

## The Formation of the Early Versions of the Meng Chiang-nü Story\*

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The Meng Chiang-nü story is one of the best-known Chinese popular traditions. The story proper has a history of more than twelve centuries. The various versions of the story, produced in the course of its development, offer an opportunity to study, among other topics, how a story was changed in shape and emphasis as it passed down from one age to another.

The subject first received the attention of Ku Chieh-kang and his colleagues in the 1920s. The results of their research were published in the *Meng Chiang-nü ku-shih yen-chiu chi*, 3 vols. (Canton, 1928-1929). These pioneering studies offer a comprehensive survey of the historical development and geographical distribution of the story. Recently there have been several new contributions to Meng Chiang-nü scholarship, which attempt to investigate some versions and explore some aspects of the story that had escaped Ku's attention. Much, however, remains to be said, especially about the early history of the story proper.

Based on some new evidence and certain rare texts that have not previously received any detailed discussion, the present paper attempts to demonstrate how the Meng Chiang-nü story first arose as a popular tradition. Before doing this, it is necessary to introduce the story of Ch'i Liang's wife, a narrative generally held to be the historical predecessor of the Meng Chiang-nü story. Since the development of the former story has an independent interest of its own and has been treated at length by Ku Chieh-kang and his colleagues as well as by more recent scholars, for our purpose here, I shall simply quote two of its more important versions and add some explanatory notes.

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## 1. The *Tso-chuan* (左傳) Version

The *Ch'un-ch'iu* (春秋), on which the *Tso-chuan* purports to be a commentary, gives us only the bare fact that in the winter of the twenty-third year of Duke Hsiang of Lu (魯襄公, 550 B.C.), Duke Chuang of Ch'i (齊莊公, r. 562-548 B.C.) fell on Chü (莒) by surprise on his way back from Chin (晉) which he had attacked earlier in the autumn (*Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh*, 17. 1a). In the *Tso-chuan*, however, there is an account of two battles between Duke Chuang and Chü. In this account, two Ch'i warriors are introduced. They are Ch'i Liang (杞梁, also called Chih [殖]) and Hua Chou (華周, also called Huan [還]). The latter's speech made in rejection of the bribery offered by the Viscount of Chü is evocative of the concept of loyalty of warriors to their prince. However, it is the second part of this account that concerns us here. At the second battle, Ch'i Liang was captured and supposedly died. After this, a peace treaty was signed between Ch'i and Chü. Here the story goes on:

When the Marquis of Ch'i (i.e., Duke Chuang) was returning home, he met the wife of Ch'i Liang in the suburbs, and sent an officer to present to her his condolences. But she declined them, saying, "If Chih committed any offence, why should you condescend to send me any message? If he escaped committing any offence, there is the cottage of his father. I cannot listen to any condolences in the fields. The Marquis then sent his condolences to her house. (*Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh*, 17.5b-6a; James Legge, *The Ch'un ts'ew with the Tso chuen* [*The Chinese classics*, vol. 5, Hong Kong and London, 1872], 504.)

## 2. The *Lieh-nü chuan* (列女傳) Version

The development of the story of Ch'i Liang's wife can be said to have culminated in an account included in the *Lieh-nü chuan* edited by Liu Hsiang (劉向, 79-8 B.C.). This account, under the entry 'Ch'i Ch'i Liang ch'i' (齊杞梁妻), may be divided into two parts. The first part basically follows the *Tso-chuan* account. After Ch'i Liang's wife refuses Duke Chuang's condolences at the roadside, the latter goes to her house to perform the ceremony. The second part runs as follows:

Ch'i Liang's wife had no children, nor any relatives whatsoever. Since she had no place to turn to, she wailed over the corpse of her husband at the

foot of the city-wall. The sincerity of her grief was such that none of the passers-by was not moved to tears. Ten days later, the wall toppled down. After she had buried Ch'i Liang, she said, "Where can I return now? A woman must have someone to depend on. When her father is living, she depends on him. When her husband is living, she depends on him. When her son is living, she depends on him. I have now neither father, nor husband, nor son. In my husband's house, I have no one to depend on to manifest my sincerity; in my former parental house, I have no one to depend on to maintain my chastity. How can I marry a second husband? I, too, have to die." Whereupon, she went to the Tzu (濞) River and drowned herself. (4.5a)

Both traditional and modern scholars have long held the opinion that the Meng Chiang-nü story originated from the story of Ch'i Liang's wife.<sup>1</sup> The very name Ch'i Liang, the wailing of the heroine and the collapse of the wall are found in both story-traditions,<sup>2</sup> which indicates that the relationship between them cannot be fortuitous. On the other hand, the two stories are so different in historical setting that the question arises as to how one developed from the other. Most scholars find that the key difference lies in the wall that collapses in response to the wailing of Ch'i Liang's wife. While the site of the wall in question varies in the story-tradition of Ch'i Liang's wife, all versions of the story are set against the same historical background. But it is a great historical leap from either the Ch'i (齊) Wall, the Ch'i (杞) Wall or the Chü (莒) Wall to the Great Wall. For it means the story is transferred from 550 B.C. to some time during the reign of Emperor Shih-huang (221-210 B.C.).<sup>3</sup>

While traditional scholars were only able to trace the transition to the poem 'Ch'i Liang ch'i' by Kuan Hsiu (see note 1), modern scholars have found two proto-versions of the Meng Chiang-nü story, which offer earlier and stronger evidence in support of the thesis that Meng Chiang-nü is none other than Ch'i Liang's wife. These two proto-versions will be the subject of this paper.

It is interesting to note that both versions are quoted in works that survive only in fragments in manuscript form in Japan. The first version is quoted in the *Tiao-yü chi* (瑠玉集, TYC) and the source of the story is there stated to be the *T'ung-hsien chi* (同賢記, THC). This version will thus be called the THC version, or the Meng Chung-tzu (仲姿) story—after the name of the heroine as it is given there. The second version is originally

from a work entitled *Lieh-nü chuan* (decidedly a different work from the one by Liu Hsiang). It is first quoted in the *Wen-hsüan ch'ao* (文選鈔), a work now lost (see below) which, in turn, is quoted by the *Wen-hsüan chi-chu* (集注, WHCC). To avoid confusion, this version will be called the WHCC version or the Meng Tzu (姒) story—again, after the name given to the heroine there.

Both the THC and the WHCC versions have been discussed briefly by Ku Chieh-kang (1928-29, I, 45-48; III, 92-95) and at greater length by recent scholars.<sup>4</sup> But there remains much to be said. First, the works in which these two versions are found have to be described.

### The TYC and the THC

The complete book of the TYC must have comprised fifteen *chüan*,<sup>5</sup> of which only the twelfth and the fourteenth remain. The colophon at the end of each *chüan* states that the book was copied in the nineteenth year of Tempyō (天平), which corresponds to the sixth year of T'ien-pao in China (747). The date of its compilation, however, remains a problem, since the title is only recorded in bibliographical works appearing well after the eighth century.<sup>6</sup>

Both Li Tz'u-ming (李慈銘, 1829-1894) and Yamada Takao (山田孝雄), basing themselves on the contents of the remaining *chüan*, conjecture that the work was compiled towards the end of the Six Dynasties (317-589).<sup>7</sup> Nishino Teiji (西野貞治), in a recent study of the fragments of an unnamed *lei-shu* found among the Tun-huang manuscripts<sup>8</sup> (Stein, 2072), identifies the *lei-shu* with the TYC and argues that the work must have been compiled either towards the end of the seventh century or in the early eighth century.<sup>9</sup>

Of the THC, from which the TYC cites three stories,<sup>10</sup> even less is known to us. It is not recorded in any bibliography, though the fact that it is quoted in the TYC clearly indicates its *terminus ad quem*. Fortunately, some other stories from it can be found among the Tun-huang manuscripts. So far as I am able to locate, there are eight in all. One occurs as one of the appendices to the *Liu-chia t'ai-tzu pien* (劉家太子變, Pelliot, 3645).<sup>11</sup> All the other seven are quoted in the unnamed *lei-shu* mentioned above. The surviving fragments of this *lei-shu* have been described in some detail by Nishino (see note 8 above)<sup>12</sup> but nothing in particular has been said about the seven THC stories.

