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# SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS

Number 12

August, 1989

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## The Contributions of T'ang and Five Dynasties Transformation Texts (*pien-wen*) to Later Chinese Popular Literature

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# The Contributions of T'ang and Five Dynasties

## Transformation Texts (*pien-wen*)

### to Later Chinese Popular Literature

by

Victor H. Mair

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Since the discovery of the Tun-huang manuscripts around the turn of this century and the beginnings of the study of the *pien-wen* 變文 ("transformation texts")<sup>1</sup> found among them, it has commonly been asserted that this genre of T'ang period (618-906) and Five Dynasties period (907-960) popular Buddhist narrative had a crucial impact on the subsequent development of Chinese literature. Unfortunately, these assertions have not been accompanied by sufficient rigor and data to be convincing. The earliest known form of prosimetric (*chantefable*) fiction in China, the transformation texts also represent the first extended examples of vernacular narrative. Their appearance in China over a thousand years ago and their recent reemergence in our midst are clearly matters of great moment. The problem we are confronted with, however, is how to assess their role in the history of Chinese literature fairly and accurately.

The crucial overall impact of Buddhist literature on the development of Chinese narrative has already been delineated by Průšek:

An analysis of the still preserved popular stories of the *Sungs* [960-1279] indicates that their form was but an adaptation and an improvement of the *pien-wen* of the *T'ang* period. Thus the hypothesis that even the secular narrators during the *T'ang* dynasty were already influenced by religious sermons becomes probable. Despite the fact that the narrators had existed probably in China for ages long,<sup>2</sup> still during the *T'ang* dynasty, this art had been permeated by the influences of popular, Buddhist literature to such an extent that it had become transformed into a new type of literature which had, in its form at least, very little in common with the ancient popular stories, the "*hsiao-shuo*," already mentioned in the literary history of the *Han* dynasty. Therefore, we may say that the history of the popular narrative and novel, such as it existed in China up to the most recent times, commenced no earlier than during the *T'ang* dynasty, and that even though this literature, within the scope of its development, had drawn upon purely Chinese material, still it was essentially a religious creation, a by-product of Buddhism and it bore traces of its origin for a long

time to come.<sup>3</sup>

Průšek's observations in the latter part of this paragraph are of profound importance for the history of Chinese popular literature. The purpose of this paper is to bring together some of the findings, made by scholars who are expert in various genres of Chinese popular literature, that support Průšek's observations. We shall see that the impact of folk Buddhist transformation performances and popular transformation texts as well as Buddhist literature in general on later narrative literature in China -- both fiction and drama -- was enormous.

Liu Wu-chi sees "the germs of both fiction and drama" as having "long been existent in pre-T'ang times, but it was in the T'ang and Sung periods that they emerged from their embryo stage."<sup>4</sup> Fair enough, but one still wishes to know what were the nourishing factors present in the T'ang and Sung which caused these "germs" to sprout and ultimately to fructify.

Paul Demiéville dates<sup>5</sup> the beginnings of popular [written, as opposed to folk oral] literature in China from the eighth and ninth century -- i.e., from the same time as the rise of Tun-huang *pien-wen*. And, although he does not spell out in detail the relationship between the two, he sees<sup>6</sup> the appearance of popular literature at that particular time as having to do with the fact that Buddhism reached its peak in China between the seventh and tenth centuries. This makes eminently good sense. Demiéville's analysis can be elaborated on by pointing out that the Buddhist influences which contributed to the appearance of popular written literature in China are manifold. They include social, educational, religious, literary, artistic, linguistic, and other aspects of the overall Buddhist impact on Chinese life.

Sun K'ai-ti has postulated the influence of Buddhist storytelling on the whole train of development in Chinese popular literature to the end of the Ming [1368-1644] period:

If now, in our researches, we look at [the matter] from [the standpoint] of artistic development, had there been no performances of *pien* and storytelling of the period after the Chin removed south [317] to the T'ang and Five Dynasties, there could not have been the storytelling of the Sung nor the lyric tales (*tz'u-hua* 詞話) of the Yüan [1260-1368] and Ming. Had there been no storytelling of the Sung nor lyric tales of the Yüan and Ming, there could not have been the late Ming short story.<sup>7</sup>

My only quarrel with this series of limited postulations is that, except in perhaps inchoate forms, *pien* cannot be shown to have come into existence before the T'ang period.

One of the most straightforward general statements on the subject is that of Ogawa Tamaki:

Vernacular fiction in China did not arise of itself nor did it have an independently occurring form. Rather, it was born under Indian influence. In other words, we may fairly say that its origins are in India. Today, there are many unclear points regarding the route of this influence. But, if we put forward the hypothesis that, within China proper, the direct parent of vernacular fiction is Buddhist literature -- especially *pien-wen* -- differences of opinion notwithstanding, I believe that it is nonetheless an appropriate explanation.<sup>8</sup>

Most prominent authorities on various types of prosimetric, popular literature of the Sung and later periods trace these genres back to *pien-wen*. Cheng Chen-to has delineated<sup>9</sup> the basic outlines of the influence of transformation texts on the overall development of prosimetric literature (*shuo-ch'ang wen-hsueh* 說唱文學) in China. Ch'iu Chen-ching identifies<sup>10</sup> *pien-wen* as the forerunner of Sung and Yüan "expository tales" (*p'ing-hua* 言平話) and all subsequent prosimetric literature. Li Shih-yü sees<sup>11</sup> "precious scrolls" (*pao-chüan* 寶卷) as growing out of *pien-wen* and Sung "sūtra tellings" (*shuo-ching* 說經). Fu Hsi-hua says that Ch'ing period [1644-1911] "young bannermen books" (*izu-ti-shu* 子弟書) derive from "strum lyrics" (*t'an-tz'u* 彈詞) but ultimately from T'ang *pien-wen*.<sup>12</sup> Yet it has not heretofore been adequately shown how these genres relate to *pien-wen* and, more importantly why the prosimetric form in popular literature can be traced back no earlier than to the T'ang period.

Yeh Te-chün begins his important study of prosimetric literature in the Sung, Yüan, and Ming periods by stating<sup>13</sup> that all prosimetric literary genres<sup>14</sup> derived from Buddhist popular literature of the T'ang and Five Dynasties. Aoki Masaru, in a note<sup>15</sup> written during July, 1941 and prompted by Tōhoku University 東北大學 Professor Doi Kōchi 土居光知, pointed out that European fiction had also been influenced by Indian storytelling. This reinforced his earlier perception that Buddhist literature was the model for Chinese prosimetric storytelling forms. Fu Yün-tzu, too, has emphasized<sup>16</sup> the crucial role of Tun-huang popular literature in the development of Sung storytelling. Lo Chen-yü deduced that the "sūtra-telling" of the Sung period entertainers directly derived from *pien-wen*.<sup>17</sup> It has been claimed,<sup>18</sup> as well, that there is a direct connection between transformation texts, the "history lectures [narrations]" 講史 of the Sung entertainers, and the later historical romances.

Yüeh Heng-chün has pointed out the indispensability of Tun-huang transformation texts for the study of the vernacular short story in China: "In actuality, if there were no *pien-wen*, there would surely be no way to understand the origin of *hua-pen*.... However, by relying upon this relationship to *hua-pen*, it is also possible to provide a foothold for a certain aspect of *pien-wen* studies."<sup>19</sup> The "certain aspect" to which Yüeh refers is the developmental one.

Ch'iu Chen-ching perceives the vital influence of *pien-wen* on later popular literature as having two chief aspects, its prosimetric form and the vivid quality of the stories that characterizes its content.<sup>20</sup> The former aspect was more decisive for the development of *pao-chüan*, *chu-kung-tiao*, *ku-tz'u*, *t'an-tz'u*, etc.<sup>21</sup> and the latter aspect was more important in the rise of the vernacular short story and the novel.<sup>22</sup> Ch'iu holds that the two aspects exerted equal force in the growth of Chinese drama. Anthony Yu also recognizes the important place of *pien-wen* (and, presumably, their oral antecedents) in the development of Sung and Yüan storytelling and drama. Although he is careful not to imply that any of the major novels had an "oral composition", his caution is not meant to negate the possibility of oral antecedents. "...Such rhetorical features as the *Hua-shuo* [話說] and *Ch'ieh/Ch'üeh-shuo* [且 / 卻 言說] (we were speaking of...) and the stock formula (if you want to know what follows, listen to the next round's unravelment), which open and close each chapter of the classic novel reflect unmistakably the expressions characteristic of an oral tradition."<sup>23</sup>

Rhetorical formulations of this nature also frequently appear in the expository tales (*p'ing-hua*). I have brought together a few examples<sup>24</sup> to give some indication of their nature:

"How high did it appear?" 怎見得高? (before verse).

"It was the second watch of the night and the moon was bright as day. How did it appear?" 夜色二更，月明如晝，如何見得? (before verse).

"How was that banquet?" 那筵會如何? (before set piece).

"What did she say?" 言說個甚的? (before verse).

"What were the four sentences he spoke?" 那四句道甚麼? (before verse).

"How did he speak?" 怎道 (before direct discourse, two occurrences).

"See (!) that Commandant in Charge [of the Northern Capital] at that time (!) he is sitting in the court, what is it like?" 看那留守坐廳時如何?

The consanguinity of these expressions with the *pien-wen* pre-verse formula and other quotative formulas that are found in Tun-huang popular literature is obvious. The continuation of such verse introductory formulas is also to be found in the later vernacular short story in such expressions as "all [he] saw was" (*tan chien* 但見), "there is a poem as evidence" (*yu shih wei cheng* 有詩為證), etc.

Men'shikov has remarked on the importance of *pien-wen* and Tun-huang songs for illuminating the origins of different genres of subsequent popular literature -- story, novel, and drama -- "in their genetic relationship with Buddhist literature."<sup>25</sup> Chou Shao-liang maintains<sup>26</sup> that the chief contributions of *pien-wen* to later popular literature were the following: 1. such

genres of folk literature as *pao-chüan*, *t'an-tz'u*, and so on are its direct descendants; 2. the use of verse passages in fiction; and 3. the prosimetric form in drama. Cheng Chen-to has discussed the developmental relationship between *pien-wen* and "strum lyrics" (*t'an-tz'u*).<sup>27</sup> And Hrdlička links<sup>28</sup> the big drum ballads (*ta-ku-shu* 大鼓書) of this century directly to *pien-wen*. It is likely that the influence passed through the little drum lyrics (*ku-tzu-tz'u* 鼓子詞), a Sung period popular literary genre for performance.

Fifty years ago there were still active in Kiangsu and Chekiang tellers of "precious scrolls" (*pao-chüan*), some of whom frequented the small teashops and others, dressed as monks (but they were not really), who were itinerant beggars (N.B.). Ch'ien Nan-yang, who reported<sup>29</sup> this information, considered them to be descended from the Sung storytellers. This seems reasonable and, given the fact that Sung prosimetric storytelling can be traced back to transformations, establishes a tentative series of links between twentieth-century "precious scrolls" and folk Buddhist literature of the T'ang period. Hence, it is commonly accepted among scholars who have studied *pao-chüan* intensively that their roots may be found in transformation texts and other related T'ang period performing arts.<sup>30</sup> Striking correspondences do indeed exist between certain *pao-chüan* and specific Tun-huang texts. There are, for example, *pao-chüan* on the Buddhist saint Maudgalyāyana, the legendary heroine Meng Chiang-nü 孟姜女, the names of various birds 百鳥名寶卷,<sup>31</sup> and medicine names 藥名寶卷.<sup>32</sup>

Through examination of the history of the Meng Chiang-nü story, it is apparent that the Tun-huang versions played a crucial role in its development. It is in the Tun-huang texts that the heroine's name is first fixed in its present form. There are other important details which differ from earlier versions and which become predominant in all later renditions. Among these is the fact that, in the Tun-huang texts, Meng Chiang-nü sets out on a long journey to send winter clothes to her husband, Ch'i Liang. This is highly significant in light of the fact that the episodic nature of prosimetric texts is particularly well suited to the narration of journeys, flights, and so on.<sup>33</sup> There are also a number of close parallels between the "Transformation Text on Wang Ling" and later fiction and drama dealing with the same subject but which were not present in earlier historical sources.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the transformation text on Wang Chao-chün is at the very core of the transmission of the story.<sup>35</sup>

Another scholar who credits *pien-wen* with having had a crucial formative influence on subsequent popular literature is Chang Ching-wen. Chang holds that "It is only due to the discovery of *pien-wen* that the origins of Sung dynasty *hua-pen* ("story roots", i.e. vernacular short stories) and *chu-kung-tz'u* [*sic*, → *tiao*], as well as later drama, *pao-chüan*, *t'an-tz'u*, *ku-tz'u*, etc. may be known, thus solving a number of problems in recent literary history."<sup>36</sup> And, again, "The alternate use of sung and spoken passages in drama is undoubtedly due to the direct

influence of *pien-wen*.<sup>37</sup>

It is generally accepted that Yüan drama (*tsa-chü* 雜劇) has its immediate origins in the medley (*chu-kung-tiao* 諸宮調) and other nascent dramatic forms of the Sung period. At least one Yüan drama has the expression *chu-kung-tiao* in its title.<sup>38</sup> This means that, traced back further, the roots of Yüan drama are to be found in transformation texts, for these latter have been shown<sup>39</sup> to have a close relationship to the intermediary Sung dramatic forms. The important influence of Tun-huang narratives on the development of Chinese drama has been duly recognized by Chung-wen Shih when she says that "It was the *pien-wen* (early popular literature) and the oral storytelling of Sung times that had the greatest bearing on the emergence of Yüan dramatic literature." And, again, "The *pien-wen* and the 'medley' [*chu-kung-tiao*] are the embryo from which Yüan prose writing [in dramatic texts] developed."<sup>40</sup>

This connection between Yüan drama and T'ang transformations would be logical even if we knew nothing at all about the Sung genres. For the form, the themes, and the narrative characteristics of the two genres bear obvious resemblances to each other. Even certain distinctive expressions in Yüan drama, such as *t'ai chü* ( 擡 [or 臺] 舉 "to look after, to nurture")<sup>41</sup> and *tuan-sung* ( 斷送 "to present a final gift", "to send off", "to do away with or finish off")<sup>42</sup> can be traced through the medley (*chu-kung-tiao*) to popular Buddhist texts of the T'ang period. And, although he considers them "crude by comparison", David Roy does mention<sup>43</sup> *pien-wen* together with Yüan drama. It is, furthermore, evident from Sun Hsien-chao's studies<sup>44</sup> of the origins of many of the most popular Chinese dramas that *pien-wen* and related art forms played an important role in the transmission of the stories which form their plots. Hsiang Ta has rightly stressed the seminal importance of Tun-huang materials -- both in terms of language and of content -- for the study of the development of the medley, Yüan drama, popular fiction, and so on.<sup>45</sup>

To assess properly the role of transformations in the rise of Chinese theater, it is necessary to discuss what dramatic traditions, if any, preceded them. There is no point in my attempting to detail exhaustively the pre-T'ang course of development of the theater. This has already been expertly done by Wang Kuo-wei<sup>46</sup> and Tadeusz Żbikowski.<sup>47</sup> I will make reference only to individual theatrical forms which have been singled out by various scholars as being "the origin of Chinese drama."<sup>48</sup> By way of preface to my critical assessment of several of these proposals, I should state my understanding of what constitutes a true theater. Here I follow Chou I-pai who, in trying to discover when drama became an independent art in China, convincingly argues that the essential identifying factor for genuine Chinese drama is, as he says, "the enactment of a story"<sup>49</sup> or, we may say, "the enactment of an extended, episodic narrative." It is this very aspect of drama which transformations bequeathed to the Chinese theatrical tradition.<sup>50</sup>

Wang Kuo-wei, in his *History of Sung and Yüan Theatrical Cantos* (*Sung Yüan hsi-ch'ü*



*shih*), suggested that the ultimate origins of the theater in China were the shamanistic dances of Shang and Chou times. In the sacrifices to spirits, the shamans would entertain them with song and dance. While it must be admitted that this is true in the sense that certain analogous movements and religious affinities do exist between the performances of shamans and those of traditional actors, it must also be stressed that it is a partial truth because mature Chinese drama consists of many more elements than those which could possibly have derived from sacrificial rites, thaumaturgy, and exorcism. It is misleading, for example, to equate the "exorcistic plays" (*no-hsi* 儺戲) which were performed until recently in Kiangsi and Anhwei with their ancient Han forerunners called *ch'ü-no* 馬區儺. The latter were rites for expelling demons and ghosts; plays were performed in conjunction with such rites only *after* the development of the drama. On the other hand, we must also remember that the proto-dramatic performances of the Rajasthani *bhopo*, the Indonesian *wayang bèbèr dalang*,<sup>51</sup> and other related semi-religious, semi-theatrical figures were partially shamanistic in nature.

The southern lyrics from Ch'u known as the *Nine Songs* (*Chiu-ko* 九歌) have also been offered as a precursor of Chinese drama. Although it is possible that these and, presumably, similar songs may have had some effect on the formation of the Chinese theater, it is inaccurate to consider them alone as being responsible for the birth of drama. They represent, rather, a type of shamanistic literature,<sup>52</sup> and lack many of the most essential features of developed drama.

In the "Biographies of Jesters" (*Ku-chi lieh-chuan* 滑稽列傳) of *The Records of the Grand Historian* 史記 (c. 93 Before the International Era), there is an account of one "Entertainer Meng" 優孟. Reference has frequently been made to this account as proof of the existence of the theater in China before the Han period. This reasoning, however, is fallacious because the account itself tells us very clearly that "Entertainer Meng" was nothing more than an impersonator; it makes no mention of the acting out of a story on the stage.

The "Biography of Ts'ai Yung" 蔡邕傳 (133-192) in the *History of the Later Han* (450 IE, referring to events of the second century) has the following passage:

The scholars, in competing for advantage, made quite a stir. The more lofty among them were much given to citing classical exegesis and parables; the inferior ones would link up a series of vernacular expressions (*su-yü* 俗言), as though they were actors (*p'ai-yu* 俳優), or they would plagiarize entire texts and have the empty glory of a "famous name".<sup>53</sup>

This proves that Later Han actors did more than just indulge in mime, pantomime, dumb show, or skits. But it does not permit us to draw the conclusion that Han plays portrayed an extended

scenario.

Another often mentioned source of Chinese drama are the "hundred entertainments" 百戲 of the Han period. In his "Rhyme-prose on the Western Capital" 西京賦 (107 IE),<sup>54</sup> Chang Heng 張衡 (78-139) gives capsule descriptions of many of the "hundred entertainments". They include lifting heavy objects, pole-climbing, somersaults, playing with small wooden balls, wrestling, rope-walking, dressing up like a huge fish or dragon and dancing about, etc. Aside from the fact that most of these Han entertainments can themselves be traced to foreign sources,<sup>55</sup> none of them can be considered as drama since none portrays an extended story.

The early Ch'ing writer, Na-lan Hsing-te, correctly saw a connection between the Western Regions and the rise of the theater: "Acting 優伶 flourished during the Yüan era but, during Liang times (502-556), there was the 'Great Cloud Music' 大雲之樂<sup>56</sup> in which an old man was made to enact matters of the transformations of divine immortals 神仙變化之事. In actuality, acting begins with this."<sup>57</sup> While it is possible to make a case that "acting" begins with this sort of performance, it would be incorrect to say that drama did. The most we can gather from the description of the "Great Cloud Music" is that the performance consisted of music, perhaps song, and dancing. There is no evidence that an extended story was enacted.

A more realistic and accurate understanding of the origins of Chinese drama must take into account the fact that it is a complicated art form which consists of song, dialogue, music, gesture, dance, costuming, and so on. All of the various types of performances considered just above did contribute important elements to the evolving dramatic tradition. In regard to the question of the birth of Chinese drama, Tadeusz Żbikowski has made the eminently sensible statement that, "In all probability, Chinese drama came to life as a result of the combination of two independently developing elements, the art of impersonation and acting on the one hand and the story-telling and ballad-singing on the other."<sup>58</sup> Żbikowski's statement has, however, less applicability for the southern tradition which he was studying than it does for the northern. L. Carrington Goodrich has alluded to the crucial impact of foreign influences during the T'ang period in the development of a full-blown Chinese theater: "In the field of drama, the earlier short plays performed by court fools developed into plays of some length, a development that may have had a central Asiatic origin."<sup>59</sup>

The gist of all my remarks here is simply this: Buddhist narrative arts were, by no means, solely responsible for the birth and development of Chinese drama. The sources of Chinese drama are as numerous as are its many parts. What does need to be pointed out, however, is that the prosimetric, episodic shape of the narrative in the vast majority of Chinese performing arts, including the various traditions of the stage, are traceable to Buddhist storytelling, preaching, and lecturing. All the numerous attempts to find an earlier, native source for these characteristics of

Chinese drama have failed because the necessary data to support them do not exist. The data which lead the investigator to Buddhist oral narrative as the source of these characteristics are overwhelming and cannot be ignored.

