

# The Transmission and Transformation of Chinese Popular Traditions

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The present paper proposes to review extant scholarship on Chinese popular traditions and to discuss some of the factors which come into play in the transmission and transformation of these story-traditions. There are now sufficient studies on individual stories to make it possible to investigate the complex phenomenon of the development of these popular traditions in different times, localities, social strata, religious settings and literary genres. The observations offered below, however, must remain tentative until a more comprehensive study has been undertaken, ideally by a team of scholars.

By traditions I mean story-cycles transmitted from one age to another while undergoing a fluid process of transformation. Such story-traditions are legion in China. Some have developed into literary masterpieces as in the case of the *Hsi-yu chi* 西遊記. But most have remained popular traditions, the various versions of which

span the uncertain boundaries  
between religion, literature and  
entertainment: stories, plays,  
liturgies and ballads which,  
important or not in themselves,  
often articulate for us the  
mythological and ritual themes  
more dimly implied in conscious  
literary creations.<sup>1</sup>

Systematic studies of these popular traditions started as a result of the Folklore Movement led first by Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 and his colleagues in the Peking University. The movement may be roughly divided into three

stages. In 1918, the movement was firmly on its way with the establishment of the Association for Folksong Studies in Peking University. Three years later the association launched *Ko-yao chou-kán* 歌謠週刊 (Folksong weekly) which proved to be a very influential periodical in the movement. The second stage began in 1926-27 when some professors moved south to teach at the Sun Yat-sen University in Canton, where they set up another folklore society. This society published several journals including the *Min-su chou-kán* 民俗週刊 (Folklore weekly), and about sixty books in special series. The third stage saw the movement spread to other provinces in southern China. In 1930, a national society of folklore was established.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of popular traditions was duly noted by the folklorists. Ku Chieh-kang's pioneering study of the Meng Chiang-nü 孟姜女 story was first published in the *Folksong Weekly*. And the *Folklore Weekly* published four special issues on popular deities, one special issue on the Chu Ying-t'ai 祝英台 story and one on the Wang Chao-chün 王昭君 story, as well as numerous studies on other popular traditions.<sup>3</sup>

After more and more of the Tun-huang manuscripts were made accessible to scholars in the 1920s and 1930s there appeared in the 1930s and 1940s studies on such stories as Mu-lien 目連, Tung Yung 董永, Wu Tzu-hsü 伍子胥, Wang Chao-chün and Han P'eng 韓朋.<sup>4</sup> This is the second important period in the study of Chinese popular traditions.

In the 1950s, several journals devoted to folk literature, such as *Min-chien wen-hsüeh* and *Min-chien wen-hsüeh chi-k'an* 集刊 were launched and a series of anthologies of popular traditions were published in Mainland China. These include the *Yüeh Fei ku-shih hsi-ch'ü shuo-ch'ang chi* 岳飛故事戲曲說唱集, *Tung Yung Ch'en-hsiang ho-chi* 董永沉香合集, *Pai-she chuan chi* 白蛇傳集, *Liang-chu ku-shih shuo-ch'ang chi* 梁祝故事說唱集, *Meng Chiang-nü wan-li hsün-fu chi* 孟姜女萬里尋夫集 and *Hsi-hsiang chi shuo-ch'ang chi* 西廂記說唱集.<sup>5</sup>

However, stories collected in these anthologies had been subjected to extensive editing before they were published and are thus unsuitable as a basis for serious study. In the 1950s and 1960s there appeared in the two journals mentioned above and elsewhere a large number of articles on popular traditions. Some of these studies are useful but most of them are rather dogmatic in their approach.

Some useful work was also done in Taiwan during the same period. Worthy of note are studies by Lou Tzu-k'uang 婁子匡, Chu Chieh-fan 朱介凡, Yü Ta-kang 俞大綱 and Cheng Ch'ien 鄭騫.<sup>6</sup> In 1970, Lou

Tzu-k'uang did scholars a great service by starting to reprint systematically publications of the Folklore Movement.<sup>7</sup> Interest in popular traditions was rekindled and in 1973 Ch'iu K'un-liang 邱坤良 completed his M. A. thesis, "Min-chien ch'uan-shuo yü li-shih chung ti Ti Ch'ing" 民間傳說與歷史中的狄青, under the guidance of Yü Ta-kang. It was followed by "Liu Ts'ui chü yüan-hsing ch'u-t'an" 柳翠劇原型初探 (1976) by Hu K'e-li 胡克立 and "Pai-she ku-shih chih yen-chiu" 白蛇故事之研究 (1978) by P'an Chiang-tung 潘江東.<sup>8</sup>

Since 1980, an enormous amount of literature on folk and popular literature in general and particularly on popular traditions has appeared in both Hong Kong and Mainland China. There are at least four surveys of *Min-chien wen-hsüeh* 民間文學,<sup>9</sup> one monograph on *Min-chien ku-shih* 民間故事,<sup>10</sup> two major journals<sup>11</sup> and ten collections of essays,<sup>12</sup> which contain studies on special features of the popular traditions<sup>13</sup> and on individual story-cycles. It appears that of all the popular traditions, Meng Chiang-nü and Pai-she chuan have received more attention than others.<sup>14</sup> Next to them are the Liang-chu and Niu-lang Chih-nü 牛郎織女 stories.<sup>15</sup> To these, we may add the story-cycle of the Generals of the Yang family 楊家將,<sup>16</sup> Wang Chao-chün 王昭君,<sup>17</sup> Chung K'uei 鍾馗,<sup>18</sup> Ch'ang-o 嫦娥<sup>19</sup> and Lu Pan 魯班.<sup>20</sup>

Steady progress in the studies of popular traditions has also been made in Taiwan since the 1970s. And since 1980 the study of these traditions has finally become a respectable field. Collections of essays, monographs and M. A. theses on particular story-traditions have appeared one after another. Though these studies are fewer in number than those published in Mainland China, they are based on more solid scholarship and free from ideological restrictions or impositions. Among the stories that have received adequate attention are Chung K'uei, Wang Chao-chün, Meng Chiang-nü, Liang-Chu, Mu-lien 目連, Hsüeh Jen-kuei 薛仁貴, Yüeh Fei 岳飛, Hsi-shih 西施, Yang Kuei-fei 楊貴妃, Lü Meng-cheng 呂蒙正 and Erh-lang shen 二郎神.<sup>21</sup> Most of these studies have made extensive use of materials from the collection of popular literature in the Academia Sinica.<sup>22</sup> It is expected that more studies will be forthcoming.<sup>23</sup>