A table of the eleven surviving stories from the THC is given below:

	Story	Quoted in	Earlier version(s) found in
1.	An unnamed Ch'i (齊) citizen (550 B.C.?) <sup>13</sup>	TYC, 12.21b	
2.	Lord Hsin-ling (信陵君, or Wei Wu-chi [魏無忌], died 243 B.C.)	TYC, 12.24ab	<i>Lun-heng</i> , 4.178-179; <i>Lieh-i chuan</i> (列異傳) and <i>Lieh-shih chuan</i> (列士傳) <sup>14</sup>
3.	Ch'i Liang's wife (Meng Chung-tzu, fl. 221-210 B.C.)	TYC, 12.26b-27a	
4.	Sung Yü (宋玉, third century B.C.)	Pelliot, 3645; <i>Pien-wen chi</i> , 162-163	<i>Hsin-hsü</i> (新序), 5.12b; <i>Shuo-yüan</i> , 11.7a-8a <sup>15</sup>
5.	Consort Wei (衛) to Duke Huan of Ch'i (齊桓公, r. 685-643 B.C.)	Stein, 2072, folio 7	<i>Lieh-nü chuan</i> , 2.1b-2a <sup>16</sup>
6.	Mu-jung Ch'ui (慕容垂, born A.D. 327) <sup>17</sup>	Stein, 2072, folio 9	
7.	Feng T'ang (馮唐, fl. 179-141 B.C.) <sup>18</sup>	Stein, 2072, folio 10	
8.	Tuan-kan Mu (段干木, fl. 445-396 B.C.)	Stein, 2072, folio 12	<i>Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu</i> , 15.9b-10a; <i>Huai-nan tzu</i> , 19.4ab; <i>Shuo-yüan</i> , 8.20ab <sup>19</sup>
9.	Chuang Chou (莊周, c. 369 B.C.—c. 286 B.C.)	Stein, 2072, folio 12	<i>Chuang-tzu</i> <sup>20</sup>
10.	Yen Kuang (嚴光, 37 B.C.—A.D. 43)	Stein, 2072, folio 12	<i>Hou Han-shu</i> , 82. 2763-64 <sup>21</sup>
11.	Another Chuang Chou story	Stein, 2072, folio 15	'Chih-10' (至樂) chapter of <i>Chuang-tzu</i> ( <i>Chuang- tzu chi-chieh</i> , 5.2ab)

It would be beyond the scope of the present study to discuss in detail the sources of the THC stories. It is, however, clear from the table above that the THC draws much from the same works as those in which the story of Ch'i Liang's wife is transmitted. Not one of the stories is pure invention: almost every one of them is based on some historical or literary text and most of them contain new elements. We would not expect the Meng Chung-tzu story to be an exception. Most likely, it originated from the story-tradition of Ch'i Liang's wife. A traditional account of Ch'i Liang's wife is quoted immediately before the Meng Chung-tzu story in the TYC.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that the compiler of the TYC, noting the divergences between the traditional account and the Meng Chung-tzu story, asks the question: 'Which of the two renders the true facts?' (TYC, 12.27a)

The dating of the THC still remains a problem. The inclusion of the Mu-jung Ch'ui story may suggest that it was compiled later than A.D. 420. But we do not know how much later. Nor is it clear for how long the Meng Chung-tzu story had circulated before it was written down. However, if we may allow some time for the formation of a popular legend, we can perhaps roughly place the tradition of the Meng Chung-tzu story between the early fifth century and the early seventh century, the period which corresponds to the Southern/Northern Dynasties (420-589) and the Sui Dynasty (581-618). As we shall see, the story is, indeed, best explained by the historical contexts of this period.

#### The WHCC, the *Wen-hsüan ch'ao* and the *Lieh-nü chuan*

It has been generally held that the surviving fragments of the WHCC now in the collection of the Kanazawa Bunko (金澤文庫) were copied during the T'ang. There are taboos on the names of some T'ang emperors though they are only loosely observed.<sup>23</sup> This leads Lo Chen-yü (羅振玉) to wonder whether the copy was made by a Chinese or a Japanese.<sup>24</sup> It has even been suggested that the work may have been compiled by a Japanese. Such a suggestion, however, is dismissed by Shiba Rokurō (波斯六郎) who has made a careful study of the surviving fragments.<sup>25</sup>

The works quoted in the WHCC include the commentary by Li Shan (李善, 658), the *Wen-hsüan ch'ao* (鈔), the *Wen-hsüan yin-chüeh* (音決),

the commentary by 'Five scholars' (五臣) collected by Lü Yen-tso (呂延祚, 718) and notes by Lu Shan-ching (陸善經) who reportedly received a royal commission in 732 to work with other scholars on a new commentary, which, however, was never completed.<sup>26</sup> The inclusion of Lu's notes indicates that the WHCC was probably compiled after 732.

The dating of *Wen-hsüan ch'ao* is relatively a small problem though its authorship has not been decided.<sup>27</sup> The works quoted in the WHCC seem to be in chronological order.<sup>28</sup> And so we may reasonably date the *Wen-hsüan ch'ao* between 658 and 718.<sup>29</sup>

Of the *Lieh-nü chuan* from which the Meng Tzu story is originally quoted, we know nothing beyond the fact that it is cited in the *Wen-hsüan ch'ao* as part of the commentary to the expression 'peng-ch'eng' (崩城) occurring in the 'Ch'iu t'ung-ch'in ch'in piao' by Ts'ao Chih.<sup>30</sup> The bibliographical sections of the *Sui-shu* (33.978), the *Chiu T'ang-shu* (46.2006) and the *Hsin T'ang-shu* (58.1486-87) show that there were many commentaries on Liu Hsiang's *Lieh-nü chuan* as well as several independent works bearing the same title by later authors.<sup>31</sup> Since all of these have been lost, it is impossible to tell, in any given instance, which *Lieh-nü chuan* is quoted in the *Wen-hsüan ch'ao*. We may, however, take the opportunity to look into still another *Lieh-nü chuan* version of the story of Ch'i Liang's wife.

This version is quoted together with seven other stories—all said to be from the *Lieh-nü chuan*—in the TPYL (422.7a-9a). Only the first (7ab), the second (7b), the fifth (8a) and the seventh (8b) stories are from Liu Hsiang's work.<sup>32</sup> The third story (7b; about Chen-i [貞義], the wife of Yüeh Yang-tzu [樂羊子]) is from the 'Lieh-nü chuan' section of the *Hou Han-shu* (84.2792-93). The sixth story (7b-8a; about Lü Chün [呂軍], the wife of Yo Shih-an [右師安]) is found in the *I-wen lei-chü* (21.388).<sup>33</sup> The last story (8b-9a; about the mother of Chiang Hsü [姜紱]) tells of an event occurring in 211.<sup>34</sup> I have not been able to trace the story of Ch'i Liang's wife. But it seems clear that the TPYL is here quoting from various works bearing the same title.

The particular version of the story of Ch'i Liang's wife quoted in the TPYL (it is the fifth story) combines features of the 'Li-chieh' (立節) and the *Lieh-nü chuan* accounts of the story (see Ku Chieh-kang, I, 12-13) and adds a significant new episode. This episode runs as follows:

After Ch'i Liang . . . was killed, the Chü people built his dead body and

those of others into a wall as a *ching-kuan*.<sup>35</sup> His wife went to collect his corpse and wailed in front of the wall. The earth of the wall collapsed and she was, thus, able to recover the body of her husband.

殖(杞梁)……死菑人築尸城爲京觀妻往迎喪向之哭土爲之崩得喪

What follows after this episode is also different from the traditional account of the story: Duke Chuang did not meet Ch'i Liang's wife at the roadside but sent his emissary to offer her his condolences and to make arrangements for Ch'i Liang's burial.

Though no concrete evidence can be found, it is probable that of the three *Lieh-nü chuan* versions of our story, the one in TPYL is an intermediate between the other two. The most important feature of this intermediary version, certainly, is the building of Ch'i Liang's body into a *ching-kuan*. This answers, at least obliquely, Wang Ch'ung's question why Ch'i Liang's wife wailed at the wall (see *Lun-heng*, 15.659-660), since she does wail at the right place here. For a direct and full answer, we have to turn to the THC and the WHCC versions of the story.

### The Meng Chung-tzu story and the Meng Tzu story

The first appears in the 'Kan-ying' (感應) section of the twelfth *chüan* of the TYC (12.26b-27a). After having quoted the traditional version of the story, the compiler introduces 'another version':

Ch'i Liang (杞良)<sup>36</sup> was conscripted during the reign of Emperor Shih-huang (221-210 B.C.) to labour at the Great Wall in the north. Not being able to endure the hardship of the severe work assigned to him, he escaped. Wandering as a fugitive, he got into the rear garden of Meng Ch'ao's (超)<sup>37</sup> house and hid himself in a tree. Ch'ao's daughter, Chung-tzu, who was bathing herself in the pond, saw him when she lifted her head. She, therefore, addressed him by asking him who he was and why he was there. Ch'i Liang answered, "My name is Ch'i Liang. I am a native of Yen. But I was recruited to build the Great Wall. The work being harder than I could bear, I ran away and came to this place." Chung-tzu said, "It is my earnest request that you take me as your wife." Liang replied, "Your ladyship was born in a noble family and brought up in the inner chambers. As you are

further endowed with such beauty, why are you asking to be the wife<sup>38</sup> of a conscript?" Chung-tzu, then, spoke her mind, "A woman's naked body cannot be seen by two men. Please do not refuse my request." So she brought the case before her father and he consented to their marriage. After the wedding, Ch'i Liang returned to his work. The superintendent, furious at his desertion, beat him to death and built his corpse into the wall. Meng Ch'ao, not knowing that Ch'i Liang was already dead, sent a servant to replace him in the hard task. It was then that the family learnt of Ch'i Liang's death and his interment in the wall. No sooner had Chung-tzu heard the news than she, bursting into bitter sobbing, set out for the Great Wall. Upon arrival, she wailed in front of it. That side of the wall that faced her collapsed to reveal piles of blanched bones that were strewn here and there. Being at a loss as to which her husband's bones were, Chung-tzu pricked her fingers and dripped blood on the white bones, praying, "When I come to Ch'i Liang's bones, may the blood sink into them!" As she drew blood to test the bones, it turned out that when she dripped her blood on Ch'i Liang's bones, it sank into them. Whereupon, she brought them home for burial.<sup>39</sup>