Since this paper is an attempt to assess the importance of transformation texts for the development of fiction and drama in China, I cannot discuss thoroughly the overall impact of India on Chinese theater. Since, however, transformation texts are Buddhist and have clear Indian antecedents, we should at least try to keep in mind the original performing arts context from which they emerged. There are dozens of different aspects of Indian theater that might be studied in order to understand better the origins of Chinese drama, but I shall mention only one. In pondering the extent and nature of Indian influence on Chinese theatrical traditions, I have often wondered about the derivation of 介 (*kai* or *kɛi*) and 科 (*k'ua*) ("gesture", "action or movement on stage", also written *k'ua b'iwom* 科范, 科汎, 科泛 etc.). Literary historians have thus far not provided any convincing explanation of the origins of these basic terms. The usual interpretation given is that 介 equals 界 ("intersection" or "break" or "division") and that 科 is the distinctive "movement" of the actor(s) which invariably occurs at or marks these important points in the progress of a play. But this is tantamount to no explanation at all. I believe that one or both of these terms may be derived from Sanskrit *karaṇa* ("posture"). In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata<sup>60</sup> which established the science of Indian drama, there are 108 of these postures described. They have been carved in stone at Chidambaram. I once began a systematic comparison of the standard gestures in Yüan drama and in Indian dramaturgy.<sup>61</sup> The results were encouraging at a preliminary stage and merit further investigation.

One other important area that ought to be considered in any discussion of the evolution of the Chinese theatrical tradition is the contribution of shadow-plays and puppet-plays. It will be remarked that I place these two types of plays after T'ang transformations. Although it has often been asserted that both go back to at least the Han, such an assertion requires critical examination.<sup>62</sup>

Ying Shao (flourished 178 IE), in his *Comprehensive Configuration of Customs*, referred to puppet performers (*k'uei-lei* 傀儡) at festivals in the Han capital.<sup>63</sup> But there are several other essential facts concerning the history of Chinese *k'uei-lei* which must be noted before any conclusions are drawn about the nature and significance of these performances. The first is that competent Chinese commentators from the T'ang and earlier have always recognized that these performances did not begin until Ling-ti's 靈帝 (168-188 IE) time, that they consisted of song and dance, and that they were originally used in accompaniment with funerary music. There is never any mention of their being used to tell a story or enact a drama before the Sung period. These bits of information allow us to draw the following conclusions about the historical

development of puppets in China: "Puppets" began as funerary effigies (*yung* 俑)<sup>64</sup> which were used to replace the human sacrificial victims so well known from the excavations of Shang dynasty tombs. Recent archeological discoveries in China attest to the widespread use of such effigies. Japanese burial mound figurines (*haniwa* 土埴輪) also go back to remote antiquity. But, as with the Chinese funerary images (*yung*), there is no indication that these clay images were used in dramatic representations. The development of puppet plays is an entirely separate matter, one that is dependent on the prior existence of storytelling traditions. This is not to deny that the technical knowledge employed in making various types of dolls and funerary images could well be utilized in creating puppets for puppet-theater. The point is simply that, without oral narrative, puppets alone do not constitute a type of theater. During Han times, jointed string puppets (*k'uei-lei*) entered China and were notable as a technical advance over the immobile funerary images.<sup>65</sup> Yet it would appear that the *k'uei-lei* had become detached from the narratives which, in India, they were used to enact. Hence these novel devices in China were used primarily to entertain people at banquets with song and dance.<sup>66</sup> It was, to reiterate, not until the Sung period that they were reunited with a dramatic and narrative tradition.

Lo Chin-t'ang, in a brief but devastating article,<sup>67</sup> has cast serious doubt on the supposed Han origins of the puppet play. He has also demonstrated conclusively, following Hiän-lin Dschi,<sup>68</sup> that the reference to a puppet in *Lieh-tzu* 列子<sup>69</sup> counts for nothing in terms of trying to find an early Chinese origin. In the first place, the book as a whole is a Chin dynasty forgery.<sup>70</sup> Secondly, though the *Lieh-tzu* purports to be a Taoist work, it shows strong Buddhist influence at certain key points. Indeed, the preface by the reputed fourth-century compiler, Chang Chan 昌長, 71 states that Buddhism and Taoism amount to practically the same thing. And the passage in *Lieh-tzu* which mentions a puppet bears a great deal of similarity, even in small details, to that in the *Jātaka-nidāna* 生經, translated in 285 IE by Dharmarakṣa.<sup>72</sup> Both deal with the craft of the artisans who created the superbly life-like puppets and the king's reactions upon viewing them. Both also tell how the king becomes angry when the puppet eyes his consort. Dschi believes that these correspondences could not possibly be accidental. The same story also occurs in the *Mahāvastu*<sup>73</sup> and in a Tocharian text.<sup>74</sup>

The plethora of variant polysyllabic orthographies alone make it virtually certain that the Chinese word for string puppet is foreign in origin.<sup>75</sup> It is undoubtedly the same word as *kukla*<sup>76</sup> which appears in so many Eurasian languages with the meaning "puppet". The best information now available on string puppets is that they spread through Asia and Europe, presumably with nomadic gypsies who carried them from their ancestral home in northwest and north-central India.<sup>77</sup> From at least the beginning of the International Era, Indian musicians, storytellers, conjurers, and other types of entertainers spread over the Middle East, Europe, and Central Asia in

large numbers.<sup>78</sup> Their exodus had its ramifications in East Asia as well.

We may safely assume that there were true puppet-plays in China by the time of the late T'ang period. This is attested by a passage from *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture* [d. 867]:

The Master said:

Look at the wooden puppets performing on the stage!

Their jumps and jerks all depend upon the man behind.

師云

看取棚頭弄傀儡  
抽牽都來裏有人<sup>79</sup>

There is also an extended metaphorical reference to string puppet drama in a Tun-huang text (British Library manuscript S3872), one of the lectures on the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*:

And it is like a mechanized puppet,

That all because of pulling and drawing of strings and threads,

May dance or sing,

May walk or run,

But when the canto's over and the story's finished,

Is tossed to one side.<sup>80</sup>

Note particularly, in addition to other basic elements of developed drama, the crucial mention of "story" (literally *shih* 事 "matter"). Additional Tun-huang manuscripts mentioning puppets are S4037, where in line thirteen we find the phrase "to work puppets" 弄傀儡, and Leningrad Institute of Asian Peoples manuscript Flug 365 which compares certain aspects of puppetry to *samādhi* (deep meditation).

It is conceivable that string puppets were used at Tun-huang to enact religious dramas. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript P2975v<sup>81</sup> is a notification to members of a religious association listing fines imposed for infractions of the association rules. Among the fines levied -- all of which appear to have been used by the association in conjunction with meetings they held -- is the item "string puppet(s)" 傀儡子.<sup>82</sup> One wonders for what purpose a lay Buddhist association required puppets.

If genuine puppet-plays are not to be found in China before the T'ang period, there is likewise no proof of the existence of shadow-plays there until the Sung. In the "Biographies of

Imperial In-Laws [i.e. Wives]" 外戚傳 of the *History of the Han* 漢書, there is an account<sup>83</sup> of a mysterious wonder-worker from Ch'i 齊 named Shao-weng 少翁 showing the emperor Wu 武帝 ("Martial Emperor") an image of his beloved, deceased Lady Li 李夫人 in the year 121 BIE. This was accomplished at night and involved the use of candles and curtains that had been set up expressly for the purpose. The "Biographies of Consorts" 后妃傳 in the *History of the Southern Dynasties* 南史 has a strikingly similar account<sup>84</sup> of the Liu-Sung emperor Hsiao-wu-ti 孝武帝 ("Filial and Martial Emperor", r. 452-464) being shown, this time by a shaman, an image of the Lady Yin 殷 after she died. Both of these accounts are frequently referred to<sup>85</sup> as proof that China possessed a shadow-play from Han times on. But it is curious that, aside from the more obvious correspondences, both accounts mention a rhyme-prose or rhapsody 賦 written in honor of Lady Li. This alone makes the *History of the Southern Dynasties* account suspect. And, even were the latter account authentic, the technique of projecting an image on a screen would still have to be declared a rarity in China before the Sung (when it became popular) because it is mentioned only in these two works<sup>86</sup> which are more than five hundred years apart. Still, assuming that such a technique did exist in the Han and Liu-Sung periods, it has no bearing on the question of the date when shadow-plays first appeared in China. For neither of these accounts pretend to disclose anything more than that a convincing likeness of a departed consort was shown to a lovesick emperor. There is not the slightest indication in these accounts of a narrative or dramatic performance. As such, they are largely irrelevant to the study of the history of the Chinese shadow-play.

A work attributed to P'ang Yüan-ying 龐元英 (fl. 1078-1082), *Meadow of Conversation* (T'an-sou 談數), recounts briefly the anecdote about Shao-weng's efforts on behalf of the Han emperor. It then comments that,

after this, the world had the shadow play. However, from the time of Han Wu on, nothing more was heard of it. During the period of Jen-tsung's 仁宗 reign (1023-1063) in the Sung dynasty, there were among the market people those who could tell the events of the Three Kingdoms. Some adopted their stories and, by adding embellishments, made shadow figures (ying-jen 影人)<sup>87</sup> so that, for the first time, representations (hsiang 像) of the battles of the Three Kingdoms -- Shu, Wei, and Wu -- were brought into being. They have been transmitted to the present day.<sup>88</sup>

We must note, with the author of this passage, that there is more than a thousand-year gap between the Shao-weng anecdote and the appearance of genuine shadow-plays in the Sung period. This

same passage is repeated in *The Notes on the Origins of Events and Things* by Kao Ch'eng (fl. 1078-1085), under the heading "Shadow-Play", which contains important information on the history of shadow-plays in China. After recording with some skepticism the story of Shao-weng's causing the appearance of Madame Li's shadowy image for Han Wu-ti, Kao goes on to cite<sup>89</sup> the passage quoted above. As presented by Kao, the passage would seem to be saying fairly straightforwardly that, so far as the story of the Three Kingdoms is concerned, the shadow-play versions developed out of storytelling during the Sung period.

That there was a flourishing shadow theater in China from the early Sung period on is confirmed by a report in *Miscellany for Illuminating the Way*, compiled by Chang Lei (1052-1112). We read about a rich young man in the capital, Pien-liang (Kaifeng), who was fond of watching shadow plays 影戲.<sup>90</sup>

What, then, led to the birth of the shadow-play after the T'ang? Sun K'ai-ti has put the matter in this fashion: "If the monks<sup>91</sup> who gave popular lectures during the T'ang and Five Dynasties had not set up illustrations at their lecture sessions, there might have been no basis for the birth of the shadow-play in the Sung."<sup>92</sup>

It is worth remembering that one of the purposes of Buddhist narrative as laid down by the Buddha himself is *to teach the illusory nature of the world*. Shadow-plays and storytelling with pictures were particularly effective in this regard for they were performed in dark settings with lamp or candle illumination. Artificial illumination is a necessity for shadow-plays, of course, but we know from the modern Indian traditions of storytelling with pictures that a light is often shone upon the part of the picture being explained. The flickering flame reveals the scenes and figures in such a manner that, to the observer, they seem actually to have been conjured up out of nothing. I can bear witness to the uncanny effect presented by a *wayang kulit* (Indonesian shadow-play) performance. On October 25, 1976, I had the good fortune of attending such a performance presented by the talented American *dalang*, Larry Reed, at Harvard's South House. In many ways, I was more transfixed by the hazy dancing images projected by the oil lamp than by the clear and steady ones of modern cinema. This effect was heightened by the skillful shamanistic performance of the narrator. The whole Indonesian tradition of *wayang* in all its forms is living testimony to the truism that the Indian illustrated narrative performances were meant to convey point-blank the message that the world is but an **illusion** even though it may seem quite real. As Claire Holt puts it, all of the various types of *wayang* "reflect the same shadowy yet glittering universe permeated with supernatural forces, ever charged with tensions...."<sup>93</sup>

The didactic religious purpose of shadow-plays during the Ming period can be seen from the fact that their performance was referred to in Hopei province as "proclaiming scrolls" 宣卷.<sup>94</sup> This remained a common expression for shadow-play performances in the lower Yangtze valley

while in the Yellow River valley the equivalent expression became "reciting scrolls" 念卷. Particularly in North China, where peasants were involved in White Lotus rebellions, the government laid part of the blame on the shadow-play performers. They were accused of "using paper men to stir up phantoms and create rebellion." The officials referred to these performers as "occult lamp bandits" 玄燈匪 and arrested them in substantial numbers.<sup>95</sup>

In Fukien and in Taiwan, shadow-plays are called "Leather Monkey Plays" 皮猴戲 (*peikau hi*). One is automatically led to think of the Indian monkey-god, Hanuman, and his lateral descendant in China, Sun Wu-k'ung ("the monkey who is enlightened about emptiness") 孫悟空. It is particularly appropriate that the shadow-play should be named after these heroes who are both known for their unparalleled powers of supernatural transformation.

Once again, we must ask whether it is probable that the technique of the shadow-play could have been transmitted to China from abroad. The answer is yes and, as with picture-storytelling<sup>96</sup> and puppet plays, a Central Asian route is virtually certain. Proof of the existence of Indian-derived shadow-plays in Buddhist Central Asia during the T'ang period and earlier is found in the mention of the Prakrit name *chāyā-nālai* in a Khotanese text.<sup>97</sup> *Chāyā* means, literally, "shadow" (cf. Greek *εἶδος*)<sup>98</sup> and the Sanskrit form of *nālai* is *nāṭaka* which means "dance" or "drama".<sup>99</sup> In the so-called *Book of Zambasta* (V.98), *chāyā-nālai* occurs in combination with several words indicating unreality:

So does he recognize this *parikalpa* [deception]: it is like a dream, a mirage. Until *bodhi* [enlightenment], it is like a magic illusion. A mere shadow-play is being performed.

*tta ttuto parikalpo paysendā hūni māñanda marīce yā -- va baḷysūstā kho māya*  
*samu chāya-nālai ggeiste* <sup>100</sup>

The more evolved form *naule*, which seems to mean full-fledged drama, is found in a late Khotanese text.<sup>101</sup>

The equipment required for a shadow-play performance could be very simple: two hands, a white cloth, and perhaps a lamp. This is known from a poem about a "Hand-Shadow Player" 手影戲者 by a Buddhist monk named Hui-ming 惠明. The poem was published in the twelfth century by Hung Mai in his *Record of the Listener*:

With three feet of raw silk for a stage,  
He completely relies on ten fingers to act out his jokes;  
Sometimes, in the bright moon, beneath the lighted window,



A laugh even comes from his palm and fist.<sup>102</sup>

There is, then, no difficulty as regards the problem of transporting over great distances elaborate equipment. The performer himself could surely have carried all the necessary properties, even if they consisted of a full set of shadow figures.

All things considered, it would appear that the rise of the shadow-play in China was ultimately related to the importation of Buddhist narrative and dramatic forms. The exact nature of transmission and adaptation will probably never be known, but the historical evidence presented here points to such a connection. Liu Mau-tsai has noted,<sup>103</sup> furthermore, that shadow-play and puppet-play scripts stylistically resemble *pien-wen*.

Sun K'ai-ti's important article, "An Examination of the Derivation of the Conventions of Singing and Acting in Modern Drama from Puppet Theater and Shadow Theater,"<sup>104</sup> though not universally acknowledged by scholars, has never been seriously challenged.<sup>105</sup> Without going into all of the elaborate details, suffice it to say that Sun identified<sup>106</sup> the following three characteristics of Chinese drama as having evolved directly from puppet and shadow plays:

1. The actor's aside to the audience upon first entrance (so he will not be mistaken for someone else) in which he tells who he is and, often, what he is going to do.
2. The distinctive design of facial make-up (*lien-p'u* 月貌言譜):
  - a. to define the nature of the player;
  - b. to fix his social position;
  - c. to indicate his part in the play.
3. The gestures and postures of human actors that are highly unnatural and intentionally mimic those of puppets. This is true especially of the characteristic gait of the actor in Chinese drama. His leg bends at the knee to a right angle, rising perpendicularly to the floor and then dropping mechanically. This makes no sense until one realizes that it is identical to the movement of string puppets.

All of these characteristics are vestigial signs of the descent of Chinese drama from puppets and shadows. It seems to me that there is no other logical explanation than that advanced by Sun. This explanation is confirmed by the known historical process of evolution of Indonesian and Turkish theaters.<sup>107</sup>

It would appear that the ideas which Sun K'ai-ti elaborated into a full theoretical statement had already been voiced several years earlier. Genevieve Wimsett, for example, writing before 1936, offered the following perceptive analysis, based partly on the ideas of Mei Lan-fang:

Many of the Chinese actor's significant gestures are frankly patterned on the movement of a puppet swinging from its strings, and, consequently, executing stylized movements never spontaneous in the human being. So profound a student of the drama in all its phases as the celebrated actor, Mei Lan-fang, is of the opinion that the human actor is the direct descendant of the animated puppet, inheriting from this spiritual ancestor certain conventions of posture and movement still characterizing Chinese dramatic technique. As Dr. Mei points out, this peculiarity is well exemplified in the common wheeling movement with which the actor executes a rotary turn, no deviation from the fixed form being permissible that could not be executed by the puppet prototype. Certainly, in Japan the derivative art of the stage makes full acknowledgment to the seniority of the marionette.<sup>108</sup>

Sun also commented<sup>109</sup> on the fact that in Yüan drama only one character did all of the singing which he felt to be a logical consequence of its evolution from more purely narrative forms. As we shall see below, there are many intermediary genres of popular dramatic narrative that serve to link human drama with oral narrative. Puppets and shadows occupy a place near the beginning of the separation of drama from its narrative roots. The transformation (*pien*), which is basically a type of picture storytelling, stands even further back on this evolutionary path of bifurcation. The aim of all of these arts is to create the **impression** that the story presented by the performer(s) is real. It is, incidentally, interesting to remark that in Peking opera, colored bursts of smoke are sometimes used to create a special atmosphere of illusion. One wonders whether this practice is in any way related to the Sung "gunpowder puppets" 藥發傀儡.

The descriptions of life in the Sung capitals contain valuable information on popular entertainments, some of which is directly relevant to our studies. The *Records of Dreams of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital* states that in Pien-ching 汴京, during the Ghost Festival of the seventh month (*chung-yüan chieh* 中元節), "the musicians 樂人 from the entertainment quarters [ 勾欄肆, cf. 勾欄 ], starting from the seventh day, would enact the variety play 'Maudgalyāyana Rescues His Mother' 般 '目連救母' 雜劇. It lasted straight through to the fifteenth [i.e., nine days] before stopping. The onlookers were twice what they normally were."<sup>110</sup> This is interesting because it tells us that one of the most popular transformation texts had already by the Northern Sung become a type of drama, that it was extremely well-received, that it lasted as long as nine days, and that the performers were in all probability not monks but professional actors.

Under the heading "Various Entertainers from the Entertainment Quarters" 百舍象伎 of

the *Notes on the Sights of the Capital City*, there is an important description of the shadow-play in Hangchow, the Southern Sung capital:

At first, shadow-play forms were carved from plain paper 以素紙雕鏤(?)<sup>111</sup> by men of the capital. Later, they used leather decorated with colors to make them. Their stories 話本 are quite similar to those of the history-tellers 講史書者; for the most part they are half-true and half-false. The public-spirited and the loyal are carved with an upright appearance, the lascivious and evil ones are given ugly appearances. It is probably to embody rewards and punishments for the commoners in the markets who see the plays.<sup>112</sup>

What is most intriguing about this description is that it almost seems to suggest that shadow-figures were first cut out of picture scrolls made from plain paper. This is precisely the process of dramatic evolution which I have predicted for China on the basis of information from Indonesian *wayang* and Indian storytelling traditions. Also interesting in this description is the assertion that the stories of the shadow-plays were the same as those for storytellers. This, too, is in accord with the theory I have been proposing that fiction and drama in China are two sides of the same coin.

Also in the *Notes on the Sights of the Capital City* under the same heading, among miscellaneous manual arts 雜手藝, there is mentioned<sup>113</sup> "Tricks with Thread" (*pien hsien-erh* 變線兒). *Pien* here seems to imply a type of jugglery or prestidigitation. This immediately brings to mind a parallel with ancient Indian *śaubhika* which was both a type of picture storytelling and a form of conjuration.

Finally, in the same text, there is listed "sūtra-telling, that is to say the elaboration of Buddhist books."<sup>114</sup> A nearly identical definition is found<sup>115</sup> in the *Ephemeral Millet Dream Record* under the heading "Storytellers and Narrators of Sūtras and History" 小說講經史. And in the *Old Affairs of Hangchow*, there are listed under the heading "Various Types of Entertainers" 諸色伎藝人 seventeen "Sūtra-Tellers and Sūtra-Jokesters" 說經譚經. Only four of them are identified as "monks" 和尚, including the first who has the colorful appellation "Long Whistle Monk" 長嘯和尚.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps these are some of the categories that overtly religious transformations and sūtra lectures (*chiang-ching-wen* 講經文, another type of Buddhist popular literature from Tun-huang) evolved into during the Sung period.<sup>118</sup> The word *pien* itself may have been dropped because of its alien associations. The presence of assimilated Buddhist narrative themes and forms is conspicuous even in a cursory examination of these Sung accounts of entertainments. This is in sharp contrast to the accounts of entertainments from pre-T'ang times where the stress is on mimicry and acrobatics. We may conclude from this

that T'ang Buddhistic performing arts must have had a profound effect on the development of theater in China.