Western studies on Chinese folklore started as early as 1873 when the first issue of *The China Review* was published. Then came *The China Recorder*, *East of Asia Magazine* and other journals. All these contain some articles about Chinese popular traditions. There were also monographs on specific aspects of Chinese folklore by British, German, French and Dutch

missionaries or scholars.<sup>24</sup> Japanese studies on Chinese myths and popular traditions also started in the late nineteenth century and have continued down to the present day.<sup>25</sup> In the recent two decades, Chinese popular traditions have attracted the attention of American, European and Japanese scholars. I would mention here especially Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂 and Hatano Tarō 波多野太郎 of Japan, Piet van der Loon and Glen Dudbridge of Britain, K. M. Schipper of France, Boris Riftin of Russia, Patrick Hanan and Rulan C. Pian of Harvard and Wolfram Eberhard of California (Berkeley). There is also something to be learnt from articles or books published by sociologists or anthropologists who have collected, among other materials, popular stories and folktales, in their field work in Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Southeast Asia.<sup>26</sup>

As far as I know, the first Ph. D. dissertation on a Chinese popular tradition is Eva Müller's "Zur Widerspiegelung der Entwicklung der 'Lengende von der Weissen Schlange' (Bai-she-chuan) in der chinesischen literatur bis zur ersten Hälfte des 20 Jahrhunderts" (Reflections on the development of the "Legend of the White Snake" (Pai-she chuan) in Chinese literature up to the first half of the twentieth century) written in 1966 for Humboldt University (Berlin). It was followed by Wu Pei-i's "The White Snake: the evolution of a myth in China" (Columbia, 1969).<sup>27</sup> Among other and later dissertations are Ma Yao-woon's 馬幼垣 "The Pao-kung tradition in Chinese popular literature" (Yale, 1971), Hsieh Chen-ooi's "Evolution of the theme of *Tou O yüan*" (Ohio State, 1974), Danielle Eliasberg's *Le roman du pourfendeur des demons* (Paris 1976), Wang Ch'iu-kuei's "The transformation of the Meng Chiang-nü story in Chinese popular literature" (Cambridge, 1977).<sup>28</sup> So far, the best study of a single story is Glen Dudbridge's *The legend of Miao-shan* (London 1978).<sup>29</sup> Among other important recent contributions to the scholarship of Chinese popular traditions are David Johnson's "The Wu Tzu-hsü *pien-wen* and its sources" published in two parts in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40 (1980), 93-156 and 465-505; Eugene Eoyang's "The Wang Chao-chün Legend: Configurations of the Classic," *CLEAR* 4, 1 (1982), 3-22; J. Degkwitz's *Yue Fei und sein mythos* (Bochum, 1983); and Jean Levi's "Dong Yong le fils pieux et le myths formosan de l'origine des singes," *Journal Asiatique* CCLXXII, 1 et 2 (1984), 83-131.

Before I proceed to discuss the five factors – historical, geographical, social, religious, and literary – that come into play in the transmission and transformation of Chinese popular traditions, I would like to make it

clear that the importance of each of these factors varies from one story-tradition to another and from one state of the development of a story to another. As a matter of fact, the history of each popular tradition is unique in itself and calls for a separate treatment. Nevertheless enough common features can be found among many of these story-traditions to make it possible to study them together. I would also like to comment on what may be generally called the dichotomy between oral and written transmissions and that between popular and literary traditions. While distinctions should be made where they can be, I am basically skeptical of any clear-cut demarcation between them. The presence of some oral or popular elements in a particular version of a story does not indicate that it belongs only to an oral tradition.<sup>30</sup> Though it is true that in some cases the two traditions (oral and written or popular and literary) develop independently, more often than not, they influence and draw on each other.

Since popular traditions are stories transmitted in time, we may consider first the historical factor, which involves the interests and concerns, whether economical, political, military or cultural, of a given age. A story changes as it adapts itself to the changing preoccupations and customs of different ages. What John Friedman says of Orpheus may be equally true of the hero or heroine in almost any Chinese popular tradition:

Each age has fashioned Orpheus in its own image, giving him new attributes, emphasizing certain of his deeds at the expenses of others, and even changing the course of narrative to make the Orpheus myth conform to the values of the day.<sup>31</sup>

But usually it is at the early stage of its formation that a story reflects more obviously the historical circumstances in which it grows. Additions of new features, substitutions of new episodes and variations of significance given to certain themes can also be more easily attributed to historical influence when we are dealing with the early development of the story. For example, the early versions of the Meng Chiang-nü story fit into the historical context of the Northern and Sui Dynasties. And upon analysis, they also disclose rich social-economic interests relating to that age.<sup>32</sup> According to Chang Shou-lin 張壽林, the rise of the popular versions of the Wang Chao-chün story in the Six Dynasties had much to do with the plight imposed upon the Chinese people by the Huns.<sup>33</sup> During the same period, the social freedom of women may have made it possible for the

Liang-Chu story to take shape.<sup>34</sup> The story-cycle of General Yang Yeh 楊業 (932-1057) and Yüeh Fei 岳飛 (1103-1141) developed during the Southern Sung because people suffered constantly from the devastation of first Jurchen and then Mongol invaders whom the government was unable to defeat.<sup>35</sup> Sometimes, a particular event could have so influenced a story as to change its course. In the Pai-she chuan story, "Golden Mountain Monastery and its abbot represent another tradition, the averting of a flood, which could not originally have been related to the White Snake, though in later versions of the story they have come to occupy almost a central position."<sup>36</sup> According to H. C. Chang, this tradition may have originated from an actual flood in 1539.<sup>37</sup> The historical factor may also account for the revival or revitalization of a popular tradition as exemplified by the Meng Chiang-nü story during the Ming (1368-1643) and the Wu Chih-ch'i 無支祈 story during the Ch'ing (1644-1911).<sup>38</sup>