The second, the Meng Tzu story, is preserved in the surviving fragments of the WHCC:<sup>40</sup>

Meng Tzu, who was not married, lived near the Great Wall. Ch'i . . .<sup>41</sup> ran away from his task and hid himself in a tree above a pond in Meng Tzu's rear garden. Tzu was amusing herself in the pond when she saw the reflection of Ch'i Liang. She then came out of the pond, confronted him and said, "Please take me as your wife." Liang replied, "I am a life-long conscript on the run. Now I am only hiding myself here. How dare I expect your noble ladyship to choose me as your husband?" Tzu said, "A woman cannot be seen by more than one man. Now that you have seen me. . .<sup>42</sup> here, how can I marry anyone else?" They then became husband and wife.<sup>43</sup> . . . .<sup>44</sup> She offered food. . . .<sup>45</sup> Later, she learnt of Ch'i Liang's death and bringing with her wine and food, she went to collect his bones. When she arrived at the foot of the Great Wall, she inquired about Ch'i Liang's body. It was then that she saw that workers were built into the wall. Whereupon, she wailed in front of it and it collapsed to reveal such confusing piles of bones that she was not able to tell Ch'i Liang's bones from those of others. She, then, dropped tears on the bones [to test them?] and her tears became blood.

Before discussing these two versions of the story, we have to note that they are most likely in summary or abridged form and that neither of them is

likely to represent the whole picture of the story circulating at the time. The two versions are identical in broad outline and in the sequence of episodes as well as in most details. It is clear that they share a common origin. The divergences between them, however, are also significant. First, we note the difference in the name of Ch'i Liang's<sup>46</sup> wife. Secondly, three characters who appear in the THC version—Chung-tzu's father, the servant, the superintendent—are missing in the WHCC.<sup>47</sup> Thirdly, Meng Tzu is specifically described as bringing with her wine and food when she goes to collect Ch'i Liang's bones. The wine and food apparently are meant to be offered to Ch'i Liang's soul. This foreshadows the offerings mentioned in the sacrificial address of the *Meng Chiang-nü pien-wen* (see *Pien-wen chi*, p. 34). Fourthly, Meng Tzu does not test the bones with blood, but with tears, though they eventually become blood.<sup>48</sup>

The differences listed above suggest that the story must have been in a fluid state of transmission.<sup>49</sup> Since neither of these two versions can be precisely dated, I shall consider them together as a composite version of the story. I shall, however, refer more often to the THC version because it tells a fuller story.

There are to be found in these two versions several features that are entirely new or quite different from those in the traditional story of Ch'i Liang's wife:

1. Ch'i Liang is brought from 550 B.C. to some time during the reign of Emperor Shih-huang (221-210 B.C.). And he is now a conscripted labourer sent to build the Great Wall, not a warrior.
2. For the first time, a name is given to Ch'i Liang's wife. She is now called Meng Chung-tzu or Meng Tzu. The surname, as we shall see in later versions of the story, has remained unchanged to the present day.
3. There is a description of their meeting, which leads to their marriage. In the traditional versions, the story only starts after their marriage. The meeting in the garden and their marriage are to be greatly elaborated upon in later versions.
4. Ch'i Liang is beaten to death because of his desertion and his body is buried in the wall. This presents a strong contrast to the traditional versions, in which Ch'i Liang dies a hero.
5. Chung-tzu or Tzu wails in front of the wall, which, in response, collapses to reveal Ch'i Liang's bones and those of other workers.<sup>50</sup>
6. She tests the bones by her blood and upon identifying her husband's

remains, takes them home for burial.

Aside from the delivering of winter clothes, nearly all the major features constituting the eventual tradition of the Meng Chiang-nü story are present here. We even have in rudimentary form such minor episodes as the father's ready consent to the marriage and his sending a servant to the Great Wall, which are preserved and developed in later versions.

In the following pages, I shall attempt to discuss these two versions in the light of relevant historical and social environments and explain how the story arose. Although both versions may have been recorded only after the Sui Dynasty, they are most likely products of a long process of transmission, so that they may be studied in the pre-T'ang historical context.

The statement of Ch'i Liang that he is a native of Yen (present Hopei) and the fact that Meng Tzu lives near the Great Wall strongly suggest that the story may have arisen in northern China. Therefore, when historical references are to be made, I shall rely mainly on the Standard Histories of the Northern Dynasties. We have, however, to bear in mind that the same theme, if not the identical story, was also to be found in the south.<sup>51</sup> On the whole, the southern people were in the same plight as the northern people. Recurring natural calamities, endless wars and forced labour afflicted them alike, so that some of the features of the story may equally well be interpreted as reflections of the life in the south. The fact remains that these two versions of the story seem to present a combination of several predominantly northern traditions.

The most conspicuous feature of these two versions is the connection of Ch'i Liang with the Great Wall. All the rest can be explained as attempts to rationalise or elaborate upon this connection.

As pointed out by Ku Chieh-kang (II, 27-41), the location of the wall that collapses varies in the story-tradition of Ch'i Liang's wife. To the common people, the Great Wall was just another wall with which they might associate the wailing of Ch'i Liang's wife.<sup>52</sup> As a matter of fact, the Great Wall should have occurred more readily to them since it was so well known. Furthermore, for them the Great Wall must have been emotionally charged ever since it was first built on a large scale during the reign of Emperor Shih-huang.<sup>53</sup> It was built with their labour and, often, cost their lives. For centuries, they had been stationed there serving both as labourers building and repairing the wall and as soldiers fighting against the northern barbarians.<sup>54</sup> This gave rise to many ballads on such themes as *Yin-ma*

*Ch'ang-ch'eng k'u hsing* (飲馬長城窟行)<sup>55</sup> and others now lost to us.<sup>56</sup>

Of the surviving ballads, I find the *Yin-ma Ch'ang-ch'eng k'u hsing* by Ch'en Lin (陳琳, died 217) to be most relevant to the present discussion. It is translated as follows:

He led the horse to drink at the hollows by the Great Wall.  
The water was so cold that it chilled the animal to the bones.  
He went to see the officer in charge of the Wall:  
"Please do not detain me, a recruit from T'ai-yüan, any  
longer."

"The work has its schedule set by the government.  
Take up your pounding stick, go, build the wall and sing in  
harmony with others."  
"As a man, I would rather die on the battlefield  
Than labour forlornly at the Great Wall."

How the Wall extends!  
It is as much as three thousand *li* in length.  
There are as many sturdy young men at the frontier as there  
are widows in the inner bowers.

He sent a letter to his wife:  
"Do not wait for my return. Go and marry someone else  
immediately.  
Serve well your new parents-in-law.  
But do think of me, your former husband, from time to time."

She sent her reply to the frontier:  
"How mean your lordship is in saying such a thing!  
When you are in peril of death at any time,  
How could I marry another man?"

Do not bring up your son.  
Feed your daughter with meat slices.  
Don't you see, at the foot of the Great Wall  
The bones of the dead are piled one on top of another?<sup>57</sup>

"When I grew up, I was married to you.  
Both my heart and my mind are tied up with yours.  
Since you have such a hard time at the frontier,  
How could I, your humble handmaid, keep body and soul together  
for long?" (YFSC, 38.2ab; *Ch'üan San-kuo shih*, 3.182)

The *yüeh-fu* poems were set to music.<sup>58</sup> And we may expect Ch'en Lin's poem quoted above and its like to have been widely popular. Though definite evidence is not to be found, it seems reasonable to conjecture that such *yüeh-fu* poems on the themes of the construction of the Great Wall and the separation of husband and wife might have influenced our story during its process of transmission. Alternatively, we may say that the name of Ch'i Liang could have been imposed on such poems in which both the hero and the heroine are anonymous.<sup>59</sup> For the ballad singers or storytellers, the third century B.C. was as good as the sixth century B.C., so long as there was a story to tell, especially one in which their audience might find an emotional outlet.

Another factor that probably contributed to the association of Ch'i Liang with the Great Wall is the construction of walls during the Northern and the Sui Dynasties. During those dynasties, the Juan-juan (蠕蠕) tribesmen<sup>60</sup> had been a constant menace to the reigning governments. The reinforcement of the existing Great Wall and the construction of new walls as bulwarks of defence became essential to national security. A brief summary of the wall-building activities may be given below:

1. In 423, a long wall was built, that extended more than two thousand *li* (*Pei-shih*, 1.34; *Wei-shu*, 3.63).
2. In 446, one hundred thousand men conscripted from four prefectures were dispatched to construct a huge rampart (*Pei-shih*, 2.58-59; *Wei shu*, 4B.101).
3. In 543, a supplementary wall to the Great Wall was built in forty days (*Pei-shih*, 6.228; *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 2.22).
4. In 552, a new wall was built, ranging more than four hundred *li* (*Pei-shih*, 7.249; *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 4.56).
5. In 555, one million eight hundred thousand workers were recruited to build a long wall that extended more than nine hundred *li* (*Pei-shih*, 7.253; *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 4.61).