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Chou Shu-chia states<sup>119</sup> that it is widely accepted among scholars that the Chinese novel finds its origins in T'ang Buddhist *pien-wen*. While this may be so, some scholars remain skeptical because the proofs of influence have not been made rigorous enough. Let us see if we can go part of the distance towards alleviating this deficiency.

According to Huo Shih-hsiu,<sup>120</sup> there were two major literary developments in the T'ang period, poetry (*shih-ko* 詩歌, [referring to the flowering of regulated verse]) and the classical short story (*ch'uan-ch'i* 傳奇). Both of these he traces back to antecedents in the Six Dynasties period, the former to the phonological (*sheng-lü* 聲律) researches of Buddhist translators and the latter to the "accounts of anomalies" (*chih-kuai*) tradition which bear the direct impress of Indian influence. As Huo says, "Many of the Six Dynasties accounts of anomalies pilfered stories from the Buddhist canon or foreign legends...."<sup>121</sup> The classical short story writers absorbed and adapted these foreign tales with more skill and finesse than had their Six Dynasties predecessors. The indebtedness of the T'ang classical short story to the Indian storytelling tradition can be massively documented by reference to such collections as the *Pañchatantra*, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* and, of course, the Buddhist canon. The influence is obvious not only in terms of content (themes, motifs, and even entire plots have been borrowed) but also in terms of shape and form. Huo demonstrates,<sup>122</sup> beyond the shadow of a doubt, that one of the most famous short stories of the T'ang period, Shen Chi-chi's 沈既濟 "Record of Being in a Pillow" 枕中記 (also called "Yellow Millet Dream" 黃粱夢) has its source in a collection of Buddhist tales.<sup>123</sup> The same also holds true for the well-known story, "Tu Tzu-ch'un" 杜子春,<sup>124</sup> spectacular stories of swordsmen,<sup>125</sup> and countless other T'ang tales.

The early existence of a rich narrative tradition in India is indisputable. "Among the many volumes of the Theravada Buddhist canon is a collection of 547 popular stories,<sup>126</sup> taking up over 1800 pages in the standard English translation.<sup>127</sup> These form the collection known in Pali as *Jataka*, and commonly referred to as 'The Jatakas,' probably the largest and finest collection of narrative literature from any ancient civilization in the world."<sup>128</sup>

Eberhard has made the amazing statement<sup>129</sup> that "When a Chinese animal tale or any other tale can be traced as far back as the sixth century or earlier, it is almost certain that the tale is of Indian origin and that the origin can normally be proved by the Buddhist translations of Indian texts." Upon further investigation, it turns out that the statement is not so amazing after all since this claim has been convincingly documented by scholars specializing in early Chinese fiction. Huo Shih-hsiu has made a similar statement: "For a good many famous classical tales (*ch'uan-ch'i*) of the T'ang dynasty, we can nearly always find their origins in Buddhist sūtras or Indian stories."<sup>130</sup> He also provides abundant examples to substantiate his claim. Likewise, Hu

Huai-ch'en has said that "Ancient Chinese popular tales and fiction written by literati invariably take their materials from stories in the Buddhist canon or from other foreign traditions."<sup>131</sup> "In sum," as T'ai Ching-nung has written, "it is a fact that Indian stories had so deeply penetrated into folk works that people no longer were aware of the foreign thought [therein]."<sup>132</sup> Liu K'ai-jung has also written<sup>133</sup> of the vitally formative influence of Indian (especially Buddhist) literature on Chinese fiction, both in terms of form and of content, during the Six Dynasties period. He further states that this led to the creation during the T'ang of the genuine short story in China. And he goes on to describe the growth of vernacular literature in the Sung and Yüan as being a direct outgrowth of this Indian influence.

The relationship between transformation texts proper (i.e., apart from other types of Buddhist literature) and the classical Chinese tale (*ch'uan-ch'i*) is problematical. Liu K'ai-jung thought<sup>134</sup> that they were directly and intimately related although he did not spell out **how** this might have come to be. Maeno Naoki, on the other hand, has reservations about Liu's theory. He holds<sup>135</sup> that *pien-wen*, being derived from a kind of performing art, can at best be considered a lower form of *ch'uan-ch'i*.

Perhaps, before going further, I should say something about the basic terminology involved. The Chinese term for "fiction" is *hsiao-shuo* 小說 (literally, "small talk" or "minor talk"). This immediately points to a fundamental contrast with the English word which is derived ultimately from the past participle of Latin *ingere* ("to form" or "to fashion"). Where the Chinese term implies a kind of gossip or anecdote, the English word indicates something made up or created by an author or writer. "*Hsiao-shuo*" implies something, not of particularly great moment, that is presumed actually to have happened; fiction suggests something an author dreamed up in his mind. By calling his work "fiction", an author expressly disclaims that it directly reflects real events and people; when a literary piece is declared to be "*hsiao-shuo*", we are given to understand that it is hearsay or report. For this reason, many recorders of *hsiao-shuo* are at great pains to tell us exactly from whom they heard their stories. Judged by these standards, there is very little before the T'ang period that can properly be designated fiction in a narrow sense.

The "Bibliographical Treatise" of the *History of the Han* tries to explain the origin of the term *hsiao-shuo*.<sup>136</sup> The "Treatise" states that the writers of *hsiao-shuo* probably derived from *pai-kuan* 俳官 ("tare[-gathering] officials"). "They are wrought from the chit-chat of the streets and the conversations of the alleys, what is heard on the highways and what is told on the byways." Supposedly, these anecdotes were gathered by the government in order to gauge the real sentiments of the people, the same as with the *yüeh-fu* 樂府 ("ballads"). This description in no way implies that there was a tradition of genuine fictional creation during Han times. Nor is there any evidence of a tradition of storytelling for the same period. This, by no means, to affirm that

there was no narrative before the T'ang period. The superb writing of the *Chronicle of Tso* (*Tso chuan* 左傳) and the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shih-chi* 史記) are ample evidence of a highly sophisticated tradition of historical narrative. But this is not "fiction". From around the time of the Han dynasty on, however, there comes into existence what might be called fictionalized history in such works as the *Intrigues of the Warring States* (*Chan-kuo ts'e* 戰國策), the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yüeh* (*Wu Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu* 吳越春秋), and the *Lost Book of Yüeh* (*Yüeh-chüeh shu* 越絕書).<sup>137</sup> Later, we find such works as the *Esoteric Account of the Martial Emperor of the Han* (*Han Wu-ti nei-chuan* 漢武帝內傳) and *Miscellaneous Notes on the Western Capital* (*Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 西京雜記). It appears that these latter works were not meant to be taken as fiction at all but rather as insiders' accounts of goings-on at court and so forth.

In order to gain a true comprehension of the rise of fiction in China, we must recollect that nearly all post-T'ang popular, fictional narrative adopts the pretense of the storyteller's mode. This is such a pervasive trait that any history of Chinese literature is obliged to take it into account when making claims about the origins of fiction. Hence, there was great excitement when in the late fifties a now celebrated pottery figure of an entertainer was discovered in an Eastern Han tomb at T'ien-hui chen 天迴鎮 near Chengtu, Szechwan. It is a delightful work of art that shows a fat-breasted man energetically beating a small drum. Very soon after the discovery, the figure was being promoted<sup>138</sup> as a storyteller and later was considered by many writers of literary history to be substantial proof of the existence of a tradition of storytelling during the Eastern Han period. Still more recently, a similar animated figure from Hsin-tu 新都 county (also in Szechwan) has been touted as a "*shuo-ch'ang* [prosimetric] balladeer".<sup>139</sup> This is impossible for, as I have shown in chapter four of *T'ang Transformation Texts*, there is no reliable evidence for a prosimetric tradition in China until hundreds of years after the Han. Even if there were textual grounds for the existence of prosimetric storytelling during the Eastern Han, there is nothing about these pottery figures that would link them to it. To make the claim that these charming entertainers are prosimetric storytellers is, at best, fanciful and wishful conjecture or, at worst, irresponsible and unscholarly misrepresentation. The original archeological report, in a detailed description, cautiously identified the T'ien-hui chen piece only as a "figure beating a drum" 擊鼓俑.<sup>140</sup> Chinese friends who viewed the Hsin-tu figure with me at the Philadelphia Museum of Art on March 29, 1987 variously described it as "a dancer", "a drummer for an acrobatic troupe", "a bare-breasted entertainer", and so on. I had asked them not to look at the museum label in order to avoid being influenced by the "official" interpretation of this most delightful piece. Certainly, there is no justification for fabricating a Han period storytelling tradition on the basis of these charming, though enigmatic, statuettes.<sup>141</sup> Chao Chün-hsien has shown<sup>142</sup> that there is yet no adequate

proof adduceable to substantiate the claim that professional storytelling existed during the Han period. Though it seems, in all probability, that there ought to have been professional storytellers at that time, we are not permitted to grant that there were without advancing particular data in support of such a claim.

The same holds true for written fiction. A late-Ming literary critic, Hu Ying-lin, states that T'ang and earlier authors did not write with a consciousness of creating fiction:

In general, unusual tales were prevalent during the Six Dynasties. But they were mostly erroneously transmitted records; their words were not necessarily set down as wholly illusional. It was only with the T'ang that people consciously favored the strange, and borrowed "small-talk" (*hsiao-shuo*, i.e. "fiction") as a pretext for the thrust of their writing.<sup>143</sup>

A modern literary historian, Huo Shih-hsiu, makes a similar statement and points to the influx of literature from abroad as providing the impetus for this fundamental change in the Chinese attitude toward fiction:

...Although we early on had the term "small talk" (*hsiao-shuo*), it was not until the classical tale (*ch'uan-ch'i*) of the T'ang dynasty that there began to be conscious creation. Furthermore, because of the absorption of a large quantity of foreign -- especially Indian -- stories, Chinese fiction was enriched and invigorated, thus opening up limitless new possibilities for later fiction.<sup>144</sup>

Liu Wu-chi, too, has seen the qualitative difference between T'ang and earlier narrative literature: "Crude and incidental in nature, meager in plot interest and characterization, these [pre-T'ang] anecdotes are not comparable in literary quality with later stories. It was not until the T'ang dynasty that Chinese fiction made an important stride in its development."<sup>145</sup> Hence, we may say that, before the introduction of Buddhism, there was no tradition of consciously created fictional or dramatic narrative in China. It must be recognized, of course, that there was an abundance of historical narrative, euhemerized mythology, and cultic legend. The possibility for the creation of genuine fiction in post-Buddhist times was due to the introduction of a new *Weltansicht*.<sup>146</sup> So far as the growth of fiction is concerned, the Six Dynasties must then be viewed as a kind of transitional period which lasted even into the beginning of the T'ang.

Tao-shih 道世 (fl. 668), the compiler of the *Pearl Grove in the Garden of Dharma* (法苑珠林), regarded the stories that he assembled therein -- some of which are quite unbelievable



because of their supernatural content -- almost as journalistic news gathering.<sup>147</sup> They were, for him, reports of actual spiritual events. Kan Pao 干寶 (c. 300), in the preface to his *Notes on Researches into Spirits* (搜神記), also made it clear that he was attempting to record objective and verifiable metahistorical data. Kan Pao is at pains to point out that he is trying to write a factual history of the spirit world to supplement such works as Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Records of the Grand Historian* which deal with the world of men. The brevity of the accounts of anomalies shows that the overwhelming interest of the researches was on content rather than on the development of the narrative or any of its constituent elements. Many of these accounts betray obvious Buddhist or more general Indian origins. Some show traces of an early Chinese mythology which has become fragmented. The nature of the collections and some of the remarks of the compilers indicate that these strange stories may have had a basis in oral tradition. But we have no way of knowing for certain whether such tales were transmitted by professional storytellers or simply were told informally and casually by many different types of individuals. There is some evidence in the stories themselves that the latter case is more likely to be true.

Lu Hsün's comments on Six Dynasties tales of the supernatural are instructive in this regard: "The men of that age believed that although the ways of mortals were not those of spirits, none the less spirits existed. So they recorded these tales of the supernatural in the same way as anecdotes about men and women, not viewing the former as fiction and the latter as fact."<sup>148</sup> Of the *chih-kuai* ("accounts of anomalies"), Jordan Paper has rightfully said that: "These were not original fiction, but stories recorded in a journalistic fashion."<sup>149</sup> He has also characterized them as "usually short and written as an account of a strange, but factual, incident, more in the style of journalism than fiction."<sup>150</sup> Hsü Chia-jui affirms<sup>151</sup> that, before the T'ang, there was no extended fiction. He holds that the expository tale (*p'ing-hua*) developed in the Sung because of the Buddhist influence from *pien-wen* and that, thus, the ultimate origins of the Chinese novel are to be found in India.

Another important step in the development of fiction during the Six Dynasties period was a kind of coterie discourse called "pure talk" (*ch'ing-t'an* 清談). It was a droll, intellectual type of humorous exchange that was popular among groups such as the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. This social and philosophical discourse grew out of a movement known as "abstruse learning" (*hsüan-hsüeh* 玄學). This is sometimes called "neo-Taoism" by Western scholars but it should not be forgotten that it included elements of Buddhism and Confucianism. Pure talk anecdotes are, again, very short and the wit is so rarefied that it oftentimes tends to escape us. These anecdotes do not pretend to be fiction but profess, rather, to be records of actual dialogues and colloquies.<sup>152</sup>

Now, when we come to the T'ang period, some very fundamental changes take place in the

way fiction (both classical and vernacular) is told and written. The most important of these changes (prosimetric form, greater extension, abandonment of the claim that historically verifiable facts are being recorded, and so on), it can be demonstrated, are due to the massive infusion of Buddhism and the Indian cultural baggage it brought along. It might well be asked, why the T'ang period? Why not earlier? Had not Buddhism already penetrated China by the end of the Han dynasty at the latest? The reason these important developments in fiction did not take place until the T'ang period is because it was only then that Buddhism really came to be at home in China. It was during the T'ang that true Chinese schools of Buddhism were founded. More and more Chinese pilgrims were travelling to India (the names of over 100 are known); more and more Indians and Buddhicized Central Asians were coming to China. Against this mighty flood of Buddhist culture that poured over China, resistance was impossible. Finally, a sort of capitulation took place such that Chinese thought accommodated itself to the Indian *Weltanschauung*. A basic Indian presupposition about the world was that it is all illusion. Everything is, so to speak, "made-up" or, to press the point, a "fiction". In the orthodox Chinese view, everything is real and substantial. Things are not products of mind -- they are empirically and historically verifiable configurations of material forces. At times, the physical stuff of the universe may be highly attenuated, but the phenomenal world was never considered to be a product of the imagination. Given such differing ontological presuppositions, it is natural that there would be a tendency for fiction to be widespread in India while the customarily hyperpragmatic Chinese environment would not be conducive to it. For this reason, it was only after Buddhism had thoroughly worked its way into many levels of Chinese society and Chinese people (some, at least) became familiar and comfortable with Indian ontological presuppositions that there developed a receptivity to genuine fictional creation.

If we are unable to find examples of extended, imaginative narrative in literature before the time of the introduction of Buddhism into China, nor can we discover artistic representation of serialized narratives.<sup>153</sup>

In a series of highly speculative articles,<sup>154</sup> Bulling has tried to make the case that certain tomb paintings from the Han period were representations of scenes from plays or illustrations of spectacles. Even if her hypothesis is proven correct, we still have no way of knowing whether these "plays" were accompanied by dialogues or even narration. In any case, the themes are largely historical rather than imaginative and represent only single scenes; they do not convey the impression of extended narrative or dramatic presentation and so cannot account for the appearance of these latter literary forms during a later period.

In his article entitled "An Illustrated Battle-Account in the History of the Former Han Dynasty," Duyvendak offers evidence that certain Han historical narratives may actually have been

derived from pictures. Yet the fact remains that, even if this be true, such narratives are historically and not fictionally motivated.

We do know that the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* 山海經 must at one time have been accompanied by illustrations.<sup>155</sup> This is alluded to, for example, in a poem by T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (372-427) in which we read this line: "And view the pictures in the *Seas and Mountains Classic*."<sup>156</sup> It is also clear from such references, however, that the illustrations were either individual scenes later described in the text (which seems to have been the case with the *Classic of the Seas*) or single scenes that were intended to depict a portion of a pre-existing text. There is no evidence of any serial or narrative qualities in the illustrations themselves. Furthermore, even if there were, it could not be shown that these illustrations were evidence of *fictional* narration since they were intended to complement the purpose of the *Classic of the Mountains and Seas*, viz., ostensibly factual, geographical reportage.

By contrast, the most cursory examination of the history of Buddhist art reveals that it has had, from the time of its origins in India through its later diffusion to other Asian countries, a pronounced narrative content. The monumental art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī bears eloquent testimony to the important place of pictorial narratives in the Buddhist tradition from a very early period (second century BIE and before). In a late fifth-century inscription from cave 16 at Ajanta, there is a reference to pictures in a religious edifice: "(The dwelling) which is adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries [*su-vīthi*], ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, which is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs and has a temple of the Buddha inside."<sup>157</sup>

Visual aids have always played an important role in Buddhist evangelism and worship. Stein recovered from Dandan-oilik a picture of two "monks" preaching. One of them is holding some sort of cards (perhaps pictures) in his hand.<sup>158</sup> Also in the Stein collection<sup>159</sup> is a set of sketches for illustrations of the *Vimalakīrti-nīrdeśa-sūtra* which indicates that visualization was an important element in full apprehension of the import of religious stories. Similar sets of sketches have been found for other Buddhist sūtras, such as those for the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* which Akiyama has described<sup>160</sup> so well. Conze, in discussing Tantric art, gives a plausible rationale for this sort of imperative: "The artistic image is regarded as a basis for visualizing the deity. It is a kind of prop which should be dispensed with in due course, when what we would call the 'hallucination' of the deity takes its place."<sup>161</sup> Though Conze is here talking about visualization of a deity outside of any necessary narrative context, the same impulse towards initial concreteness and later abstractness is witnessed in regard to Buddhist stories. The "imagined" image is considered to be more real than the graphic one. But the former cannot be attained without the aid of the latter. This is particularly true in Buddhism for the masses.

In the villages of northeast Thailand, the story of Wesandaun is recited during the *Bun*

*Phraawes* festival in front of an enormous (as long as forty feet or more) painted cloth divided into several registers, each with many panels.<sup>162</sup> Winston King has stated explicitly how important religious pictures are for the common folk in Burma: "...The popular expression of faith consists usually in a round of periodic visits to pagodas for veneration of the images or the pagoda itself and edification by its pictures or for occasional instruction by a monk."<sup>163</sup> At Tilawkguru, Burma, there are narrative wall-paintings from the *Jātaka* that are arranged in bands about one foot high.<sup>164</sup> The rows of scenes have a strip along the bottom which explains the scenes briefly, much as though a *wayang bèbèr* scroll had been pasted flat on the wall. For dividers between scenes, rocks, trees (N.B. rocks and trees are also used for the same purpose in the Śāriputra transformation scroll [P4524]), plants and occasionally even architectural elements are employed.

In his valuable study of the historical development of narrative illustrations in China, A-ying confirms<sup>165</sup> our expectation that serialized narrative pictures from the Han and earlier have not yet been discovered. The earliest serialized narrative illustration he mentions is a sculpture depicting scenes from the Buddha's life dating to 527. Another, dealing with the same subject, dates from 543.<sup>166</sup> A-ying identifies the next major step in the development of serialized pictorial narrative in China with the Tun-huang wall-paintings such as representations of episodes from the *Lotus Sūtra* and stories of former births of the Buddha. He also emphasizes<sup>167</sup> the importance of the more than twenty silk banners recovered from Tun-huang that mostly depict episodes of the Buddha's life and that were evidently intended to be hung on the walls of temples because of the triangular straps sewn on at the top and the type of mounting around the banner. These banners are usually divided into four segments per side and were obviously intended for use as illustrative aids for conveying the significance of the major events in the Buddha's life. The earliest printed fictional and dramatic texts with accompanying illustrations are known, respectively, from Yüan and Ming times.<sup>168</sup> In short, one cannot help but come away from reading A-ying's history of serialized narrative illustrations in China with a profound sense of the formative impact of Buddhism.

Having investigated some ancillary topics that are beneficial to any general and theoretical discussion of the rise of fictional and dramatic narrative in China, it is appropriate now to turn to an examination of specific texts and forms which embody that nascent tradition.

