

Utopian Motifs in Chinese Fiction of the Seventeenth Century: The Theme of the Search for a Blissful Land*

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Every people has had its own ideas about happiness, about that bright, faraway world where eternal good and joy supposedly exist, and about the paths leading to this "promised land." Ideas about a utopian world of joy and bliss have taken various forms at different periods depending on the state of development of the spiritual life and accordingly, on the level of culture of the bearers of such a dream. Such ideas could be quite naive and closely linked with religious and mystical views of the world. In the West during the Middle Ages and later centuries, theologians (and others as well) argued about what this blissful land where Christ resided was like. It was sought in Mosopotamia, China, Japan, and in various regions of the then still mysterious New World, "beyond the mountains in far corners of the earth."¹ What this particular paradise was like and where it was located was discussed by the religious reformers Luther and Calvin and written about by the celebrated theologians Benedict Pererius, the Jesuit Juan de Pineda (16th-17th cen.) and others. New ideas which were far from being clerical and were generally schismatic entered the argument with the theological theories of the happy land the fathers of the church were propagating; particularly those of Giovanni Domenico (as a monk, the famous Tommaso Campanella) who developed ideas about a Utopia, or for example, the freedom-loving and heretical views of Cyrano de Bergerac about a paradise on the moon. The controversy continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the course of time as religious ideas became offensive, they grew more and more detached

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from purely secular and philosophical conjectures and theories. Religious dreams gradually gave way to sensible theories about Man and the ideal world in which Man should live. The Voltarian heroes of the philosophical stories, the strange Chinese Altangi, a Citizen of the World, and his conventional world which Oliver Goldsmith wrote about—all these are variations of one and the same dream of an ideal life and man in it.

Utopian theories of a blissful land and happy life existed in Russia, especially during the Dark Ages of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² They were widespread in the East.³ China too did not go without them. Here dreams of another faraway, happy world were rather complex. The traditional notion of an almost real past, a kind of "Golden Age" of the reigns of Yao and Shun developed. Within the limits of this idea were realized as a rule Confucian political and ethical ideas of a rational life. However, visions of antiquity were nourished not only by orthodox ideas; they were embodied in their own way in theories distinct from the purely Confucian orthodox concepts. Parallel to this there developed Taoist utopias of a faraway but quite tangible happy world, existing somewhere in the sea on the island of Penglai (a Chinese variant of the legendary islands of Ophir, Thyle, Atlantis, etc., spoken of in the West). In later centuries Buddhist theories about a Buddhist Heaven, the so-called "Pure Land," where righteous people supposedly went, spread significantly, as well as eschatological theories of the followers of Chinese Manichaeism (明教, *Ming-chiao*). Along with this as in the West (true, to a lesser extent), secular utopian ideas associated of course with traditional concepts but distinguished by greater sobriety and rationalism opened the way.⁴ As a rule, these were the theories of the New Age.*

Utopian ideas usually appear and develop in restless times and often nourish freedom-loving, heretical thought. It is well known that utopias (including religious and mystical) were reflected in the appeals of Christian movements and in the activity of secret societies in the West. In China similar ideas also flourished in the Dark Ages, for example at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵ This was a particularly restless period, one filled with social traumas. People were in a state of confusion

* New Age is a translation of the Chinese term chin-tai (近代) and generally refers to the period 1840-1919.

and fear, constantly expecting changes. During this time they reflected on the causes of the changes being stirred up in the world. Men's minds were in ferment. It is not surprising, therefore, that ideas of a philosophical, theological nature took on special significance.

