern writings of China and of the United States.

This book results from the assumption that Chinese fiction is a major literary form of international importance which is certainly worthy of far more serious scholarly attention than it has hitherto received. The relative neglect of Chinese fiction is a situation that is far from remedied, even today. These essays are all designed to improve our understanding of traditional Chinese fiction. It is hoped that they will contribute to a better appreciation of works of pre-modern Chinese fiction.

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Some Preliminary Remarks on Fiction, the Classical Tradition and Society in Late Ninth-century China*

William H. Nienhauser, Jr.

Therefore they who knew the principles of ceremonies could create them; and they who had learned their form could hand them down. The creators may be pronounced sage; the transmitters, intelligent. Intelligence and sagehood are other names for transmitting and creating.

—*Li chi* [Book of Rites]¹

INTRODUCTION

THE T'ang dynasty (618-907) marks the era in which scholars first came to distinguish fiction from history. During the seventh century exegetes such as K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達 (574-648), Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (581-645), and especially Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾 (661-721) set the trend in their criticism of traditional assessments of the classics.² They were followed by several generations of *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋 [Spring and Autumn Annals] scholars, with T'an Chu 啖助 (725-70) as bellwether, who eventually came to advocate replacing

*A debt of gratitude is owed Professors Dennis T. Hu, Tsai-fa Cheng and Ms. Sharon Shih-jiuan Hou for their comments and suggestions. Responsibility for the content of this study remains entirely with the author, however. Further thanks is due the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation and the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin under whose auspices this study was completed.

Abbreviations not explained elsewhere include:

ch. for *chüan* 卷;

fol. for folio page;

SPPY for *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要;

SPTK for *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊.

¹Ch. 11, section 19, fol. 10b (SPPY): 故知禮樂之情者，能作。識禮樂之文，能述。作者之謂聖，述者之謂明。明聖者，述作之謂也。

²On this development and indeed much of what is discussed in these prefatory paragraphs, see E.G. Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755-805," in *The Confucian Persuasion*, ed. by Arthur F. Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 77-114.

the accepted interpretations of this classic (primarily those found in the *Tso-chuan* 左傳) by other exegeses (most often the *Kung-yang chuan* 公羊傳). Paralleling this development in hermeneutics (*ching-hsüeh* 經學) was the rise of what has been generally considered the first consciously fictitious genre in Chinese literary history, the *ch'uan-ch'i* 傳奇. Without discussing the possible hybridizations of these tendencies, one can attest that this "movement" reached an apex in the works of the early ninth-century literati Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824) and Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元 (773-819). Liu Tsung-yüan broadened this reevaluation of the classical corpus,³ attacking apocryphal works such as the *Hao-kuan tzu* 鶡冠子,⁴ questioning the logic of others ("Fei Kuo-yü" 非國語 [Contra *Conversations of the States*]),⁵ and introducing new subject matter (the *fu-pan* 蝸蟻 bug).⁶ Such writings did not originate with Liu, however. Their precursors can be seen in *Chuang-tzu* and in many of the earliest works termed *hsiao-shuo* 小說,⁷ but in the early ninth century they must have seemed not only innovational, but iconoclastic. Although Han Yü also wrote numerous similar works,⁸ there is a difference between Han and Liu's approach.⁹ Han Yü's work is much less influenced by the new,

³The classical corpus consisted of three groups during the T'ang: the primary works including the *Li chi*, the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, and the *Tso-chuan*, the secondary group of *Shih-ching* 詩經, *Chou-li* 周禮, and *I-li* 儀禮, and the tertiary which was made up of the *I-ching*, the *Shang-shu* 尚書, the *Kung-yang chuan*, and the *Ku-liang chuan* 穀梁傳; see Lü Ssu-mien 呂思勉, *Sui T'ang Wu-tai shih* 隋唐五代史 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), vol. 2, p. 1264.

⁴*Liu Ho-tung chi* 柳河東集 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), vol. 1, ch. 4, p. 72. It is interesting to note that Han Yü's views on this work are also more conservative, see his "Tu Hao-kuan tzu" 讀鶡冠子, in *Han Ch'ang-li wen-chi chiao-chu* 韓昌黎文集校注, ed. by Ma Ch'i-ch'ang 馬其昶 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1960), ch. 1, pp. 21-22.