The similarity in language (tending to the colloquial with little use of literary language particles), style (frequent grouping of characters in units of four), imagery (chiefly concrete), the Buddhist theme, and so on,<sup>169</sup> all point to a close relationship between the *Tale Interspersed with Poetry on Tripiṭaka of the Great T'ang Dynasty Retrieving Buddhist Sūtras* 大唐三藏取經詩話 and transformation texts. But what is even more striking is that the titles of the chapters in this story about the famous Chinese pilgrim to Indian, Hsüan-tsang, end with the character *ch'u* 處

("place"). There is no other logical way to explain the word in this context than to view it as functioning in the same way it does in the pre-verse formula in *pien-wen*.<sup>170</sup> This demonstrable connection between the poetic tale about Hsüan-tsang and the *pien-wen* tradition allows us to link together hypothetically some of the evolutionary high-points in the formation of the *Journey to the West* 西遊記 thus: [disconnected stories about Hsüan-tsang's pilgrimage] → [established oral narrative(s)] → [oral storytelling with pictures] → [written transformation text(s)] → *Tale Interspersed with Poetry on Tripitaka* → *Journey to the West*.<sup>171</sup> Indeed, the crucial importance of Buddhism for the development of novels such as *Journey to the West* and *Investiture of the Gods* 封神演義 is so obvious that it scarcely requires demonstration.<sup>172</sup>

Hsü Hsiao-t'ing has shown<sup>173</sup> that the important structural concept of "session" > "chapter" (*hui* 回)<sup>174</sup> in Chinese popular fiction has a Buddhist origin. Before the T'ang period, *hui* did not have the meaning of "a time", etc. It meant, rather, "to turn", "to go back", and so on. We notice, however, that T'ang poets do begin to use it with the former meaning. Hsü explains<sup>175</sup> this usage as coming from the Buddhist technical term *pariṇāmanā* (回向 "transference of merit"). Buddhist texts (e.g., *Awakening of the Faith in Mahāyāna* 大乘起信論) often end with *pariṇāmanā gāthā* 回向偈 whereby the merit of the text is "returned" (i.e., "dedicated") to all sentient beings.<sup>176</sup> It was also always the practice to bring a worship service (*fa-hui* 法會) to a close with a *pariṇāmanā* text 回向文 in order to consecrate the merit acquired to the aim for which it was held. For example, when the famous Japanese pilgrim to T'ang China, Ennin, stayed at the Korean cloister called Red Mountain Monastery in Ch'ing-ning village 青寧鄉赤山院 (in Wen-teng 文登 district, Shantung), after the lecture, the lecturer recited such a text whereupon he left the platform. In a note to his translation of this entry in Ennin's *Diary*, Reischauer states that "*Ekōmon* 回向文 (here 迴向詞) are hymns or prayers chanted at the end of a service to bring the benefits derived from the service to others."<sup>177</sup> From the use of this sort of benediction to close a religious service, it is just a short step to the designation of a storytelling session as *i-hui* 一回. If the "seat-settling text" (*ya-tso-wen* 押座文) in a popular religious service is comparable to the "entering words" (*ju-hua* 入話) of the storyteller or the "introduction" (*yin-tzu* 引子) in drama, then the *pariṇāmanā* at the conclusion of the popular lecture is analogous to the capsule summary with which the storyteller ends each section of his tale ("truly it is [a case of...]) and the exodium ("today we have seen...") at the close of the play. The expression for a general exit (*san-ch'ang* 散場) at the end of a storytelling session or dramatic production, incidentally, was originally a Zen euphemism for dying (compare our expression "make one's exit").

Thus far in this paper, I have tried to show that both fiction and drama received vital inputs

from the Buddhist narrative tradition. If it be accepted that Buddhism had a shaping influence on Chinese popular literature, we would expect that fiction and drama would bear certain identifying marks of their descent from a common ancestor. This is, indeed, true and is easy to demonstrate.

Maeno Naoaki has observed that "There are two fields in Chinese literature the appearance of which was strangely belated. They are drama and fiction."<sup>178</sup> There is, of course, no simple answer to this dual conundrum. The factors inhibiting the growth of drama and fiction are many; to go into them thoroughly is the subject of another study. But it may not be too optimistic to hope that we have been able to discern in this study some of the factors which contributed to their growth from the T'ang period on. The central role of Buddhist popular literature, particularly oral transformations and transformation texts, in this growth cannot be overlooked.

Men'shikov has delineated most forcefully the pervasive influence of transformation texts on all later popular Chinese literature:

*Pien-wen* exerted considerable influence on subsequent Chinese literature.... The reasons for this influence lie first and foremost in its fundamentally new form.... [There are] certain other peculiarities which stipulate the influence of *pien-wen*.... All subsequent genres of Chinese literature in which, to one degree or another, these features are found (the drama, the short story, the early novel, and the sung-narrative genres) show either direct or indirect links to *pien-wen*.<sup>179</sup>

Eberhard, too, has perceived "the basic unity of novel, story-teller's tale, and play."<sup>180</sup>

Popular entertainers in the Sung such as storytellers, puppet players, and shadow-play performers all used "story-roots" (*hua-pen*, basic plot outlines, not "prompt-books") as the basis for their narratives.<sup>181</sup> Since these story-roots were said to have been virtually identical regardless of the genre to which they were applied, it is not illogical to assume that there is some developmental connection among these various forms of popular entertainment. Let us attempt to discover, in some specific instances, just what that might be.

The historical reasons for the intimate connection between fiction and drama have been most cogently described in a brilliant but unfortunately neglected study by Li Chia-jui entitled "Traces of the Transformation from Oral Narrative to Drama."<sup>182</sup> In this study, Li demonstrates that numerous types of dramatic performance in China, including the medley (*chu-kung-tiao* 諸宮調) and shadow-plays (*teng-ying-hsi* 燈影戲) bear the unmistakable marks of having evolved from storytelling:

...From the past up to today, regardless of which type of drama, at the beginning a

few sentences are always recited as an introduction or a poem is recited upon stepping on the stage. These are vestiges of the "address" (also called "entering speech") at the beginning of an oral narrative. Furthermore, the self-announcement by characters of their names and surnames in plays and the narration of their background by the characters themselves, etc., cannot but be said to have been influenced by storytelling. When people first see Chinese plays, they are immediately perplexed by this sort of dramatic form. But, if they were to understand that it evolved from storytelling, they would no longer feel it strange.<sup>183</sup>

I will discuss in some detail just one of these transitional forms, the "Performance with Four Consecutive Sets of Dancers" (*ta lien-hsiang* 打連廂) which was said to be based on the Major Music of the China and Liao dynasties 金遼大樂. The troupe consisted of actors (male *mo-ni* 末泥, female *tan-erh* 旦兒, etc.) who moved about the stage (*kou-lan* 勾欄) and gestured **but were silent**, a narrator (called *ssu-ch'ang* 司唱) who was seated off-stage among the audience, and some musicians (balloon guitar [*p'i-p'a* 琵琶], reed-pipes [*sheng* 笙], and flute [*ti* 笛]). The narrator, in effect, related a prosimetric story. The actors were dependent on him and their movements had to conform to what he was saying. Among other remarks on the "Performance with Four Consecutive Sets of Dancers," Mao Ch'i-ling (1623-1716) states that "still the dancers did not sing; the singer did not dance."<sup>184</sup> As Li Chia-jui says, "In truth, the storyteller used human beings as puppets to portray the characters in the story which he was narrating."<sup>185</sup> This reminds one very much of Japanese puppet theater known as *bunraku* except that, with the latter, the puppets are not yet fully human. What is even more remarkable about the "Consecutive Sets of Dancers" type of play as a specimen of transition between oral narrative and genuine drama is that during the Ch'ing period, such plays evolved into a form where there was no longer a singer-narrator. Though still referred to as "Consecutive Sets of Dancers," the actors had begun to speak for themselves. Here again, however, there is a parallel with *bunraku* because we know, for example, that Chikamatsu's plays, which were originally written for puppets, are now generally performed by human actors. This type of dramatic performance survived into the twentieth century in Peking. In short, oral narrative which had previously been "illustrated" by human puppets had now become genuine drama. This points to a progression from oral narrative (with or without illustrative aids) to shadow and puppet plays, then to human "puppet" theater and, finally, to genuine human drama. It is when the puppets and shadow begin to speak for themselves in the first-person that the transition from oral narrative to drama has been completed. But still there often remain vestiges of third-person narration. Given this sort of evolutionary progression, drama is bound to carry the unmistakable impress of its ancestor, the oral narrative.

Donald Keene, in a discussion of *bunraku*, has made clear that it is as much a form of oral narrative as it is a type of drama:

Bunraku ... is basically a narrative art. The chanter [*tayū* 太夫] declaims the story, altering his voice in the dialogue to suggest the tones of a warrior, a woman, or a child, and at times, in poetical passages, rising from speech to song. But he is neither an actor nor a singer, but a storyteller.... In some parts of Japan performances are preferred of the chanters alone without the puppets, as if the latter were an unnecessary or even undesirable addition to a master chanter's rendering of the text. The Bunraku plays, it need hardly be said, are written specifically for a narrator rather than for actors, as one can tell immediately from the almost invariable addition of such concluding phrases as "thus he spoke" or "he said with a smile." These comments are natural in a narrative, but would be unnecessary in a theatre of actors. Bunraku, then, is a form of storytelling, recited to a musical accompaniment, and embodied by puppets on a stage. <sup>186</sup>

Elsewhere, Keene has noted that still today, when performing kabuki plays, "the actors occasionally imitate the movements of puppets, thus acknowledging their debts to an older tradition."<sup>187</sup> This coincides perfectly with Sun K'ai-ti's theory of the development of Chinese drama.

Bastian, in a journey to Siam in the year 1863, observed<sup>188</sup> an unusual feature of the masked plays known as *Len Khon*. The actors did not speak for themselves but had a narrator who spoke for them. Had he known the Indic heritage of Siamese drama, Bastian would not have been so surprised by this peculiarity.

When the *dalang* of western Siamese shadow-plays **narrates** his stories, say for a pupil, he uses the form "X said 'such-and-such'" and "Y answered 'thus-and-so.'" Yet, during actual performance, he **dramatizes** the exchange of dialogue by voice modulation to indicate different characters who speak for themselves. Sweeney, in analyzing these two types of presentation by one and the same performer, refers<sup>189</sup> to them as the "narrative form" which is casual and the "dramatic form" which is non-casual.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that Indonesian *wayang bèbèr* (storytelling with pictures) and *wayang kulit* (shadow-plays) are not independent and unrelated entities. Both are utilized to tell the same type of stories, employ a similar orchestra (*gamelan*), and the figures in both have exactly the same appearance. Certainly one must have evolved from the other and the exigencies of technological progress alone would indicate that it was the complex which derived from the simple.



But there are other reasons for declaring *wayang bèbèr* to be the earlier form. Among these is the analogous evidence from India where picture storytellers will occasionally also use dolls and shadows to enliven their performance. The pictures are primary; the shadows and puppets derivative. Hence, Batchelder's perception that *wayang bèbèr* "is a limited form of drama -- a kind of illustrated storytelling --"<sup>190</sup> is essentially correct. In other words, *wayang bèbèr* is a precursor of *wayang kulit* and ultimately of *wayang wong* (human drama).

Soeripno's observations on the classical dance of Java lend support to the assertion of the primacy of shadow and puppet theater over human drama:

The dance-dramas are derived from plays with puppets silhouetted against a screen, called *Wayang Poerwa* or *Wayang Koelit*. *Wayang* means shadow, and the fact that the play with human beings is also called *Wayang*, namely *Wayang Wong*, indicates clearly that the play with silhouettes is the original form. This is further shown not only by the mask-like lack of expression in the dancers' faces but also by their poses, since they always try to imitate the carved leather puppets of the shadow-plays and move in two-dimensional directions.<sup>191</sup>

Soeripno neglects only to search for the roots of shadow and puppet theater in picture storytelling. Claire Holt has also discussed<sup>192</sup> the formative effect of shadow-plays upon the Javanese classical dance.

Pischel is in agreement with the assertion that human drama in Asia is derived from shadow and puppet theater:

It is not improbable that the puppet-play is in reality everywhere the most ancient form of dramatic representation. Without doubt this is the case in India. And there, too, we must look for its home.<sup>193</sup>

The stage-manager of India drama is still called *sūtradhāra*, "thread holder", which surely must derive from puppets. The attempt to explain this word as "the holder of the thread [of the narrative]" is too forced to be acceptable. Indeed, *sūtradhār* is still the name for puppet-players in India.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, in the olden days of Indian drama, there was a man called *sthāpaka* who seconded the stage manager. Now *sthāpaka* means "the setter up" and this term too quite probably comes from the shadow or puppet theater.<sup>195</sup>

Kapila Vatsyayan, an authority on the Indian stage, has shown the interrelatedness of human drama with puppet and shadow-plays, picture storytelling, and "narrative theater".<sup>196</sup> It is no

accident, for example, that Kathakali, a South Indian type of dance drama from Kerala Kalamandalam whose roots can be traced to at least the sixteenth century, is often referred to as a "story play". H. K. Ranganath, on the other hand, has described Indian storytelling as "one man theatre" or "mono-drama".<sup>197</sup>

Gargi, in discussing modern Indian folk plays, has appropriately characterized them in terms of cinematography and conjuration that have striking parallels to what we know of Asian picture-storytelling traditions:

The Sutradhar [stage manager, lit. "thread holder"], like a film editor, builds up a montage of varied dramatic episodes. It is the same spot, but it is transformed into a different place every time. The folk actor uses very few props. He creates palaces, rivers, forests, battle scenes and royal courts by the sorcery of his art.<sup>198</sup>

Sawada Mizuho has perceptively noted<sup>199</sup> that the arrangement and progression of episodes in the Maudgalyāyana transformation text greatly resemble the succession of scenes in a movie. This might very well be due to the fact that the basic shape of the text was determined by the strictures of a narrative picture scroll. This is certainly and demonstrably true of the Śāriputra transformation text. In the transformation tradition, as between narrative pictures and narrative text, the primacy of the illustrations is assured. However, this would seem to be in disagreement with Weitzmann's dictum that "The first condition for a text to be illustrated is its popularity."<sup>200</sup> By this, he actually means that a written narrative text exists first and that, because it becomes well known, there is a demand that it be illustrated. But Weitzmann, in making this formulation, was not taking into account the South Asian and East Asian experience. Here the progression to a written text has nearly always been dependent on the prior popularity of an orally transmitted narrative. If a given oral narrative were broadly enough known and sufficiently stable in content, it would be illustrated in paintings or in sculpture. Then, once an iconology developed which portrayed a relatively fixed narrative sequence, the reverse process occurred: the pictures would serve as the basis for written texts. All the while, of course, oral narrative continued to thrive. In Japan, at least, the pictures are understood to be primary in picture storytelling. This is obvious from the *etoki* 絵會 解 ("picture explanations"). Naturally the pictures did not arise out of thin air. They were derived, as I have explained, from pre-existent oral narratives of broad popularity. In China, where we encounter in titles the expression *ping t'u* 並 圖 "together with pictures", the illustrations and written text are conceived of more as complementing each other. Yet even in China, an overall consideration of the relationship between transformation stories and transformation illustrations leads one to the conclusion that, between text and pictures, the latter

were considered primary and the former explanatory. Thus, in the "Transformation on the Han General, Wang Ling" 漢將王陵變, it is written that, "from this one layout is the beginning of the transformation."<sup>201</sup> The written transformation still expresses deference to an ancestral or actual pictorial layout. This is a very important distinction to make and it deserves repeating. In China and in Japan, once an oral narrative achieved sufficient popularity to be depicted graphically, the pictures illustrating it were held to be primary in terms of their relationship to subsequent written texts which used them as a point of departure. Naturally, after a long period of development of the written text, it could attain a position of relative primacy with regard to later illustrations that accompanied it.

The situation described by Weitzmann, however, does seem to obtain for ancient Egypt. Gaston Maspero has suggested that Egyptian tomb paintings may have served as illustrations for established written narrative: "The scenes at the beginning of the *Tale of Two Brothers* might easily be illustrated by scenes from the paintings in the rock tombs of Thebes; the expressions used by the author are found almost word for word in the texts that explain the pictures."<sup>202</sup>

While discussing Assyrian palace wall narrative paintings, Güterbock makes an important distinction about two types of relationship between text and picture: "In the 'label' inscriptions writing serves to explain a picture; this is the opposite of illustrating a text by pictures."<sup>203</sup> This holds true in India, China, and Indonesia as well. Where the pictures are primary, the accompanying text is brief and limited, at most, to inscriptions and labels. The multitude of empty cartouches on Tun-huang and other Central Asian paintings indicates that they were not very important components of the narrative complex. Where, on the other hand, written text occupies a noticeably larger portion<sup>204</sup> of the scroll, book, banner, or wall-painting, the pictures are proportionately secondary. Regardless of whether text or painting is primary, however, there is always a pre-existent narrative. This narrative may be known to the artist and storyteller through written or unwritten forms, although the latter predominated in Asian folk and popular literature.

The most ancient examples of genuine Assyrian text illustrations are drawings which accompany liver omnia from the library of King Ashurbanipal.<sup>205</sup> It is interesting to note that, in one text,<sup>206</sup> the illustrations are preceded by a line which reads "this is the drawing of it." This is to be contrasted with transformation texts where there is first reference to a "place" on a picture and then the question "how shall I explain it?"

It is fruitless now to speculate on the possibility of cultural exchange between Indian and Middle Eastern civilizations before 1000 BIE because there is insufficient knowledge of the types of communication which were being carried on at such an early stage. Furthermore, narrative illustrations have been excavated from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa (third millennium BIE), so it would seem that the Indian tradition may have been an independent one.

Weitzmann has specified the usual requirements for sequential narrative illustration:

The essence of good pictorial narrative is not so much the concentration on a single event in a comprehensive picture that focuses on a climactic moment... as to divide an episode into a series of consecutive phases in which the protagonist is represented again and again.... The art of such extensive picture narratives... reached its final solution in our own day in the motion picture.<sup>207</sup>

Since, as I have shown, Chinese popular literature was strongly influenced by a tradition of picture storytelling, we would expect that it have a basically episodic shape. In the following pages, I shall attempt to document this.

Students of Chinese literature are often perplexed by such (actually futile) questions as why tragic drama which cathartically reveals the hubristic struggles of a hero or the novel with its unified plot and emphasis on the psychological development of characters did not develop in China. In the first place, there is simply no necessity that they should have developed there. The philosophical presuppositions and consequent value systems of China and the West were sufficiently different that it is only natural for them to have resulted in correspondingly dissimilar literary forms. I have never heard anyone ask the questions, "Why didn't the West have parallel prose?" or "Why did the West have no developed tradition of linked verse?" There were numerous literary genres in China which the West lacks entirely. Surely a people are entitled to forge and practice their own literary forms without asking whether these comply with the practices and predilections of other peoples.

Another related factor is that no literary genre is eternal, all having a common evolutionary pattern of birth, growth, adaptation, and extinction. For better or worse, we in the West may be witnessing the demise of the novel in its traditional guise. James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* and the works of Günter Grass are examples of the breakdown of the linear development of plot in extended fictional narrative. This fragmentation of linearity has also appeared in the world of art, witness the paintings of Pablo Picasso and Pieter Mondriaan or the sculpture of Henry Moore. Marshall McLuhan has discussed these tendencies within Western, "electronic" culture as a whole; literary critics have discerned similar evolutionary trends in the history of the novel in particular. The deconstructionists have even made the destruction of linearity, presumably the basis of Western logical thought, the programmatic centerpiece of their school. Whether all of these developments are more than a passing fad remains to be seen. The point is that the shape and nature of such things as the novel are not to be considered eternal.

We should not trouble ourselves unduly with such questions as why Chinese writers "failed" to create sustained fictional narrative. It is more appropriate to describe, rather, the authentic

process of evolution of Chinese literary genres themselves without making favorable or unfavorable judgments as to how these compare to European genres. Still, the episodic structure of Chinese fiction is striking to those who encounter it for the first time, for example, in *The Scholars* 儒林外史 (c. 1739-1750, first published c. 1768-1777) or even in some of the early novels of Lao She 老舍. Hence, it is meaningful to say that Chinese dramatic and fictional narratives tend to be **episodic** rather than **sustained** because of their historical roots in a common tradition of oral storytelling which emphasized discrete moments and loci presented in a sequential fashion. But it is facile to imply that this is, somehow, a congenital defect of Chinese fictional and dramatic literature. I would like, therefore, to propose the notion of an "episodic plot structure" which is applicable both to fiction and to drama in China and which is securely rooted in their history.