It was reckoned in 556 that more than three thousand *li* of walls were built at successive stages during the reign of Northern Ch'i (*Pei-shih*, 7.253-254; *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 4.63).

6. In 557, a wall within the Great Wall, stretching more than four hundred *li*, was built (*Pei-shih*, 7.254-255; *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 4.64).
7. In 579, people from prefectures east of T'ai-hang Shan were sent to repair the walls built during the Northern Ch'i (*Pei-shih*, 10.376; *Chou-*

*shu*, 7.120).

8. During the short reign of the Sui (591-618), labourers were dispatched as many as seven times to build various walls along the frontiers.<sup>61</sup> Though the time spent on each construction was relatively short (usually from ten to twenty days) and the scale of construction relatively small (the longest wall being only seven hundred *li*), the work was, nevertheless, exacting. For example, in 607, when Emperor Yang (r. 605-617) sent one million odd men to build a wall, more than half of the workers died, though the construction lasted only ten days.<sup>62</sup>

This brief summary cannot give an adequate picture of wall-building during the Northern and the Sui Dynasties.<sup>63</sup> There were, furthermore, endless battles against the Juan-juan (*Pei-shih*, 1.13 [391]; 1.26 [409-410]; 1.29 [414]; 1.34 [423]; 2.42 [424]; 2.44 [427]; 2.44-45 [429]; 2.53 [439]; 2.56 [443]; 2.60 [449]; 2.69 [458]; 2.77 [470]; 3.88 [472]; 3.89 [472]; 3.102 [487]; 3.108 [492]; 4.133 [501]; 4.135 [504]; 4.149-150 [523]; 4.152 [525]; 5.183 [554]; 7.251 [554]; 7.252 [555]). As a result of the deaths of large numbers of soldiers, there were so many widows that in 545 prisoners were set free to marry them (*Pei-shih*, 6.229). Two thousand six hundred widows from prefectures east of T'ai-hang Shan were allotted to soldiers in 556 (*Pei-shih*, 7.253; *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 4.62).<sup>64</sup> Indeed, widows so abounded that sometimes they were sent to wall-builders (*Pei-shih*, 7.252).

The immensely long wall marking the northern boundary must also have loomed large in the minds of the people. By comparison, the wall of Ch'i or Ch'i or Chü inevitably faded into the background. 'If any wall should have collapsed because of the wailing of a wife, let it be the Great Wall!' So the people might have cried out.

It would also be natural for Emperor Shih-huang to come on the scene to represent the tyrannical rulers with their repressive military and economic measures. In order to be the hero of the new story-tradition, Ch'i Liang, of course, would have to become a conscripted labourer.<sup>65</sup> For only then could he stand for the people who suffered infinitely from forced labour.

That Ch'i Liang escapes from his post and hides himself in Meng Ch'ao's rear garden is also meaningful in the social context of the Northern Dynasties, especially when we consider it together with two other features of the story: that he is conscripted to build the Great Wall and that he declines at first Chung-tzu's or Tzu's offer to be his wife on the ground that he is a recruited labourer.

The use of the term 'i-jen' (役人) in THC or 'ssu-i' (死役) in WHCC in our story does not make it clear whether Ch'i Liang is an ordinary conscript or a manual worker strictly controlled by the government. During the Northern Dynasties, manual workers ranked lowest in the social hierarchy. They were forbidden to marry anyone above their rank.<sup>66</sup> Ch'i Liang's consciousness of his being an 'i-jen', when Chung-tzu proposes to him, inclines one to the speculation that he might be a manual worker, though this need not be the case. Being a conscript, he might decline Chung-tzu's offer simply out of modesty. His strong class-consciousness, however, is worthy of our note.

As mentioned above, constructions of the Great Wall were carried out continuously. At the same time, palaces, temples, pleasure grounds, city-walls, highways and canals were also being built.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, to meet the economic needs of the government, other works were imposed on both conscripted labourers and farmers.<sup>68</sup> As the work was exacting and the reward minimal, escapes of workers were common. We can imagine that desertion from work was not held to be despicable. Therefore, Ch'i Liang does not need to conceal the truth from Chung-tzu. The escaping workers often sought shelter with noble families.<sup>69</sup> That Ch'i Liang should appear in Meng Ch'ao's rear garden can also be explained by the particular historical context.<sup>70</sup>

We now come to the bathing scene (the meeting of Ch'i Liang and Chung-tzu) which has been so much elaborated upon in later versions. To this 'swan-maiden' theme, unfortunately, we are unable to find a parallel in other stories of the same period or earlier. However, if we compare this episode with the beginning of the 'T'ien K'un-lun' (田崑崙) story in the *Sou-shen chi* (搜神記) compiled by Kou Tao-hsing (勾道興)<sup>71</sup> (which also contains a 'swan-maiden' theme), we shall find that Chung-tzu's proposal, though made under the pretext of traditional morality, is actually an expression of free love.

Leaving aside such considerations as the rarity value of men and the loose morality of the Northern Dynasties, we have only to think of the anecdote about Queen Mother Hu (胡太后, died 528) of the Northern Wei<sup>72</sup> to understand why Chung-tzu is portrayed as such an aggressive lover. Besides, members of higher families often married beneath them. This may be construed from repeated government decrees to forbid such marriages.<sup>73</sup>

On the whole, the first part of the story (up to the marriage of Ch'i

Liang and Chung-tzu) must have sounded not only credible but also familiar to those who heard or read it at the time it was recorded. What one cannot understand is the reason why Ch'i Liang goes back to his work after the wedding.<sup>74</sup> Of course he has to go back to set the story going. And a servant has to be sent later to discover and report his death. Again, a critical reader may raise the question why Meng Ch'ao had not sent the servant earlier so that Ch'i Liang need not have gone to meet his death. But this is the way the story is told. After all, Ch'i Liang is doomed to death at the very beginning of the story.

That Ch'i Liang is killed by his superintendent may be taken as a reflection of the death of innumerable workers during the constructions of walls.<sup>75</sup> Of much more importance is that he is built into the wall. This feature, as noted above, also appears in a *Lieh-nü chuan* version quoted in the TPYL (422.7b-8a), probably earlier than either the Meng Tzu or the Meng Chung-tzu story (although no conclusive evidence for this dating can be found). I shall, therefore, discuss the feature of Ch'i Liang's interment in the wall without referring to this version as a possible source.

Regarding this feature, an account from the *Chin-shu* appears to be relevant to our discussion here:

[In 413, Ch'ih-kan A-li (叱干阿利) was appointed Chief Engineer by Hsien P'o-p'o (赫連勃勃, r. 407-424) of the Hsia Dynasty. He was in charge of the construction of the capital with one hundred thousand workers under his command.] A-li was extremely skilled and clever but was also cruel and violent. He caused the workers to bake bricks to make the city wall. [He used to test the bricks] and if an awl would bore a hole as much as an inch deep, he would have the worker [responsible] killed and buried inside the wall (130.3208).<sup>76</sup>

A variant account is found in a *Chin-shu* attributed to Wang Yin (王隱, fl. 318) quoted in the TPYL (764.5a).<sup>77</sup> In it, A-li is not mentioned and P'o-p'o is said to be the one who gave the order. It is further stated that if an awl failed to bore a hole, the awl-maker would be punished in the same way.<sup>78</sup> The story of P'o-p'o appears to have been very popular, and his name was still heard during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).<sup>79</sup> Whether the Meng Chung-tzu story took the feature of Ch'i Liang's interment in the Great Wall from the P'o-p'o story is not certain. But the parallels—the wall-construction background, the harshness and cruelty of the superintendent and

the mode of punishment imposed on the workers—are remarkable.

In any case, this feature answers directly and fully Wang Ch'ung's question. It prepares for Chung-tzu's wailing at the Great Wall and the collapse of the wall to reveal the bones of the dead. The whole episode is a skilful improvement on earlier versions of the story of Ch'i Liang's wife. Ku Chieh-kang (I, 12-14) has noted that in combining two different traditions, Liu Hsiang has left a patchiness in his narrative so that our heroine's weeping over Ch'i Liang's body appears to be at odds with other parts of the story. The THC/WHCC version, following its own order of narration, ingeniously smoothes out this discrepancy by having Ch'i Liang buried inside the wall. Thus, Chung-tzu's wailing in front of it becomes not only reasonable but also, in a sense, inevitable. Moreover, it provides the collapse of the wall with a double significance. In earlier versions, the wall only crumbles down to show the moving power of the wailing of Ch'i Liang's wife. In the Meng Chung-tzu story, a more concrete meaning is added: the wall dramatically topples down so that Chung-tzu can find Ch'i Liang's bones. The THC/WHCC version discussed above, taken by itself, is a coherent whole and, unlike earlier versions, leaves no loose ends.

The feature of the testing of bones by blood may have been taken from a popular belief that the bones of one's relative can be identified by dripping one's blood on them. Judging from the references available to us, it seems that this test was thought to apply only to blood relatives.<sup>80</sup> The Meng Chung-tzu story takes it over and extends the relationship to that of husband and wife. Since then it has become a traditional feature of the Meng Chiang-nü story.