The disorder and instability of the existing forms of life and society compelled people to search for their own formulae and schemes of life which were often quite subjective and imprecise. Searches for the ideal stirred philosophers and religious thinkers, but each reacted in his own way. For the enlightened philosophers such an ideal took the form of a certain social utopia (for example, the discussions of Ku Yen-wu [顧炎武] and Huang Tsung-hsi [黃宗羲] on wise government). Theosophical thinkers (such as the Buddhist preacher Chu Huang) interpreted it within the framework of the Buddhist idea of the "Pure Land." Among representatives of the Taoist doctrine and those close to this philosophy, fantastic scenes of a Taoist Heaven came to the fore. Searches for the ideal held a special place in the teachings of the secret societies popular at this time. Numerous sects such as the "Doctrine of the Red Sun," "The Doctrine of the Yellow Sky," etc. spread semi-mystical ideas of quests for present and future earthly happiness, of "The Pure Land," "The Land of Light," and the expectation of the Buddhist Maitreya Messiah or the Bright Sovereign Ming Wang.⁶ If one considers the nature of the epoch (the break-up of the empire and the subsequent foreign rule of the Manchus), it becomes clear that the idea of "quests" could not but conceal in itself oppositional, freedom-loving thought. Similar theories about happiness of earth or in a future life, even painted in religious tones in all their speculativeness, objectively contained ideas of protest (such as the seditious activity of the White Lotus and Triad sects,⁷ etc.). It is not surprising that many of the originators of these ideas, in both the period of Ming rule and in the Manchu epoch, were looked upon as seditionaries and their works considered models for schism and for that reason were destroyed (that similar works were widespread speaks indirectly of the existence of "counter"-works, that is, works intended for the fight against sedition).⁸

Men's dreams of a blissful life and a happy world embodied in the theme of quests for a "happy land" found reflection in literature, particularly in the prose of the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The theme was not new. It has a direct bearing on the problem of the development of traditional plots (particularly, themes

of the "Peach Blossom Spring"). At the same time this theme was tied to its age. In the seventeenth century there appeared a few works of varied nature in which the idea of quests for a blissful land and paths to a happy life (for example, the idea of the Peach Blossom Spring is developed in the discourses of the prominent men of letters Yuan Hung-tao [袁宏道] and Wang Wan [汪琬]) occurred in one form or another.⁹ The very development of the theme of "quests" in various genres testifies to the fact that this literary phenomenon is a reflection of the widespread processes taking place in the spiritual life of the Chinese.

The appearance of the theme of "quests" in the fiction of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is significant. It is well-known that at this time, along with works of a traditional character (romances, fairy tales, etc.) there arose stories and novels of a religious-philosophical content. The simple eventful, entertaining quality of the action gives way here to discourses on life and man or implies them. These works are filled with rather complex ideas: religious-philosophical, Moral-ethical, and social. Such a phenomenon is symptomatic. It testifies to the greater maturity and variety of the fiction itself and likewise to the profound conditionality of its life. The epoch gave birth to problems which found reflection in the literature; the ideas which had been born earlier were revived and suffused with new substance. Evidently at this very time important tendencies were forming in literature, on the basis of which the social-allegorical, satirical, and denunciatory works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries subsequently grew. Among them one can mention such novels as *Traces of Immortals* (綠野仙踪) or the allegorical novel *Flowers in the Mirror* (鏡花緣) of Li Ju-chen (李汝珍). It was in this literary field that the theme of quests for an ideal and quests for a happy land developed.

The theme of "quests" was realized in various ways. In some cases it seemed to take the form of tales and legends. Such, in their simplicity and artlessness are the stories (evidently they are much older) in which the Taoist theme of blissful people, celestial beings, who have come to earth to bring happiness to others was developed. Through contacts with them, simple mortals see clearly and having attained enlightenment of the soul, go off to another world, a bright, happy world of eternal bliss, becoming immortals. Often this world is the well-known island of Penglai. Similar stories developed as purely fanciful works, such as Feng Meng-lung's (馮夢龍) tale "Old Chang Who Cultivates Melons and Takes to Wife the

Daughter of Wen Yu (張古老種瓜娶文女).¹⁰ The origin of this work in particular points to its fanciful nature (it is mentioned in "Records of the Talks of an Old Drunkard" under the title of "Fanciful Notes of the Old Man Who Planted Melons" (種叟神記);¹¹ the Sung story in its turn dates back to the T'ang short story of Li Fu-yen [李復言], "Chang Lao" [張老]).¹² In this there are indeed many elements of the fantasy.

Typical for example is its poetical prolog in which is recounted the legend of the deities in charge of snowfall. It is symptomatic that the deities are of a Taoist origin.

