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## A Medieval, Central Asian Buddhist Theme in a Late Ming Taoist Tale by Feng Meng-lung

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A Medieval, Central Asian Buddhist Theme  
in a Late Ming Taoist Tale by Feng Meng-lung

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For Patrick Hanan, *Meistergelehrte* of Ming-Ch'ing fiction.

ABSTRACT

Feng Meng-lung's<sup>a</sup> (1574-1646) *Stories from Yesterday and Today* (*Ku-chin hsiao-shuo*<sup>b</sup>) includes a short story entitled "Chang Tao-ling Seven Times Tests Chao Sheng" ("Chang Tao-ling ch'i shih Chao Sheng"<sup>c</sup>). One of the most memorable episodes of the story is a contest of supernatural powers between the Taoist master Chang Tao-ling and Six Demon Kings. At first glance, the structure, development, and even some of the minutiae of the episode are remarkably similar to the celebrated contest of supernatural powers between Śāriputra and the Six Heterodox Masters recounted in the "Transformation [Text] on the Subduing of Demons" (*Hsiang-mo pien[-wen]*<sup>d</sup>) from Tun-huang dating to around the middle of the eighth century. Consequently, several scholars have suggested that the Ming tale must have borrowed the contest episode from the transformation text. This poses the puzzle of how Feng Meng-lung had access to the mid-T'ang Buddhist tale from the far western reaches of China since the latter seems to have disappeared from circulation by the first third of the eleventh century. The contest between Śāriputra and the Six Heterodox Masters is also to be found in an earlier collection of Buddhist tales, *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* (*Hsien-yü ching*<sup>e</sup>) (compiled in 445 on the basis of materials gathered in the Central Asian city of Khotan) which is a part of the Chinese Buddhist canon and would thus have been available to Feng Meng-lung. Yet, upon closer examination, the nature and arrangement of the episode's incidents in "Chang Tao-ling Seven Times Tests Chao Sheng" are not as close to those of the contest in the "Transformation Text on the Subduing of Demons" and in *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* as they are to transformational encounters in such late Ming novels as *Investiture of the Gods* (*Feng-shen yen-yi*<sup>f</sup>) and *Journey to the West* (*Hsi-yu chi*<sup>g</sup>). Hence, we

may say that the ultimate, but not the immediate, source of inspiration for the contest of supernatural powers in "Chang Tao-ling Seven Times Tests Chao Sheng" is the Buddhist tale about Śāriputra and the Six Heterodox Masters. Furthermore, inasmuch as the contest of supernatural powers is not included in any of the standard Taoist hagiographical accounts concerning Chang Tao-ling or his disciple Chao Sheng which constituted the primary materials for "Chang Tao-ling Seven Times Tests Chao Sheng", Feng seems to have picked it up from other sources, perhaps strictly oral, which have not been preserved for us.

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To trace the far-reaching effects of Central Asian Buddhist themes upon Chinese popular literature, let us examine a story entitled "Chang Tao-ling Seven Times Tests Chao Sheng" ("Chang Tao-ling ch'i shih Chao Sheng"; hereafter "Chang Tao-ling"). It is to be found in *Stories from Yesterday and Today* (*Ku-chin hsiao-shuo*) by Feng Meng-lung (1574-1646), the famous late-Ming collector, editor, and publisher of popular literature.<sup>1</sup> Also called *Illustrious Words to Admonish the World* (*Yü shih ming yen*<sup>a</sup>), this is the first in the well-known trilogy of short story collections by Feng collectively referred to as the *Three Words* (*San yen*<sup>i</sup>).

Chang (Tao-)ling<sup>j</sup> (34-156) is familiar to history as the founder of one of the first Taoist cults in Szechwan (and, indeed, in the whole of China), the Five Pecks of Rice Movement (*wu dou mi tao*<sup>k</sup>). This later evolved into the Way of the Heavenly Masters (*t'ien-shih tao*<sup>l</sup>) as the result of a revelation from the Supreme or Most High Lord Old (T'ai-shang Lao-chün<sup>m</sup>), the deified form of the Old Master (Lao Tzu<sup>n</sup>), to Chang Tao-ling in 142 CE. The organization was also called Orthodox One (*cheng-yi*<sup>o</sup>, i.e., "Correct and Unique") after the name of the revelation. From the eighth century, the Celestial Masters were installed on the Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Lung-hu shan<sup>p</sup>) in Kiangsi province, where they were derisively referred to by Western missionaries in late imperial and Republican times as "Taoist popes". Most branches of religious Taoism trace their origins to this revelation which established Chang Tao-ling as the first Heavenly Master.

Chang Tao-ling had thousands of followers and many disciples, but his two closest associates were Wang Ch'ang<sup>q</sup> and Chao Sheng<sup>r</sup>. While both Wang Ch'ang and Chao Sheng are shadowy figures, it would appear that the former was attached to Chang Tao-ling from a point early in his career, while the latter was accepted as an intimate only late in the master's life. "Chang Tao-ling" recounts the difficult trials that the master puts his new disciple through in order to ensure that he is made of "the right stuff".

Near the beginning of the story in question, evil spirits (actually a rival religious leader and his followers) have brought harm to humankind. The Taoist Supreme Lord commissions Chang Tao-ling to subdue them. Here follows the translation of the entire episode:

In the first year (142 CE) of the Han Peace reign period of the Emperor Shun, on the fifteenth night of the first month, the True Man<sup>2</sup> man was sitting alone in his retreat<sup>3</sup> at Crane Call Mountain when he suddenly heard the faint sounds of heavenly music coming from the east, the tinkling of pendant bells getting closer and closer. The True Man went out of the central hall and gazed into the distance. Suddenly he saw in the east a purple cloud and inside the cloud was a white carriage that was slowly descending. A divine personage sat erect in the carriage, his face like icy jade. A numinous light shone upon the beholder, so it was impossible to look directly at him. In front of the carriage stood a person who was none other than the youth<sup>4</sup> wearing embroidered clothing whom he had previously met in Yü-chang Prefecture.<sup>5</sup>

The youth said to the True Man, "Do not be afraid. This is none other than the Supreme Lord Old."<sup>6</sup> The True Man hurriedly bowed respectfully.

"Lately," said Lord Old, "there is a host of devils and demon kings in Shu<sup>7</sup> who have been violently abusing the people. This is to be deeply regretted. If you control them for me, so as to bring good fortune to living souls, your merit will be limitless<sup>8</sup> and your name will be engraved on Cinnabar Terrace."<sup>9</sup> Thereupon Lord Old bestowed upon the True Man the "Correct and Unique Secret Register of the Awesome Alliance,"<sup>10</sup> 930 scrolls of the Assembled Scriptures of the Three Pure Ones,<sup>11</sup> 72<sup>12</sup> scrolls with talismanic secret formulae for refining cinnabar,<sup>13</sup> a pair of swords (male and female), and a seal of the Chief of Merit.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, he enjoined, "I shall make an appointment to meet you in the Spacious Park<sup>15</sup> after a thousand days." When the True Man had finished kowtowing his acceptance, Lord Old ascended on the clouds and went off.