A final point to be discussed, the taking home of Ch'i Liang's bones for burial, has so far escaped the attention of the Meng Chiang-nü scholars. This is perhaps because this particular feature has almost totally disappeared from Ch'ing versions of the story. Its significance in the Meng Chung-tzu story, however, is too important to be overlooked.

In the first place, it rounds out the story. Without it, all the foregoing incidents would lose much of their significance. In the second place, we may say that it reflects the general wish of people in the Northern and the Sui Dynasties to have their relatives who had died while on duty away from their homes decently buried. During that dark age, people died by hundreds of thousands in various constructions and wars, not to mention recurring natural calamities. The dead usually lay exposed on open ground for some

considerable time. This can be inferred from repeated government decrees to dispose of the bones of the dead.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, this ending has both literary and historical significance. The same ending is found in several Ming versions of the story,<sup>82</sup> but its predominance is most clearly seen in the pre-Sung era. The compiler of the TYC, when quoting from the 'Ch'un-ch'iu', even adds that Ch'i Liang's wife went to collect her husband's remains and take them home (12.26a), although this is not mentioned—at least, not explicitly—in the original. The *Meng Chiang-nü pien-wen* (*Pien-wen chi*, p. 34) also ends with Chiang-nü putting the bones on her back, presumably to take them home for burial.

In the foregoing discussion, I have attempted to show that the Meng Chung-tzu story fits into the historical context of the Northern and the Sui Dynasties. Upon analysis, the story also discloses rich social-economic interest relating to that age. On the one hand, it is an elaboration upon earlier versions; on the other, it reflects the actual events of the time. However, information at our disposal is so meagre that I have not been able to date the story more precisely.

I have also tried to demonstrate that, though clothed in terse classical language, the story shows many signs of active participation by the common people in its evolution. By deviating once and for all from the literary text, the Meng Chung-tzu story opens up possibilities for further development and becomes a model for later versions in which there will be scope for different historical contexts, literary conventions and local characteristics to lend it new significance. The THC/WHCC version marks the end of the embryonic stage of the Meng Chiang-nü tradition. With it, a new story-tradition is born to the enrichment of Chinese popular literature.

## Notes

1. For the views of the traditional scholars, see Ho Meng-ch'un (何孟春, 1474-1536), *Yü-tung shih-hua* (餘冬詩話, Hsüeh-hai lei-pien ed.), A.2b-3b; Ch'en Chiang (陳絳, chin-shih, 1544), *Chin-lei tzu* (金罍子) quoted in Wang Shih-chen (王士禎, 1634-1711) comp., *Wu-tai shih-hua* (五代詩話, YYTTS ed.), 8.29b-30b; Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), *Jih-chih lu* (日知錄, SPPY ed.), 25.12b-13b; *Shan-tung k'ao-ku lu*, 26b-27b; Ch'ien Tseng, *Tu-shu min-ch'iu chi* (讀書敏求記, edition of 1795 by Li Shen-ven [李沈炎]), 2.33a-34a; Chu Shu (朱書, 1657-1707), *Yu-li chi-ts'un* (遊歷記存, Wen-ying-lou yü-ti ts'ung-shu [問影樓與

地叢書] ed.), 22b-23a. Cf. Ku Chieh-kang (1928-29), I, 58-60. Traditional scholars have noticed that the transition starts with the poem, 'Ch'i Liang ch'i' ( 杳梁妻 ) by Kuan Hsiu ( 貫休, 832-912), in which Ch'i Liang's wife is transferred from 550 B.C. to some time during the reign of Emperor Shih-huang (221-210 B.C.), and the wall that collapses in response to her wailing is changed to the Great Wall (Kuan's poem is collected in *Ch'an-yüeh chi* ( 禪月集, Chiku-ko [ 汲古閣 ] reprint of 1240 edition), 1.3b-4a, also YFSC, 73.1b; CTS, 12.9306). Consequently they deplore Kuan's lack of historical knowledge. Modern scholars hold their opinion in a more positive way, since they understand that a legend need not be faithful to history. Of them, Ku Chieh-kang is the first to assert that 'Meng Chiang-nü is Ch'i Liang's wife in the *Tso-chuan*' (Ku [1928-29], I, 1). Lu Kung (pp. 4-5) is the only one who challenges such a view. But his challenge seems to be based on ideological grounds. In the 'Meng Chiang-nü hsün-fu ku-shih' ( 尋夫故事 ) included in *Chung-kuo min-chien wen-hsiieh shih ch'u-kaio* ( 中國民間文學史初稿 ), 2 vols., a joint effort by students of the class of '55 at the Chinese Department, Peking Normal University (Peking, 1957), I, 338, the authors endorse the established view with some reservation. But in the 'Meng Chiang-nü' *shih i-chu ts'un-ju fan-fa ti ta tu-ts'ao*, also the work of a team, Lu Kung's argument is thoroughly condemned (pp. 35-39), and the traditional view upheld. The Meng Chiang-nü story, the authors contend, was 'transplanted' from the Ch'i Liang story (p. 3).

2. The chastity of Ch'i Liang's wife and her suicide are also features that appear in several later versions of the Meng Chiang-nü story. But since the former is not emphasised and the latter not found in the two versions to be described below, we need not attach any importance to either of them here.
3. For the construction of the Great Wall during the reign of Emperor Shih-huang, see *Shih-chi*, 6.252, 253, 256; 88.2566. For a detailed study, see Huang Lin-shu, pp. 1-184. Various 'great walls' were in existence before the Ch'in. For a discussion of them with references to the Ch'in Great Wall, see Huang Lin-shu, pp. 185-208.
4. Notably by Iikura Shōhei (1958), 77-79; (1961), 136-161; Ogawa Yoichi, pp. 30-33.
5. The *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* by Fujiwara no Sukeyo (died 898), lists *Tiao-yü* ( 瑠玉 ) in fifteen *chüan*, under section 20, 'Tsa-chuan chia' ( 雜傳家 ), p. 10. The *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu* ( 崇文總目 ) by Wang Yao-ch'en ( 王堯臣, 1041), however, lists it under the section 'Lei-shu' ( 類書 ) and describes it as consisting of twenty *chüan* (YYTTS ed., 3.60a). Both *T'ung-chih* (69.24a) and *Sung-shih* (207.15a) follow *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu*.
6. See note 5 above. The *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* was probably compiled during the second half of the ninth century (see Ohase Keikichi [ 小長谷惠吉 ], *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku kaisetsu kō* [ 解說稿, Tokyo, 1936, 8-10]; cf. P. van der Loon, 'On the transmission of Kuan-tzu', *T'oung-pao* 41, 4/5 [1952], p. 369, n. 3). All the other works appeared much later.
7. Li, *Yüeh-man-t'ang jih-chi* ( 越縵堂日記 ) (Taipei, 1963 facsimile rpt. of original

- manuscripts), p. 8210; Yamada, *Kaisetsu* to the twelfth *chüan* of TYC (*Koten hōzonkai fukuseisho* [ 古典保存社複製書 *jed.*, Tokyo, 1933], first page. Besides the *kaisetsu*, Yamada has earlier published a study of the influence of TYC on Japanese literature, in which he points out eleven quotations from TYC in two Japanese works. Of the eleven, only one is found in the two extant *chüan* of TYC. See his 'Chōgyokushū tō hompō bungaku' ( 瑠玉集と本邦文學 ), *Geibun* ( 藝文 ) 15, 11 (1924), 10-12 and supplement to the same, 16, 6 (1925), 57.
8. These manuscripts were found early this century.
  9. Nishino, pp. 60-69, esp., pp. 61-66.
  10. Besides the story of Ch'i Liang's wife (12.26b-27a), there are the story of an unnamed citizen of the Ch'i state (12.21b) and the story of Lord Hsin-ling of Wei ( 魏信陵君 , 12.24ab). Page numbers here refer to the *Ku-i ts'ung-shu* ( 古逸叢書 ) edition by Li Shu-ch'ang ( 黎庶昌 ) (Tokyo, 1884). Nagasawa Kikuya ( 長澤規矩也 ), 'Koitsu sōsho no shimpyōsei ( 信憑性 ) ni tsuite', in *Uno Tetsuto sensei hakuju shukuja kinen Tōhogaku ronsō* ( 宇野哲人先生白壽祝賀紀念東方學論叢 ) (Tokyo, 1974), pp. 777-790, has pointed out the defects of *Ku-i ts'ung-shu* and considers it unreliable as a collection of reprints. Yamada, in his *kaisetsu*, has carefully compared the *Ku-i* text with that of the *Koten hōzonkai* facsimile reprint and found that there are both deliberate changes and accidental omissions in the former. Though my discussion is based on the facsimile reprint, I find it convenient to refer to the *Ku-i* edition which is paginated.
  11. Edited and reprinted in *Pien-wen chi*, pp. 162-163.
  12. Nishino (pp. 61-62) gives a correct table of all the stories in Stein, 2072. He, however, miscounts the number of stories quoted from THC. He says six (p. 63) while there are actually seven.
  13. The background of the story is the preparation of an attack by the Ch'i state on the Wei state. During the Ch'un-ch'iu period (841-476 B.C.), Ch'i attacked Wei several times. See *Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh*, 3.17b (691 B.C.); 3.18a (666 B.C.); 17.1a (550 B.C.); 30.17b (478 B.C.) for example. My choice of 550 B.C. here is arbitrary. It is the year in which the story of Ch'i Liang's wife is also set. Though I have not been able to trace the origin of the story of the anonymous Ch'i citizen, two of its main features are found respectively in two earlier stories given in the *Lun-heng*: one about Crown Prince Tan of Yen ( 燕太子丹 , 5.225-226), another about Tsou Yen ( 鄒衍 , 5.229; 15.660). Both Tsou Yen (fl. first quarter of third century B.C.) and the Ch'i citizen look up to heaven and let out a sigh when they are sentenced—one to prison, the other to death. Heaven shows its mercy on both Prince Tan (died 226 B.C.) and the Ch'i citizen by returning the sun to its noon position. The returning of the sun seems to have been first introduced in the *Lun-heng*. It is not found in the biography of Prince Tan in *Shih-chi* (86.2528-38; cf. 34.1561). The story of Tsou Yen, first recorded in the *Huai-nan tzu* (quoted in commentary to the *Hou Han-shu*, 57.1856, n. 5; not found in extant editions), has often been cited together with the story of Ch'i Liang's wife. See *Lun-heng*, 5.229; 15.660; *Hou Han-shu*, 57.1856 (cited in a memorial by Liu Yü [ 劉瑜 ] in 165); 'Ch'iu t'ung-ch'in ch'in-piao' in *Wen-h*