"Three deities are in charge of snowfall. Which three deities are these? Ku She Chen-jen, Chou Ch'iung-chi and Tung Shuang-ch'eng. Chou Ch'iung-chi is in command of Fu-jung village. Tung Shuang-ch'eng is in charge of a glazed vessel in which are kept flakes of snow. Whenever dense purple clouds cover the sky, Ku She Chen-jen takes a stick of yellow gold, knocks out a snowflake and a foot of snow falls."¹³

This fantastical prolog is organically connected with the basic story. The Taoist gods in the prolog predetermine the fairytale character of the heroes of the subsequent narrative and the corresponding fairytale structure of the whole story. The plot of the tale is this. Wei Shu serves as a groom for Prince Wu. In the stable there is a white horse, Jade Lion. One snowy night the horse disappears. Wei Shu sends guards out to search for it and by following the tracks, they find it at Old Chang's. Chang, a strange and amazing man, grows melons right on the snow. He sends several fine melons as a gift to Wei. Wei goes to visit the old man and finds that Chang is already eighty years old, but is spry, cheerful, and strong and even intends to marry Wei's daughter. Indignant, the groom departs. Some time later Chang sends over a matchmaker, and Wei, in order to get rid of the importunate suitor, sets the price at one thousand strings of cash. Nevertheless, the old man sends over the money, and Wei has no choice but to give him his daughter.

The first part of the narrative is a kind of fantastic preamble with various adventures. It unfolds in a way similar to many other stories of this period. Here poetic invention dominates, embodied in the form of an engaging fantastical plot with a religious touch.

Later the plot develops in this way. Wei's son decides to get rid of the impudent old man. He goes to Chang's house and lays bare his sword, preparing to do away with him. But the sword breaks to pieces. Again

Wei's son goes to the old man but finds neither him nor his sister at home. They have disappeared, leaving behind a note telling where to find them.

This note is an important detail of the plot in that it makes the "quest" dependent not on chance, but to a certain extent on some certainty, on the influence of another power. The young Wei searches for Chang and comes in contact with the life of immortals. He sees some kind of other world. One should add that this world is described quite abstractly. All that is known is that it is a place of mighty nature and wonderful palaces. Its name is quite remarkable—Peach Blossom Village.¹⁴ Such a coincidence with the well-known story of T'ao Yüan-ming is hardly accidental. In the story the theme of quests for a blissful world is interpreted in a very special way. However, it is developed not so much on a philosophical as on a fantastical plane.

Wei returns to his own world, which is natural since he himself had never been searching for the "blissful land." He came upon it by chance and so does not deserve eternal bliss. But just one contact with this world adds twenty years to Wei's lifespan since a day spent in Peach Blossom Village is equal to twenty years of ordinary life.

The narrative about Chang is a story of a land of happiness and eternal joy. Who the inhabitants are, how they live, and what they do is almost unknown to us. As in the poetic story of T'ao Yüan-ming, the man from Wu-ling also sees a wonderful world, but it too lacks concrete details. What matters, however, is that the inhabitants of this world are kind and human, "calm and full of a certain unaffected gaiety."¹⁵ There is hardly any need here for concrete details. They would only destroy the fragile dream which the man was having. Actually, who is Chang? As a man he is somewhat unusual, but as a god, he is all too human. It is quite possible that not long ago he was a simple peasant (it is not by chance that he grows melons) and was rewarded immortality for his virtue. It is clear from the story that not only do gods live in this world, but mortals regularly appear here too. At the end of the story, for example, we learn that the daughter of the groom and an apothecary, a friend of Chang who flies off to the blissful land on a crane, become celestial beings. Of course the reader doesn't believe all he reads but is charmed by the artless story about the happy land where one can go even in life, a story in which his hope is reflected.

The story of Chang is very poetic but quite naive. The theme is not developed here but only sketched.

A more precise outline of the theme of "quests is found in the story "Righteous Li Goes Alone to the Cloud Gates" (李道人獨步雲門).¹⁶ One senses not only a fairytale quality but also its "philosophy." The heroes and their deeds no longer depend entirely on secret powers. Their actions are to a significant degree conditioned by their own ideas and motives. A clever chance of action in the first story gives way to a definite sequence in the second. From this arises the "philosophical" tone of the whole work. The plot of the story dates back to a short story from the T'ang "Collection of Records of Extra-ordinary Events" (集異記) of Hsieh Yung-jo (薛用弱). The exact time of the writing of the story is not known. Judging by the well-ordered structure of the plot and the artistry of the details, one can suppose that it is of a later origin. In that case the idea itself is "contemporized." The plot of the work in brief is this.