All of this leads to the recognition that the basic "stuff" of both Chinese fiction and drama is the narrative moment (*shih* 時) and the narrative locus (*ch'u* 處). A succession of such moments and loci joined together constitutes an **episodic narrative**; this is the typical form of all prosimetric fiction and drama in China. For this reason, it would be unlikely to expect that the drama and the novel as they are known to the West could be found in pre-modern China. Because of the common historical origins of fiction and drama there, it is appropriate to speak in terms of **narrational drama** or **dramatic narrative** (in this analysis, fiction is subsumed under narration). By this is meant that most examples of the one partake, to a greater or lesser degree, of elements of the other. Skwarczyńska's analysis of the difference between epic (i.e., narrative) and dramatic forms of plot in the West is valuable for the contrast it points to in Chinese literature where no such strong dichotomy exists:

We know that the epic and the drama are very much alike, both being founded on the construction of the plot. But there exist specific differences between the typical epic plot and the typical plot of drama. Undoubtedly, they both represent a growing sequence of events, framed by the beginning and the end. The events determine the fates of the heroes and are linked with each other not only as a succession of events but also with internal cause-effect ties. But for a typically epic plot the majority of events happening externally, outside the hero, and from the outside somehow shaping his fate, will be satisfactory, while the typical dramatic plot employs the majority of events determined by the hero's volition, and thus qualifying his deeds. Moreover, the typical epic plot may present the evolution of events in a straight line, in an ever changing stream of facts, internally connected and following one another. The dramatic plot presents the development of basic events resulting from a struggle, a clash of two antagonistic forces. For the epic it is enough to speak about the

development of events, for the drama it is necessary to speak about the development resulting from a struggle.<sup>208</sup>

While the notion of the interdependency of fiction and drama may thus have only limited application for the study of these types of literature in the West, it is essential for the correct understanding and interpretation of Chinese popular literature.

It is not only legitimate to speak of **narrational drama** or **dramatic narrative** in the Chinese case, it is necessary to employ such terminology simply because it provides the critic with the conceptual tools for correctly interpreting and illuminating individual works. A given work may more nearly approach or resemble one mode than the other, but it never totally eclipses either the dramatic or the narrative (fictional). That this is an essential feature of Chinese popular literature is borne out by examination of well-known plays and novels. As such, the notion of narrative advanced by Scholes and Kellogg is not wholly applicable in the traditional Asian situation:

By narrative we mean all those literary works which are distinguished by two characteristics: the presence of a story and a storyteller. A drama is a story without a storyteller; in it characters act out directly what Aristotle called an "imitation" of such action as we find in life. A lyric, like a drama, is a direct presentation, in which a single actor, the poet or his surrogate, sings, or muses, or speaks for us to hear or overhear. Add a second speaker, as Robert Frost does in "The Death of a Hired Man," and we move toward drama. Let the speaker begin to tell of an event, as Frost does in "The Vanishing Red," and we move toward narrative. For writing to be narrative no more and no less than a teller and a tale are required.<sup>209</sup>

Though to a Western theoretician dealing with generic types it may seem a contradiction in terms, certain forms of Indian, Chinese, Indonesian, and Japanese drama may utilize a narrator. And various forms of Asian storytelling may require puppets, shadows, or even actors as animated visual aids.

The dramatic and episodic nature of Chinese fiction is recognized by Francis Westbrook in his observation that "...*Dream [of the Red Chamber]* consists of brief and rapidly changing 'scenes,' skits in which the author's intrusion sometimes amounts to little more than stage-directions."<sup>210</sup> H. C. Chang has noticed the combination of the fictional and the dramatic in the short story called "K'uai-tsui Li Ts'ui-lien chi" 快嘴李翠蓮記: "'The Shrew' thus contains within itself the two basic ingredients ... storytelling and dramatic performance."<sup>211</sup>

There was discovered in volume 13,991 of the *Grand Collectanea from the Eternal Joy Reign*

*Period* 永樂大典, compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the text of a play about the graduate Chang Hsieh 張協狀元. After a prologue that is in the form of a medley (*chu-kung-tiao*) comes the following question: "Rather than singing and telling the medley like this, why not perform this tale as a drama [literally, present it in an elaborated fashion]?"<sup>212</sup> This is further indication that, even in the Ming period, it was thought easy to switch back and forth between oral narrative and drama.

The ambiguous status of such a work as "The Erroneous Execution of Ts'ui Ning" 錯斬崔寧 is apparent from an examination of the narrator's intrusions into the story. In a text interlarded with "now, to resume the story" 却說 and "let us not mention idle talk" 閑話休題, we also find the narrator addressing his audience with the words "onlookers, listen to what I say" 看官聽說<sup>213</sup> followed by a statement and a direct question. *K'an-kuan* 看官 is commonly interpreted to mean "reader", but this is actually impossible given the simulated context. It would seem that we may have here a residual remainder of a time when "watching" was as important at a storytelling session as "listening".

One would expect that a shadow-play would employ direct, first-person dialogue but the Chinese performer often describes the actions of the characters in third-person narrative.<sup>214</sup> This is clear evidence of an evolutionary link to storytelling forms. Eggeling's remarks on a manuscript copy of *Dūtāṅgada* in the India Office Library are quite revealing in this regard: "Not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but narrative verses also are thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem."<sup>215</sup> It should be observed that this text is designated on various manuscripts as a *chāyā-nāṭaka* (literally, "shadow-play"; cf. my discussion of Buddhist Central Asian *chāyā-nālai* above). It is most interesting to note, on the other hand, that there are *pao-chüan* ("precious scrolls", normally thought of as a narrative genre) in which the narrator speaks in different personae. Thus, such *pao-chüan* as that on Ho Wen-hsiu 何文秀寶卷 represent an intermediary, evolutionary stage between fictional narrative and dramatic narrative.

In Shantung "drum book" (*ku-shu* 鼓書) performances, a pair of storytellers work together, the narrative passing back and forth between them. One tells the parts about the main character and the other tells the parts about the supporting characters. The effect is clearly transitional between oral narrative and drama.

I was recently introduced<sup>216</sup> to a type of dramatic narrative or dance drama that is still performed in Shen-yang (Mukden, Manchuria). It is called "Two Person Turn" or "Whirl-About Duet" (*erh-jen-chuan* 二人傳). The performance is accompanied by a fairly large orchestra (lute, dulcimer, three fiddles, clappers, mouth-organ, double-reed oboe, and cello [!]). The two

actor-narrators wear costumes, use gestures, dance, sing, and engage in dialogue. Sometimes they simply narrate the tale in the third-person and the narrative thread passes back and forth between the two. In a more elaborate version which is presented on stage and is called "Play with Drawn-Out Acts" (*la-ch'ang-hsi* 拉長戲), the players have fixed roles. More than two actors are involved but only two appear on the stage at any one time. In contrast to the "Two Person Turn" where singing and dancing alone set the scene, in the "Play with Drawn-Out Acts", props and scenery are employed. The orchestra noticeably adopts the percussion patterns of Peking opera which were lacking in the simpler version. The most elaborate type of related theater is called "Kirin Opera" (*Chi-chü* 吉劇). In this type of play, a third actor may appear on the stage as well as whole chorus-like groups. The actors engage in full-blown operatic dialogue and wear the elevated soles and long sleeves of operatic actors. Thus, in the same area of China, we can still observe a whole series of related performing arts that are arranged along the spectrum from narrative to drama.

Yüan and Ming drama often have passages that betray their origins in storytelling. Such passages are clearly narrative and stand out starkly from the dramatic dialogue. Without a background knowledge of the development of Chinese drama, it is difficult to comprehend the reason for their existence.

In many types of Chinese storytelling, even to this day, the performer uses a large variety of gestures and movements which makes the session fall somewhere between simple narration and drama:

To convey the idea of someone running with all his might, he waves his arms and heaves his shoulders. The only "properties" are a fan or a handkerchief. Folded, the fan can be a sword or a whip; opened, a hat, a bed coverlet or a sail. The handkerchief can serve as a letter, a written accusation, or many other things. The narrator moves very little, but expresses the essence of the character with a mere sweep of the eye or a symbolic movement of the hand or fan. In the past a young person was thought to have acquired his fundamental training after four or five years of apprenticeship, and mastery of the art only after lifelong practice.<sup>217</sup>

The semi-narrative, semi-dramatic nature of Chinese storytelling is forcefully seen in this translation of an actual transcription of a scene from *The Western Chamber* 西廂記 as told by a Soochow performer:

(*Speaking as the narrator*): As a matter of fact, Ying-ying is not asleep at all.... After the maid has gone, she wonders about what she has done. She thinks



(*Impersonating Ying-ying*): "I am the daughter of a prime minister, but I've ordered my maid to take a message to Chang. I'm sure she will not tell anyone else about it, but I'm afraid she'll laugh at me behind my back." (*Speaking as narrator again*): Thoughts run wild in the head of the young girl as she lies on her bed. She hears the footsteps of Hung-niang on the stairs. Hung-niang enters and Ying-ying closes her eyes, feigning sleep.... Hung-niang lifts the curtain of the bed. This angers Ying-ying, who feels it a rude action. Then she hears Hung-niang say: "You don't sleep at night but love to sleep in the daytime. What's the matter with you?"

Her anger mounts. (*As Ying-ying*): "She speaks to me as if she were my superior.... She's doing this because I asked her to take the message. Now she's proud, thinking she's done a great service...." (*As narrator*): Anger burns in Ying-ying's heart, but she keeps her eyes tightly closed and says nothing.<sup>218</sup>

The Soochow strum-lyric (*t'an-tz'u* 彈詞) performer whom we have just observed adopts the voice and expressions suitable for all the characters he portrays. He alternates narration with spoken dialogue, gestures, makes sound effects, creates a setting, fills in background, and so on. It is impossible to type such a performance as being either strictly narration or drama. Sometimes the lead performer, who plays a three-stringed fiddle (*san-hsien* 三弦), is accompanied by another player on the *biwa* (balloon guitar or lute, *p'i-pa* 琵琶) who may also take an acting role. In this century, still more instruments have occasionally been added and the instrumentalists may all sing and act. There is thus very little difference between this form of what was originally narrative and operatic drama.

A hazy recollection of *pien* as a type of narrative manipulation may have survived more or less continuously in the realm of folk literature. The Soochow expository storyteller 蘇州評話, Chin Sheng-po 金聲伯, stated in November 1983: "If you had to use only one word to characterize my storytelling it would be '*pien* 評話'." When pressed to define what he intended by *pien*, Chin was not at all clear himself about its meaning.<sup>219</sup> Perhaps he implied no more than "variety", but it is significant nonetheless that he used a word that goes back to the Buddhistic beginnings of Chinese prosimetric dramatic narrative to describe his art.

Chiang Po-ch'ien has also observed this ambivalent nature of Chinese oral performing arts when he says that "the drum-songs, precious scrolls, and strum-lyrics which are current today, strictly speaking, are not really fiction but nor are they drama...."<sup>220</sup>

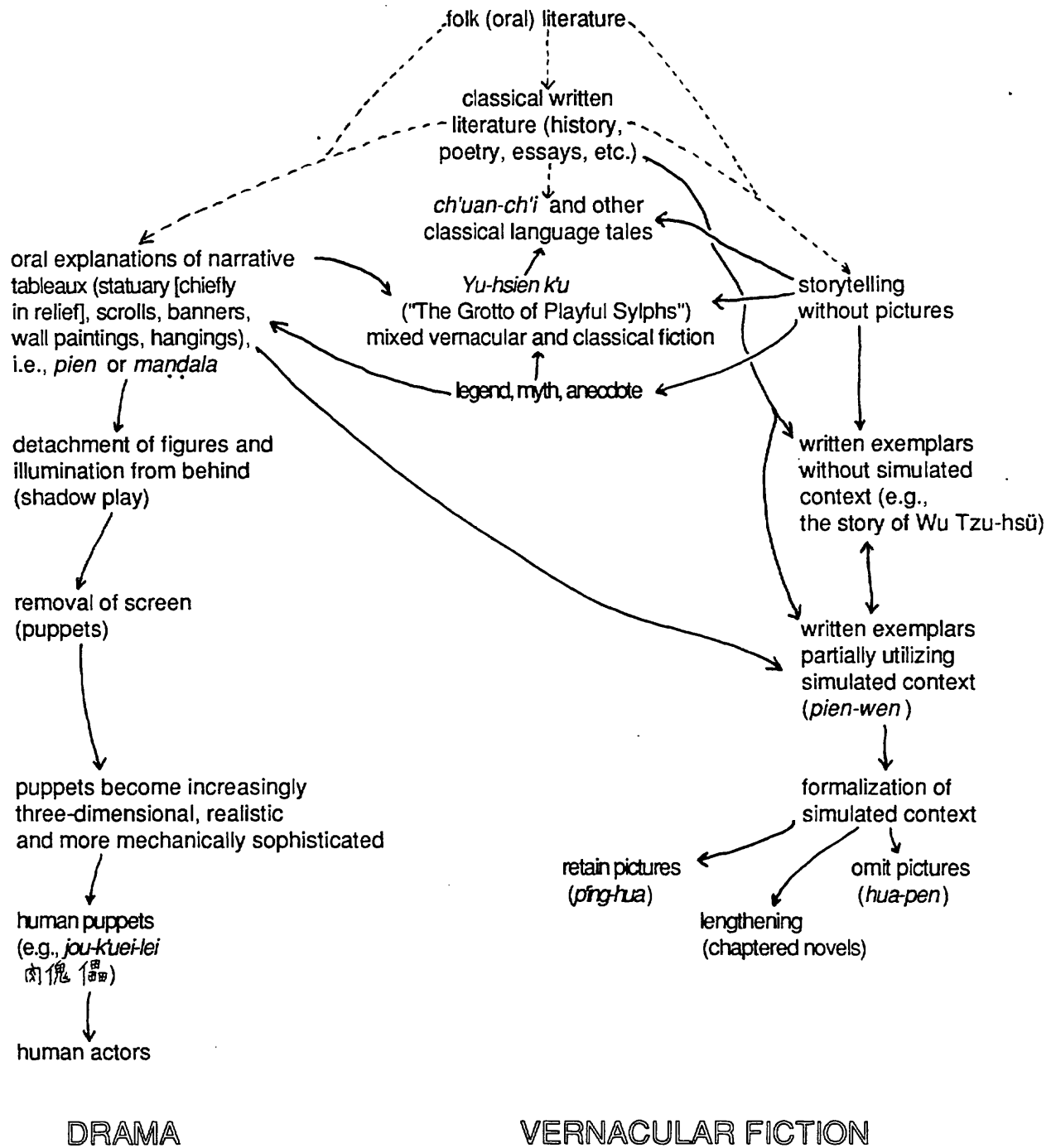
The seventeenth-century playwright and literary theoretician, Li Yü 李漁 (1611-1680), stresses heavily the relatedness of the narrative and the stage. As explained by Patrick Hanan, "...he occasionally refers to stories while discussing plays. The copious reflexive comment in his

fiction constantly makes use of terms that belong properly to the drama."<sup>221</sup>

Thus, while on the one hand Chinese fiction has a strong dramatic component, on the other hand Chinese theater has a noticeable narrative factor. Heightened conflict, though sometimes present, is not its central feature. By Western standards, building up to a confrontation or climax is expected even in comedy. With Chinese drama, however, the play proceeds through a flow of episodes that is essentially narrative in nature. Hence, I reiterate the suggestion that we think in terms of "narrational drama" and "dramatic narrative" since, in China, the two are never wholly separable. By "dramatic narrative" and "narrational drama" I mean two closely related classes of literature that are neither simply narrative fiction nor theatrical drama but that embody elements of both to varying degrees. This partly accounts for the tendency of those critics who are accustomed to and conditioned by a strict dichotomy between the narrative and dramatic modes to find popular Chinese literature wanting. The thesis which I am here attempting to develop, from an evolutionary perspective, is that the character of both fiction and drama in China has been partially determined by the common forbear from which they sprang, i.e., Buddhist storytelling. I am, therefore, in complete agreement with Vandier-Nicolas when she describes *pien-wen* as a category of texts "intermédiaire entre celle du récit et celle du drama...."<sup>222</sup> The only proviso that needs be made for this type of description is that it not be understood as relating to a process of development which has occurred only once in history. That is to say, although Indic Buddhist *pien-wen* may represent the first evolutionary connecting link between narrative and drama that is known for China, various forms of storytelling survived or succeeded it and continued to spawn new kinds of theater and, naturally, new "intermediary" genres. The sequence of the development of fiction and drama from storytelling which I have been discussing may be schematically depicted as in the figure below. Some of the steps depicted here may be repeated or varied many times. Hence this diagram should be thought of more as indicating evolutionary and typological linkages than as mere chronological events. It should also be noted that drama and fiction continually enrich each other at every stage of the process after they have arisen. And, naturally, there was mutual interaction between them and other genres (ranging from written history to lyric meters) as well. The schematic arrangement presented here omits many subsidiary influences (dance, mime, acrobatics, and other theatricals), intermediary steps (medley, court text [*yüan-pen* 院本]), by-products (precious scrolls, strum-lyrics), and hybrid forms (four sets, drum book) of the evolutionary process.

We have seen how the development of both fiction and drama during the Sung and later periods is intimately tied to popular Buddhist storytelling of the T'ang period. The prosimetric form, vernacular language, episodic nature, and many other aspects of dramatic narrative are all evidence of the fundamental importance of *pien-wen* ("transformation texts") for Chinese popular literature of the last millennium.

# Some Influences on the Development of Chinese Vernacular Fiction and Drama



## Notes

1. Information on the background and nature of *pien-wen* may be found in the author's *Tun-huang Popular Narratives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); *T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 28 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies, 1989); *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and Its Indian Genesis* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988); "Lay Students and the Making of Written Vernacular Narrative: An Inventory of Tun-huang Manuscripts," *Chinoperl Papers*, 10 (1981), 5-96; and "A Partial Bibliography for the Study of Indian Influence on Chinese Popular Literature," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 3 (March, 1987), iv + 214 pages. Additional references are provided in the bibliographies of these works.
2. Compare E. D. Edwards: *Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period*, Vol. II (London, 1938), pp. 1 et ff. [Průšek's original note].
3. Jaroslav Průšek, "Researches into the Beginnings of the Popular Chinese Novel," *Archiv Orientální*, 11.1 (1939), 91-132 and 23.4 (1955), 620-662 (quotation is from pp. 108-109). Emphasis added.
4. Liu Wu-chi, *An Introduction to Chinese Literature* (Bloomington and London: University of Indiana Press, 1966), p. 141.
5. Paul Demiéville, "Les débuts de la littérature en Chinois vulgaire," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus* (November-December, 1952), 563-571 (quotation is from p. 564).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 566.
7. Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第, "Chung-kuo tuan-p'ien pai-hua hsiao-shuo te fa-chan [The Development of the Vernacular Chinese Short Story]" 中國短篇白話小說的發展, in the same author's *Ts'ang-chou chi [The Collected Works of Ts'ang-chou]* 滄州集 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), p. 77.

8. Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹, "Henbun to kōshi -- Chūgoku hakuwa shōsetsu no keishiki no kigen (From *Pien-Wên* to the Historical Romance -- The Earlier Stage of the Chinese Colloquial Novels)" 變文と講史 -- 中國白話小説の形式の起源 --, in the same author's *Chūgoku shōsetsu shi no kenkyū* [Studies on the History of Fiction in China] 中國小説史の研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1968), p. 127.
  
9. Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸, *Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh shih* [History of Chinese Popular Literature] 中國俗文學史, 2 vols., *Chung-kuo wen-hua-shih ts'ung-shu* [Collected Works on Chinese Cultural History] 中國文化史叢書, series 2 (Changsha: Commercial Press, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 180ff. See also Hsieh Wu-liang 謝無量, "Fo-chiao tung lai tui Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh chih ying-hsiang [The Influence of Buddhism's Eastward Movement on Chinese Literature]" 佛教東來對中國文學之影響, in *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh* [Buddhism and Chinese Literature] 佛教與中國文學, Hsien-tai Fo-chiao hsüeh-shu ts'ung-k'an [Modern Studies of Buddhism] 現代佛教學術叢刊, 19 (Series 2, no. 9) (Taipei: Ta-ch'eng wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1978), pp. 15-32, especially pp. 29-32, for the influence of *pien-wen* on various types of prosimetric storytelling.
  
10. Ch'iu Chen-ching 邱鎮京, "Tun-huang Fo-ching pien-wen shu-lun [An Account of the Buddhist Sūtras and *pien-wen* from Tun-huang]" 敦煌佛經變文述論, parts 1 and 2, *Shih-tzu hou* (The Lion's Roar Monthly) 獅子吼, 6.7-8 (August, 1967), 24-27 and 6.9 (September, 1967), 19-23 (reference is to p. 24).
  
11. Li Shih-yü 李世瑜, *Pao-chüan tsung-lu* [General Catalog of Precious Scrolls] 寶卷綜錄 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), p. 1.
  
12. Fu Hsi-hua 傅惜華, *Tzu-ti shu tsung-mu* [General Catalog of Banner Brother Books] 子弟書總目 (Shanghai: Shanghai wen-i lien-ho ch'u-pan-she, 1954), p. 4. This view is supported by T'an Cheng-pi 譚正璧 and T'an Hsün 譚尋, *T'an-tz'u hsü lu* [Descriptive Catalog of Strum Lyrics] 弓單詞叙錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1981), p. 235, who see strum lyrics as deriving from *pien-wen*.
  
13. Yeh Te-chün 葉德均, *Sung Yüan Ming chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh* [Prosimetric Literature of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming Dynasties] 宋元明講唱文學, *Chung-kuo hsi-ch'ü li-lun ts'ung-shu* [Theoretical Essays on Chinese Drama] 中國戲曲理論叢書 (Shanghai: Shang-tsa ch'u-pan-she, 1953), p. 1. Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂, *Bukkyō to Chūgoku*

*bungaku [Buddhism and Chinese Literature]* 佛教と中國文學 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankō-kai, 1975), p. 43 makes a similar statement.