- hsüan, 37.10a. Another version of the Tsou Yen story, attributed to Lei-lin ( 類林 ), is also found in the 'Kan-ying' section of TYC (12.20b), where Tsou Yen is, however, sentenced to death, as the Ch'i citizen. For still another version of the Tsou Yen story, see note 65 below.
14. The *Lieh-i-chuan* ( 列異傳 ) has been lost, but the story is preserved in TPKC, 460.3772, under the title 'Yao Wei kung-tzu' ( 鶴魏公子 ). It is collected in *Ku hsiao-shuo kou-ch'en*, 249. (For *Lieh-i chuan* and its author, see Fu Hsi-hua, 'Liu-ch'ao chih-kuai hsiao-shuo chih ts'un-i' [ 六朝志怪小說之存逸 ], *Han-hsüeh* ( 漢學 ) 1 (1944), 170-171; cf. Lin Ch'en ( 林辰 ) 'Lu Hsün Ku hsiao-shuo kou-ch'en ti chi-lu nien-tai chi so-shou ko-shu tso-che' ( 輯錄年代及所收各書作者 ), *Wen-hsüeh i-ch'an hsüan-chi* 3 (Peking, 1960), 393-394. The gradual development of the story can be seen from the number of hawks caught by order of Lord Hsin-ling. In the *Lun-heng*, it is a few dozen; in the *Lieh-i chuan* it grows to more than two hundred; in the THC, it increases to several thousand. For Lord Hsin-ling's biography, see *Shih-chi*, 77.2377-85. The story is not found there. It may be noted that the THC gives his surname as 'Pi' ( 畢 ), the original name of the Wei house (see *Shih-chi*, 44.1835). A variant version of the story attributed to the *Lieh-shih chuan* ( 列士傳 ) is quoted in the *I-wen lei-chü* (91.1589) in which the number of hawks caught is also said to be more than two hundred. The same is quoted in the TPYL (926.8ab) in which the number is changed to more than three hundred. A *Lieh-shih chuan* in two *chüan* attributed to Liu Hsiang is recorded in the *Sui-shu* (33.976). But is not certain whether the version quoted in *I-wen lei-chü* and TPYL came from Liu Hsiang's book.
  15. The THC version combines features of both the *Hsin-hsü* and the *Shuo-yüan* versions. It may be noted that one of the references to Ch'i Liang's wife occurs precisely in the *Shuo-yüan* version of this story.
  16. The story is a simplified version of the *Lieh-nü chuan* account.
  17. Mu-jung is the founder of the Hou Yen ( 後燕 ) Dynasty (in 384). The story is not found in his biography in either *Chin-shu* (123.3077-90) or *Wei-shu* (95.2065-68) or *Pei-shih* (93.3070-72). The story refers to him at a man of the Chin Dynasty (265-420).
  18. Feng T'ang is a famous minister during the reign of the Han Emperors Wen and Ching. The story, again, is not found in his biography in either *Shih-chi* (102.2757-61) or *Han-shu* (50.2312-15).
  19. The *Shuo-yüan* version is quoted verbatim from the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. The THC version combines features of both the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* and the *Huai-nan tzu* versions. Another version of the story can be found in the *Kao-shih chuan* ( 高士傳 ) by Huang-fu Mi ( 皇甫謐 , 215-282), *Lung-hsi ching-she ts'ung-shu* ( 龍溪精舍叢書 ) ed., B.3a. This version is less elaborate than the THC version. Both, however, take 'Tuan' ( 段 ) as the surname and 'Kan-mu' ( 干木 ) as the given name. The correct reading seems to be 'Tuan-kan Mu'. See *Shih-chi*, 63.2142, and the *Chi-chieh* ( 集解 ) commentary quoted in *ibid.*, 63.2143, n. 1. Tuan-kan Mu is also mentioned in *Shih-chi*, 4.1839; 121.3116.
  20. The story is originally from the 'Ch'iu-shui' ( 秋水 ) chapter of *Chuang-tzu*. See

- Chuang-tzu chi-chieh* by Wang Hsien-ch'ien (王先謙, 1909), Han-fen-lou facsimile rpt. of the original edition, 4.26ab. For the dates of Chuang Chou, cf. Ch'ien Mu (1956), I. 269-271. A variant version of the story is contained in the brief biography of Chuang Chou in *Shih-chi* (63.2143-45). The story is also included in the *Kao-shih chuan* (B.2b-3a). The *Kao-shih chuan* version seems to draw from both the *Chuang-tzu* and the *Shih-chi* versions. The THC account appears to be a simplified version of the *Kao-shih chuan* story.
21. Though varying in detail, the *Hou Han-shu* biography of Yen Kuang and the THC account are almost identical in the sequence of the narrative. There seems to be no doubt that one of them is derived from the other or at least that they share a common origin. An earlier account of Yen Kuang is indeed found in the *Kao-shih chuan* (C. lab). But it does not contain some of the details found in both the *Hou Han-shu* and the THC. It is more likely that the THC account is based on the *Hou Han-shu* biography.
  22. See TYC, 12.26ab. Though the account is said to be cited from the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, it is nearer to the *Li-chi* version in both the outline and the details.
  23. The taboo on the name of T'ai-tsung (r. 627-649) is consistently observed but that on the name of Hsüan-tsung (r. 713-755) is not. No taboos are observed on the names of Kao-tsu (r. 618-626) or Kao-tsung (r. 650-683). See Chang Shou-lin (張壽林), 'T'ang hsieh Wen-hsüan Wu-ch'en chu pen ts'an-chüan pa' (唐寫文選五臣注木殘卷跋), *Wen-hsüeh nien-pao* (文學年報) 7 (1941), 127.
  24. Lo, 'Jih-pen ku hsieh-pen (日本古寫本) *Wen-hsüan chi-chu ts'an-chüan pa'*, rep. in *Lo Hsüeh-t'ang hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi, ch'u-pien* (羅雪堂先生全集初編), 24 vols. (Taipei, 1968), I, 368.
  25. Shiba, 'Bunsen shohon no kenkyü' (文選諸本の研究) in *Bunsen sakuin* (索引), 3 vols. (Kyoto, 1957), I, 84.
  26. See *Chi-hsien chu chi* (集賢注記) by Wei Shu (韋述, died 757), quoted in *Yü-hai* (玉海), comp. Wang Ying-lin (王應麟, 1223-1296), Taipei, 1964 facsimile rpt. of 1337 edition, 54.8b. For Lu Shan-ching and his works, see Niimi Kan (新美寛) 'Roku Zenkei no jiseki (事蹟) ni tsuite', *Shinagaku* (支那學) 9, 1 (1937), 131-148, esp., pp. 140-145. Cf. Lo Hung-k'ai (駱鴻凱), *Wen-hsüan hsüeh* (文選學) (Shanghai, 1937), 70. For a discussion of the early commentators to the *Wen-hsüan*, see Lo Hung-k'ai, pp. 42-73.
  27. It has generally been held that Kung-sun Lo (公孫羅) is the author of this work. Little is known about Kung-sun Lo who is briefly mentioned as a *Wen-hsüan* scholar following the account of Li Shan (died 689) in the *Chiu T'ang-shu* (189A.4946). His works include *Wen-hsüan yin* (音) in ten *chüan* (*Chiu T'ang-shu*, 47.2077; *Hsin T'ang-shu*, 60.1621, where it is given as *Wen-hsüan yin-i* [音義] as in *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 189A.4946), and a commentary on *Wen-hsüan* in sixty *chüan* (*Hsin T'ang-shu*, 60.1621). Two different titles are listed under his name in the *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku*. They are *Wen-hsüan ch'ao* in fifty-nine *chüan* and *Wen-hsüan yin-chüeh* (音決) in ten *chüan* (see p. 21 under section 40, 'T'ung-chi chia' [總集家]). Lo Hung-k'ai (p. 45) suggests that these two titles may have been the original titles of Kung-sun's works recorded in the