From that day, the True Man savored the secret texts and practiced according to the Law.<sup>16</sup> He heard that in Yi-chou<sup>17</sup> there were eight<sup>18</sup> devilish commanders, each leading devilish troops numbering in the millions that they had mobilized and who were circulating among the people, of whom they had killed tens of thousands, countless individuals being cut off in their prime. The True Man respectfully took up Lord Old's charge and, suspending the Secret Register of the Awesome Alliance from his waist, he went forth to Cyan City Mountain.<sup>19</sup> There he set up a high seat of *vaidūrya*,<sup>20</sup> to the left of which offerings were made to the Primeval Heavenly Honored<sup>21</sup> of the Great Way and to the right of which were placed the thirty-six<sup>22</sup> divisions of the true scriptures. Ten

supernoumenal banners were erected and all around were placed Law<sup>23</sup> mats. Bells were rung and stone chimes were struck. Arrayed below were divine dragon and tiger troops who were ready to capture the devilish commanders.

Then, leading a host of devils carrying sharp weapons and stone-tipped arrows, the devilish commanders came to harm the True Man. The True Man raised one finger of his left hand and the finger was transformed into<sup>24</sup> a large lotus<sup>25</sup> flower with a thousand petals luxuriantly arrayed, through which it was impossible for the weapons and arrows to penetrate.

Again, a host of devils came carrying more than a thousand torches, wishing to harm the True Man by burning him. But the True Man gave a whisk with his sleeves and the fire immediately turned back to burn the host of devils.

The host of devils then said to the True Man from a distance, "Our teacher lives by himself on Crane Call Mountain. Why have you come to invade our dwelling place?"

The True Man said, "You have been harming sentient beings;<sup>26</sup> your crimes have become known to Heaven. I am following the order of the Supreme Lord Old<sup>27</sup> to come and punish you. If you will recognize your faults and quickly flee to the blighted western lands, no longer causing sickness among mankind, I can guarantee that nothing will happen to you. But if you continue with your previous activities,<sup>28</sup> I will carry out a carnage of execution, leaving none of your kind to survive."

The commander of the devils would not submit. The next day he assembled six great demon kings. Leading a million devil-soldiers, they established encampments and sunk stockades to attack the True Man.

Wishing to make them submit in their minds, the True Man said, "Let's you and I have a trial in which each exerts his Law-powers<sup>29</sup> to the limit to see who wins and who loses."

The six demons responded in the affirmative. Thereupon the True Man ordered Wang Ch'ang<sup>30</sup> to pile up firewood and start a fire. Just when the flames were burning most fiercely, the True Man threw his body into the fire. Suddenly two cyan lotus flowers appeared in the fire to support the True Man's feet and lift him out.

The six demons laughed, saying, "What's so hard about that?" Parting the tongues of flame with their hands, they extended their bodies and jumped in. The beards and eyebrows of the two demon kings who jumped into the fire first were all singed. Cringing with pain, they ran back out. The other four demon kings didn't even dare to move.

Again, the True Man threw his body into a lake and came out right away riding on a yellow dragon, his clothes not the slightest bit wet.

Again, the six demons laughed, saying, "It's true that the fire was tough to take, but what's such a big deal about water?" Whereupon the six demons jumped into the water together with a "kerplunk!" They did a series of somersaults in the water and, by the time they hurriedly scrambled out, each of them had already drunk a bellyfull of the lake water.

Next the True Man threw himself toward a rock. The rock suddenly split open and the True Man came out through the back of it.

Again, the six demons laughed, saying, "Considering our strength, we could even penetrate a mountain, not to mention a rock!" So they pushed against the rock with their shoulders as hard as they could. The True Man recited an incantation, causing the upper half of the six demon kings' bodies to sink into the rock. Unable to wriggle free, they cried out piteously as though they were about to expire. At this, the commanders of the eight divisions<sup>31</sup> of the devils were enraged and transformed themselves into eight tigers with upturned eyes. Opening their toothy jaws and waving their claws, they came forward to seize the True Man, but the True Man gave his body a transformational shake and transformed himself into a lion that chased after them. The devilish commanders, once more, transformed themselves into eight great dragons which were about to capture the lion. Again, the True Man transformed himself into a great golden-winged<sup>32</sup> roc which opened wide its gigantic beak and was about to peck out the dragons' eyes. The devilish commanders, once more, transformed themselves into five-colored<sup>33</sup> mists that brought darkness to heaven and earth. The True Man transformed himself into a red sun that rose into the nine-fold empyrean, its light blazing forth refulgently, whereupon the mists dissipated at once.

The transformations of the devilish commanders exhausted, the True Man thereupon picked up a piece of stone and threw it into the air. In an instant, it changed into a gigantic rock that was like a small mountain suspended in mid-air by a thread thin as the fiber of a lotus root. The rock hung over the encampment of the devils and, as there were two rats on the rock competing to gnaw at the thread, it was on the verge of falling precipitously. The demon kings and devilish commanders, from their high vantage, could see this and were afraid that their devil-sons and devil-grandsons in the encampment would be annihilated. Thereupon, they piteously cried out in unison, begging that their lives be spared. They declared themselves willing to go off to the west and live in the Kingdom of Teak Trees,<sup>34</sup> never again daring to invade and disturb the Central Land.<sup>35</sup> Then the True Man adjudicated that the six great demon kings return to Northern Feng<sup>36</sup> and that the devilish commanders with their eight divisions scurry off to the Western Regions.

When the bodies of the demon kings were freed from the rock, they mingled together in company with the devilish commanders and kept hesitating to leave. The True

Man knew that the host of devils would not willingly depart, so he uttered a divine spell and flew up into the stratosphere. In an instant, the Earl of Wind summoned the wind, the Master of Rain sent down rain, the Duke of Thunder caused thunder to resound, the Mother of Lightning made lightning to flash. Heavenly generals and divine troops, each carrying bladed weapons, assembled all at once. They slaughtered the crowd of devils until not even a shadow of them remained. Only then did the True Man withdraw his Law-powers and say to Wang Ch'ang, "Now the people of Shu (Szechwan) can sleep in peace."

There is a lyric to the tune "Moon of West River" which testifies to this:

In vain did the devilish commanders display their tricks,  
'Twas folly for the demon kings to flaunt their heroics;  
They should have known that the Great Way affords supernatural power<sup>37</sup>  
That can only be yielded by the spirit.