The geographical factor is next to be considered. A story grows in time and it also moves in space. As it disseminates, the story picks up local traditions and regional characteristics along its way. In many cases, the setting of the story has to be completely changed. When we consult the local gazetteers, we may find the birth place of almost any hero or heroine change from one county to another as each claims him or her as its native citizen.<sup>39</sup> Failing this, a county might claim that the hero died there. Therefore, numerous tombs, far apart from each other, were built for Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-t'ai, for Hang Peng, for Meng Chiang-nü and for many others.<sup>40</sup> Some places would be satisfied simply with having a hero stay there for a while. Particular sites would then become famous. Temples would be built with inscriptions telling the life of the hero. Each inscription often tells a different version of the story. The regional versions recorded in the local gazetteers sometimes appear to have come from a separate tradition which is not affected by the development of the story in popular literature.<sup>41</sup> But usually local colors tend to enrich and sometimes even transform a story-tradition. It is only after the Meng Chiang-nü story moved west that it first acquired a prevailing journey theme, which "by its nature lends itself to episodic treatment."<sup>42</sup> The high mountains and winter snow of the western region make Chiang-nü's journey a long and arduous one.<sup>43</sup> In the southern versions, the snow is replaced by wild animals and bandits which make it a perilous journey.<sup>44</sup>

The Pai-she chuan story as we know it now owes much to the local traditions of Chinkiang and Hangchow. Without the Golden Mountain

Monastery, Broken Bridge or Tunder Peak Pagoda episodes, the story would have long lost its popularity.<sup>45</sup> Another example is the Liang-Chu story tradition in which the setting differs from one local version to another.<sup>46</sup>

The social factor is our third consideration. Different strata of even the same society in the same age may emphasize different values. Consequently a story is often told differently by different groups of people. As an extreme case, I may cite the vegetarian communities of single women, whose spiritual needs were met by particular *pao-chüan* 寶卷 versions of the Miao-shan story that celebrate celibacy.<sup>47</sup>

It would be simplistic to stress the dichotomy between the intellectual and the masses, or that between the literary tradition and the popular tradition. When we study the lyric tradition of the Wang Chao-chün story we can see that, since the Sui Dynasty (581-618), features from the popular tradition have been incorporated into it.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, as illustrated by Ku Chieh-kang's study of the Meng Chiang-nü story and David Johnson's study of the Wu Tzu-hsü *pien-wen*, many popular traditions not only originate from literary sources but also keep drawing on literary versions of the story.<sup>49</sup> The mingling of what Johnson calls "elite and folk elements" (p. 503) serves to infuse new life into a popular tradition. Speaking of popular literature in general, Johnson remarks,

Because of its location between the highest and lowest strata of Chinese society, this (i.e. popular) literature served to bridge the enormous cultural gap between them. On the one hand, it brought motifs and themes from folk literature and oral culture into the written realm, where they came to the attention of elite readers who might otherwise have remained ignorant of them. On the other hand, it served as the prime vehicle for the popularization of elite ideas, attitudes, and values.<sup>50</sup>

Though this is basically valid, the actual picture must have been much more complex. Between the highest elite and the lowest folk strata, there are many intermediary strata. We have to realize that story-material belongs to a whole society: its accumulation and evolution may cut across distinctions drawn by outside observers between different strata. To deal with the social factor adequately, we have to gain a better understanding of the whole popular milieu in its complexity of aspects.<sup>51</sup>

We now come to the religious factor. Many popular traditions are

closely related to folk Buddhism and Taoism or what may be broadly called popular beliefs and rituals. When a hero or a heroine is deified and a cult to him or her arises, the story will inevitably be influenced by it as in the case of the Wu Tzu-hsü or the Meng Chiang-nü story.<sup>52</sup> Some particular texts may have been written with the purpose of spreading the cult so as to attract pilgrims to the site of the cult.<sup>53</sup> In ritual drama, the story is often modified to meet the needs of performance. For example, we know that Meng Chiang-nü sets out on a long journey to look for her husband. When the story is enacted by priests in a funeral service held in order to lead the dead soul through hell to the "western paradise," the places she passes through are changed to famous stops in hell, such as Dagger Mountain, Sword Forest, Iron City or Blood Lake.

Other stories rich in ritual overtone include Chung K'uei, Mu-lien and Miao-shan. The story of Chung K'uei, the demon slayer, may have originated from the expulsion ceremony known as the Great Exorcism (*Ta-no* 大難). But though the Chung K'uei painting and dance have remained part of a complex of ritual practice, the story as told in Ming and Ch'ing novels has lost much of its ritual implications.<sup>55</sup> The other two stories however have always been closely related to ritual practice. As a matter of fact, the growth of the Miao-shan story runs parallel in time with that of the liturgies used in the Feeding of Hungry Ghost and the Delivering of the Orphaned Souls, both of which are performed "to enable mourners to render their dead an important filial service."<sup>56</sup> The story, for its part, "serves as a mythological document explaining and validating the ritual actions of the priests."<sup>57</sup>

The ritual function of the Mu-lien story is as much pronounced as the Miao-shan story. Mu-lien (Maudgalyayana) is famous for rescuing his mother damned in Hell. His story, first told in a Buddhist scripture, was the basis of the Avalambana feast, held in the seventh month to save the hungry ghosts of the dead. By the early twelfth century, the story was staged by professional actors during the festival and such Mu-lien plays were until very recent times regularly performed. These plays were also an important part of *chiao* 醮, a large-scale Taoist ritual of which one major aspect is the expulsion of evil spirits.<sup>58</sup> Needless to say, like Miao-shan, Mu-lien is a central figure in "those parts of the Chinese mortuary ceremonies which deal with the safe passage of the dead through the Underworld."<sup>59</sup> All the stories mentioned above bear on and change with religious practices, which, in turn are influenced by these stories.

Our last consideration is the literary factor which I shall dwell on in

more detail. A story undergoes changes as it passes from one medium to another. Each medium has its governing conventions, both formal and thematic. A story has to be adapted to meet the requirements of a particular genre if it is to be told at all in it. Since most Chinese popular traditions find expression in a great variety of popular genres from *pien-wen* on, the literary factor has received the attention of many scholars. Studies of changing themes in different literary genres have long been undertaken by Chinese literary historians such as Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸, Chao Ching-shen and Yeh Te-chün 葉德均. I am however most impressed by Patrick Hanan's two articles, "*The Yün-men chuan*: from chantefable to short story" and "The making of *The Pearl-sewn Shirt* and *The Courtesan's Jewel Box*," both published in 1973, the former in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (volume 36, part 2, pp. 299-308), the latter in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (volume 33, pp. 124-53). The latter deals with the transformation of two stories from the classical tale to the vernacular short story form.<sup>60</sup> Rulan C. Pian (趙如蘭) has added another dimension to the study of Tu Shih-niang 杜十娘 story in "The use of music as a narrative device in the medley song: the *Courtesan's Jewel Box*," *Chinoperl Papers* 9 (1979-80), 9-31. Some papers collected in *Critical Essays on Chinese Fiction* ed. Winston Yang *et al.* (Seattle 1981) also deal with literary transformation or different treatments of characters in different literary forms.