- two *T'ang-shu*. The information supplied in the *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* convinces Lo (pp. 45, 70) and other scholars (see Shiba, p. 103, n. 16) that both the works quoted in WHCC are by Kung-sun Lo. Shiba (pp. 85-86), after comparing quotations from these two works in WHCC, finds, however, that the divergences between them are such that it is doubtful whether these two works could have come from one hand. He also finds evidence in WHCC, which indicates that besides Kung-sun Lo, there was another person who may have been involved in the compilation of *Wen-hsüan ch'ao*.
28. Cf. Shiba, p. 85. It has to be pointed out that quotations from one work are sometimes mixed up with those from the other (Shiba, p. 102). This, however, does not occur in the particular case that concerns us here.
  29. Cf. Iikura (1961), 138.
  30. See WHCC, *Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Bungaku-bu keiin kyūshōhon* (京都帝國大學文學部景印舊鈔本) ed. (Kyoto, 1935), 73.27b-28a. The radical '亻' of 傳 is missing in the manuscript, having probably been destroyed by insects. The other side of the character, though not altogether clear, is recognisable as '專'. There is hardly any doubt that this character must have been '傳'.
  31. Cf. Wang Jen-lu (王仁祿), *Chin-ch'uan Hsi-Han shih-chi k'ao* (今傳西漢史籍考) (Taipei, 1972), 106-107.
  32. See *Lieh-nü chuan*, 4.7b-8a; 5.1a; 5.9ab and 5.6ab respectively.
  33. *I-wen Lei-chü* also attributes the story to a *Lieh-nü chuan*. It has 君 instead of 軍 for the name of the heroine, and 'Ku' 古 instead of 'Yo' 古 for the surname of her husband.
  34. See *San-kuo chih*, 36.946.
  35. The term '*ching-kuan*' is first mentioned in the *Tso-chuan* in a conversation between Prince Chuang of Ch'u (楚莊王, r. 613-591 B.C.) and P'an Tang (潘黨), which took place in the twelfth year of Duke Hsüan (魯宣公, 597 B.C., see *Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh*, 11.7b-8a). According to Tu Yü (杜預, 222-284), the term refers to the practice of piling up the bodies of enemies killed on the battlefield and covering them with earth (see *ibid.*, 7b). Yeh Shih-ku (顏師古, 581-645) explains *ching-kuan* as a mound (*ching*) in the shape of a look-out tower above a gate (*kuan*) (commentary to *Han-shu*, quoted in *Han-shu*, 84.3439, n. 3). The *ching-kuan* serves both as a monument of victory and as a punishment to the enemies (by denying them proper burial). For a detailed discussion of this term, see Liu Wen-ch'i (劉文淇, 1789-1854), *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih chuan chiu-chu shu-cheng* (舊注疏證) (Peking, 1959 ed.), 714.
  36. The change from 梁 to 良 appears to be a mistake made by the copyist, since the same mistake is found in the '*Ch'un-ch'iu*' account quoted immediately before the THC version (see 12.26a). It cannot serve as evidence of the oral provenance of different variants as suggested by Riftin, p. 78.
  37. 'Ch'ao' (超) is copied as 'Ch'i' (起) when it occurs again later (26b; 27a).
  38. The character 匹 which I translate as 'wife' here cannot be identified—it appears to be a corruption of 'p'i' (匹, match). In the context, its meaning, however, is clear enough.

39. A French translation can be found in Siao-yü, 'Recherches sur Mong Kiang niu', *Sinologica* 1 (1948), 192. An English translation of the latter part of the text can be found in A. W. Hummel, *The autobiography of a Chinese historian, being the preface to a symposium on ancient Chinese history (Ku shih pien)*, Leiden, 1931, pp. 130-131.
40. WHCC, 73.28a. The work is also available in a reprint by Lo Chen-yü (*T'ang-hsieh Wen-hsüan chi-chu ts'an-pen*, Tokyo, 1918), which is, however, full of defects (see Shiba, pp. 84-85; p. 103, n. 15). The original manuscripts apparently are not preserved in a good condition. There are a few lacunae in the text, resulting in the loss of some details. Most of them, however, can be reconstructed in the light of relevant contexts.
41. There is a lacuna here. In the space of seven characters, what we have is only the lower left part of the fifth character. This part suggests that the character must have been 'chu' (築, build). We may conjecture that at this point Ch'i Liang is conscripted to build the Great Wall.
42. I cannot make out the three characters between 'ch'ieh' (妾, here translated as 'me') and 'tz'u' (此, here). But they clearly refer to what Meng Tzu is doing in the pond.
43. A more faithful translation of the sentence 'Sui yü-chih chiao' (遂與之交) might be: 'She, then, had intercourse with him.'
44. Again, there is a lacuna of seven characters. Probably, Ch'i Liang's return to his post is related here.
45. It is not clear whether the food is offered to Ch'i Liang or to gods (at the wedding ceremony?).
46. We may note that 'Liang' in the WHCC follows the traditional graph 梁 while it is changed to 良 in the THC. This, however, is only a casual mistake made by the copyist. Cf. note 36 above.
47. And, of course, the related episodes are also missing. It is not clear whether these may have been omitted by the compiler of *Wen-hsuan ch'ao* or WHCC when quoting the story.
48. The feature of tears turning into blood may have been inspired by the story of Pien Ho (卞和) of Ch'u (fl. second half of the eighth century B.C.), who is said to have wept first tears and then blood when one prince after another to whom he presented a priceless piece of jade mistook it for a piece of ordinary stone. The story is first recorded in the *Han Fei tzu* (SPTK ed., 4.6b), elaborated upon in the *Huai-nan tzu* (19.12a) and quoted in the *Lun-heng* (15.656-657).
49. Cf. Iikura (1961), 141.
50. This feature is also found in the *Lieh-nü chuan* version quoted in TPYL, which, however, does not mention other workers. In any case, since the date of this version is uncertain, we cannot tell whether this feature may have originally come from it.
51. The story of Ch'i Liang's wife, especially the features of wailing and of the collapse of the wall, was also popular in the south, as attested by the poem 'Ch'i Liang ch'i' by Wu Mai-yüan (YFSC, 73.1ab) as well as by the reference in the

- 'Kung wu tu-ho' by Liu Hsiao-wei (YFSC, 26.3b) and in the fourth of the fourteen 'Ao-nung ko' (YFSC, 46.1b). It was also not uncommon for southern poets to write on themes originally arising in the north. The best example is 'Yen-ko hsing' (燕歌行, YFSC, 32.3a-5a).
52. It may be noted that from Han-tan Ch'un's 'Hsiao-nü Ts'ao 0 pei' to Yü Hsin's 'Yung-huai' (see Ku Chieh-kang, I, 43-44; Cf. Ogawa Yoichi, 22-24), the wall has never been specified in the references to the story.
  53. Cf. note 3 above.
  54. Cf. *Shih-chi chi-chieh* quoted in *Shih-chi*, 6.255, n. 7. The *Chi-chieh* refers specifically to criminals who were condemned to be 'wall navvies' (城旦, 'ch'eng-tan'). But in later ages, common people were also conscripted to build the wall (see below).
  55. Pre-T'ang specimens are preserved in YFSC, 38.1b-3b.
  56. Judging from the remark made by Chia Chüan-chih (賈捐之) in 48 B.C., 'The songs of the Great Wall have never ceased up to now' (長城之歌至今不絕, *Han-shu*, 64B.2831), there must have been innumerable songs or ballads on the Great Wall.
  57. These four lines are also found with slight variation in the *Wu-li lun* (物理論) by Yang Ch'üan (楊泉, third century), *P'ing-chin-kuan ts'ung-shu* (平津館叢書) ed., 14a. The original work, comprising sixteen *chüan* (*Hsin T'ang-shu*, 59.1511), has been lost. The four lines are quoted in *Shui-ching chu*, 3.7b. It is probable that they were originally part of a popular ballad.
  58. Cf. Wang Yao (王瑤), 'Yüeh-fu shih' (樂府詩) collected in *Yüeh-fu shih yen-chiu lun-wen chi* (研究論文集), ed. Editorial Board of Tso-chia ch'u-pan she (作家出版社) (Peking, 1957), 1-2.
  59. Cf. Ku Chieh-kang (1928-29), I, 24-27, 47.
  60. For these, see *Pei-shih*, 98.3249-67.
  61. See *Sui-shu*, 1.15 (*Pei-shih*, 11.405); 84.1865; 60.1448; 1.23 (*Pei-shih*, 11.412); 1.25 (*Pei-shih*, 11.413); 3.70 (*Pei-shih*, 12.450); 3.71 (*Pei-shih*, 12.451). These occurred respectively in 581 (twice), 585, 586, 587, 607 and 608. Cf. Huang Lin-shu, pp. 259-264.
  62. See *Sui-shu*, 3.70. *Pei-shih* (12.450) and *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* (180.5632) have 'twenty' instead of 'ten' days.
  63. For a detailed study of the construction of the Great Wall during the Northern and the Sui Dynasties, see Wang Kuo-liang, pp. 38-58; Huang Lin-shu, pp. 236-284.
  64. It is said that many whose husbands were still alive were also taken away.
  65. Iikura (1958, pp. 78-79; 1961, p. 141) has noted a parallel development of another story, that is, the Tsou Yen story mentioned above (see note 13). In the WHCC version, Tsou Yen becomes a cowherd (73.28ab). The WHCC gives the source as *Shih-chi*, which, however, does not record such a story.
  66. See *Pei-shih*, 2.72 (*Wei-shu*, 5.122); *Pei-shih*, 3.94 (*Wei-shu*, 7A.145). For a discussion of the position of manual workers in the Northern Dynasties, see Wang Yi-t'ung, 'Slaves and other comparable social groups during the Northern