With it, water does not make one cold nor fire make one hot,  
With it, one can hurl one's body against stone as though it were empty space;  
A spate of wind and rain erased the host of monsters,  
Only then did they realize the miraculous power of a transcendent.<sup>38</sup>

This episode, which is completely extraneous to the main plot of "Chang Tao-ling", constitutes approximately one seventh of the entire story. It is most curious that the contest between the True Man and the six demons is not included in any of the probable sources for "Chang Tao-ling" listed by T'an Cheng-pi in his *San-yen Liang-p'ai tzu-liao* [*Materials for Three Words and Two Slaps*]:<sup>39</sup>

1. "Chang Tao-ling", *Shen-hsien chuan* [*Biographies of Spiritous Transcendents*]<sup>s</sup>, scroll 4. *Shen-hsien chuan* was compiled by the great Taoist polymath, Ko Hung<sup>t</sup> whose dates are ca. 280-343. This legendary account was also collected in scroll 8 of *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* [*Broad Records from the Reign Period of Great Peace*]<sup>u</sup> (completed in 978).

2. "Chang Tao-ling", *Shen-hsien chuan*, in scroll 109 of *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* (*Seven Slips from a Cloudy Satchel*)<sup>v</sup>, compiled by Chang Chün-fang<sup>w</sup> around 1024.

3. "Cheng-yi t'ien-shih (Orthodox One Heavenly Master)"<sup>x</sup>, *Han hsien lieh-chuan* [*Serial Biographies of Han Period Transcendents*]<sup>y</sup>, in *Li-tai hsien shih* [*A History of Transcendents*]<sup>z</sup>, scroll 1. Since *Li-tai hsien shih* was compiled by Wang Chien-



chang<sup>aa</sup>, who lived between 1645-1718, it cannot be considered as a source for "Chang Tao-ling Seven Times Tests Chao Sheng", but it does reflect the late-Ming and early-Ch'ing Taoist hagiographical tradition upon which Feng Meng-lung must have been drawing when he wrote this story.

4. "Chao Sheng", in *Li-tai hsien shih*, scroll 1.

Since the contest episode is not in any of the most obvious potential Taoist sources for "Chang Tao-ling", it would seem that Feng Meng-lung himself may have inserted this section into his story. Whether it was Feng Meng-lung or someone else from whom he was borrowing the idea, the person responsible for attaching the contest of supernatural powers to the story about Chang Tao-ling testing Chao Sheng must have done so for the purpose of providing an introductory story that vaguely mirrored the main plot (a common enough practice in Ming-Ch'ing vernacular short stories). But where could they have picked up the theme of a holy man having a contest of supernatural powers with six demons?

The closest parallel in Chinese popular literature to the contest episode of "Chang Tao-ling" would seem, upon initial examination, to be found in a mid-eighth-century prosimetric tale from Tun-huang, the "Transformation [Text] on the Subduing of Demons" ("Hsiang-mo pien-[wen]"; hereafter "Śāriputra").<sup>40</sup> Indeed, the correspondences between the contest episode of "Chang Tao-ling" and that of "Śāriputra" are so close and so uncanny that we are tempted to declare that the former was borrowing from the latter.<sup>41</sup> Yet, by the time Feng Meng-lung wrote his story, the Tun-huang manuscripts had been immured for approximately six centuries. Nor, to my knowledge, is there any record of Feng Meng-lung's having travelled to the Buddhist caves at Tun-huang (which, by his time, had been more or less abandoned) and viewed the wall-paintings depicting Śāriputra's subjugation of Raudrākṣa and the Six Heretics. Furthermore, we are not aware of any other texts from the intervening period (roughly from the second half of the eleventh century to the first half of the seventeenth century) that include a contest of supernatural powers between a holy man and six demons which is divided into six segments.

If Feng Meng-lung did not obtain the idea of a contest of supernatural powers between a spiritually advanced adept and six heretics from the Tun-huang transformation text or from the Tun-huang wall-paintings, to which it would have been virtually impossible for him to have access, are there any other possible Buddhist sources containing such an episode which would have been available to him? The most obvious source is "Sudatta Raises a Monastery" ("Hsü-ta ch'i ching-she"<sup>bb</sup>; hereafter "Sudatta"), the forty-

eighth story (the ninth story in the tenth scroll) in *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* (*Hsien-yü ching*), *Taishō Tripiṭaka* (202)4.418b-420c.<sup>42</sup> The *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* was compiled in 445 on the basis of **recitations** of *avadāna* (Buddhist metaphorical parables and legends) **heard** in the Central Asian city of Khotan by eight Chinese monks from Kansu.

Before proceeding further in our analysis, let us draw some charts to illustrate the actual contents of the three contests of supernatural powers under discussion, those in "Sudatta", in "Śāriputra", and in "Chang Tao-ling".

### SUDATTA

	Six Heretics	Śāriputra
Conjuration	1. tree	wind
	2. pond	six-tusked white elephant
	3. mountain	strongman with mace
	4. dragon with ten heads	golden winged bird king
	5. buffalo	lion king
	6. powerful demon	Vaiśravaṇarāja

### Chart 1

### SARIPUTRA

	Six Heretics	Śāriputra
Conjuration	1. mountain	warrior ( <i>vajrapāṇi</i> ) with <i>vajra</i> mace***
	2. water buffalo	lion***
	3. pond	white, six-tusked elephant*
	4. poisonous <i>nāga</i> (dragon)	gigantic golden-winged bird ( <i>garuḍa</i> )***
	5. yellow-headed demons	Vaiśravaṇa Mahārāja**
	6. tree	wind***

\*The magnificent elephant sucks the pretty pond dry with its trunk.

\*\*This guardian of Buddhism is portrayed with a precious stupa in the outstretched palm of his left hand, a spear in his right hand, and a long sword hanging from his belt. His awesome presence alone is quite enough to defeat the two *yakṣa* demons transformationally produced by Raudrākṣa.

\*\*\*The action of the other scenes is self-evident and hence it is unnecessary to describe them here.

## Chart 2

### CHANG TAO-LING

	Chang Tao-ling	Six Demon Kings
Demonstration of Power	1. jumps into fire	get burned
	2. jumps into lake	almost drown
	3. penetrates a rock	get stuck in the rock
	Eight Devilish Commanders	Chang Tao-ling
Transformation	4. eight tigers	lion
	5. eight dragons	golden-winged roc
	6. five-colored mists	red sun

## Chart 3

Several salient points immediately emerge from this comparison of the contests of supernatural powers in the three stories under consideration. The most glaring discrepancy is that, whereas in "Sudatta" and "Śāriputra" Raudrākṣa and the Six Heretics (the bad guys) always go first and Śāriputra (the good guy) always goes second, in "Chang Tao-ling" Chang Tao-ling (the good guy) goes first for the initial three rounds and goes second in the final three rounds. Next, in "Chang Tao-ling", Chang Tao-ling's opponents shift from the Six Demon Kings in the first three rounds to the Eight Devilish Commanders in the second three rounds, whereas in both "Sudatta" and "Śāriputra" the Buddhist saint's opponents are always the Six Heretics with Raudrākṣa as their leader. Furthermore, while all six rounds of the contest in both "Sudatta" and "Śāriputra" consist entirely of transformational conjurations produced by both sides, the contest in "Chang Tao-ling" is made up of a combination of displays of power (or lack thereof) in the first half and transformations in the second half. Finally, only one of the rounds in "Chang Tao-ling" is close to being the same as a round in "Sudatta" and "Śāriputra" (the fifth -- golden-winged roc [i.e., *garuḍa*] versus **eight** dragons; but note that "Sudatta" and Śāriputra both have only a single dragon or *nāga* [in "Sudatta" it has ten heads] instead of the eight in "Chang Tao-ling" which are a clear indication that each of the dragons is a transformation of [rather than a projection or conjuration by] one of the devilish commanders). Given all of these differences, it is

highly unlikely that the contest of supernatural powers in "Chang Tao-ling" could have been directly derived either from that in "Sudatta" or the one in "Śāriputra".