⁵*Ho-tung*, vol. 2, ch. 44-45, pp. 746-88.

⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 1, ch. 17, pp. 312-13.

⁷See Hellmut Wilhelm, "Notes on Chou Fiction," in *Transition and Permanence: Chinese History and Culture*, ed. by David C. Buxbaum and Frederick W. Mote (Hong Kong: Cathay Press, 1972), pp. 252, 263 and *passim*.

⁸Han Yü and Li Ao wrote a commentary to the *Analects*, the *Lun-yü pi-chieh* 論語筆解 [Penned Explanations to the *Analects*], but it is a work designed not to question the *Lun-yü* itself, but the commentaries of the *Lun-yü chi-chieh* 論語集解 [Collected Explanations to the *Analects*] of Han, Wei, and Six Dynasties' scholars; see also his discussions of *Mo-tzu* 墨子 and *Hsün-tzu* 荀子 (*Ch'ang-li*, ch. 1, pp. 22-23 and 20-21, respectively).

⁹Perhaps the incident which most illustrates this difference would be the criticism Chang Chi 張籍 (766-829) and others directed at Han Yü for his writings like the allegorical piece on the writing brush, "Mao Ying chuan" 毛穎傳 [Biography of Fur Point] (*Ch'ang-li*, ch. 8, pp. 325-27). Han Yü replied (*Ibid.*, ch. 2, pp. 76-77) that he regarded these works as a means of amusement, on the same level as drinking or carousing (p. 77). Liu Tsung-yüan, however, wrote a long, serious defense of Han's work (*Ho-tung*, vol. 1, ch. 21, pp. 366-67), which one is tempted to read as a more general plea for this type of

critical hermeneutics and seems rather to parallel many developments in *ch'uan-ch'i*.¹⁰ Liu's "T'ien tui" 天對 [Heaven Answered]¹¹ or "T'ung-yeh feng ti pien" 桐葉封弟辯 [A Critical Discussion of (King Ch'eng) Enfeoffing His Younger Brother with T'ung-yeh]¹² adumbrate the numerous works which place classical criticism in a fictional guise from ca. 850 on. Edwin G. Pulleyblank sees this bifurcation (between Han and Liu) as a division of conservative, *ku-wen* 古文 (neo-classical) movement people and their radical, "new-critical" counterparts.¹³ Kuo Shao-yü detects two wings also, but visualizes them as part of the *ku-wen* movement and as derivative from Han Yü: the first, including Li Ao 李翱 (772-841), P'i Jih-hsiu 皮日休 (ca. 834-ca. 883), and Lu Kuei-meng 陸龜蒙 (d. 881), emphasized doctrine (*tao* 道); the second stressed rhetoric (*wen* 文), and numbered Huang-fu Shih 皇甫湜 (fl. 810) and Sun Ch'iao 孫樵 (fl. 860-88) among its adherents.¹⁴ But these schools, following the terminology of the epigraph supra, may be seen as those of *transmission*¹⁵ and *creation*, and their distinct development seems equally to have been the result of rather extreme changes in at least part of the literary milieu, changes involving primarily the decline of imperial patronage and of court-based literati (for it was common after 860 for the emperor not to hold court in Ch'ang-an¹⁶) and the rise of the minor-gentry families and their "provincial" literature.

literature; cf. also my "An Allegorical Reading of Han Yü's 韓愈 'Mao Ying chuan' 毛穎傳 (Biography of Fur Point)," *Oriens Extremus*, 23.2 (Dec. 1976), pp. 153-74. Liu Tsung-yüan's role as a precursor of this trend can perhaps be explained by his unique career; through age thirty he was arrantly successful, and thereafter remained in banishment until his death. Thus he, too, may be regarded as a sort of marginal figure during the years in which he advocated and wrote such fictional pieces.

¹⁰ See Y.W. Ma, "Prose Writings of Han Yü and *Ch'uan-ch'i* Literature," *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 7(1969), pp. 200-201.