14. Among those he mentions, for the Sung, are *t'ao-chen* 陶真, *yai-tz'u* 涯詞, *ku-tzu-tz'u* 鼓子詞, *chu-kung-tiao* 諸宮調, and *fu-chuan* 覆篋; for the Yüan, *tz'u-hua* 詞話, *yü-shuo* 馬說, and *huo-lang-erh* 貨郎兒; and, for the Ming and Ch'ing (1644-1911), *t'an-tz'u* 彈詞, *ku-tz'u* 鼓詞, and *pao-chüan* 寶卷. With apologies, I offer the following tentative translations of these genre names: Amusing with the Truth, Horizon Lyrics, Little Drum Lyrics, Medley, Profit-Turning, Lyric Tales, Charioteer Tales, The Peddler, Strum Lyrics, Drum Lyrics, and Precious Scrolls.

15. Recorded in Aoki Masaru 青木正兒, *Shina bungaku geijutsu kō [A Study of Chinese Literary Arts]* 支那文學藝術考 (Tokyo: Kōbun-dō, 1949, fifth ed.), p. 181.

16. Fu Yün-tzu 傅芸子, "Tun-huang su-wen-hsüeh chih fa-hsien chi ch'i chan-k'ai [The Discovery of Tun-huang Popular Literature and Its Development]" 敦煌俗文學之發現及其展開, in the same author's *Pai-ch'uan chi [Collected Works of Fu Yün-tzu]* 百川集 (Tokyo: Bunkiyūdō, 1943), pp. 192-193.

17. In the colophon to the section on "Buddhist cantos" 佛曲 (Lo's name for *pien-wen* in a broad sense). Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉, *Sung-weng chin-kao [Recent Manuscripts of Old Pine]* 松翁近稿 (Published by the author, 1925), p. 22a. To *shuo-ching* 說經, we can add *shuo ts'an-ch'ing* 說參請 and *shuo hun-ch'ing* 說誦請.

18. See Ogawa Tamaki, "Henbun to kōshi" and Hsieh Hai-p'ing 謝海平, *Chiang-shih-hsing chih pien-wen yen-chiu [Research on Historical pien-wen]* 講史性之變文研究, National Political University Research Institute of Chinese Literature Master of Arts Thesis (Taipei: T'ien-i ch'u-pan-she, 1970).

19. Yue Heng-jun [Yüeh Heng-chün] 樂衡軍, *Sung-tai hua-pen yen-chiu (A Study on the "Hua Ben" of the Sung Dynasty)* 宋代話本研究, Kuo-li T'ai-wan ta-hsüeh wen-shih ts'ung-k'an (Taiwan University, History and Chinese Literature Series) 國立臺灣大學文史叢, 29 (Taipei: Ching-hua yin-shu-kuan, 1969), p. 11.

20. Ch'iu Chen-ching 邱鎮京, *Tun-huang pien-wen shu-lun [An Account of Tun-huang*

pien-wen] 敦煌變文述論, Jen-jen wen-k'u [Everyman's Library] 人人文庫, 1325-1326 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1970), p. 111.

21. For tentative translations of these genre names, see note 14 above.

22. Jan Jaworski, "Notes sur l'ancienne littérature populaire en Chine," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 12 (1936), 181-193 (reference is to p. 193) sees the progression as *pien-wen* → *pao-chüan*, *t'an-tz'u*, *ku-tz'u* → popular novel.

23. Anthony C. Yu, "Heroic Verse and Heroic Mission: Dimensions of the Epic in *Hsi-yu chi*," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 31.4 (August, 1972), 879-897 (the quotation is from pp. 882-883).

24. From *Hsin-pien Wu-tai shih p'ing-hua* [Newly Compiled Discursive Tale of the History of the Five Dynasties] 新編五代史平話 (Shanghai: Chung-kuo ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1954), pp. 12-13, 21, 35, 20, 24, 123, 127, and 170.

25. L. N. Men'shikov, "Izuchenie Drevnekitaiskikh Pis'menn'ikh Pamyatnikov," *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 5 (May, 1967), 59-62 (the quotation is from p. 61). In her bibliography of recent Soviet studies on Chinese literature, Jeanne Kelly mentions an article (item no. 284, not available to me) by Men'shikov on the medley (*chu-kung-tiao*) that "places this genre within the chain of genres linking *pien-wen* and *Yüan tsa-chü*." See also Kelly's item no. 286 for another article by Men'shikov dealing with the history of *pien-wen* as a genre. "A Survey of Recent Soviet Studies on Chinese Literature," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 2.1 (January, 1980), 101-136 (especially pp. 131-132).

26. Chou Shao-liang 周紹良, "Tun-huang so-ch'u T'ang pien-wen hui-lu [Registrar of T'ang Dynasty *pien-wen* which Came from Tun-huang]" 敦煌所出唐變文彙錄, *Hsien-tai Fo-hsüeh* [Modern Buddhist Studies] 現代佛學, 1.10 (June 15, 1951), 7-10 (reference is to p. 10).

27. Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸, "Ts'ung pien-wen tao t'an-tz'u [From *pien-wen* to *t'an-tz'u*]" 從變文到彈詞, in the same author's *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yen-chiu* [Researches into Chinese Literature] 中國文學研究 (Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan-she, 1957), vol. 3, pp. 1102-1105. See also Liu Ching-an 劉經庵 and Hsü Fu-lin 徐傅霖, *Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh lun-wen hui-pien* [A Collection of Articles on Chinese Popular Literature] 中國俗文學論文彙編

(Taipei: Hsi-nan shu-chü, 1978), pp. 159-162.

28. Zdeněk Hrdlička, "Old Chinese Ballads to the Accompaniment of the Big Drum," *Archiv Orientální*, 25.1 (1957), 84-143 (reference is to p. 84).

29. Ch'ien Nan-yang 錢南揚, "T'ung-hsün [Communication]" 通訊, *Ko-yao chou-k'an* [Folksong Weekly] 歌謠周刊, 1.90 (1925), 5b-8a (reference is to p. 8a). In fact, tellers of *pao-chüan* were active in many parts of China up to 1949 or shortly thereafter when they were dispersed by the government to other jobs. In a lecture before the East Asian Studies Colloquium at the University of Pennsylvania on September 20, 1984, Kuan Te-tung presented tape-recorded examples of *pao-chüan* performed in Kansu within the previous few years.

30. See Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū* [Studies on Treasure Scrolls, Revised and Enlarged] 土曾補寶卷の研究 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankō kai, 1975), p. 28 and Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, *Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū* [Studies on Chinese Morality Books] 中國善書の研究 (Tokyo: Kōbun-dō, 1960; reprint, 1972), pp. 438-441.

31. Wang Chung-min 王重民, et al., ed., *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* [Collection of pien-wen from Tun-huang] 敦煌變文集, 2 vols. (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 851-853.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 10, lines 3-11.

33. This analysis is based on Wang Ch'iu-kuei, "The Transformation of the Meng Chiang-nü Story in Chinese Popular Literature (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation, 1977), chapter 3, "The Tun-huang Versions," pp. 36-51.

34. See Wang Chung-min 王重民, *Tun-huang ku-chi hsü-lu* [Descriptive Register of Ancient Manuscripts from Tun-huang] 敦煌古籍叙錄 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1958), p. 348.

35. Chang Shou-lin 張壽林, "Wang Chao-chün ku-shih yen-pien chih tien-tien ti-ti (The Step-by-Step Evolution of the Wang Chao-chün Tale)" 王昭君故事演變之點點滴滴, *Wen-hsüeh nien-pao* (The Chinese Literature) 文學年報, 1 (July, 1932), unnumbered, 25 pages; reprinted in Chou Shao-liang 周紹良 and Pai Hua-wen 白化文, ed., *Tun-huang*



*pien-wen lun-wen lu* [*Papers on Tun-huang pien-wen*] 敦煌變文言論文錄, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 609-648 (reference is to p. 645) and Eugene Eoyang, "The Wang Chao-chün Legend: Configurations of the Classic," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 4.1 (January, 1982), 3-22.

36. Chang Ching-wen 張敬文, *Chung-kuo shih-ko shih* [*A History of Chinese Poetry and Song*] 中國詩歌史 (Taipei: Yu-shih shu-tien, 1970), p. 169.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 173. On *pien-wen* and Indian influence on Chinese theater generally, see Chou I-pai 周貽白, *Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih* [*A History of Chinese Drama*] 中國戲劇史, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1953), pp. 183ff.

38. See the two "Chu-kung-tiao feng yüeh tz'u yün t'ing [Pavilion of Windy Moonlight and Purple Clouds à la Medley]" 諸宮調風月紫雲亭 by Shih Chün-pao 石君寶 and Tai Shan-fu 戴善甫, listed in Fu Hsi-hua 傅惜華, *Yüan-tai tsa-chü ch'üan-mu* [*Complete Catalog of Yüan Drama*] 元代雜劇全目, Chung-kuo hsi-ch'ü yen-chiu-yüan [Research Institute for Chinese Drama] 中國戲曲研究院, ed., *Chung-kuo hsi-ch'ü shih tzu-liao ts'ung-k'an* -- *Chung-kuo ku-tien hsi-ch'ü tsung-lu* [Research Materials on the History of Chinese Drama Series. Complete Catalogs of Ancient Chinese Drama] 中國戲曲史料叢刊 -- 中國古典戲曲總錄, 3 (Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 181 and 201.

39. Li-li Ch'en, "Outer and Inner Forms of *Chu-kung-tiao*, with Reference to *pien-wen*, *tz'u* and Vernacular Fiction," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 32 (1972), 124-149 (especially pp. 141-143). Ch'en offers a list of striking similarities between the language describing battle scenes in the Wu Tzu-hsü story and two medleys. I consider the Wu Tzu-hsü story to be an evolutionary offshoot of transformation texts, in combination with pre-T'ang fictionalized histories, that came into being while the transformations themselves were still current.

40. Chung-wen Shih, *The Golden Age of Chinese Drama: Yüan Tsa-chü* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 11 and 163. On this subject, see also Kawaguchi Hisao 川口久雄, "Setsuwa yori gigaku e -- Tonkō henbun no seikaku to Nihon bungaku -- (From Narrative to Drama -- On the Relationship between the Character of Tun-huang Pien-wen and Japanese Literature --)" 說話より戯劇へ -- 敦煌變文の性格と日本文學 --. *Kanazawa daigaku hōbungakubu ronshū, bungaku hen* (*Studies and Essays by the Faculty of Law and Literature, Kanazawa University, Literature*) 金澤大學法文學部論集,

文學篇 12 (1964), 1-11. Stephen West, while accepting an organic relationship between *pien-wen* and *chu-kung-tiao*, rightly points out that the former is more a type of narrative and the latter more a type of drama. See his *Vaudeville and Narrative: Aspects of Chin Theater*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, 20 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977), pp. 52-53.

41. Chiang Li-hung 蔣禮鴻, *Tun-huang pien-wen tzu-i t'ung-shih* [Comprehensive Explanations of the Meanings of Characters in Tun-huang pien-wen] 敦煌變文字義通釋 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), pp. 76-77.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

43. David T. Roy, Review of Li-li Ch'en, *Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 37.1 (June, 1977), 207-222 (the quotation is from p. 212).

44. Sun Hsien-chao 孫賢昭, *Kuo-chü ku-shih su-yüan* [Tracing the Sources of Stories in Chinese Drama] 國劇故事溯源, 7 vols. (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1976).

45. Hsiang Ta 向達, *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an yü Hsi-yü wen-ming* [Ch'ang-an during the T'ang Period and the Civilization of the Western Regions] 唐代長安與西域文明 (Peking: Sheng-huo, tu-shu, hsin-chih san-lien shu-tien, 1957), pp. 250-251.

46. See the translation by Eduard Erkes of chapter one of Wang Kuo-wei's 王國維 pathbreaking work, *Sung Yüan hsi-ch'ü shih* (History of Chinese Drama to the End of the Yüan Dynasty) 宋元戲曲史, Wen-i ts'ung-k'an (Belles-Lettres Series) 文藝叢刊 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1915). "Das chinesische Theater vor der T'ang-Zeit von Wang Kuo-wei," *Asia Major*, 10.2 (1934-1935), 229-246.

47. Tadeusz Żbikowski, "On Early Chinese Theatrical Performances," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 26.1 (1962), 65-77, plus six plates.

48. The introduction to my *Tun-huang Popular Narratives* provides more information on a different aspect of the study.

49. Chou I-pai 周贄白, "Chung-kuo hsi-chü te ch'i-yüan ho fa-chan [The Origins and Development of Chinese Theater]" 中國戲劇的起源和發展, *Hsi-chü lun-ts'ung*

[*Compilation of Essays on Theater*] 戲劇論叢, 1 (Peking: Chung-kuo hsi-chü ch'u-pan-she, 1957), 3-24, with 7 figures (reference is particularly to p. 3).

50. See also Hsieh Wu-liang, "Fo-chiao tung lai tui Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh chih ying-hsiang," section 3, "Fo-chiao p'u-chi p'ing-min wen-hsüeh chi pien-wen i-hou hsin t'i wen-hsüeh chih fa-chan [The Extension of Buddhism in the Literature of the Common People and the Development of a New Form of Literature after Transformation Texts]" 佛教普及平民文學及變文以後新體文學之發展, p. 22-32.

51. For information on these two analogues of transformations, see Mair, *Painting and Performance*, chapters 3 and 4.

52. Arthur Waley, *The Nine Songs: A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1955).

53. *History of the Later Han [Hou Han shu]* 後漢書 (K'ai-ming edition), ch. 90B, 833.4.

54. In *Wen-hsüan [Selection of Literature]* 文選, ch. 2.

55. For example, Chang Heng explicitly mentions the Sanskrit word for Buddhist relic (*śarīra*). An astonishing variety of entertainments (among them many types of illusionism and prestidigitation) came to Han China from Central, South, and West Asian countries. Cf. An Tso-chang 安作璋, *Liang-Han yü Hsi-yü kuan-hsi shih [A History of the Relations between the Two Han Dynasties and the Western Regions]* 兩漢與西域關係史 (n.p. [Shantung]: Ch'ü-lu shu-she, 1979; originally published in 1959 by Shantung jen-min ch'u-pan-she), pp. 171-174. For archeological evidence of some Han entertainments, see Judith Magee Boltz, "Divertissement in Western Han," *Early China*, 1 (1975), 56-63. During the Northern and Southern Dynasties and afterwards, the "hundred entertainments" were also referred to as "dispersed music" (*san-yüeh* 散樂). See *Chung-kuo yin-yüeh tz'u-tien pien-chi-pu* [Editorial Section for the *Dictionary of Chinese Music*] 中國音樂辭典編輯部, ed., *Dictionary of Chinese Music (Chung-kuo yin-yüeh tz'u-tien)* 中國音樂辭典 (Peking: Jen-min yin-yüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1984), p. 333b. In their zeal to connect these variety shows with true drama, many historians of the theater attempt to equate *san-yüeh* with Japanese *sarugaku* 猿樂 (apparently because the two terms sound remotely similar) which was a forerunner of the *kyōgen* 狂言 farce and *Noh* 能 plays. See Hagen Blau, *Sarugaku und Shushi*, Studien zur

Japanologie, 6 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966). The major problem with this patently weak theory is that *sarugaku*, as is attested by old Japanese picture scrolls and texts about the performing arts, literally refers to "monkey music" as its name implies.

56. This refers to seven tunes by Liang Wu-ti 梁武帝 preserved in the *Yüeh-fu shih-chi* [Collection of Ballad Poetry] 樂府詩集, 51.

57. Na-lan Hsing-te 納蘭性德, *Lu-shui t'ing tsa-shih* [Miscellanea from the Pavilion on the Lu River] 淩水亭雜識, in *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu* [Collectanea of the Luminous Dynasty] 昭代叢書, 69 (Shih-k'ai t'ang, 1833), 24.22a.

58. Tadeusz Żbikowski, *Early Nan-hsi Plays of the Southern Period* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1974), p. 16.

59. L. Carrington Goodrich, *A Short History of the Chinese People* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 139-140.

60. Bharata is mentioned by Bhāsa (end of the second century IE) and may not be much older than him. This is the latest date given but some scholars have placed him as early as the second century BIE. The dramatic tradition codified under Bharata's name contains many elements that certainly derive from several centuries before the beginning of the International Era. See Sten Konow, *The Indian Drama*, tr. from the German of *Das Indische Drama* by S. N. Ghosal (Calcutta: General Printers and Publishers, 1969), pp. lxxxii, 3, and 81.

61. I have gathered extensive evidence of the similarity between dance postures depicted in Tun-huang wall-paintings as well as in other T'ang paintings and those codified in classical Indian dance treatises. Iranian dance traditions have also proven to be germane.

62. William Dolby's "The Origins of Chinese Puppetry," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 41.1 (1978), 97-120 is a useful and helpful collection of references in Chinese texts to puppets but is completely innocent of existing scholarship, particularly in Japanese and in Western languages, on the subject. Dolby seems to ignore altogether the fact that Chinese string-puppets in all probability came from abroad. For additional references to scholarly works on Chinese puppets, see Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 and Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, tr. and annot., *Tōkei muka roku -- Sōdai no toshi to seikatsu* [A Record of the Remembered Serenity of the

*Eastern Capital*] 東京夢華錄 -- 宋代の都市と生活 -- (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1983), p. 174 n 6.

63. Ying Shao 應劭, *Le Fong Sou T'ong Yi [Comprehensive Configuration of Customs]* 風俗通義 (Peking: Centre Franco-chinois d'Études Sinologiques, 1943), ch. 4, p. 112.

64. For the use of funeral effigies during Chou times, see the "T'an-kung" 檀弓下 (4) chapter of the *Li-chi [Records of Ritual]* 禮記, 9.20b (p. 172b) in *Shih-san ching chu-shu [The Thirteen Classics with Commentaries and Sub-Commentaries]* 十三經注疏 (Taipei: I-wen, 1976, reprint of 1896 edition [1815 colophon given by publisher is incorrect]). Pottery images were put to similar use in ancient Egypt. See Francisco Porras, *Titelles Teatro Popular* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1981), pp. 24ff.

65. In 1979, an articulated string puppet 1.93 meters in height was discovered in a tomb at Lai-hsi 萊西 district, Shantung that dates to the middle of the Western Han period. The precise use to which this isolated puppet was put has not been determined. It is probable that it was employed in connection with burial ritual as a mortuary object. See Yü Wei-min 俞為民, "K'uei-lei hsi ch'i-yüan hsiao k'ao (Notes on the Origin of the Puppet Show) 傀儡戲起源小考", *Nan-ching ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao, Che-hsüeh she-hui k'e-hsüeh (Journal of Nanjing University, Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 南京大學學報, 哲學社會科學, 3 (August, 1980), 98-100 (reference is to p. 98). Also see Ch'iu K'un-liang 邱坤良, "T'ai-wan te k'uei-lei hsi [Puppet Theater of Taiwan]" 台灣的傀儡戲, *Min-su ch'ü-i [Folk Performing Arts]* 民俗曲藝, K'uei-lei hsi chuan chi [Special Issue on Puppet Theater] 傀儡戲專輯, 23-24 (May, 1983), 1-24 (reference is to p. 2).

66. The earliest mention of wooden puppets used for purposes of entertainment (also in connection with banquets) is to be found in Xenophon (430[?]-355[?] BIE), 4.55. See Hugo Blümner, "Fahrendes Volk in Altertum," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, 6.9.2 (1918), p. 23.

67. Lo Chin-t'ang 羅錦堂, "K'uei-lei hsi te yu-lai [The Origins of Puppet Theater]" 傀儡戲的由來, *Ta-lu tsa-chih (The Continent Magazine)* 大陸雜誌, 41.12 (December, 1970), 3-5. See also Ch'ang Jen-hsia 常任俠, selected and annotated, *Fo-ching wen-hsüeh ku-shih hsüan [Selections of Stories from Buddhist Scriptural Literature]* 佛經文學故事選 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), pp. 18-19, esp. p. 19 n 1.

68. Hiän-lin Dschi, "Lieh-tzu and Buddhist Sūtras: A Note on the Author of Lieh-tzu and the Date of Its Composition," *Studia Serica*, 9.1 (1950), 18-32. Regrettably, Lo does not acknowledge Dschi's remarkable investigative contributions. My account in the remainder of this paragraph is more indebted to Dschi than to Lo. See also Kuo Li-ch'eng 郭立誠, "Hsiao-ch'eng ching-tien yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo hsi-ch'ü [Hīnayāna' Scriptures and Chinese Fiction and Drama]" 小乘經典與中國小說戲曲, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh* (see note 9), p. 161.

69. See A. C. Graham, tr., *The Book of Lieh-tzu* (London: Murray, 1960), "The Questions of T'ang," pp. 110-111.

70. Cf. A. C. Graham, "The Date and Composition of *Liehtzyy*," *Asia Major*, n.s. 8.2 (1961), 139-198.

71. His father or grandfather may have done the actual work of putting together the book from various sources, both old and new.