In spite of all these patent differences, however, it is difficult to ignore a number of striking similarities between "Sudatta" and "Śāriputra" on the one hand and "Chang Tao-ling" on the other. In the first place, all three contests are composed of six rounds. Secondly, in all three contests, a spiritually powerful person is pitted against six heretics / demons or their supporters. Third, the content of one of the rounds (dragon[s] vs. gigantic golden-winged bird) is nearly identical in all three stories. Consequently, although we must reject any claim for direct derivation of "Chang Tao-ling" from "Sudatta" or "Śāriputra", there is sufficient evidence to believe that the ultimate inspiration for "Chang Tao-ling" lay in the Buddhist tale about Śāriputra's defeat of the Six Heretics.

As a matter of fact, the nature of the supernatural powers displayed in "Chang Tao-ling" remind one more of those in *Investiture of the Gods* (*Feng-shen yen-yi*) or of those in *Journey to the West* (*Hsi-yu chi*), both late-Ming novels, where the protagonists often go through a series of intimidating demonstrations of personal strength or transformations of their own bodies into completely different creatures.<sup>43</sup> This is unlike the transformations in "Sudatta" and "Śāriputra" which are produced or projected by the opponents and usually operate outside of and independently of their physical bodies. In "Sudatta", only the last round (*yakṣa* versus *Vaiśravaṇarāja*) consists of transformations of the opponents' own bodies. All of the other ten transformations in "Sudatta" are "made" or "created" outside of the body of the adept. In the first two rounds, *Raudrākṣa* is said to produce his transformation through incantation. This characterization is undoubtedly intended to belittle his "illusionary skills" as belonging to some sort of mumbo-jumbo artist, unlike Śāriputra whose powers are the result of outstanding spiritual achievements and deep meditation which he comes out of just before the opening of the contest. In "Śāriputra", the opponents on both sides consistently "conjure up" (*hua-ch'u*<sup>cc</sup>) their transformations.<sup>44</sup> What is more, in *Investiture* and *Journey*, the opponents' demonstrations of supernatural powers are often accompanied by taunting and braggadocio which we also find to a certain extent in "Chang Tao-ling" but not in "Sudatta" and "Śāriputra". Since both of these novels were already in existence before Feng Meng-lung wrote down "Chang Tao-ling", there was ample precedent for him to pick up elements of the contest of supernatural powers from them or some similar late Ming source. At the same time, we can be sure that Feng did not pick up the supernatural contest theme from *Investiture* or *Journey* themselves because neither of them -- to my recollection -- contain an episode consisting of a six-round combat of supernatural transformations between a spiritual adept and six heretical opponents. Rather, what I am suggesting is that Feng

acquired the idea of contest episode in "Chang Tao-ling" from an oral or written tale belonging to the late-Ming milieu of *Investiture* and *Journey* which was thoroughly imbued with fantastic Buddho-Taoist notions about transformational powers possessed by the likes of Erh-lang<sup>dd</sup>, Ne-cha<sup>ee</sup>, and Sun Wu-k'ung. Whereas Erh-lang patently stems from the Chinese-Taoist side of the Buddho-Taoist transformational mix and Sun Wu-k'ung comes more from the Indo-Buddhist side, Ne-cha is the epitome of full-blown late-Ming eclecticism, so I will say a few words about him here.

Ne-cha is frequently construed as the Sinitic transcription of Sanskrit *nāṭa* which means simply "dancer" and, by extension, "actor". This may be an appropriate name for the figure in question because he is noted for his energetic hyperactivity. On the other hand, many authorities restore the Sanskrit as Nalakūvara or Nalakūbara. There is good reason for this, since fuller transcriptions of his name are Ne-cha-chü-fa-lo<sup>ff</sup>, Ne-cha-chü-wa-log<sup>g</sup>, Na-lo-chiu-p'o<sup>hh</sup>, Na-lo-chiu-po-lo<sup>ii</sup>, Na-lo-chiu-pa-lo<sup>jj</sup>, and so forth. Furthermore, Nalakūvara was already regarded as the son of Vaiśravaṇa in India,<sup>45</sup> just as Ne-cha (often referred to as Ne-cha t'ai-tzu<sup>kk</sup>) was in China. Iconographically represented with three faces and eight arms, Ne-cha is said to have been a powerful demon-king. This fits better with his derivation from the *asura* Nāṭa who was originally thought to be a mighty demon. It would seem that a possibly pre-Buddhist or non-Buddhist Nāṭa was grafted into the Buddhist pantheon and adopted as the son of Vaiśravaṇa, one of the most important guardians of Buddhism. Whether Ne-cha stems from Nāṭa or from Nalakūvara, or from a combination of the two, there can be no doubt whatsoever that this extremely popular Chinese mythological figure was originally of Indian extraction. His development, however, just as assuredly does not stop there.

The first we hear of Ne-cha in China is in Cheng Ch'i's<sup>ll</sup> (?-899) *A Record of Transmitted Truths from the Opened Prime and Heavenly Treasure Reign Periods* (*K'ai-T'ien ch'uan-hsin chi*<sup>mm</sup>), a collection of 32 topical sketches. He there appears as a youth in the middle of the night to the famous early T'ang monk, Tao-hsüan<sup>nn</sup> (596-667), as Prince Ne-cha, son of Vaiśravaṇa. He declares that, in order to defend the Buddhist Dharma, he had already for a long time been protecting Tao-hsüan -- unbeknownst to the monk himself -- from harm.<sup>46</sup> A similar account is given, in almost identical words, in scroll 14 of the *Sung Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Sung Kao-seng chuan*<sup>oo</sup>; *Taishō Tripiṭaka* [2061]50.791a) which was completed in 988 by Tsan-ning<sup>pp</sup> (919-1001). Ne-cha is also said to be depicted in Tun-huang wall-paintings standing next to the Heavenly Kings (T'ien-wang<sup>qq</sup>), of whom his father Vaiśravaṇa was one of four.<sup>47</sup>

During the Sung period, Ne-cha is taken up by the Zen masters and is frequently alluded to in their "cases" (*kung-an*<sup>rr</sup>) and recorded conversations (*yü-lu*<sup>ss</sup>) as a creature of

enormous strength with an iron hammer, as a fanatically filial son, and -- above all -- as a protector of the Buddhist faith. Already by the time of Hung Mai's<sup>tt</sup> (1123-1202) *Record of the Listener* (*Yi-chien chih*<sup>uu</sup>), however, Ne-cha had been adopted as a Taoist deity. Once that happened, unrestrained imagination took over and the formidable Ne-cha acquired even more incredible abilities than he had when first imported from India.