¹¹ *Ho-tung*, vol. 1, ch. 14, pp. 227-67.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, ch. 4, pp. 65-66.

¹³ Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism," pp. 112-13.

¹⁴ Kuo Shao-yü 郭紹虞, *Chung-kuo ku-tien wen-hsüeh li-lun p'i-p'ing-shih* 中國古典文學理論批評史 (Peking: Jen-ming wen-hsüeh ch'u-p'an-she, 1959), pp. 229 ff.

¹⁵ Han Yü's conception that he himself was one of the orthodox transmitters of Confucian doctrine (see his "Yüan tao" 原道 [On the Origin of the Way], *Ch'ang-li*, ch. 1, pp. 7-11) typifies this tendency.

¹⁶ I-tsung 懿宗 (r. 860-73), for example, was only seventeen when he ascended the throne and much more inclined towards parades, festivals, and the like; Hsi-tsung 僖宗 (r. 874-88), only eleven years of age when he "came to power," spent much of his reign fleeing from Huang Ch'ao 黃巢 (d. 884). Indeed, after the upheavals of the early 880s, Ch'ang-an was never again the attraction it had been for the literati through most of the T'ang, cf. Edward H. Schafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," *Oriens Extremus*, 10(1963), p. 157.

Although numerous examples of this late ninth-century type of fiction are available, this study proposes to examine only four: Sun Ch'iao's "Shu Pao-ch'eng-i pi" 書褒城驛壁 [Wall Inscription for the Pao-ch'eng Post-relay Station], Lo Yin's 羅隱 (833-909) "Yüeh-fu yen" 越婦言 [A Speech by the Wife from Yüeh], Lu Kuei-meng's "Chao yeh-lung tui" 招野龍對 [Reply of the Wild Dragon who Was Beckoned], and Lai Ku's 來鵠 (fl. ca. 870) "Mao hu shuo" 貓虎說 [Persuasion Concerning Cats and Tigers]. These works exemplify the major genres, and their authors the social origins of those men who continued to question the tradition. Sun Ch'iao¹⁷ was a student of Han Yü who led a distinguished official career; Lu Kuei-meng¹⁸ belonged to a very ancient and aristocratic clan, but preferred the life of an anchorite; Lo Yin¹⁹ was a social critic whose acerbity apparently retarded his political career countless times; and Lai Ku,²⁰ about whom one knows very little, seems to have enjoyed a renown similar to Lo. What did these men have in common? It would seem their marginality—either as a member of an emerging social group (as Lai Ku seems to have been²¹), or as a recluse (Lu Kuei-meng), or a virulent opponent of contemporary government and society (Lo Yin) they were able to reject the identification with the tradition that writers such as Han Yü could not. Only one of the four authors under consideration passed the *chin-shih* 進士 (presented scholar) examinations which were the gateway to official success.

¹⁷ See *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 (Taipei: Hua-lien ch'u-pan-she, 1965), vol. 17, ch. 794, fol. 1a, for a minuscule "biography." Sun received the *chin-shih* degree during the Ta-chung 大中 reign period (847-59) and held office in Hsi-tsung's exile court during the Huang Ch'ao Rebellion.

¹⁸ Lu's family had belonged to the local Soochow gentry for generations; see *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 [New T'ang History], ch. 196, fol. 11a-b (*Po-na* ed.); Hsin Wen-pien 辛文房, *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan* 唐才子傳 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1964), ch. pp. 145-46; *T'ang-shih chi-shih* 唐詩紀事 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), vol. 2, ch. 64, pp. 961-63; and Ōgawa Tamaki's 小川環樹 excellent annotated translation of the *Hsin T'ang shu* biography in *Tōdai no shi jin—sono denki* 唐代的詩人—その伝記 (Tokyo: Taishukan shoten, 1975), pp. 553-60.

¹⁹ On Lo Yin see Wang Te-chen 汪德振, *Lo Yin nien-p'u* 羅隱年譜 (Shanghai: Shangwu shu-tien, 1936); *Ts'ai-tzu*, ch. 9, pp. 156-57; *Chi-shih*, vol. 2, ch. 69, pp. 1033-35; and Ōgawa, *Denki*, pp. 565-74.