72. For a translation of the story in question, see Édouard Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues -- extraits du Tripiṭaka Chinois et traduits en français*, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1910-1911), vol. 3, pp. 170-172.

73. É. Senart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, 3 vols. (Paris: l'Imprimerie Nationale, 1882-1897), vol. 3, pp. 33-41.

74. E. Sieg, "Das Märchen von dem Mechaniker und dem Maler in tocharischer Fassung," *Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth zu seinem 75. Geburtstag, 16. April 1920* (Berlin: Oesterheld, 1920), special number of *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 8 (1920), 362-369. Also Emil Sieg and W. Siegling, ed., *Tokharische Sprachreste*, vol. 1 (Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1921), pp. 1-14.

75. See the introduction to Mair, *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*.

76. For a review of scholarly views on the etymology of this word, see Otto Spies, "Türkisches Puppentheater: Versuch einer Geschichte des Puppentheaters im Morgenland," *Die Schaubühne*, 50 (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1959), pp. 7-12.

77. Spies, *ibid.*, p. 9.

78. Cf. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that Was India: A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims* (New York: Grove Press, 1959), "Appendix XII: The Gypsies," who has this to say (pp. 513-514) on the subject:

According to the 11th c. Persian poet Firdūsi, who collected many legends and traditions of pre-Muslim Persia in his "Book of Kings" (*Shāh-nāmah*), the 5th-century Sāsānian king Bahrām Gūr, invited ten thousand Indian musicians to his realm, and gave them cattle, corn and asses, that they might settle in the land and entertain his poorer subjects, who had been complaining that the pleasures of music and dance were reserved for the rich. But the musicians refused to settle; they ate the cattle and seed-corn which the king had given them, and wandered about the land like wolves or wild dogs.

Though Firdūsi's story may not be wholly accurate, it shows that low caste Indian musicians were well known in the Middle East at a very early time. With the Arab conquest of Sind in the early 8th century further groups of Indian entertainers must have found their way westwards and later have moved on to Africa and Europe. Folk called Athinganoi are recorded as living in Constantinople in A.D. 810, and later Byzantine records refer to these Athinganoi or Azinganoi as magicians and conjurors. These were probably the forerunners of the Tsigany bands who appeared in Central and Western Europe in the late Middle Ages. The earliest record of Gypsies in Europe other than in the Balkans is from the German city of Hildesheim, where a passing band is recorded in 1407. A great horde of Gypsies passed through Basel in 1422, under a chief who called himself Michael, Prince of Egypt. Within a few decades they had overrun all Europe; the earliest records show that they had all the characteristics of their descendants -- they were careless, lazy, dirty and cheerful, skilled in metal work and tinkering, splendid musicians and dancers, their bodies bedecked with bright garments and jewellery, their menfolk cunning horse-dealers, their womanfolk telling fortunes, and both sexes losing no opportunity to pilfer from the unsuspecting *gorjo*.

79. Hui-jan, comp., *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture*, tr. Rugh Fuller Sasaki (Kyoto: The Institute for Zen Studies, 1975), p. 6 (Chinese text, p. 3).

80. *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*, p. 581, line 15. A very similar poem is elsewhere attributed to the T'ang poet Liang Huang 梁鎰. Chi Yu-kung 計有功 (fl. 1126), comp., *T'ang-shih chi shih* [Topical Collection of T'ang Poetry] 唐詩紀事 (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an [Collection of Republished Works from the Four Categories of Literature] 四部叢刊 ed.), 29.6b, cf. P'eng Ting-ch'iu 彭定求 (1645-1719), et al., ed., *Ch'üan T'ang-shih* [Complete T'ang Poetry] 全唐詩, 12 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1960), vol. 1, p. 42. A note says that it was recited by the T'ang emperor, Hsüan-tsung 玄宗, when he removed to the west in his flight from the capital which had been taken over by rebels.

81. Naba Tochisada 那波利貞, "Tōdai no shayū ni tsukite (On 'Shayū', an Intimate Union of Masses, in the days of T'ang Dynasty)" 唐代の社邑に就きて, parts 1-3, *The Shirin (Journal of History)* 史林, 23.2 (April, 1938), 15-57; 23.3 (July, 1938), 71-110, plus two plates; and 23.4 (October, 1938), 93-157, plus two plates. Republished with the English title "On the Shē-i (Voluntary Associations) in the T'ang periods" in the same author's *Tōdai shakai bunka shi kenkyū* (Historical Studies on the Society and Culture of T'ang China) 唐代社會文化史研究, Tōyōgaku sōsho (Oriental Studies Library) 東洋學叢書, 8 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1974), pp. 459-574 (reference is to p. 482).

82. This might possibly also be interpreted to mean "string puppeteer".

83. *Han shu* [History of the Han] 漢書 (Chung-hua edition), p. 3952.

84. *Nan shih* [History of the Southern Dynasties] 南史 (Chung-hua edition), p. 324.

85. The majority of historians of Chinese theater uncritically recount the anecdote in the *History of the Han* of Shao-weng's invocation of the moving image of Lady Li. No one has attempted to relate it meaningfully to later developments (i.e., from the Sung period on). In section 26.g.6 of the volume (4, part 1, with the collaboration of Wang Ling and the special cooperation of Kenneth Girdwood Robinson) on *Physics* in his *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 12ff. Joseph Needham mentions a number of devices and techniques used for making optical illusions. He begins his account with the Shao-weng anecdote. Needham reminds us that the story is also recounted in the *Shih-chi* (Records of the Grand Historian) 史記 (K'ai-ming edition), 12.43b and 28.11bc; (Chung-hua edition), 12.458 and 28.1387-88. It is slightly briefer here and the Lady, who is accompanied by a "Ghost of the Furnace," is surnamed Wang. Needham, too, suggests that this is an early reference to the



shadow-play (*ying-hsi* 影戲). In both places, however, the account is too sketchy to tell exactly what was involved. Since it seems that the emperor was sitting behind two curtains, it is possible that Shao-weng had a girl walk back and forth between them. The flickering lamps, the curtains, Shao-weng's intimations, and the emperor's wishful imagination would have been more than sufficient to bring about an apparition of his beloved concubine. In any case, there is no indication that any sort of dramatic presentation was involved. Shao-weng simply caused to appear before the emperor's eyes a moving image of his lost beloved. Beyond this it is unwise to speculate.

86. And the *Records of the Grand Historian* (see the previous note).

87. It is possible to punctuate so as to read "...making shadows, people first...."

88. Cited in Ch'en Meng-lei 陳夢雷 (1651- c. 1723), et al., comp., *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* [Encyclopedia of Maps, Charts, and Books from All Ages] 古今圖書集成, 10,000 *chüan* in 1,628 vols. (Shanghai: T'u-shu chi-ch'eng ch'ien-pan yin-shu-chü, 1884), section 17, *i-shu tien* (canon of arts) 藝術典, 805.2b.

89. Kao Ch'eng 高承 (fl. 1078-1085), *Shih-wu chi-yüan* [Notes on the Origins of Events and Things] 事物紀原 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien* [Compilation of Collectanea, First Series] 叢書集成初編 edition), ch. 9, p. 351.

90. Chang Lei 張耒 (1052-1112), comp., *Ming-tao tsa-chih* [Miscellany for Illuminating the Way] 明道雜錄 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien* edition), pp. 14-15.

91. We must understand that these were "monks" only in a very special sense and that, by "popular lectures", the usual meaning of "lectures for laymen on sūtras" does not fit here.

92. Sun K'ai-ti, "Chin-shih hsi-ch'ü te ch'ang-yen hsing-shih ch'u tzu k'uei-lei-hsi ying-hsi k'ao [An Examination of the Derivation of the Conventions of Singing and Acting in Modern Drama from Puppet Theater and Shadow Theater]" 近世戲曲的唱演形式出自傀儡戲影戲考, in the same author's *Ts'ang-chou chi*, pp. 238-307 (the quotation is from p. 261, see also p. 303).

93. Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press,

1967), p. 128. Valentina Stache-Rosen, "Shadow Players and Picture Showmen," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 66.3-4 (Bangalore, July-December, 1975), 43-55 also emphasizes (p. 50) the uncanny night atmosphere of some Indian folk entertainments. For two excellent studies of the shadow theater in India, Indonesia, and elsewhere, see Günter Spitzing, *Das indonesische Schattenspiel: Bali, Java, Lombok* (Köln: DuMont, 1981) and Peter F. Dunkel, *Schattenfiguren, Schattenspiel: Geschichte, Herstellung, Spiel* (Köln: DuMont, c. 1984). See also Friedrich Seltmann, *Schattenspiel in Kerala: Sakrales Theater in Süd-Indien* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner [Wiesbaden], 1986).

94. Kuan Chün-che 關俊哲, *Pei-ching p'i-ying-hsi [Peking Shadow-Plays] 北京皮影戲* (Peking[?]: Pei-ching ch'u-pan-she, 1959), p. 6. This expression was also used, particularly in the south, to refer to the performance of *pao-chüan* ("precious scrolls"). *Hsüan chüan* ("proclaiming scrolls") itself is commonly explained as an abbreviation of *hsüan Chiang pao-chüan* 宣講寶卷 ("proclaiming and explaining precious scrolls"). See Lily Chang, "The Lost Roots of Chinese Shadow Theater: A Comparison with the Actors' Theater of China" (University of California at Los Angeles, Ph.D. dissertation, 1982), pp. 212-3 and the references cited there.

95. See A-wei 阿維, *P'i-ying hsi [Shadow Plays] 皮影戲* (Peking: Chao-hua mei-shu ch'u-pan-she, 1955), pp. 1-2 and Kuan Chün-che, *Pei-ching p'i-ying-hsi*, p. 6.

96. In China, this form of storytelling was represented by the oral antecedents of transformation texts.

97. H. W. Bailey, "The Culture of the Iranian Kingdom of Ancient Khotan in Chinese Turkestan: The Expansion of Early Indian Influence into Northern Asia," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library)*, 29 (1971), 17-29 (reference is to p. 27; this article deals with the period 100 BIE to 400 IE) and the same author's "Story-Telling in Buddhist Central Asia," *Acta Asiatica* -- Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture, 23 (September, 1972), 63-77 (reference is to p. 66).

98. Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1956-1963 and continuing), vol. 1, p. 407.

99. Sushilkumar De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1947), p. 501 and 501 n 2 is doubtful of the essential connection between *chāyā-nāṭaka* (such as *Dūtāṅgada* and *Mahānāṭaka*) and the evolution of Sanskrit drama. He even suspects that the expression *chāyā-nāṭaka* may not mean "shadow-play" at all in these cases but, rather, suggests that it might

mean "an epitomised adaptation of previous plays on the subject." Recently, however, Jiwan Pani, *Ravana Chhaya* (New Delhi: Sangeet Natak Akademi, n.d.), pp. 8-9 has proven irrefutably that some *chāyā-nāṭaka*, such as Meghaprabhācārya's "Dharmābhyudayam" and Someśvara's "Ullagharaghava" (13th c.), can be shown by internal evidence to have been true shadow-plays. See Georg Jacob, Hans Jensen, and Hans Losch, ed. and tr., *Das indische Schattentheater* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931). Indeed, the *chāyā-nāṭai* in question here that were known to exist in Central Asia were indubitably shadow-plays. See F. W. Thomas, selected and translated, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, parts i-iv, Oriental Translation Fund, n.s. 32, 37, 40-41 (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935-1963), vol. 1, p. 116 and vol. 2, p. 312; R. E. Emmerick, ed. and tr., *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, London Oriental Series, 19 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 42-45 and p. 151; and H. W. Bailey, ed., *Indo-Scythian Studies, Being Khotanese Texts*, vol. 6, Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1967), pp. 131-132.

100. R. E. Emmerick, ed. and tr., *The Book of Zambasta: A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*, London Oriental Series, 21 (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 92-93. Cf. Ernst Leumann, ed. and tr., *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 20.1-3 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus for Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1933-1936), pp. 66-67.

101. Discussed in H. W. Bailey, "Mā'hyāra," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, 20.1-4 (1960), 276-280.

102. Hung Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202), *I-chien chih* [Record of the Listener] 夷堅志, san chih [third series] 三志, hsing, 3.3b-4a.

103. Liu Mau-tsai, "Puppenspiel und Schattentheater unter der Sung-Dynastie. Ihre Entstehung und ihre Formen," *Oriens Extremus*, 14.2 (December, 1967), 129-142 (reference is to pp. 129 and 134-135).

104. "Chin-shih hsi-ch'ü te ch'ang-yen hsing-shih ch'u tzu k'uei-lei-hsi ying-hsi k'ao" (see note 92 for full reference). For another brief discussion of puppets as an important source of Chinese dramaturgy, see Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, "Lu-ch'ü yü t'an [Extra Talks on Recorded Cantos]" 錄曲餘談, *Tseng-pu ch'ü-yüan* [Florilegia of Cantos, Supplement] 土曾補曲苑, ts'e 6 (Shanghai and Hangchow: Liu-i shu-ch'ü, 1932, third ed.), p. 1.

105. The first full-scale critical appraisal of Sun's theories has recently been issued by Chou I-pai in his "Chung-kuo hsi-chü yü k'uei-lei-hsi ying-hsi [Chinese Drama as It Relates to Puppet-Plays and Shadow-Plays]" 中國戲劇與傀儡戲影戲, in the same author's *Hsi-chü lun-wen hsüan* [Selection of Articles on Drama] 戲劇論文選 (Changsha: Hu-nan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1982), pp. 32-80. In my estimation, Chou does not succeed in his efforts to disprove Sun because his argument is forced and based largely on negative opinion. This is apparent from his frequent use of strong rhetorical questions. Chou presents very little new material that was not already brought forward by Sun but prefers, rather, to interpret Sun's findings in a different light. That is all well and good, except that Sun's theory has coherence and integrity whereas Chou's counter-argument has none. Chou's attempt to deal with the word *p'u* 金甫 as having nothing to do with pictorial representation is highly strained and consequently cannot be sustained. This is but one example of the untenable character of Chou's argumentation. Sun's theory that puppet-plays and shadow-plays influenced the development of Chinese theater is not incompatible with the notion (advanced by Chou and others) that dance, acrobatics, and other performances by humans were also factors. Chou's central thesis in much of his work -- that story is central to the emergence of drama -- is actually strongly supported by Sun's theory. It is unfortunate that Chou failed to comprehend this most significant aspect of puppet-plays and shadow-plays.

106. *Op. cit.*, pp. 291-305.

107. See my *Painting and Performance*, chapter 3 and Metin And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theatre* (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 1975), pp. 36-37.

108. Genevieve Blanche Wimsatt, *Chinese Shadow Shows* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 44.

109. *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

110. *Tung-ching meng-hua lu* [Records of Dreams of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital] 東京夢華錄, ch. 8 in *Tung-ching meng-hua lu (wai ssu chung)* [Record of Dreams of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital (plus Four Related Texts)] 東京夢華錄 (外四種) (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1956), p. 49. Cf. the analysis of this passage in Sawada Mizuho 澤田 瑞穂, *Jigoku-hen* [Hell Transformations] 地獄變 (Kyoto:

Hōzōkan, 1968), p. 142. See also Chu Wei-chih 朱維之, "Sha-kung-ta-la yü Sung Yüan nan-hsi (Sākoontalā and Southern Drama of the Sung and Yüan Periods) 沙恭達拉與宋元南戲, *Fu-chou hsieh-ho ta-hsüeh hsüeh-shu* (*The Foochow Union University Studies*) 福州協和大學學術, 3 (1935), offprint, p. 8

111. Another name for *wayang kulit* ("leather shadows") is *rekha-carmma* which may be the Sanskrit equivalent of *valulang inukir* ("chiselled leather") although it has not yet been found in any Indian source. See J. Ensink, "Rekhacarmma, On the Indonesian Shadow-Play with Special Reference to the Island of Bali," [Brahmavidyā] *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Dr. V. Raghavan Felicitation Volume, 31-32 (1967-1968), 412-441 (reference is to p. 414 n 5 [continued from p. 413]). This is interesting for it may shed some light on the meaning of *ts'u* 金族 in this passage. Cf. also *camma rupa* ("leather puppet") which is unmistakably derived from Sanskrit *carma rupa* (Prakrit *camma rupa*, Oriya *carma nataka*).

112. *Tu-ch'eng chi sheng* [Notes on the Sights of the Capital City] 都城紀勝, in *Tung-ching meng-hua lu* (*wai ssu chung*), pp. 97-98; cf. *Meng-liang lu* [Ephemeral Millet Dream Record] 夢梁錄, in *Tung-ching meng-hua lu* (*wai ssu chung*), p. 311.

113. *Tung-ching meng-hua lu* (*wai ssu chung*), p. 97.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

115. *Meng-liang lu*, ch. 20, in *Tung-ching meng-hua lu* (*wai ssu chung*), p. 313.

117. *Wu-lin chiu shih* [Old Affairs of Hangchow] 武林舊事, ch. 6, in *Tung-ching meng-hua lu* (*wai ssu chung*), p. 455. It is highly unlikely that these four performers were actually ordained Buddhist monks.

118. Cf. Lo Chen-yü's 羅振玉 remarks on Buddhist cantos 佛曲 in *Tun-huang ling-shih* [A Gathering of Assorted Texts from Tun-huang] 敦煌零拾 (by the compiler, 1924 [?]), 4.11a. See my "Oral and Written Aspects of Chinese Sutra Lectures (*chiang-ching-wen*)," *Han-hsüeh yen-chiu* (*Chinese Studies*) 漢學研究, 4.2 (cumulative 8) (December, 1986), 311-334 and "Lay Students and the Making of Written Vernacular Narrative: An Inventory of Tun-huang Manuscripts" (see note 1 above), pp. 5 and 91 for more information on *chiang-ching-wen*.

119. Chou Shu-chia 周叔迦, "Man-t'an pien-wen te ch'i-yüan [An Informal Talk on the Origins of *pien-wen*] 漫談變文的起源, *Hsien-tai Fo-hsüeh [Modern Buddhist Studies]* 現代佛學, 2 (February, 1954), 13-15 (reference is to p. 13).
120. Huo Shih-hsiu 霍世休, "T'ang-tai ch'uan-ch'i wen yü Yin-tu ku-shih [*Ch'uan-ch'i* Writing of the T'ang Period and Stories from India] 唐代傳奇文與印度故事, *Wen-hsüeh [Literature]* 文學, Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yen-chiu chuan-hao [Special Issue Devoted to the Study of Chinese Literature] 中國文學研究專號, 2.6 (June 1, 1934), 1051-1066.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 1051b.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 1052b-1053a.
123. *Tsa-pao tsang-ching* 雜寶藏經, in Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, ed., *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō (The Tripitaka in Chinese)* 大正新修大藏經, 100 vols. (Tokyo: The Taisho Issai-kyo Kanko Kwai, 1922-1934), vol. 4, no. 203, ch. 2. This collection was made in the third quarter of the fifth century by T'an Yao 曇曜 and Kimkāra. For other examples of such influence, see also Hu Huai-ch'en 胡懷琛, "Chung-kuo ku-tai hsiao-shuo chih wai-kuo tzu-liao [Foreign Materials in Ancient Chinese Fiction] 中國古代小說之外國資料, *I ching [Lost Literature]* 逸經, 1.4 (April 20, 1936), 3-7.
124. See Kuo Li-ch'eng, "Hsiao-ch'eng ching-tien yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo hsi-ch'ü," pp. 168-169.
125. T'ai Ching-nung 臺靜農, "Fo-chiao ku-shih yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo [Buddhist Antecedents and Chinese Fiction] 佛教故實與中國小說, in *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh*, pp. 61-126.
126. Standard edition of *The Jātaka* by V. Fausbøll in 7 vols. (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1875-1897).
127. E. B. Cowell, ed., *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, translated from the Pāli by various hands, 6 vols. (London: Luzac for the Pāli Text Society, 1895-1907).

128. A. L. Basham, "The Pali Jatakas," *Literature East and West*, 12.2-4 (1968), 114-128 (the quotation is from p. 114).
129. Wolfram Eberhard, "The Girl that Became a Bird," in Walter J. Fischel, ed., *Semitic and Oriental Studies: A Volume Presented to William Popper*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, 11 (Berkeley: University of California, 1951), pp. 79-86 (the quotation is from p. 79).
130. "T'ang-tai ch'uan-ch'i wen," p. 1052. Chi Hsien-lin, "Indian Literature in China," *Chinese Literature*, 4 (July-August, 1958), 123-130 (reference is to p. 125) also recognizes the vital influence of Indian literature on the T'ang classical short story.
131. "Chung-kuo ku-tai hsiao-shuo chih wai-kuo tzu-liao," p. 3a. Hu had another, earlier article on this subject of foreign borrowings in Chinese fiction, entitled "Chung-kuo ku-tai hsiao-shuo te kuo-chi kuan-hsi [The International Relations of Ancient Chinese Fiction]" 中國古代小說的國際關係, *Shih-chieh tsa-chih [World Magazine]* 世界雜誌, 1.4 (April 5, 1931), 629-638 and 2.4 (October 5, 1931), 631-636 in which he stated (p. 629b) the cautious attitude he adopted: "Of fiction by Chin and T'ang writers, all those which deal with supernatural matters invariably take their materials from Buddhist books, or they may also be suspected of pilfering from Indian stories. However, without decisive proof, one dare not declare that such is necessarily the case."
132. "Fo-chiao ku-shih yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo," p. 122.
133. Liu K'ai-jung 劉開榮, *T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo yen-chiu [Studies of T'ang Dynasty Fiction]* 唐代小說研究 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1946), preface, pp. 1-2.
134. *Ibid.*, preface, p. 3. The influence of *pien-wen* on T'ang *ch'uan-ch'i* has also been discussed by Ch'eng I-chung 程毅中 in "Kuan-yü pien-wen te chi-tien t'an-so [Several Investigations concerning *pien-wen*] 關於變文的幾點探索," *Wen-hsüeh i-ch'an tseng-k'an [Literary Heritage, Supplements]* 文學遺產增刊, no. 10 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), pp. 80-101 (reference is to pp. 89-90).
135. Maeno Naoaki 前野直彬, *Chūgoku shōsetsu-shi kō [An Examination of the History of Chinese Fiction]* 中國小說史考 (Tokyo: Akiyama shoten, 1975), p. 170.