For a concrete example of the transformation of a popular tradition in different genres, I may cite the Meng Chiang-nü story in the *ch'uan-ch'i* 傳奇 or the southern drama. The story is basically a tragic story. The husband, conscripted to build the Great Wall, is beaten to death and built into the wall. Meng Chiang-nü comes to look for him and wails in front of the wall so that it crumples to reveal his bones, which she takes home for burial. Now, let me just mention two of the thematic conventions of the *ch'uan-ch'i*. One is that the hero and heroine must be respectively a talented scholar and a beautiful girl. Another is that there must be a happy ending. And so in a mid-sixteenth-century play, the *Chiang-nü han-i chi* 寒衣記, the husband changed from a conscript to a scholar leaving his wife for the civil service examination to be held in the capital, a theme found in most *ch'uan-ch'i* plays. As a matter of fact, the *Han-i chi* incorporates quite a few episodes from other plays that have no bearing upon the original story at all. In the play, the couple are said to have been a pair of celestial attendants, namely, *chin-t'ung* 金童 (golden boy) and *yü-nü* 玉女 (jade

maiden), who were temporarily banished from heaven because undue passion had been aroused in them. A happy ending is achieved when an immortal arrives to restore Fan Ch'i-liang 范杞良, the husband, to life.<sup>61</sup>

Glen Dudbridge has discussed the changes wrought upon the *Hsi-yu chi* story as it is retold in the *tsa-chü* medium (1971, p. 86). He has also looked into the influence of the thematic conventions of the *pao-chüan* on the Miao-shan story (1978, pp. 86-89). Other examples include the changes of the Wu Tzu-hsü and the Wang Chao-chün story in *pien-wen*,<sup>62</sup> and those of the Yü-t'ang-ch'un 玉堂春 story in the Peking Opera.<sup>63</sup>

Another phenomenon worthy of note here is the inter-influence among different popular traditions. The Liang-Chu story owes some of its themes and motifs to the Han P'eng story.<sup>64</sup> The same ritual implications may be found in the Mu-lien and the Miao-shan stories.<sup>65</sup> Lü Meng-cheng's 呂蒙正 test of his wife's chastity is apparently a theme borrowed from the Ch'iu Hu story.<sup>66</sup> And when we examine the *pien-wen* versions of the Meng Chiang-nü, the Wu Tzu-hsü and the Wang Chao-chün stories, we can even find that they share the same formulaic expressions.<sup>67</sup>

The factors discussed above certainly cannot account for all the changes in the development of a story-tradition. There are always arbitrary factors which are difficult to explain. And the transmitter's creative imagination does not abide by any rule. Besides, the information and material that have come down to us are usually scrappy and scanty. Tracing the evolution of a story-tradition can be interesting and rewarding. But it can also be frustrating when important links are missing and nothing can be used to explain adequately the discrepancies of two versions that are separated by one or two or even three centuries.

The story of Chinese popular traditions leads one to a great variety of source materials: classical, historical and philosophical writings, literary collections, miscellaneous notes, archeological finds, stele inscriptions, local gazetteers, even paintings, sculptures or reliefs carved on bricks or stones, not to mention popular literature written in such genres as *pien-wen*, *tsa-chü*, *ch'uan-ch'i*, regional drama, and innumerable chantefable forms, in which the stories find expression. In undertaking such a study, a variety of methodologies (folktale analysis, anthropology, sociology, comparative literature) may have to be employed.<sup>68</sup> So far, I have only been able to give a sketchy outline of the formidable project which can only be adequately undertaken through team work over a long period of time.

One thing however is clear. That is, the vitality of a popular tradition

lies in its flexibility. It adapts to different ages and embodies the interests and preoccupations of each; it is shaped and modified in response to the concerns and values of different parts of society; it incorporates local traditions and regional characteristics and allows them to change its course when it comes to a new place; it accommodate itself to varying popular beliefs and religious practices; and it is always ready to meet the requirements of the governing conventions of each popular literary genre. Finally, we have to realize that a popular tradition is not "an isolated or random phenomenon," but stands "in a clear relationship to other important legends and themes"<sup>69</sup> in Chinese culture. In a follow-up study, I propose to point out patterns of relationship among the various popular traditions and patterns of their development.