²⁰ Only very terse accounts of Lai Ku's life remain; see *Ts'ai-tzu*, ch. 8, p. 134; Sun Kuang-hsien 孫光憲, *Pei-meng so-yen* 北夢瑣言 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), p. 58; and the notes preceding his poetry and prose in *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), vol. 9, ch. 642, p. 7354 and *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, vol. 17, ch. 811, fol. 3a, respectively. See also the brief but interesting account in *T'ang chih-yen* 唐摭言 (SPPY ed.), ch. 10, fol. 7a. It would seem that Lai had a national reputation during the early 860s.

²¹ The marked similarities between some of Lai Ku's works and those of Liu K'o and P'i Jih-hsiu may indicate that all three were from minor-gentry clans; cf. also Pulleyblank, "Liu K'o 劉軻, A Forgotten Rival of Han Yü," *Asia Major*, 7 (1959), p. 146.

Similarly, their medium is untraditional. *Tui* 對 (reply), a genre often used by Liu Tsung-yüan, *shuo* 說 (persuasions), representative of those works which drew the wrath of the early ninth-century traditionalists, and *yen* 言 (a speech or dissertation on a theme) are not considered among the most orthodox of literary genres.²² In many ways their contribution to the development of Chinese fiction parallels that of the Calvinists in the West.²³

In the translations and explications below an attempt will be made to determine common elements of these works and their significance in the development of fiction and related coeval ninth-century genres.

One should then turn first to Sun Ch'iao's "Wall Inscription for the Pao-ch'eng Post-relay Station" [original texts for all four pieces are provided in the Appendix]:

The Pao-ch'eng Post-relay Station had the reputation of being the best in the empire. When I saw it in person, viewed its ponds, which are shallow, muddy, and rush-filled, regarded its boats, which have been smashed and patched, the courtyard deep in weeds, and the main hall and its surrounding buildings in ruin—alas, where could I find its so-called spacious beauty! I inquired about this with the post-relay station manager, and he said: "Once Duke Chung-mu ruled in Liang-chou."²⁴ Since Pao-ch'eng was the administrative seat of two military governorships, the emperor's envoys with dragon-adorned flags and the governor's messengers under pennants with tigers painted thereon galloped couriers and raced carts, their axles entangling and their horses' hooves rubbing on one another. Therefore, he lavished extravagances on this station, to display the dimension of his vigor. At that time compared to other post-relay stations this one was grand, but in one year the guests who arrived at Pao-ch'eng, seeking shelter in the evening, or coming hungry looking to eat their fill, were no fewer than several hundred. They all arrived with the setting sun and departed with the dawn. How could they have any regret in their hearts? When it came to rowing boats, they had to break the punting pole, smash the bulwarks, or splinter the prow, before they would stop; or to fishing, they would drain away the water, stir up the mud, until all was fished out, before they would halt. There were even those who fed their horses in side rooms and put up their hawks in the halls. Through all this they defiled and spoiled houses and cottages and destroyed implements. If their grade was low, their retinue, even if violent in

²²None of these genres were included in the *Wen-hsiün*, generally considered the handbook for T'ang literati. Liu Tsung-yüan wrote five *tui*, Han Yü one; Liu has eleven *shuo* and Han Yü one. On the *pi-chi* 壁記 (wall inscription) and other genres which were first used by *ku-wen* writers, see David L. McMullen's "Yüan Chieh and the Early *Ku-wen* Movement" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1968), especially pp. 433 ff.

²³See Herbert Schöffler's thesis concerning the reasons for the rise of fiction in the very strict Calvinist milieu of the Early Enlightenment in *Protestantismus und Literatur* (2nd edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1958).

²⁴Referring to Yen Chen 嚴震 (725-800), who was ennobled for his role in putting down Chu Tz'u's 朱泚 (746-84) rebellion in 784; see his biography in *Hsin T'ang shu*, ch. 158.