- Dynasties (386-618)', HJAS 16, 3-4 (1953), 344-347; T'ang Chang-ju (唐長孺), 'T'o-pa kuo-chia ti chien-li chi ch'i feng-chien-hua' (拓拔國家的建立及其封建化), collected in *Wei Chin Nan-Pei ch'ao shih lun-ts'ung* (論叢) (Peking, 1955), 236-239; 'Wei Chin chih T'ang kuan-fu tso-ch'ang chi kuan-fu kung-ch'eng ti kung-chiang' (魏晉至唐官府作場及官府工程的工匠) in *Wei Chin Nan-Pei ch'ao shih lun-ts'ung*, *hsü-pien* (續編) (Peking, 1959), 41-51; Li Chien-nung (李劍農), *Wei Chin Nan-Pei ch'ao Sui T'ang ching-chi shih* (經濟史) (Peking, 1963), 56-58.
67. See *Pei-shih*, 1.17, 19, 23-24, 31-32; 2.43, 48, 66; 3.93, 95-96; 4.133; 5.188, 190; 6.228; 7.253, 255; 8.283, 292; 12.440, 443, 448, 450, 461.
68. See *T'ung-tien*, 2.4a-5a; 4.14a-15a. For more details, see T'ang Chang-ju (1959), 43-44; 48-51.
69. See *Pei-shih*, 46.1688 (*Wei-shu*, 78.1724); *T'ung-tien*, 7.26a. Cf. Wang Chung-lo (王仲榮), *Wei Chin Nan-Pei ch'ao Sui ch'u-T'ang shih* (Shanghai, 1961), 412-414.
70. Cf. Iikura (1961), 149-152. Iikura considers the escape into the rear garden (後園, 'hou-yüan') a reflection of the 'chuang-yüan (莊園) system', for a history of which from the Han to the T'ang, see Katō Shigeshi (加藤繁), 'Tō no shōen no seishitsu oyobi sono yurai ni tsuite' (唐の莊園の性質及び其の由來に就いて) rep. in *Shina keizaishi kōshō* (支那經濟史考證), vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1952), 225-230.
71. Collected in *Pien-wen chi*, 882-885. The *Pien-wen chi* text is edited from three different manuscripts: Stein 525, 6022 and Pelliot 2656.
72. It is said that the Queen Mother was so enamoured of the son of one of the Wei generals, Yang Hua (楊華), that she forced him to become her lover. After he escaped to the Liang, the Queen Mother, unable to forget him, composed a doleful song and ordered the court ladies to sing it day and night while stamping their feet (*Liang-shu*, 39.556-557; quoted in YFSC, 73.6a).
73. See note 66 above.
74. There is an article in the Wei law which states that 'Those runaways who are pardoned shall be condemned as before if they do not report themselves within the deadline' (quoted in *Wei-shu*, 111.2884). We may perhaps offer the conjecture that Ch'i Liang returns to his post because he has received a pardon for his desertion.
75. Cf. *Sui-shu*, 3.70; 24.676; *T'ung-tien*, 7.24b.
76. The translation is based on Joseph Needham's in Needham *et al.*, *Science and civilisation in China*, vol. 4, part 3 (Cambridge, 1971), 42. I have, however, used the Wade-Giles system of romanisation and corrected one mistake in Needham's translation. He translates 'chui' (錘) as 'a hammer', whereas it actually means 'an awl'. I have, therefore, replaced the phrase 'if a hammer blow would make a depression' with 'if an awl would bore a hole'. The year should be 413 instead of 412 as given by Needham. This account is also recorded in *Pei-shih*, 93.3064, where A-li is not mentioned.
77. It is unlikely that Wang Yin could have written this account, though he did compile a *Chin-shu* which has been lost. This work originally comprised ninety-three *chüan*, but by the time *Sui-shu* was compiled, only eighty-six *chüan* remained (*Sui-shu*, 33.955). There is a biography of Wang Yin in *Chin-shu*,

- 82.2142-43. It may be noted in passing that Wang Yin Chin-shu is also one of the works quoted in TYC (14.40b).
78. See also *Chin-lüeh* (晉略) compiled by Chou Chi (周濟, 1838), SPPY ed. 'Kuo-chuan' (國傳), 9.2b, where, however, A-li appears again.
79. Tradition during the Ming attributed the Wall of Ning-hsia (寧夏城) to P'o-p'o. It is said the wall was 'as hard as iron and stone and therefore unattackable'. See *Wu tsa-tsu*. 4.111.
80. See the Ch'en Yeh (陳業) story from *Kuei-chi hsien-hsien chuan* (會稽先賢傳) by Hsieh Ch'eng (謝承, third century), quoted in TPKC, 161.629 (the relation is that of two brothers); the Sun Fa-tsung (孫法宗) story in *Sung-shu*, 91.2252 (*Nan-shih*, 73.1808); the Hsiao Tsung (蕭綜) story in *Liang-shu*, 55.824; the Wang Shao-hsüan (王少玄) story in *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 188.4921 (*Hsin T'ang-shu*, 195.5579-80). The relation is that of father and son in the last three stories. Cf. Ikura (1961), 140-141. The belief was so widespread that even Chao I (趙翼), in his *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao* (陔餘叢考, preface 1790), considers it to be true (Shanghai, 1957 ed., 27.567).
81. See *Pei-shih*, 2.76; 4.133, 136, 147; 9.335. Even so, there were many bones that remained unattended to and arrangements to have the bones buried were made by the government during the early T'ang. See *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 2.34 (*Hsin T'ang-shu*, 2.29; *Tzu-chih t'ung chien*, 192.6049); 3.40 (*Hsin T'ang-shu*, 2.31); 3.41 (*Hsin T'ang-shu*, 2.32; *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, 193.6087); also *Hsin T'ang-shu*, 1.11.
82. See *Ku Chieh-kang* (1928-29), I, 53-56.

### List of Works Cited

The following list includes only works cited more than once or twice. Bibliographical details of all works not included here are given in the main text or relevant notes.

### ABBREVIATIONS

- CTS            *Ch'üan T'ang shih* (全唐詩). Peking, 1960 edition, 12 vols.
- Hsün-fu chi*    *Meng Chiang-nü wan-li hsün-fu chi* (孟姜女萬里尋夫集).  
Ed. Lu Kung (路工). Shanghai, 1955, new edition, 1957.
- Pien-wen chi*   *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* (敦煌變文集). Ed. Wang Chung-min (王重民) *et al.* Peking, 1957.
- SPPY            *Ssu-pu pei-yao* (四部備要).

- SPTK            *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* (四部叢刊).
- TPKC            *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* (太平廣記). Peking, 1959 edition, 5 vols.
- TPYL            *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (太平御覽). SPTK edition.
- TFSC            *Yüeh-fu-shih chi* (樂府詩集). Comp. Kuo Mao-ch'ien (郭茂倩, early twelfth century). Facsimile reprint (Peking, 1955) of Sung edition.
- YYTTS          *Yüeh-ya-t'ang ts'ung-shu* (奧雅堂叢書).

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Comp. Ting Fu-pao (丁福保). Peking, 1959 edition.
- Hsin-hsu* (新序). Ed. Liu Hsiang (劉向, 79-8 B.C.). SPTK edition.
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(呂不韋, d. 235 B.C.). SPTK edition.
- Meng-tzu* (孟子). SPTK edition.
- Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* (日本國見在書目錄). By Fujiwara  
no Sukeyo (藤原佐世, d. 898). Facsimile reprint in *Kōten hozonkai  
fukuseisho* (古典保存會複製書). Tokyo, 1925. Also critical  
edition by Ohase Keikichi (*q.v.*).

- Shan-tung k'ao-ku lu* (山東考古錄). By Ku Yen-wu (顧炎武), 1616-1682). 1882 reprint by Shan-tung shu-chü (山東書局).
- Shuo-yüan* (說苑). Ed. Liu Hsiang (79-8 B.C.). SPTK edition.
- Sung-shih* (宋史). SPTK *Po-na* edition.
- T'ung-tien* (通典). By Tu Yu 杜佑 (801). Facsimile reprint (Shanghai, 1902) of 1749 Palace edition.
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In the case of all Standard Histories except *Sung-shih*, references are to the Chung-hua punctuated edition.

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