Once naturalized as a Taoist deity, Ne-cha acquires a proper surname (Li, very Taoist) and is said to be the third son of a certain Li Ching<sup>vv</sup>. His two older brothers, not very believably, are Chin-cha<sup>ww</sup> and Mu-cha<sup>xx</sup>. Ne-cha then becomes one of the most frequently-mentioned heroes in Chinese myth and legend about whom a whole series of elaborate stories are concocted.<sup>48</sup> He is adopted into the heart of the Taoist pantheon as the Jade Emperor's (Yü-huang<sup>yy</sup>) shield-bearer and until half a century ago was known to virtually all children who remembered him vividly as having his hair tied in two cute little topknots, wearing no more than a bib, and running around with a magic ring in his hand and wheels under his feet to beat up on dragons and ogres everywhere. Not bad for a lad of obscure origins who started out as a humble protector of the Buddhist faith! But there is more. Perhaps the most amazing aspect of Ne-cha's evolution is that, during the course of his adoption by Taoism, he somehow managed to acquire a heavy dose of Iranian coloring.

In a brilliant but obscure work entitled *Cults & Legends of Ancient Iran & China*, Sir J. C. Coyajee convincingly demonstrated close parallels between numerous Chinese legends, on the one hand, and Persian myths on the other. Coyajee's main Persian source was the *Shāh-nāmeh* (*Book of Kings*, 1010 CE) by Ferdowsī, which was based largely on the *Khvatay-nāmak*, a history of the kings of Persia from mythical times down to the seventh century. He also relied heavily on still earlier Iranian *yashts* (ancient Zoroastrian hymns). For the Chinese side, Coyajee's primary source was none other than *Investiture of the Gods* which is curiously laden with Iranian motifs and themes.<sup>49</sup> Precisely how this massive implantation of Iranian motifs and themes in Ming-period Chinese legend occurred is not clear, although I suspect that it had something to do with the huge influx of Westerners and Central Asians (craftsmen, artists, architects, administrators, physicians, scientists, religious teachers, merchants, military personnel, and so forth) under the Mongols.<sup>50</sup> The extensive international commercial enterprises and naval explorations undertaken during the Ming dynasty, which were in no small measure due to the West Asians brought to China during the Yüan period and which are attested by archeological finds of coins and pottery along the shores of the southern oceans all the way to west Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, surely also contributed significantly to the continued importation of Southeast Asian, South Asian, and Middle Eastern influences in China in the centuries leading up to Feng Meng-lung's own times.<sup>51</sup>

Regardless of the exact means of transmission,<sup>52</sup> there is little doubt that the Chinese accounts of Ne-cha and his father Li Ching were heavily influenced by the famous Iranian tale about Sohrab and Rustam. It is significant that Sohrab and Rustam were Saka (Scythian, i.e., Central Asian Iranians) heroes and that the myth about them recounted in the *Shāh-nāme* was borrowed into the Persian epic from a Saka cycle of tales. In my estimation, not only the story of Sohrab and Rustam, but also many of the other numerous elements of myth and legend shared by China and Persia, originally belonged to the Central Asian Sakas and were transmitted both eastward and westward by them.<sup>53</sup> Inasmuch as the Ming-period Taoist legends about Ne-cha and Li Ching were grafted onto Sung-period tales which were in turn based on a sketchy T'ang-period Buddhist figure, we may declare emphatically that the elements of the Chinese stories about Ne-cha parallel to those in Iranian myth and legend were imports, not exports.<sup>54</sup> In other words, the common elements shared between the Iranian tale about Sohrab and Rustam and the Chinese story about Ne-cha and Li Ching could not possibly be due to the influence of the latter upon the former, which was already in existence well before the eleventh century.

From this brief survey of the tremendous changes that were wrought upon Ne-cha after his arrival in China, which is intended to convey a sense of the enormous complexity of the late-Ming world of religion, legend, and myth in which Feng Meng-lung was immersed and upon which he drew to forge stories like "Chang Tao-ling", we can see that this enormously popular deity was neither simply Chinese nor Indian nor Iranian, neither merely Buddhist nor Taoist nor of "indigenous" folk origin. Ne-cha, as we see him fully developed in the late Ming, represents the conflation of all these diverse strands, both Chinese and Indo-Iranian. That is to say, Ne-cha is far from being merely a Taoist deity; he is truly a figure of international proportions. Ne-cha, as I have said at the outset of this short exposition, is the epitome of late-Ming eclecticism, and that bears repeating because -- to comprehend the nature of Feng Meng-lung's fiction in general and the contest of supernatural powers in "Chang Tao-ling" in particular -- we need to explore the multifaceted character of Chinese culture during that period.

Be all of that as it may, there can be no question that the theme of a sextipartite contest of supernatural powers, as well as many of its details, stems from an Indian narrative that originally entered the Chinese literary orbit via Khotan.

Therefore, it is ironic (almost perverse) that, at the end of his contest with the Six Demon Kings, Chang Tao-ling would force his rivals to scurry off to the Western Regions, since that is precisely from where the whole bag of transformational tricks that he employs throughout the episode is ultimately derived. The detail about Chang Tao-ling's defeated rivals scurrying off to the Western Regions is also mentioned in Chang Tao-ling's

biography as recorded by Wang Chien-chang (see item no. 3 above), as is the fact that his enemies were referred to as Six Great Demon Kings (*liu ta mo-wang*<sup>22</sup>). These vague, yet telling, details lead me to believe that there must have been a submerged narrative tradition about the Six Heterodox Masters which existed during the late-Ming period and which Feng Meng-lung drew upon in crafting his story about Chao Sheng. If there is any sense in which we may legitimately affirm that the contest episode in "Chang Tao-ling" derives from the Tun-huang transformation text and/or wall-paintings about Śāriputra and the Six Heretics, it is only insofar as they were transmitted through such underground folk and popular narrative traditions that persisted from the Five Dynasties and early Sung period to the late Ming.