## Notes

1. Glen Dudbridge. *The Legend of Miao-shan* (London 1978), 9.
2. For more detailed accounts of the Folklore Movement, see Chao Wei-p'ang, "Modern Chinese folklore investigation" (in two parts), *Folklore Studies* 1 (1942), 55-76 and 2 (1943), 79-88; Yang Chih-ch'eng 楊志成, "Wo-kuo min-su hsüeh yü-tung kai-k'uang" 我國民俗學運動概況, *Min-chien wen-hsüeh* 民間文學 1962, 5, pp. 93-105; Ku Chieh-kang, "Wo tsai min-chien wen-i ti yüan-ti li" 我在民間文藝的園地裡, *Min-chien wen-hsüeh* 1962, 3, pp. 26-36; Wei Chien-kung 魏建功 "Ko-yao ssu-shih nien" 歌謠四十年, *Min-chien wen-hsüeh* 1962, 1, pp. 89-91 and 2, pp. 67-70. See also the articles on the *Folksong Weekly* by Wei Chien-kung, Ku Chieh-kang, Ch'ang Hui 常惠, Jung Chao-tsu 容肇祖 and Chou Ch'i-ming 周啓明 in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh*, 1962, 6, pp. 124-147 and Chang-tai Hung *Going to the people Chinese Intellectuals and Folk Literature, 1918-1937* Harvard University Press 1985.
3. The main feature of the weekly, which ran to 123 issues, is the publication of popular stories and folktales collected by folklorists, mostly in southern China and especially in Fukien and Kwang-tung.
4. See the appendix to *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* 敦煌變文集 ed. Wang Chung-min 王重民 et al. (Peking 1957), 920-922. These and some other later studies were reprinted in *Tun-huang pien-wen lun-wen lu* 論文錄 ed. Chou Shao-liang 周紹良 et (*Shanghai* 1982), 527-765.
5. These were first published in 1955 under the general title *Min-chien wen-hsüeh tzu-liao ts'ung-shu* 民間文學資料叢書.
6. See particularly Lou Tzu-k'uang et al. *Wu-shih nien lai ti Chung-kuo su wen-hsüeh* 五十年來的中國俗文學, Taipei, 1964; Chu Chieh-fan's articles on Liu Hisu 劉秀 (1967) and the Liang-Chu story (1964), revised and reprinted in *Su wen-hsüeh lun-chi* 俗文學論集 (Taipei 1984), 1-120 and 121-218; Yü Ta-kang's articles on the Erh-lang shen and the Meng Chiang-nü stories, collected in *Hsi-chüü tsung-heng t'an* 戲劇縱橫談 (Taipei 1967), 111-118 and 119-124; Cheng Ch'ien, *Yang Chia-chiang ku-shih k'ao-shih cheng-su* 楊家將故事考史證俗 (completed in 1970), in *Ching-wu ts'ung-pien* 景午叢編 (Taipei 1972), 1-84.
7. It is also to be deplored that he left out the original date of publication of almost every book he reprinted.
8. All three were graduate students of the College of Chinese Culture, which developed into a full university in 1980. Based on her thesis, Hu subsequently wrote two articles (see the critical bibliography appended to *Chung-kuo min-chien ch'uan-shuo lun-chi* 中國民間傳說論集 ed. Wang Ch'iu-kuei, Taipei, 1980, p.301). Pan published his thesis and the source material he used under the title *Pai-she ku-shih yen-chiu fu tzu-liao hui-pien* 附資料彙編 in 3 volumes in 1981 (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu -chü 學生書局).
9. Chung Ching-wen, *Min-chien wen-hsüeh kai-lun* 概論 (Shanghai 1980); T'an hsien 譚達先 *Chung-kuo* 中國 *min-chien wen-hsüeh kai-lun* (Hong Kong 1980), one of the eight books published between 1980 and 1982 under the general title *Chung-kuo min-chien wen-hsüeh li-lun* 理論 *ts'ung shu*; Wu Ping-an 烏丙安, *Min-chien wen-hsüeh kai-lun* (Shanghai 1980); Tuan Pao-lin 段寶林, *Chung-kuo min-chien wen-hsüeh kai-yao* 概要 (peking 1981). Among the earlier surveys are Chang Tzu-ch'an 張紫晨, *Min-chien wen-hsüeh chi-pen chih-shih* 民間文學基本知識; *Chung-kuo min-chien wen-hsüeh shih ch'un-kao* 史初稿 (Peking 1958), two volume

- Chiang Tsu-i 蔣祖怡 *Chung-kuo jen-min* 人民 *wen-hsueh shih* (Shanghai 1951).
10. T'ien Ying 天鷹, *Chung-kuo min-chien ku-shih ch'u-t'an* 初探 Shanghai, 1981.
  11. *Min-chien wen-i chi-k'an* 文藝集刊 (started in 1981) and *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-t'an* 文學論壇 (started in 1982). Smaller journals can be found in almost every province.
  12. *Chung-kuo min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-wei hsüan* 論文選 1949-1979 (Shanghai 1980), three volumes; Chung Ching-wen, *Min-chien wen-hsüeh t'an-sou* 談藪 (Ch'ang-sha 1981), *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung* 論叢 (Peking 1981); Chia Chih 賈芝, *Hsin-yüan chi* 新園集 (Peking 1981); *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-wen chi* (Hangchow 1982); *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-wen hsüan* (Ch'angsha 1982); *Min-chien wen-i hsüeh wen ts'ung-t'an* 文藝學文叢 (Peking 1982); Chao Ching-shen 趙景深 *Min-chien wen-hsüeh ts'ung-t'an* 叢談 (Ch'ang-sha 1982); *Chung Ching-wen min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-chi* Vol. 1 (Shanghai 1982), and Vol. 2 (Shanghai 1985); T'an Ta-hsien 譚達先 *Min-chien wen-hsüeh sui-pi* 隨筆 (Nan-ning 1983). Many of the articles were written well before 1980. Some by Chao and Chung were originally published in 1920s or 1930s. But the fact that they were reprinted and made more accessible to scholars is significant enough.
  13. See, for example, Liu Tung-yüan 劉東遠 "Min-chien ch'uan-shuo chung ti lang-man chu-i se-ts'ai 民間傳說中的浪漫主義色彩" *Min-chien wen-i chi-k'an* 1 (1981), 29-36; Chen Shuo-jen 鄭碩人 "Min-chien ku-shih ti liu-ch'uan yü pien-i" 故事的流傳與變異 *Min-chien wen-i chi-k'an* 1 (1981), 17-28; Chung Ching-wen, "Ch'uan-shuo ti li shih hsing" 傳說的歷史性 (originally written in 1958, reprinted in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh t'an-sou*, pp. 194-96; Kung Tu-Ch'ing 龔篤清, "Min-chien ch'uan-shuo ch'uan-ch'i hsing ti tso-yung chi-ch'i hsin-li chi-ch'u" 傳奇性的作用及其心理基礎 in *Min-chien wen-i hsüeh wen-ts'ung*, pp. 73-85; Cheng Shuo-jen, "Lun min-chien ku-shih ti t'e-shu hsing ho fu-tsa hsing" 論民間故事的特殊性和複雜性 *Min-chien wen-i chi-k'an* 3 (1982), 93-111; Ch'u Yü-te 屈育德, "Ch'uan-ch'i hsing yü min-chien ch'uan-shuo," in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-wen hsüan* (1982), 155-169; Wu Ch'ao 吳超 "Ch'uan-shuo yü li-shih" (originally published in 1963), in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-wen chi*, pp. 80-91; Chu I-ch'u 朱宜初, "Lun Min-chien ch'uan-shao ti li-shih hsing ho huan-hsiang hsing," 論民間傳說的歷史性和幻想性, *Min-chien wen-i chi-k'an* 4 (1983), 62-76.
  14. There was in 1983 a conference on the Meng Chiang-nü studies. Some of the papers read there and some others were published in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-t'an* 1984, 2, pp. 12-35. A collection of articles on the story, *Meng Chiang-nü ku-shih lun-wen chi*, edited by Chang Tzu-ch'en, was published in 1983 in Peking. The *Meng Chiang-nü ku-shih yen-chiu chi* 研究集 originally published in Canton in 1928-29 was reprinted in Shanghai in 1984 with supplementary material edited by Wang Hsü-hua 王煦華. There was also a conference on Pai-she chuan studies in 1983. And a collection of papers were published in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-t'an*, 1984, 3, pp. 7-43. See Ch'en Ch'in-chien 陳勤建 "Wu-ssu i-lai Pai-she chuan yen-chiu kai-shu" (pp. 40-43) for a brief description of the Pai-she chuan scholarship since 1919. Among studies not mentioned in Ch'en's article are Wang Hsiang 王驥, "Pai-she chuan chung ti Fa-hai ch'i jen" 白蛇傳中的法海其人, *Min-chien wen-i chi-k'an* 1 (1981), 100-102; Teng Yün-chia 鄧運佳, "Shih lun Pai-she chuan ti t'ui-ch'en ch'u-hsin" 試論白蛇傳的推陳出新, *Ssu-ch'uan ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao ts'ung-k'an* 15 (1982), 139-146; Kao Kuo-fan 高國藩, "Lun hsin fa-hsien ti *Chin-shan pao-chüan* ch'ao-pen tsai *Pai-she chüan* yen-chiu chung ti chia-chih" 論新發現的