Li Ch'ing, the owner of a dye shop and the head of a clan, lived a long and righteous life and won a reputation for his honesty and goodness. All his life he strove to comprehend the Way, i.e., Tao. Sensing the approach of death, Li Ch'ing wants before he dies to go to the world of immortals and see how they live. Attempts are made to dissuade him but he has his own way and goes to P'i Mountain where according to legend there is a gap through which spirits mingle with mortals. Li descends and finds himself in a deep stone well from which it is impossible to escape. He begins to suffer from hunger and sates it with clay which appears edible. Overcoming all obstacles, Li Ch'ing finally lands in the secret world, striking for the brightness of its colors and the splendor and beauty of nature. He sees people who seem ordinary but at the same time differ from simple mortals. Li violates the secret rules of this world and so has to leave. He returns to the people not as an exile but as a defender of sufferers. When he dies (he is already nearly 200 years old), Li Ch'ing again sets off for this secret, blissful world.

The story is striking in its many details. First of all, the hero himself is interesting: he is not only a simple mortal but in general is a "simple," ignorant man—a merchant. Li Ch'ing or Righteous Li (Li Tao-jen, as he is called) is carried away by his quest for the Tao (Way). For this he practices "inner cultivation" that is, he cultivates the sprouts of good qualities in himself. Apparently this gives simple mortals the chance to join celestial beings. Characteristically, no monk, scholar nor official joins them, but

only an "ordinary" person. This is no accidental detail. To a certain extent it is conditioned by the world view of the author who links his ideals with the potentialities and merits of the "ordinary" man. A similar view (which we have already encountered in separate T'ang stories) was especially characteristic of the democratic literature of this epoch. Such was Li Ch'ing. He is kind and sympathetic, energetic and active. He searches for the ideal, his Tao, and for the Way to a better life. For this, Li Ch'ing is ready to endure all kinds of adversities, surmount all kinds of obstacles (the gap at the Cloud Gates which according to popular belief was a place where evil spirits reside), and even go to his death. ("He who searches for the Tao forever risks death," he says. And also: "He who hesitates will lose the ability to understand the Way. Is it then possible to overcome the ordinary and escape the filth?") Li's efforts are crowned with success. He finds his blissful and happy land which turns out to be truly wonderful. This is how this world is described:

"And suddenly beyond the tops of the trees he could see roofs of houses covered with tiles glittering with gold and turquoise. He did not know where he was. He rushed ahead to look, and there before him stood blood-red gates surrounded by a platform of jade-white stone. It consisted of nine levels each more than a *chang* (丈, over ten feet) high. There were no steps, so one had to cling to the liana and clamber up as best one could."¹⁷

The roofs of the palaces, which glittered in the sun and soared upward as if to touch the clouds, were amazing. The huge columns of the buildings were covered with graceful and elegant carvings. Azure balustrades of agate, light chiselled rafters encrusted with tortoise shells were stunning in their unearthly beauty. In the midst of all this magnificence revolved a pair of golden phoenixes—*luan* (鸞) and black storks; white deer and red unicorns walked together. Thus the author's fantasy paints an elegant picture of a blissful world. Russian peasants created similar beautiful pictures in their imaginations dreaming of the faraway land of Byelovod: All kinds of earthly fruit existed in abundance; wine and millet and other countless sweets were grown; and there was gold and silver, precious stones and beads.¹⁸

Li Ch'ing does not stay here. A wise old man whom he happens to meet says that Li Ch'ing's fate is tied up with the people. "The primary virtue is saving people (度人, *Tu jen*)." This is what he should do. The

term "saving people," like the words "dusty soul" "world of dust," etc., are of Buddhist origin, but this does not mean that the significance of the story lies only in an understanding of Buddhist ideas. Of course the influence of Buddhist thought is very strong here, as is the Taoist current. (It is not without reason that besides the Taoist principles of the blissful world of immortals and blissful people, Chuang-tze and the story of the skeleton come to life are also discussed here.) The fusion of Buddhist and Taoist ideas into a complex alloy is a phenomenon quite widespread in the fiction of this period. At the same time there is much in the story which corresponds to the usual longing for a better life one finds in every people and is not necessarily connected with religious concepts. This we see toward the end of the story. Li Ch'ing returns to the people. Characteristically he returns not as an all-powerful saint, but as a simple man—true, a man who has grown wise with experience and has grasped the secret of Existence. "I'm not saintly!" he says. "I can't predict the future. Haven't you ever heard the story of the duckweed fruit and the bird called the *shang-yang* (商羊) that Confucius spoke of? He simply heard a children's song one day and made a conjecture that happened to tally." Li Ch'ing speaks neither of spirits nor of saints. He talks about the solution of life being in life itself and in people themselves. And he returns to the people as if in order to help them understand this. Characteristically Li Ch'ing returns no longer as a merchant (it is even said that he stopped amassing money), but as a doctor. He doctors the wounds of the people and helps them find the Way of Life. At bottom, this Way is the way of activity useful to the people. (From the beginning the religious idea here is gradually "profaned.") The happy land is transformed into a place where men look for and find a fount of wisdom which they can take to the people. It is in the power of each individual to do this, for as it is said in a poem in the story "every mortal can become a celestial being, but people just don't want to improve themselves."