In the notes to the translation of "Chang Tao-ling", I have pointed out numerous instances of obvious borrowing of Buddhist terms and concepts. The story is full of many other Buddhist-inspired themes, all disguised by Feng Meng-lung and his predecessors as Taoist. Of course, none of the multitudinous Buddhist elements in this story are acknowledged, but that is typical of Taoist appropriations of Buddhism and other Indian philosophical and religious elements. From the very beginning, Taoist religion (not to mention Taoist philosophy<sup>55</sup>) was closely linked to, modeled upon, and generally inspired by Buddhism.<sup>56</sup> Feng Meng-lung has cleverly disguised this magic contest in a Taoist context, but there can be no mistake that it has been taken from the contest between Śāriputra and the Six Heretics.

This is but one instance among countless examples that could be adduced of the adoption of Buddhist elements by Taoism (philosophical, religious, and popular) throughout its nearly two thousand years of existence.<sup>57</sup> A vast amount of Taoist literature consists of precisely this sort of camouflaged borrowing of essentially Indic material. Yet, in the end, no amount of concealment can deny the Buddhist background, since themes, motifs, formulations, structures, and often even technical terms remain embedded in the Taoist texts. Their proper identification is the task of the Buddhist specialist working cooperatively with scholars of that great congeries of religion, philosophy, mysticism, ritual, and so much else known to us as "Taoism" in all of its many manifestations.

In conclusion, although we may declare without any hesitation that the contest of supernatural powers in "Chang Tao-ling" was ultimately borrowed from the Indian Buddhist tale about Śāriputra's subjugation of Raudrākṣa and the Six Heterodox Masters, via Khotan and Tun-huang, Feng Meng-lung himself must have acquired the episode from a late Ming source. It is possible that a derivative of the Tun-huang narratives about Śāriputra and Raudrākṣa that had been transmitted to the central and southeast portions of China (where Feng was active) may have continued to circulate in the oral realm. Or



perhaps Feng's acquaintance with the theme of a six-round contest of supernatural powers between a religiously advanced adept and six heretical masters was from some written source no longer available to us. We may never learn exactly where Feng Meng-lung picked up the theme of a contest of supernatural powers that he grafted onto the Taoist story about Chang Tao-ling's trials of Chao Sheng. But we can be virtually certain that he did not have firsthand access to the Khotanese or Tun-huang versions of the Buddhist tale about Śāriputra and the Six Heretics, for these were far too distant from him both temporally and spatially.

It is regrettable that so much of the traditional cultural life of China is missing from the written record that has come down to us. Yet, through archeology and the re-examination of the contents of old libraries, new materials continue to turn up. Often, as with the Tun-huang manuscripts, these quite unexpected finds totally revolutionize our understanding of the evolution of Chinese literature. At the same time, we can be grateful to pre-modern collectors like Feng Meng-lung whose diligent labors of love provide tantalizing glimpses of what must have been. It is thanks to a few broad-minded men like him that a portion of the popular literary past of China has been preserved for us, if only in a diluted and distorted fashion.

## NOTES

1. For a brief but authoritative account of Feng Meng-lung's life and contributions, see the article by Y. W. Ma in Nienhauser, ed., *Companion*, pp. 380a-384a. Patrick Hanan assigns the authorship of "Chang Tao-ling" to Feng Meng-lung himself (see *The Chinese Short Story*, p. 237 and *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, p. 117).

2. Taoist adept of high spiritual achievements. In this case, it refers to Chang Tao-ling, the hero of the story.

3. *Ching-she*<sup>aaa</sup> (Sanskrit *vihāra*), one of many obvious Taoist borrowings of specific technical terms and ideas from Buddhism in this story.

4. The youth is a supernatural emissary of the Yellow Emperor (Huang-ti) whom Chang Tao-ling had previously encountered in his quest for the Way and from whom he had received essential guidance.

5. Modern Nan-ch'ang District in Kiangsi Province.

6. T'ai-shang Lao Chün<sup>bbb</sup>, i.e., Lao Tzu (the Old Master) deified.

7. An old name for Szechwan.

8. Merit (*kung-te*<sup>ccc</sup>) = Sanskrit *punya*; limitless (*wu-liang*<sup>ddd</sup>) = Sanskrit *apramāṇa*, *amita*, *ananta*, etc.

9. The abode of Taoist deities and transcendents.

10. *Meng-wei*<sup>eee</sup>. This is an order within the Cheng-i<sup>fff</sup> ("Orthodox One") sect. See Saso (*Teachings*, p. 9), who refers to this order as the "Auspicious Alliance". For the secret registers, cf. the *Taoist Canon* (Han-fen-lou photoreprint), fascicle 877 and Jen Chi-yü, ed., *Tao-tsang t'i-yao*, nos. 1198 and 1199.

11. Also called the Three Heavenly Worthies, a triad representing three major aspects of the Way. See Schipper, *Taoist Body*, pp. 118 and 120.

12. This is an auspicious number that occurs widely in many different contexts throughout Eurasia in premodern times, e.g., the 72 devas, the age at which the Buddha is said to have preached the *Lotus Sūtra*, the 72 words obtained by Brahma to save the world, the number of Confucius's disciples, the number of villainous rulers with whom Confucius discussed the ways of the former kings (according to the *Chuang Tzu*), the number of holes drilled in the shell of a giant tortoise brought to the court of Lord Yüan of Sung upon the suggestion of a pyromancer (also according to the *Chuang Tzu*), the length of time the Old Master (Lao Tzu) was carried in his mother's womb, the number of diseases that Muhammad said could be cured by salt eaten before and after a meal, the number of sects in the Islamic community (*umma*) that will perish, the number of companions who died of thirst with the Shi'ite Imam Hosayn, the number of witnesses in the *taziye* (the Persian equivalent of the medieval mystery-plays, the number of strings on a Persian psaltery (*sentur*) (three for each of its 24 notes), the conventional number of guilds in Ghent mentioned in the Treaty of Gavre (July 24, 1453), the number of transformations possessed by Sun Wu-k'ung<sup>ggg</sup> ("The Monkey Enlightened about Emptiness [*śūnyatā*]") in *Journey to the West*, etc. The ubiquity of the number 72 is an excellent example of early cross-cultural borrowing across vast distances in many directions.