- 金山寶卷抄本在白蛇傳研究中的價值，*Min-chien wen-i chi-k'an* 5 (1984), 105-118.
15. No significant new studies have been undertaken on these two popular traditions. What we have are reprints of earlier articles. see Lo Yung-lin's 羅永麟 two articles in *Chung-kuo min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-wen hsüan* (1980), 103-123 and 131-151; Chao Ching-shen, *Min-ehien wen-hsüeh ts'ung-t'an*, 57-61. Cf Tai Pu-fan 戴不凡, *Hsiao-shuo chien-wen lu* 小說見聞錄 (Hangchow 1980), 18-25; Yen Tun-i 嚴敦易, "Liang-Chu ku-shih yü ku-tien hsi-ch'u 古典戲曲", in *Yüan Ming Ch'ing hsi-ch'ü lun-chi* 元明清戲曲論集 (K'ai-feng 1982), 233-51.
  16. See Ch'ang Cheng 常征, *Yang chia chiang shih-shih k'ao*, T'ien-tsin, 1980; Ma Li 馬力, "Nan-sung chih-chuan yü Yang chia chiang hsiao-shuo 南宋志傳與楊家將小說", *Wen-shih* 文史 12 (1981), 261-72 Cf. Chao Ching-shen, "Yang chia chiang ku-shih ti yen-pien" 演變, reprinted in *Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo ts'ung-k'ao* 中國小說叢考 (Chi-nan 1980), 212-218.
  17. See *Li-tai ko-yung Chao-chün shih-tz'u hsüan-chu* 歷代歌詠昭君詩詞選注 ed. by Lu Ko 魯歌 et al, Wu-ch'ang, 1982.
  18. See Chang Tao-i 張道一, "Chung K'uei chuan-shuo chi ch'i i-shu" 及其藝術 in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung* (Peking 1981), 316-19; Ma Yung 馬雍, "Chung K'ui k'ao", *Wen-shih* 13 (1982), 258; Ch'eng I-chung 程毅中, "Chung K'ui pu-shuo" 補說, *Wen-shih* 19, (1983), 224-26.
  19. Tai Pu-fan, "Hsiao-shuo chung ti Ch'ang-o pen-yüeh" 小說中的嫦娥奔月, *Hsiao shu chien-wen lu*, pp. 1-17; Chao Ching-shen, "Kuan yü 關於 Ch'ang-o pen-yüeh ti tzu-liao" 資料, in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh ts'ung-t'an*, pp. 71-74. There is also an article by Ku Chieh-kang, "Ch'ang-o ku-shih chih yen-pien", published in *Shu-lin* 書林 1979, 2, to which I have not gain access.
  20. See Chao Ching-shen, "Lu Pan ti ch'uan-shuo" in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh ts'ung-t'an*, pp. 141-43; Ch'i Lien-hsiu 祈連休, "Min-chien ch'uan-shuo chung ti Lu Pan hsing-hsiang" 形象 (originally published in 1980), in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-wen chi* (Hangchow 1982), 91-99.
  21. See Tseng Yung-i 曾永義, "Hsi-shih ku-shih chih-i" 志疑, "Liang-chu ku-shih ti yüan-yüan yü fa-chan" 淵源與發展, "Yang-fei ku-shih ti fa-chan chi yü chih yü-kuan ti wen-hsüeh" 及與之有關的文學, "Ts'ung Hsi-shih shuo tao 說到 Liang-Chu" in *Shuo Su-wen-hsüeh* 說俗文學 (Taipei 1980), 111-119, 121-129, 131-148, 159-172; Hu Wan-ch'uan 胡萬川, *Chung-k'uei shen-hua yü hsiao-shuo chih yen-chiu* 神話與小說之研究; Wu Hsi-fen 鄔錫芬, "Wang Chao-chün ku-shih yen-chiu", M.A. thesis, Tunghai University, 1981; Yang Chen-liang 楊振良, "Meng Chiang-nü ku-shih yen-chiu", M.A. thesis, National Normal University, 1981; Lin Mei-ch'ing 林美清, "Liang-Chu Ku-shih chi-ch'i wen-hsüeh yen-chiu", M.A. thesis, National Taiwan University, 1982; Ch'en Fang-ying 陳芳英, *Mu-lien chiu-mu ku-shih chih yen-chin chi ch'i yü-kuan wen-hsüeh chih yen-chiu* 目連救母故事之演進及其有關文學之研究 (based on her 1981 M.A. thesis of 1978 for National Taiwan University), Taipei 1983; Chang Chung-liang 張忠良, "Hsüeh Jen-kuei ku-shih yen-chiu" (based on his 1981 M.A. thesis for National Normal University), *Shih-ta kuo-wen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* 師大國文研究所集刊 27 (1983), 911-1044; Wang Chiu-kuei, "Erh-lang shen ch'uan-shuo pu-k'ao" 補考, *Min-su ch'ü-i* 民俗曲藝 22 (1983), 1-26; Chang Huo-ch'in 張火慶 "Shuo-Yüeh ch'üan-chuan 說岳全傳 yen-chiu", M. A. thesis Tunghai University, 1984. See also Wang Ch'ü-kuei ed., *Chung-kuo min-chien*