In the stories of the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries it is difficult to find such clear and distinct social ideas. There is not even a well thought out picture of the world or society in them. All these works are in their own way varieties of a wonderful tale (many of which are connected by their origin with popular fantasies and folklore).¹⁹ But this is already more than a tale. It is a meditation on the happy life and happy man, clothed in fairytale attire.

The theme of quests for a "blissful land" was given a different development in such a great work of the seventeenth century as Ch'en Ch'en's (陳忱) novel *Tale of the Water Margin Continued* (水滸後傳, *Shui-hu hou-chuan*). Here already almost everything is real, and there is not such a fairytale atmosphere as permeates the semifolkloric stories and tales. In the novel the author's idea is distinctly traced and his sympathy and antipathy distinctly felt. These can be explained by the motives for the writing of the work. Ch'en Ch'en lived during the time China was under the grip of the Manchus. Like many other patriotically minded people, he did not recognize the new dynasty but neither did he join in the active fight against the Manchus. Ch'en Ch'en took monastic vows and became a recluse. To a certain extent this action testifies to the political convictions of the writer as well as to his national feelings. Ch'en Ch'en's friendship with Ku Yen-wu, an active fighter against the Manchus, and his participation with Ku in the creation of the Ching Yin Poetry Society (驚隱詩社, Startled Solitude Poetry Society) likewise point to this.

Water Margin Continued is a multifaceted novel, concerned in particular with the development of the theme of "quests." It is symptomatic that Ch'en Ch'en turns to the plot of *Water Margin* (水滸傳) and thereby revives as it were the rebellious spirit which permeated all the works of Shih Nai-an (施耐庵). The theme of a journey, which found reflection in works of this time (for example, the novel *Cheng Ho's Journey to the Western Ocean* [三寶太監下西洋]), is also developed in the novel.

The plot of the novel *Water Margin Continued* is this. The heroes of Liang Shan Po who have survived under the leadership of Li Chün, seeing that nothing has changed in the Middle Kingdom, and the court and the sovereign remain as before in the power of corrupt officials like Kao Ch'iu and T'ung Kuan, again start a war. But after suffering defeat from powerful enemies, they are forced to quit their homeland. The heroes flee to the south to an unknown land. There they hope not only to hide from their enemies but also set up a government founded on justice. They find the "happy land" somewhere in Siam, the residents of which proclaim Li Chün their sovereign. From then on the country achieves greatness and the people prosperity. "The winds grew calm, and the people remained in joyful tranquility. It was indeed a time of greatness and peace." The happy country of Li Chün maintains ties with the Middle Kingdom, though

later (when the government of the Sung dynasty comes to an end) these are interrupted.

Thus the novel ends, and the feeling remains with the reader that this country still exists somewhere and could be found. What was this "promised land" like? At the basis of the picture of the society painted by the author, we see a complicated system of traditional ideas of an earthly paradise. First of all, the idea of a benevolent and rational government is realized, though the pragmatism of this generally Confucian idea is to a significant extent shaken by elements of humanity, democracy, and the writer's own world view. Other interspersions are also clearly evident in the novel (Taoist visions of a bright world of immortals and elements of Buddhist thought).