13. For "refining cinnabar", the text reads literally "cinnabar furnace".
14. Under the Celestial Masters, there were established 24 "Controllers" (*chih<sup>hhh</sup>*) who were in charge of the various districts under the church's territory in northern and western Sichuan. The Chief of Merit (*tu-kung<sup>iii</sup>*) was their leader. See Hu Fu-ch'en, *Chung-hua tao-chiao ta tz'u-tien*, pp. 502a and 1678a.
15. Lang-yüan<sup>jjj</sup>, the dwelling place of Taoist immortals.
16. Cf. Buddhist *fa<sup>kkk</sup>* ("Dharma").
17. A place in Szechwan.
18. *Pa-pu<sup>lll</sup>*, obviously modeled after the eight classes of supernatural beings in Buddhist iconography. As listed in the *Lotus Sūtra*, they are *deva* (heavenly deities), *nāga* (dragon-spirits) *yakṣa* (demons), *gandharva* (heavenly musicians), *asura* (titans), *garuḍa* (gigantic birds), *kinnara* (horse-headed musicians), and *mahoraga* (large-bellied boa spirits). Their purpose is to protect the dharma.
19. West of Chengtu. See Boltz, *Survey*, pp. 98-99 n. 116.
20. Various described as lapis lazuli, a cat's-eye gem, a green incandescent gem, and so forth. The Chinese characters used to transcribe the Sanskrit word, *liu-li<sup>mmm</sup>*, may also sometimes indicate glass or a pottery glaze.
21. *T'ien-tsun<sup>nnn</sup>* ("The Most Honored among Devas; Bhagavat") is a frequent epithet of the Buddha, but it is here intended to signify a Taoist deity.
22. Half of 72 (see note 12). Both 36 and 72 betray a dodecal system of counting (cf. the Germanic *Dutzend*, the Chinese earthly branches, the Babylonian zodiac, etc.) which in turn must have been based on the natural observation of the number of months in a year.
23. See note 16 above.

24. *Pien-ch'eng*<sup>ooo</sup>. This act sets the tone for the contest of supernatural transformational powers to follow.
25. No symbol is more typically Buddhist than the lotus (Sanskrit *padma*).
26. *Chung-sheng*<sup>ppp</sup>, a term that is clearly borrowed from the Chinese Buddhist translation of Sanskrit *sattva* (literally "being, existence, entity", and so forth, but the term is used in a technical sense by Buddhists).
27. T'ai-shang lao-chün<sup>qqq</sup>; he is both the deification of Lao Tzu (the Old Master) and the personification of the Tao (the Way / Track).
28. Literally, "karma" (*yeh*<sup>rrr</sup>).
29. *Fa-li*<sup>sss</sup>; clearly borrowed from Sanskrit *dharma-bala*.
30. A disciple of the True Man.
31. Obviously modeled on the Buddhist "eight divisions" (see note 18).
32. This detail would seem to have been taken directly from the description of the *garuḍa* in the Buddhist tale.
33. Sanskrit *pañca-rūpa*, a term often encountered in Buddhist texts.
34. *Sha-lo*<sup>ttt</sup>. This is the usual transcription of Sanskrit *śāla* / *sāla*, the teak or sāl tree. This is almost certainly an anti-Buddhist reference because the Buddha was said to have died at Śālavana (the grove of sal trees near Kuśinagara) and Śāleन्द्रa-rāja ("Sāl Tree King") was one of his titles. To have the True Man's devilish enemies go back to live in the Kingdom of Teak Trees in the west is a blatant slap at Buddhism.
35. *Chung-t'u*<sup>uuu</sup> means the same thing as Chung-kuo<sup>vvv</sup> (the Central Kingdom).
36. This may possibly refer to a place in Szechwan, but it is more likely a loose reference to northern Shensi, i.e., where northern nomads come from.

37. *Shen-t'ung*<sup>www</sup>, Sanskrit *ṛddhi*, *ṛddhi-sampad*, *abhijñāna*, *abhijñā*, etc.

38. Selected portions of this passage have been translated by Wu ("*Bianxiang*," pp. 190-191) but much more freely and with some omissions (both indicated and unindicated).

39. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 69-75. I am grateful to Professor Hanan for faxing me this information on November 21, 1995 when I was in Kyoto.

40. Translated into English by Mair in *Tun-huang popular narratives*, pp. 31-84, notes on pp. 174-223. Translated into Japanese by IRIYA Yoshitaka with the assistance of MATSUO Yoshiki<sup>xxx</sup> in IRIYA Yoshitaka, et al., *Bukkyō bungaku shū*, pp. 25-53 and by FUKUI Fumimasa, MORI Yuria<sup>yyy</sup>, and NIKAI DŌ Yoshihiro<sup>zzz</sup> in FUKUI Fumimasa (Bunga), *Daijō Butten*, 10, pp. 6-79, notes on pp. 349-371. The Chinese text may be found in Wang Chung-min, et al., ed. *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*, pp. 361-394; P'an Ch'ung-kuei, *Tun-huang pien-wen chi hsin-shu*, pp. 609-645. An annotated Chinese text is given in Hsiang Ch'u, *Tun-huang pien-wen hsüan-chu*, pp. 486-579.

41. The parallels between the contest episode of "Chang Tao-ling" and the contest of supernatural powers in "Śāriputra" were first noticed by Li Yung-ning and Ts'ai Wei-t'ang in their "'Hsiang-mo pien-wen' yü Tun-huang pi-hua chung te 'Lao-tu-ch'a tou-sheng pien'", pp. 185-186. Wu Hung ("What is *Bianxiang*?", p. 190) indicates that "Chang Tao-ling" shows "definite influence" from "Śāriputra", and (footnote 132) credits Li and Ts'ai for first making "the connection between the Dunhuang 'Subjugation' tale and Feng Menglong's story." On p. 191, Wu goes one step further and attempts to demonstrate that certain details (a Fire God, immortals dwelling inside a rocky mountain, heretics struggling in an ocean, the punishment of "heretic maidens", and the storm scene) in Feng Meng-lung's story may have been picked up from the wall-paintings at Tun-huang, not from the transformation text about the subjugation of demons. His claims, however, are far from conclusive, since none of the items he mentions is sufficiently specific for it necessarily to have been adopted from the Tun-huang wall-paintings alone and several of them can only be recognized as appearing in Feng's story with considerable effort. Wu himself acknowledges the speculative nature of his suggestions by qualifying them with such expressions as "Perhaps it is no coincidence that...". He ends his lengthy article on this note: "We know very well that in the Dunhuang murals it is the powerful whirlwind that finally destroys the heretic camp and clinches the Buddhists' victory." This is supposed to clinch his own argument that Feng Meng-lung's "Chang Tao-ling" was somehow derived

from the wall-paintings at Tun-huang. But the storm was also the concluding scene of the contest in the transformation text and in the illustrated transformation scroll (P4524; see Mair, "Śāriputra Defeats the Six Heterodox Masters"), so it could just as well have been borrowed from that line of transmission, if from a Tun-huang source at all.

42. The entire legend is translated and annotated on pp. 38-61 of Mair, "Linguistic and Textual Antecedents". The contest of supernatural powers may be found on pp. 46-47; it is also translated on pp. 53-55 of Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*.

43. See C. T. Hsia's remarks about the transformational disguises of Monkey and his opponents in *Journey to the West (Classic Chinese Novel)*, pp. 130-133). Hsia further points out the close parallels with similar combatants in Indian, Persian, and Arab literature. See also Mair, "Suen Wu-kung = Hanumat?" for the probable Indian antecedents of Sun Wu-k'ung.