- ch'uan-shuo lun-chi*" 論集, Taipei, 1982 (particularly useful in its appended bibliography of the following stories: Meng Chiang-nü, Wang Chao-chün, Hang P'eng 韓朋, Tung Yung, Chu Ying-t'ai, Hung-lien and Liu T'sui 紅蓮柳翠, Pai-she chuan, Yü-tang ch'un 玉堂春, Mu-lien, Erh-lang shen, Wu Chih-ch'i 無支祈 and Miao-shan 妙善); Chu Chieh-fan, *Su-wen-hsüeh lun-ch'i* (see note 6 above) and *Chung-kuo yao-su lun-ts'ung* 中國謠俗論叢, Taipei, 1984. An earlier collection of articles by Wang Hsiao-lien 王孝廉, *Chung-kuo ti shen-hua* 神話 yü *ch'uan-shuo* (Taipei 1977) may also be mentioned here. He has also published a very useful bibliography, "Chung-kuo ku-tai 古代 shen-hua yen-chiu lun-wen mu-lu" 論文目錄 in *Chung-kuo ku-tien hsiao-shuo yen-chiu chuan-chi* 中國古典小說研究專集 6 (1983), 359-399 (limited to studies by Chinese and Japanese scholars published between 1882 and 1972). For a bibliography of recent related studies, see C.K. Wang (Wang Ch'iu-kuei), "Research activities in the performing arts in the Republic of China: a bibliographical report", *Chinoperl Papers* 13 (forthcoming).
22. For a brief description of this collection, see Yü Ta-kang, "Fa-chüeh Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan so pao-ts'un ti hsi-ch'ü pao-tsang" 發掘中央研究院所保存的戲曲寶藏, in *Hsi-chü tsung-heng t'an*, pp. 69-76. Cf. Tseng Yung-i, "Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan so-ts'ang su wen-hsüeh tzu-liao ti fen lei cheng-li ho pien-mu" 中央研究院所藏俗文學資料的分類整理和編目 in *Shuo su wen-hsüeh*, pp. 1-10. Microfilm copies of this collection (about 300 reels) are available at Cambridge, Harvard and Cornell Universities.
  23. Li Wen-pin 李文彬, a Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature at the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature, National Taiwan University, is now writing his dissertation on the Hsüeh Jen-kuei story. He has already published an article, "The changing image of a popular hero: Hsüeh Jen-kuei in history and in literature", in *Tamkang Review* XI, 2 (1980), 189-222.
  24. Many of these have been reprinted in Taiwan. See "300 Ch'eng-wen reprints on China" a catalogue published by Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co. in 1975, esp. those titles under "General culture" and "Religion".
  25. See Wang Hsiao-lien's bibliography (see note 21 above), 360-398; Wang Ch'iu-kuei's bibliography (see also note 21 above), 297-305.
  26. Cf. Wang Ch'iu-kuei, Preface to *Chung-kuo mün-chien ch'uan-shuo lun-chi*, pp. 7-8.
  27. For other western studies on this story, see Wang Ch'iu-kuei's bibliography, p. 302. The first story-tradition to have received serious scholarly attention however, is, the Meng Chiang-nü story. See Boris Riftin's published M.A. thesis, *Skazanie o velikoy stene: problema zhanra v kitaiskom folklore* (The legend of the Great Wall and the problem of genre in Chinese folklore), Moscow, 1961. P. Demiéville's "Quelques traits de moeurs barbares dans une chantefable chinoise des T'ang" *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1962), 71-85 is only a partial study of the Wang Chao-chün story. Eugene Eoyang "The Wang Chao-chün Legend: Configurations of the Coassic", *CLEAR* 4,1 (Jan. 1982), 3-22.
  28. Paul W. Kroll's "Portraits of Ts'ao: literary studies of the man and the myth" (Michigan 1976) and Suzanne E. Cahill's "The image of goddess of Hsi Wang Mu in medieval Chinese literature" (California at Berkeley, 1982) may also be mentioned here though they are not concerned mainly with popular traditions.
  29. Dubridge's earlier book *Hsi-yu chi: a study of antecedents to the sixteenth-century Chinese novel* (Cambridge, 1970) deals also with the development of a popular tradition. In this connection, we may mention Richard Irwin, *The evolution of*

*Chinese novel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) and Boris Riftin's published Ph.D. Dissertation, *Istoricheskaia epopeia: fol'klornaia traditsiia V Kitae: Ustnye i knizhnye versii Troetsarstva* (The historical epic and folklore tradition in China: oral and written version of the *San-kuo yen-i*), Moscow, 1970. I feel obliged to exclude Sarah Allan's *The heir and the sage: dynastic legend in early China* (based on her dissertation of 1974), San Francisco, 1981 because it is concerned with classical rather than popular traditions.