What are the main features of the benevolent rule of Li Chün? First of all, Ch'en Ch'en does not envisage a government without order, embodied in the single will of the monarch. Thus one of the heroes, Yen Ch'ing, says, "Just as in the family there is a master, so in the nation there is a sovereign. He alone must govern." There is great admiration on the part of the author for the person of the sovereign. This is apparent in his relation to the weak-willed emperor Hui Tsung, one of those guilty in the national tragedy. For the author, however, he is beyond criticism. "Now, here is Emperor Hui Tsung, doctrinal leader and lord of the Way, greatly gifted and intelligent by nature, a master of all the forms of poetry and learned in all the teachings of the ancient masters."²⁰ All misfortunes come from the flattering officials who "lie and slander, promoting evil in the sovereign." So, at the head of the government stands the sovereign whose power is great though not unlimited. There could not be "nine herdsmen for ten goats." But the sovereign, despite being the embodiment of order is not a despot. Through the mouth of Yen Ch'ing, the author says, "All under heaven belongs to all under heaven, not just to one man. When a wise and enlightened man inherits the throne, heroes spring forth in great number. In the times of Yao and Shun the throne was not handed over to the sons but to the wise."²¹ These ideas are not given distinct development in the novel but are still remarkable in themselves. What sort of man was this Li Chün who became such a sovereign? Several characteristics of the hero draw our attention. First of all, he does not inherit or usurp the throne. He receives it from the hands of his subjects and the people—an original, democratic resolution to the problem of rule. One sees in Li Chün neither

a despot nor a usurper but rather a man capable of defending the country who can make the people happy. However, the hero himself declines rule, considering that since he is a man of the common people, a fisherman, he is not worthy of this honor. In his time Li Chün had "refused official duty and retired to Tai Hu where he lived happily." The deserts belong not so much to him as to his friends. Li Chün's origins are also interesting. That he is a "simple fisherman" is of course self-abasement. But what is important is something else. Li Chün, the hero of Liang Shan Po, is a rebel, fighting against an evil regime and consequently refusing service. Such a man chooses to be leader in order, as he says, to continue the work of Sung Chiang. All this gives an unexpected new meaning to the traditional notion of benevolent rule.

How does Li Chün rule? First of all, he is very modest and in no way stands out among his subjects. Once he becomes a sovereign, he does not want to live in a palace but plans to settle in a commander's tent. He respects the traditions and often performs the prescribed ceremonies and services in the monasteries. At the same time Li Chün is very democratic and "makes merry with the people." He is humane and good. Fulfilling the behests of judicious government, Li Chün realizes his ideas, beginning with the family, for "Human relations begin with husband and wife, and benevolent rule begins at the women's chambers," and this harmony spreads to the family and the nation. Indeed "all kinds of edicts were issued by means of which a barbarian region is transformed into a country of fame and culture."²² Li Chün, establishes relations with other states, and the King of Korea even comes to visit him. Thus is emphasized the might of Li Chün's government and in it the qualities projected of the ideal ruler, a defender of orphans and the oppressed, the creator of order, a kind of "deliverer." (In this respect, the image of Li Chün is not far from the idealized type of the "deliverer-king"²³ popular in the West.)

In Ch'en Ch'en's novel, besides the earthly plane, there is a fairytale plane in the framework of which certain Taoist ideas are realized. The people in this blessed land live to a ripe old age and "die without ailments" (a phrase from both the Taoist and Buddhist lexicon when they describe the death of a saintly man. A few inhabitants, having grasped the Truth, become immortal. They are "inspired" (羽化, *yü hua*), a purely Taoist term, symbolizing association with the assembly of immortals. Li Chün who in his old age "cultivates Tao," lives to be 120. He and his subjects

see the comprehension of Tao first of all in the establishment of a rational, good, and humane government which is a kind of symbol and embodiment of the dream of the author and his contemporaries of the "promised land."

We have systematically presented the development of the traditional theme of "quests for a happy land" in Chinese narrative fiction of the seventeenth century. Like any scheme, it is conditional. However, it permits us to divide up the stages in the movement of this theme. Further study of this question will create the possibility of expanding the range of our conceptions of the Chinese variant of the idea of a "promised land." (Translated by Jeanne Kelly)