136. *Han shu* (Chung-hua ed.), p. 1745. In his introduction to *Chung-kuo ku-tai tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo hsüan-chu* [*Annotated Selection of Ancient Chinese Short Stories*] 中國古代短篇小說選注 (Taipei: T'ai-wan hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1976), P'an Ch'ung-kuei 潘重規 cites the following sentence from *Chuang-tzu* in defense of the antiquity of Chinese fiction: 飾小說以干縣令，其於大達亦遠矣。 None of the half-dozen commentaries that I have consulted interprets *hsiao-shuo* here to mean "fiction". They all take it to imply mean or petty ideas. Cf. Burton Watson, tr., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 296 (emphasis added): "If you parade your **little theories** and fish for the post of district magistrate, you will be far from the Great Understanding."

137. *Book of the Demise of Yüeh* (?).

138. For example, *Jen-min hua-pao* [*The People's Pictorial Magazine*] 人民畫報, 9 (1959), 31; "Sung Yüan hsiao-shuo hua-pen te i-shu ch'eng-chiu [The Artistic Accomplishment of the Fiction and Story-roots from the Sung and Yüan Periods]" 宋元小說話本的藝術成就, *Pei-ching shih-fan ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* [*Journal of Peking Normal University*] 北京師範大學學報, 4 (cumulative 13) (July 20, 1959), 41-47 (reference is to p. 41); and "A Performance of Story-Telling and Ballads," *Chinese Literature* (July, 1961), 131-134.

139. Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Overseas Archaeological Exhibition Corporation (PRC), ed., *The Quest for Eternity: Chinese Ceramic Sculptures from the People's Republic of China* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987), p. 117, fig. 38. Cf. Ross Terrill and Cary Wolinsky, "Sichuan: Where China Changes Course," *National Geographic*, 168.3 (September, 1985), 280-317 (reference is to p. 298). See also addendum to this note on page 71.

140. Liu Chih-yüan 劉志遠, "Ch'eng-tu T'ien-hui shan-yai mu ch'ing-li chi (Excavations of Rock-tombs at Tien Hui Mount, Chengtu)" 成都天迴山崖墓清理記, *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* (*The Chinese Journal of Archaeology*) 考古學報, 1.19 (March, 1958), 87-103, 104, includes twelve pages of plates (reference is to pp. 98-99 and plate 8, number 13).

141. After I finished this section, Anthony Yu directed me to an important article by Yau-Woon Ma which thoroughly debunked the notion that this figure is a storyteller. See his "The Beginnings of Professional Storytelling in China: A Critique of Current Theories and Evidence," in *Études d'histoire et de littérature chinoises offertes au Professeur Jaroslav Průšek*, Bibliothèque de



l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, 24 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976), pp. 227-245.

142. Chao Chün-hsien 趙俊賢, "Shuo-shu ch'i-yüan wen-t'i chih-i [An Elucidation of Misconceptions concerning the Question of the Origin of Storytelling]" 說書起源問題質疑, *Wen-hsüeh i-ch'an tseng-k'an [Literary Heritage, Supplements]* 文學遺產增刊, no. 10 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), pp. 102-107.

143. In the section entitled "References to Lost Books (Pieced Together) from Caches at Two Secret Mountains" 二酉綴遺引 of Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (fl. 1590), *Shao-shih shan-fang pi-ts'ung [Jottings from the Mountain Study with few Rooms]* 小室山房筆叢 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1958), p. 486.

144. "T'ang-tai ch'uan-ch'i wen," p. 1066.

145. *An Introduction to Chinese Literature*, p. 150.

146. For a deeper discussion of this issue, see my "The Narrative Revolution in Chinese Literature: Ontological Presuppositions," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 5.1 (July, 1983), 1-27.

147. See Kuen-wei Lu Sundararajan, "Chinese Stories of Karma and Transmigration" (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Ph.D. dissertation, 1979), especially "Introduction (iv. Choice of Material)."

148. Lu Hsun, *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, tr. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959), p. 45.

149. Jordan D. Paper, *Guide to Chinese Prose*, The Asian Literature Bibliography Series (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1973), p. 13.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

151. Hsü Chia-jui 徐嘉瑞, "Chung-kuo ch'ang-p'ien hsiao-shuo te ch'i-yüan [The Origins of the Chinese Novel]" 中國長篇小說的起源, *Su-wen-hsüeh [Popular Literature]* 俗文

學, 61, in *Shang-hai chung-yang jih-pao* (Shanghai Central Daily) 上海中央日報 (April 2, 1948).

152. For one marvelous collection of such anecdotes that has been expertly translated, see Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶 (403-444), *A New Account of Tales of the World*, tr. Richard B. Mather (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976).

153. Recent archeological excavations in the area of ancient Ch'u 楚 have yielded intriguing paintings that may help to reconstruct the mythology of the south. But none that I have seen are arranged so as to depict a flow of events in an extended narrative.

154. A. Bulling, "Die Kunst der Totenspiele in der östlichen Han-Zeit," *Oriens Extremus*, 3.1 (1956), 28-56; "Historical Plays in the Art of the Han Period," *Archives of Asian Art*, 21 (1967-1968), 20-38; and "Three Popular Motives in the Art of the Eastern Han Period: The Lifting of the Tripod, the Crossing of a Bridge, Divinities," *Archives of Asian Art*, 20 (1966-1967), 25-53, especially pp. 27-28.

155. For a brief discussion of this subject, see Ho-lo t'u-shu ch'u-pan-she 河洛圖書出版社, ed., *Chung-kuo shen-hua ku-shih* [Stories of Chinese Legends] 中國神話故事 (Taipei: Ho-lo t'u-shu ch'u-pan-she, 1976), pp. 4-6. See also Mei Ying-yün 梅應運, "Tun-huang pien-wen yü Fo-ssu pi-hua chih kuan-hsi (pien-wen yü pien-hsiang) (Vulgar Literary Works [Pien-wên] Discovered at Tunhwang and Buddhist-Temple Murals [Pien-hsiang])" 敦煌變文與佛寺壁畫之關係 (變文與變相), *Hsin-ya shu-yüan hsüeh-shu nien-k'an* (New Asia College Academic Annual) 新亞書院學術年刊, 11 (1969), 291-316, plus 14 plates (reference is to pp. 295 and 307-309).

156. James Robert Hightower, tr., *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 229, "On Reading the *Seas and Mountains Classic*," and p. 230 n 3 on the illustrations to this classic. A. R. Davis, tr. and comm., *T'ao Yüan-ming (AD 365-427): His Works and Their Meaning*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), vol. 1, p. 154, translates the operative line as "I glance over the pictures of Hills and Seas." Davis' commentary (p. 152) states that such pictures may perhaps have dated as far back as the Han period.

157. V. V. Mirashi, ed. and tr., *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanṭā*, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, 14 (Calcutta: The Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the

Nizam's Government, 1941), pp. 2, 12, 14 (verse 24), 14 n 4, and 15. Sheila Weiner has discussed the importance of Ajaṇṭā in the Buddhist narrative tradition of art in her *Ajaṇṭā: Its Place in Buddhist Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 80ff., "The Narrative Tradition of the Buddha Image."

158. Mark Aurel Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks: Brief Narrative of Three Expeditions in Innermost Asia and North-western China* (London: Macmillan, 1933), plate 29.

159. Ch. 00144, in Mark Aurel Stein, *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), vol. 4, plate XCV.

160. Akiyama Terukazu 秋山 光和, "Miroku kashōkyōhen hakubyō funbon (S259) to Tonkō hekiga no seisaku (Les dessins illustrant des passages du 'Mi-lo hia cheng king' [Maitreyavyākaraṇa] au verso d'un sūtra de Touen-houang (Stein 259) et leurs rapports avec les peintures murales de la même région)" 彌勒下生經變白描粉本 (S二五九 v) と 敦煌壁畫の製作, in *Saiiki bunka kenkyū (Monumenta Serindica) [Studies on the Culture of the Western Regions]* 西域文化研究, 6 vols. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1958-1963), vol. 6, pp. 47 [53]-74; French summary; plus 2 plates and numerous figures.

161. Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), pp. 186-187.

162. S. J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), plate 3 (facing p. 160).

163. Winston King, *A Thousand Lives Away* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 50.

164. Jane Terry Bailey, "Some Burmese Paintings of the Seventeenth Century and Later, Part I: A Seventeenth-Century Painting Style Near Sagaing," *Artibus Asiae*, 38.4 (1976), 267-286.

165. A-ying 阿英 [pseudonym of Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un 錢杏村], *Chung-kuo lien-huan t'u-hua shih-hua [Historical Sketch of Chinese Serial Paintings]* 中國連環圖畫史話 (Peking: Chung-kuo ku-tien mei-shu ch'u-pan-she, 1957), p. 2.

166. *Ibid.*, p. 3. Elfriede R. Knauer, a research associate at the University Museum in Philadelphia who is a specialist on Greek and Roman art as it is manifested outside of the classical world, has shown me abundant evidence of Western influence (carried through Scythian and other intermediaries) on the development of Central Asian and Chinese narrative panels.

167. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 7. For the history of other types of illustrated Chinese books, see Kuo Wei-ch'ü 郭味蕓, *Chung-kuo pan-hua shih-lüeh [A Concise History of Wood-block Engravings in China]* 中國版畫史略 (Peking: Chao-hua mei-shu ch'u-pan-she, 1962).

169. Lai Ming detects Buddhist influence in the imaginative quality of the narrative when he says that this story of Hsüan-tsang is "one of the very few novels of romantic fantasy and imagination. This is no doubt due to the influences of Buddhist literature. For prior to the introduction of Buddhist literature to China, Chinese stories were merely outline sketches." *A History of Chinese Literature* (New York: John Day, 1964), p. 280.

170. For a discussion of this formula (X *ch'u jo-wei ch'en-shuo* 處若為陳說 [...the place where X happens, how does it go?]), see the appendix to my *Tun-huang Popular Narratives* and chapter three of *T'ang Transformation Texts*.

171. The bracketed stages lack formal proof of existence. The evolution of *Journey to the West* is, of course, much more complicated than this schematized and hypothetical diagram can possibly convey. For a more detailed account, see Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu chi: A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

172. Liu Ts'un-yan, *Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels, Vol. I, The Authorship of the Feng Shên Yen I* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962).

173. Hsü Hsiao-t'ing 徐筱汀, "Hsiao-shuo hsi-chü chung 'hui', 'che', 'ch'u' san tzu te lai-li [The Antecedents of the Three Words 'hui', 'che', and 'ch'u' in Fiction and Drama]" 小說戲劇中「回」「折」「箇」三字的來歷, *Tung-fang tsa-chih [Orient Magazine]* 東方雜誌, 42.2 (February 15, 1946), 55-59.

174. See Liu Ts'un-yan, *Chinese Popular Fiction in Two London Libraries* (Hong Kong: Lung Men Bookstore, 1967), pp. 19-20.
175. "Hsiao-shuo hsi-chü chung 'hui', 'che', 'ch'u' san tzu te lai-li," p. 55.
176. Chen Tsu-lung, *Éloges de personnages éminents de Touen-houang -- sous les T'ang et les cinq dynasties*, Partie I --- avant-propos, introduction, textes chinois; Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 80 (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1970), pp. 61-68, an actual text (P3770) of this type used in popular lectures.
177. Edwin O. Reischauer, tr., *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1955), p. 153 n 614.
178. Maeno Naoaki, "The Origin of Fiction in China," *Acta Asiatica*, 16 (1969), 27-37 (the quotation is from p. 27).
179. L. N. Men'shikov, tr. and ed., *Byan'ven' o Veimotsze; Byan'ven' Desyat' blagikh znamenii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury, 1963), pp. 28-29 (emphasis added).
180. Wolfram Eberhard, "Notes on Chinese Storytellers," *Fabula*, 11.1-2 (1970), 1-31 (the quotation is from p. 30).
181. See *Meng-liang lu*, ch. 20 in *Tung-ching meng-hua lu (wai ssu chung)*, p. 311.
182. Li Chia-jui 李家瑞, "Yu shuo-shu pien-ch'eng hsi-chü te heng-chi (The Transition from 'Shuo Shu' to 'Tsa Ch'ü' [Traces of the Transformation from Oral Narrative to Drama])" 由說書變成戲劇的痕跡, *Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* (*Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*) 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 7.3 (November 1, 1937), 405-418.
183. *Ibid.*, p. 418.
184. Mao Ch'i-ling 毛奇齡 (1623-1716), *Hsi-ho tz'u-hua [Talks on Lyrical Poetry by Mao Ch'i-ling]* 西河詞話, Tz'u-hua ts'ung-pien [Collectanea of Talks on Lyric Poetry] 詞話叢編, ts'e 4 (Nanking: Tz'u-hua ts'ung-pien she, 1935), 2.4b. Mao also holds that the four consecutive

sets evolved into the four acts of Yüan drama. For *ta lien-hsiang* as a later type of acrobatic performance, see Li Chia-jui, *Pei-p'ing feng-su lei-cheng* [Classified References to the Customs of Peking] 北平風俗類徵, 2 vols., *Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an*, chuan-k'an [special issue] 專刊, 14 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937), p. 371.

185. "Yu shuo-shu pien-ch'eng hsi-chü te heng-chi" (see note 182), p. 409.

186. Donald Keene, *Bunraku: The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theatre* (Tokyo and Palo Alto, California: Kodansha International, revised paperback edition, 1973), p. 25.

187. "Introduction" to Barbara Adachi, *The Voices and Hands of Bunraku* (Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1978).

188. Adolf Bastian, *Reisen in Siam im Jahre 1863*, Die Voelker des oestlichen Asien; studien und reisen, 3 (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1867), p. 503.

189. P. L. Amin Sweeney, *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-Play* (Kuala Lumpur: The National University of Malaysia Press, 1972), pp. 49-51.

190. Marjorie Hope Batchelder, *Rod-Puppets and the Human Theatre*, Contributions in Fine Arts, 3 (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1947), p. 22.

191. R. M. Soeripno, "Javanese Classical Dances," *London Geographical Magazine*, 19 (September, 1946), 220-221, plus eight plates (the quotation is from p. 220).

192. Claire Holt, "The Dance in Java," *Asia*, 37 (December, 1937), 843-846, plus two plates.

193. Richard Pischel, *The Home of the Puppet Play*, translated from the German by Mildred C. Tawney (London: Luzac, 1902), p. 5.

194. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

195. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

196. Kapila Vatsyayan, *Traditional Indian Theatre: Multiple Streams* (New Delhi: National Book

Trust, 1981), pp. 10-13, 113 ff.

197. Cited in Cathy Spagnoli, "A Storyteller's India," *The National Storytelling Journal*, 1.2 (Spring, 1984), 3-6 (reference is to p. 3 [note]).

198. Balwant Gargi, "Folk Theatre in India," in *Indian Drama*, ed. H. H. Anniah Gowda (Mysore: Prasaraṅga, University of Mysore, 1974), pp. 106-107.

199. Sawada Mizuho, *Jigoku-hen [Hell Transformations]* 土也 獄変 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1968), p. 138.

200. Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 31.

201. *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*, p. 36, line 12.

202. Gaston Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, tr. from the fourth French edition by A. S. John (New Hyde Park, New York: University Books, 1967), p. xliii. "The Tale of Two Brothers" has been translated by Maspero, *ibid.*, pp. 1-20.

203. Hans G. Güterbock, comments on Anatolian, Syrian, and Assyrian pictorial narrative in a symposium on "Narration in Ancient Art" held at the 57th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Chicago (December 29, 1955), published in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 61 (1957), 43-91, plus plates 11-36 (reference is to p. 70).

204. While there are no hard and fast rules governing the proportion of text and pictures to determine which is primary, my experience has shown that when the text occupies approximately one-third or more of the total surface, the accompanying pictures are generally to be considered as illustrations of it.

205. Güterbock, in "Narration in Ancient Art," pp. 70-71.

206. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum*, 31 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1911), plates 10ff. See particularly plate 14 (K2089) and plate 40 (K1999).

207. *Ancient Book Illumination*, p. 31.

208. Quoted and translated by Żbikowski, *Early Nan-hsi Plays*, p. 129.

209. Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 4.

210. Francis A. Westbrook, "On Dreams, Saints, and Fallen Angels: Reality and Illusion in *Dream of the Red Chamber* and *The Idiot*," *Literature East and West*, 15.3 (1971), 371-391 (the quotation is from p. 372).

211. H. C. Chang, *Chinese Literature: Popular Fiction and Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), p. 23.

212. *Yung-lo ta tien [Grand Collectanea from the Eternal Joy Reign Period]* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), p. 146. Also available in a facsimile reproduction (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1954).

213. *Ching pen t'ung-su hsiao-shuo [Capital Edition of Popular Short Stories]* 京本通俗小說 (Shanghai: Chung-kuo ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1954), p. 87.

214. Sun K'ai-ti, "Chin-shih hsi-ch'ü," p. 262.

215. Julius Eggeling, comp., *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London: By Order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1904), p. 1604, no. 4189, 1520e.

216. By Iris Pian, who showed a videotape and gave a lecture on the subject at a session of CHINOPERL during the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting in Chicago (April 3, 1982).

217. Chen Chung-hsien, "Soochow Storytelling," *China Reconstructs*, 10.10 (October, 1961), 19-21 (the quotation is from p. 20). Tseng Yung-i 曾永義 has also described the process whereby prosimetric storytellers don costumes, stand up, gesture, and otherwise take on the



characteristics of actors in a theater. He also shows how puppet plays are connected to human theater. "Chung-kuo ti-fang hsi-ch'ü hsing-ch'eng yü fa-chan te ching-lu [The Path of the Formation and Development of Chinese Local Theater] 中國土地方戲曲形成與發展的徑路, paper delivered at the Second International Conference on Sinology, Academia Sinica (Taipei, December 29-31, 1986) and soon to be published in the *Proceedings* of the conference.

218. Chen Chung-hsien, "Soochow Storytelling," pp. 20-21.

219. Chin's interviewer, Susan Blader, writes in "'Yan Chasan Thrice Tested': Printed Novel to Oral Tale," *Chinoperl Papers*, 12 (1983), 84-111 (the quotation is from p. 87) that he recognized two basic types of *pien*: enrichment 豐富 and reforming 改造. Chin's reluctance or inability to specify the precise signification of *pien* may imply that it is an old concept handed down to him by earlier generations of storytellers.

220. Chiang Po-ch'ien 蔣伯潛, *Hsiao-shuo yü hsi-chü [Fiction and Drama] 小說與戲劇* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1956), p. 90.

221. Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 168.

222. Nicole Vandier-Nicolas, tr. and comm., *Śāriputra et les Six Maîtres d'Erreur*, Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, Série in-Quarto, V (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), p. 2.

#### Addendum to note 139 (page 62)

The most recent treatment of these figures has fortunately adopted a much more responsible position. In the catalogue for an exhibition organized by Lucy Lim entitled *Stories from China's Past: Han Dynasty Pictorial Tomb Reliefs and Archaeological Objects from Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China* (San Francisco: The Chinese Cultural Foundation of San Francisco, 1987), pp. 133-134 and 139, color plates 2 and 3, plates 42 and 46 (plus details), figures 6 and 7, over ten so-called "storyteller" figures are reported to have been discovered from Eastern Han tombs in Szechwan. The authors (Lucy Lim and Kenneth J. DeWoskin) note the dwarf-like features of these figures. Indeed, several of the figures, especially the seated ones, display various symptoms of achondroplasia and hypochondroplasia. In this respect, and in their exaggerated grimaces and odd bodily postures, they remind one of the court jesters or fools (often deformed and dwarfed) that have been common in many other parts of the world from ancient times. Lim and DeWoskin correctly describe these colorful figures as entertainers and mention historical and literary records of their activities. They were clearly associated with acrobats, singers, dancers, and magicians, and it is likely that they themselves told jokes, performed energetic skits to the accompaniment of their drums, and kept up a witty patter, but there is not one iota of evidence that they were prosimetric storytellers.

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