30. Cf. however David Johnson, pp. 466-473,
31. John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 1.
32. See Wang Ch'iu-kuei, "The formation of the early versions of the Meng Chiang-nü story", *Tamkang Review* IX, 2 (1978), 111-140. Cf. Ku Chieh-kang, *Meng Chiang-nü ku-shih yen-chiu chi* (Shanghai, 1984), 66-68.
33. Chang Shou-lin, "Wang Chao-chün ku-shih yen-pien chih tien-tien ti-ti" 點點滴滴, (1932), collected in Wang Ch'iu-kuei ed. *Chung-kuo mün-chien ch'uan-shuo lun-chi* (Taipei 1980), 63-64. Cf. Tseng Yung-i, "Ts'ung Hsi-shih shuo-tao Liang-Chu" 從西施到梁祝 *Shuo su-wen-hsüeh* (Taipei 1980), 169.
34. Cf. Ch'ien Nan-yang 錢南揚, "Chu Ying-t'ai ku-shih hsü-lun" 敍論 (1930), collected in *ibid*, pp. 126-28.
35. See Ch'ang Cheng, *Yang Chia-chiang shih-shih k'ao* (Tientsin 1980), 317-322; Ch'iu Kun-liang, "Ch'uan-shuo yü li-shih chung ti Ti Ch'ing", M.A. thesis (College of Chinese Culture, 1973), p. 44; Li An 李安, "Ts'ung shih-hsüeh yen-chiu Yüeh Fei tsai Nan-Sung tang-shih ti sheng-yü ho li-shih ti-wei" 從史學研究岳飛在南宋當時的聲譽和歷史地位 (1971) collected in *Yüeh Fei shih-shih 史事 yen-chiu* (Taipei 1977). 17-27. Y.W. Ma's 馬幼垣 "The Chinese historical novel: an outline of themes and contexts", *Journal of Asian Studies* XXXIV, 2, (1975), though dealing with novels rather than popular traditions, throws much light on the present discussion.
36. H.C. Chang 張心滄, Introduction to "Madam White" in *Chinese literature: popular fiction and drama* (Edinburgh 1973), 211.
37. *Ibid*, p. 212. For a more detailed discussion of the origins of this tradition, see Wang Hsiang 王驥, "Pai-she chuan ku-shih t'an-yüan" 探源 in *Min-chien wen-hsüeh lun-wen hsüan* (Ch'angsha 1982), 178-81.
38. See Yü Ta-kang, "Meng Chiang-nü ti ch'uan-shuo yü hsi-chü 傳說與戲劇 in *Hsi-chü tsung-heng t'an* (Taipei 1967), 123; Yeh Te-chün 葉德均, "Wu Chih-ch'i ch'uan-shuo k'ao" (1937), collected in Wang Ch'iu-kuei (1980), 274.
39. See, for example, Chang Shou-lin, p. 53; Ku Chieh-kang (1984), 70; Lin Mei-ch'ing pp. 31-46.
40. See Ch'ien Nan-yang (1930), 134; cf. Lin Mei-ch'ing, pp. 33-34; Jung Chao-tsu 容肇祖, "Tun-huang pen Hang P'eng fu K'ao" 敦煌本韓朋賦考 in Wang Ch'iu-kuei (1980), 101-102; Ku Chieh-kang (1984), 70.
41. Cf. Ch'iu-kuei Wang, "The transformation of the Meng Chiang-nü story in Chinese popular literature," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge 1977), 173, note 1; pp. 214-215, note. 42.
42. Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu chi: a study of antecedents to the sixteenth-century Chinese novel* (Cambridge 1970), 101.
43. See Ch'ien Nan-yang "The Tun-huang versions of the Meng Chinag-nü Story" *Asian Culture Quarterly* 5,4 (1977), 69-71.
44. See Ch'iu-kuei Wang (1977), 96-97.
45. Cf. Wang Hsiang (see note 37), 176-181.

46. See Lin Mei-ch'ing, pp. 30-46; cf. Tseng Yung-i (1980), 170.
47. See Glen Dudbridge, *The legend of Miao-shan*, pp. 87-88.
48. See *Li-tai ko-yung Chao-chün shih-tz'u hsüan-chu*, pp. 44 *et passim*. See also Lu Ko's introduction, pp. 11-26.
49. See Ku Chieh-kang (1984), 71-72; Johnson, pp. 119-151.
50. Johnson, "Chinese popular literature and its context", *CLEAR* 3,2 (1981), 231.
51. Cf. Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu chi*, p. 9. I have borrowed some of Dudbridge's phrases.
52. See Ch'iu-kuei Wang, "'The Hsiao-chih Meng Chiang Chung-lieh Chen-chieh Hsien-liang Pao-chüan: an Analytical Study", *Asian Cultural Quarterly* VII, 4 (1979); David Johnson (1980), 466-500.
53. Cf. Sawada Mizuho, "Hoken to bukkyō setsuwa" 寶卷と佛教説話 reprinted in *Hoken no kenkyū* 寶卷の研究, revised ed. (Tokyo 1975), 274-75.
54. See Hu Wan-ch'uan, pp. 61-126. For *ta-no*, see Derk Bodde, *Festivals in classical China* (Princeton 1975), 75-138.
55. See Hu Wan-ch'uan, pp. 127-182; cf. Danielle Eliasberg, *Le roman du pourfendeur des demons*, Paris, 1976.
56. Glen Dudbridge (1978), 94-95.
57. Dudbridge, p. 96.
58. Cf. Piet van der Loon, "Les origines rituelles du théâtre chinois," *Journal Asiatique* CCLXV, 1 et 2 (1977), 158-62; Chao Ching-shen, "Mu-lien ku-shih ti yen-pien", in Wang Ch'iu-kuei (1980), 229-34; Ch'en Fang-ying, pp. 165-74.
59. Glen Dudbridge (1978), 97.
60. Inspired by these two articles, I have attempted a similar study in "Form *pao-chüan* to ballad: a study in literary adaptation as exemplified by two versions of the Meng Chinag-nü story," *Asian Culture Quarterly* IX, 1 (1981), 48-65.
61. See Ch'iu-kuei Wang (1977), 91-104.
62. See respectively, David Johnson (1980), 501-04; Chang Shou-lin, p. 73.
63. See A Ying 阿英 (Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un 錢杏邨), "Yü-t'ang-ch'un ku-shih ti yen-pien," in Wang Ch'iu-kuei (1980), 210. The dramatic conventions require the change of a knight-errant in the earlier versions to a villain because a *ch'ou* (clown) is needed. The famous court-room scene, "san-t'ang hui-shen" 三堂會審 is added so as to serve as the climax of the play.
64. See Jung Chao-tsu in Wang Ch'iu-kuei (1980), 99-100; Ch'ien Nan-yang in *ibid*, pp. 130-32.
65. Cf. Glen Dudbridge (1978), 96-97.
66. See Wang Ch'iu-kuei, *A study of the dramatic versions of the Lü Meng-cheng story* (Taipei 1981), 37.
67. See *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*, pp. 1-28; 32-34; 98-107.
68. Cf. Victor Mair's review of *The legend of Miaoshan* in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39 (1979), 215.
69. Glen Dudbridge (1978), 9.