Notes

1. On this see in particular I. E. Duncan, "Paradise as the Whole Earth," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, (1969), p. 175; *Utopias and Utopian Thought*, ed., M. Miffittin, Cambridge, 1966.
2. See K. V. Chistov, *Russkie narodnye sotzial'no-utopicheskie legendy* (Russian folk social-utopian legends), Moscow, 1967.
3. On the nature of utopian views in China, India, the countries of Islam and others, see "Egalitarnye i utopicheskie traditcii na vostoce" (Egalitarian and utopian traditions in the East), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, No. 5 (1968). On the eschatological ideas in the countries of Iranian culture, see, for example, I. S. Braginsky, *Iz istorii Tadzhikskoi narodnoi poezii* (From the history of Tadzhik folk poetry), Moscow, 1956, pp. 103-104 and others.
4. *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa), No. 5, (1968), p. 46.
5. On the spiritual atmosphere of the epoch, see, D. N. Voskresensky, "Osobennosti Kul'tury Kitaia v XVII veke i nekotorye tendentzii v literature" (Characteristics of the culture of China in the 17th century and a few tendencies in the literature), in the collection, *XVII vek v mirovom literaturnom razvitii* (XVII century in world literary development), Moscow, 1969. The contents of many utopian theories of the Modern Era is set forth in connection with activity of the sects in, for example, *Tainye obshchestva v starom Kitae* (Secret societies in old China), Moscow, 1970 (articles by E. B. Porshneva, L. A. Borovkova, V. P. Illiushechkin and others).
6. Hsiang Ta (向達), *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an yü Hsi-yü wen-ming* (唐代長安與西域文明, Chang-an in the T'ang dynasty and the civilization of the Western region), Peking, 1957, p. 602 and others; Wu Han (吳晗), "Ming-chiao yü Ming ti-kuo" (明教與明帝國, Manichaeism and the Ming empire), in *Tu-shih cha-chi* (讀史札記, Notes on the history of China), Peking, 1956.
7. See L. V. Simonovskaia, *Antifeodal'naia bor'ba kitaiskikh krest'ian v XVII veke* (Antifeudal wars of Chinese peasants in the 17th century), Moscow, 1966, p. 109 and others. On the activity of the sects one can read E. B. Porshneva,

- “Podiom antiman'chzhurskogo dvizheniia v Kitae pod rukovodstvom tainykh obshchestv (konetz XVIII—nachalo XIX v.)” (The rise of anti-Manchu movements in China under the leadership of the secret societies [end of 18th—beginning of 19th cen.]), in the collection *Man'chzhurskoe vladychestvo v Kitae* (Manchurian dominion in China) (articles of A. S. Kostiaeva, B. M. Novikov, E. B. Porshneva and others).
8. T'an Cheng-pi (譚正璧), *Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo fa-jan shih* (中國小說發展史, History of the development of Chinese fiction), Shanghai, 1935, p. 323.
 9. See L. Z. Eidlin, *Tao Yuan-ming i ego stikhotvoreniiia* (Tao Yuan-ming and his poetry), Moscow, 1967, pp. 454, 455.
 10. Feng Meng-lung (馮夢龍) *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo* (古今小說, Stories old and new), Peking, 1958, Story 33.
 11. Lo Yeh (羅燁), *Tzui-weng t'an-lu* (醉翁談錄, Notes of conversations of a drunken old man), Shanghai, 1957, p. 4.
 12. On the genesis of this work, see, A. N. Zhelokhovtzev, *Hua-ben'-gorodskaia povest' srednevekogo Kitaia* (Hua-pen—urban stories of China of the Middle ages), Moscow, 1969, pp. 142-143.
 13. Feng Meng-lung, p. 488.
 14. In distinction from the story, the novel of Li Fu-yen is striking in the wealth of details of the “happy world,” which the story lost, acquiring, however, a more artistically developed plot. (See *Tänskie Novelly* [T'ang short stories], Moscow, 1960, p. 141). As for the name “The Peach Blossom Village,” this figures in the story, but not in the novel.
 15. L. Z. Eidlin, p. 433.
 16. Feng Meng-lung, *Hsing-shih heng-yen* (醒世恆言, Lasting words to awaken the world), Peking, 1957, story 38.
 17. Feng Meng-lung, p. 815.
 18. K. V. Chistov, p. 258.
 19. See A. N. Zhelokhovtzev, p. 143, 146.
 20. Ch'en Ch'en (陳忱), *Shui-hu hou-chuan* (水滸後傳, Tale of the water margin continued), Peking, 1956, p. 2.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 364.
 23. See K. V. Chistov, p. 28, 29. (True, K. V. Chistov speaks about the Middle Ages, but by its nature the idea is related to a later time.)