44. In one instance (the golden-winged bird), Śāriputra is said to "cause the appearance" of a transformation and Vaiśravaṇa is described as simply having "appeared" or "arrived on his own".

45. Akanuma, *Dictionary of Buddhist Proper Names*, p. 440a.

46. *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng [Compendium of Collectanea in One Hundred Sections]*<sup>aaaa</sup> ed., series 2, 9b.

47. Hu Fu-ch'en, *Chung-hua tao-chiao ta tz'u-tien*, p. 1502b.

48. For some of the many Chinese legends about Ne-cha, see Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, pp. 305-319 and *passim*; Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, pp. 293-294.

49. *Op. cit.*, ch. 4 (pp. 99-134), "The Shahnameh and the Feng-Shen-Yen-I" which was originally issued in the *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal* (January 9, 1933).

50. See, for example, Ch'ên Yüan, *Western and Central Asians in China Under the Mongols*.

51. The full documentation of the Iranian and Arabic impact upon Ming China would require book-length treatment and would need to discuss such outstanding statesmen as Hai Jui<sup>bbbb</sup> (1514-1587) and remarkable thinkers and critics like Li Chih<sup>cccc</sup> (1527-1602). Here I will mention only one rich source of primary information, *Captivating Views of the Ocean's Shores* (*Ying-yai sheng-lan*), completed around 1451 by Ma Huan (see the entries under Ma Huan, Feng Ch'eng-chün, and J. V. G. Mills in the Bibliography). Ma was the Muslim interpreter of the renowned Cheng Ho<sup>dddd</sup> (1371-1435), eunuch commander of the Chinese fleet, who was himself a Muslim from Yunnan Province. Yunnan, incidentally, was a center of Islam in China during the Ming and had even been effectively administered by a Muslim governor of Confucian persuasion under the Yüan dynasty, the highly respected Sayyid Aĵali, Šamsu-'d-Dīn 'Omar (1211-1279) of Bokhara. Sayyid Aĵali was the father of Nasru-'d-Dīn (d. 1292), eldest of five sons, who was also important in military and political affairs from Burma to Tonkin and Shensi, but especially assisting his father in the pacification of Yunnan for the Mongols. Nasru-'d-Dīn was the Nescradin mentioned by Marco Polo in his chapter 52, for which see Yule and Cordier, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 101 and the helpful annotations on p. 104 note 1. For a scholarly note on Nescradin, see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 793-794.

*The Captivating Views*, which covers events up to 1433, contains Ma Huan's descriptions based on personal observation of twenty countries from Champa (Central Vietnam) in the east to Mecca in the west. The first half of the fifteenth century, when Ma Huan accompanied Cheng Ho on his fourth, sixth, and seventh (the last) great voyages abroad, was the heroic age of Chinese naval expansion. Four Chinese fleets traversed the Indian Ocean simultaneously and flotillas explored "the four seas" from southern Africa to Timor. The imperial court was thronged with royal visitors and envoys representing some seventy foreign countries from Japan to Hormuz, and Chinese manufactures were sought after in the markets of Asia from Majapahit to Baghdad. In such an age of aggressive exploration and vigorous entrepreneurship, it is not surprising that Middle Eastern ideas would have flooded China.

52. Determining the precise path of transmission may be an impossible task. As Coyajee (*op. cit.*, p. 101), citing Grube in the introduction to his translation (*Fêng-Shên-Yên-I*, p. vi), astutely points out, the legends and narratives of *Investiture* "are even now narrated and propagated by people who never read the book". Such, undoubtedly, was the situation

throughout the course of the development of the legends concerning Ne-cha, viz., the bulk of the elaboration took place in the oral realm and is, hence, no longer traceable by us now.

53. It is probably for this reason that the Persian sources occasionally identify such elements as coming "from China".

54. For additional Iranian components in the Ming stories and legends about Ne-cha, see Coyajee, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6, 22-23, 116-122, 232-233, and *passim*.

55. See Mair, tr. and annot., *Tao Te Ching*, pp. 140-148 and 155-161.

56. For one interesting example, see Mair, "Southern Bottle-Gourd (*hu-lu*) Myths in China and Their Appropriation by Taoism."

57. The three volumes of studies entitled *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo are an excellent model for the type of research that needs to be undertaken in this area. Yoshioka demonstrates the intimate relationship, both textual and ritual, between Buddhism and religious Taoism from the very moment Buddhism first appears in China.

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GLOSSARY

- a. 馮夢龍
- b. 古今小說
- c. 張道陵七言式趙昇
- d. 降魔變文
- e. 賢愚經
- f. 封神演義
- g. 西遊記
- h. 喻世明言
- i. 三言
- j. 張道陵
- k. 五斗米道
- l. 天師道
- m. 太上老君
- n. 老子
- o. 正一
- p. 龍虎山
- q. 王長
- r. 趙昇
- s. 神仙傳
- t. 葛洪
- u. 太平廣記
- v. 雲笈七籤
- w. 張君房
- x. 正一天師
- y. 漢仙列傳
- z. 歷代仙史

- aa. 王建章
- bb. 須達起精舍
- cc. 化出
- dd. 二郎
- ee. 那吒 // 哪吒 // 那吒
- ff. 那吒俱代羅
- gg. 那吒矩鞞囉
- hh. 那羅鳩婆
- ii. 那羅鳩鉢羅
- jj. 那羅鳩跋羅
- kk. 那吒太子
- ll. 鄭啟/繁
- mm. 開天傳信記
- nn. 道宣
- oo. 宋高僧傳
- pp. 贊寧
- qq. 天王
- rr. 公案
- ss. 語錄
- tt. 洪邁
- uu. 唐堅志
- vv. 李靖
- ww. 金吒
- xx. 木吒
- yy. 玉皇
- zz. 六大魔王
- aaa. 精舍



bbb. 太上老君

ccc. 功德

ddd. 無量

eee. 盟威

fff. 正一

ggg. 孫悟空

hhh. 治

iii. 都功

iii. 閼苑

kkk. 法

lll. 八部

mmm. 琉璃

nnn. 天尊

ooo. 變威

ppp. 衆生

qqq. 太上老君

rrr. 業

sss. 法力

ttt. 紫羅

uuu. 中土

vvv. 中國

www. 神通

xxx. 松尾良樹

yyy. 森由利亞

zzz. 二階堂善弘

aaaa. 百部叢書集成

bbbb. 海瑞

- cccc. 李贄  
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eeee. 赤沼智善  
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gggg. 中国道教协会  
hhhh. 苏州道教协会  
iiii. 道教大辭典  
iiii. 馮承鈞  
kkkk. 瀛涯勝覽校注  
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tttt. 入矢義高  
uuuu. 古田和弘  
vvvv. 安藤智信  
wwww. 仙教文学集  
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yyyy. 任繼愈  
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rrrrr. 三言兩拍資料  
sssss. 王重民  
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uuuuu. 變相  
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wwwww. 道教と佛教

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