A Study of the Origin of the Legend of the Eight Immortals

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Among the many legends in China the most popular and widely accepted one is that of the Eight Immortals, or pa hsiens. These eight figures are identified as Han Chung-li (Chung-li of the Han dynasty), whose full name is Chung-li Chüan, Lü Tung-pin, Li Tieh-kuai (Li with the iron crutch), Ts'ao Kuo-chiu (Ts'ao, the brother in-law of the emperor), Ho Hsien-ku (Ho, the immortal girl), Han Hsiang-tzu, Chang Kuo-lao (Chang Kuo, the man of age) and Lan Ts'ai-ho. These figures have formed a unique group in the minds of the Chinese people and each of them has a special symbol which represents the characteristic of the immortal and is usually used to identify each one of them. Han Chung-li is symbolized by the twin knots of his hair-do. Lü Tung-pin always wears a Taoist cap and carries a double-blade sword. Li T'ieh-kuai, with one leg crippled, has to use an iron crutch, which has even become part of his name, and besides he always carries a huge gourd of drugs on his back. Ts'ao Kuo-chiu wears an official robe and holds in his hands a scepter, a symbol of government official in his time. Ho Hsien-ku is the only female in the group, and her symbol is a bamboo ladle held in her hand. Chang Kuo-lao appears to be very old, and the donkey on which he always rides is his symbol. Lan Ts'ai-ho is always barefoot, and his symbol is his musical boards. Han Hsiang-tzu is a very handsome young man and holds in his hand a flower basket, which serves as his symbol of immortality. Though they have different symbols, they share one common feature in the minds of the Chinese people — they are immortals or shen-hsien (or hsien in abbreviation) of a different world, the world of immortality.

Some studies have been directed by contemporary scholars, Chinese as well as Western, on these figures of immortals, but these studies tend to be biographical and narrative rather than historical. They deal with the lives and deeds of the eight figures but do not treat them as a solid group or attempt to trace the origin of the legend. The stories of each of these

[1] 八仙
[2] 漢鍾離
[3] 鍾離權
[4] 吕洞賓
[5] 李鐵拐
[6] 曹國舅
[7] 何仙姑
[8] 韓湘子
[9] 張果老
[10] 藍采和

1 Oriens Extremus
figures can be found in the mythological anthologies compiled by Chinese authors of different periods or dynasties. Some of the outstanding ones which furnish materials on the background of these figures are: the T'ai-p'ing kuang-ch'u[11] compiled in A.D. 978 by Li Fang[12] of Sung dynasty, the Chi hsi'en ch'uan[13] edited by Tseng Tsao of Sung, the Hsü hsien chuan[14] by Shen Fen[15] of Southern T'ang, the Lieh hsien ch'üan chuan[16] by the famous Ming writer Wang Shih-ch'en[17] (1520—1590), the Ch'ien-ch'üeh-chü lei-shu[18] by Ch'en Jen-hsi (1581—1636) of Ming, the Lieh hsien chuan[19] by a Taoist named Huan Ch'u[20] (the name means 'Returning to the Beginning') of the Ch'ing dynasty, and the famous Chinese encyclopaedia on literary works, Hsü wen-hsien t'ung k'ao[21], which was compiled in 1586. In addition, two other books also provide individual records of some of these immortals; one is the voluminous encyclopaedia, the Ku-chin t'u-shu chi ch'eng[22], which was first published in 1725 during the Manchu period; and the other is Li-tai shen-hsien shih[23], an anthology of biographies of mythic and mythological figures of all times, also published in the Manchu dynasty. Although these books on immortals are compiled or written by different authors at different times, the same story about a certain figure is usually repeated in these works. Among these Eight Immortals, only one received a full treatment; this was Lü Tung-pin who was honored by his Taoist followers as Patriarch Lü and on whom a complete work of sixty-four chüan entitled Lü Tsu ch'üan shu[24] ("The Complete Book on Patriarch Lü") was edited by Liu T'i-shu[25] in 1774 during the Ch'ing period.

The official dynastic histories contain some references to these figures, although — as would be expected — such references are relatively few. Of the eight only Chang Kuo-lao (whose name was actually Chang Kuo) was given a biographical record in the T'ang shu[26]. The names of Chung-li (Ch'üan) and Lü (Tung-pin) were mentioned in the biography of Ch'en T'uan[27] in the Sung shih[28] The rest of this group are not mentioned in any volume of the official histories of China.

A survey of these sources, discussed in detail in the latter part of this study, reveals an interesting and surprising fact: in none of these records is the term pa hsien (Eight Immortals) mentioned, and nowhere in these volumes, whether historical or mythological, are these immortals considered as a group. Among all the literary works throughout the ages in China, the first type of literature in which the term pa hsien is mentioned and in which the eight figures are treated as an entity is the Yüan drama or

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[16] 列仙全傳  [22] 繼文獻通考  

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tsa-chü of the Yuan dynasty. Such an interesting discovery has thrown a fresh new light on the origin of the legend of the Eight Immortals.

The Yuan drama or tsa-chü, as a type of literature, covers the entire period of the Yuan dynasty and the early Ming era; consequently, the materials in the Yuan drama can be divided into two groups, the plays written by the Yuan authors and those by Ming authors. As far as the Yuan authors are concerned, six plays can be found among the materials available which have something to do with the pa hsien. All these plays have a unique characteristic that is, they are all written on the same theme and are centered on the character-type of Lü Tung-pin, one of the Eight Immortals. In these plays Lü is a hero with supernatural powers which he uses to transform human beings and others (such as tree-spirits) into Taoist immortals. It is usually Lü Tung-pin in these plays who introduces the other members of the Eight Immortals as a solid entity.

The first of such plays written by a Yuan author is Yüeh-yang lou ("The Tower of Yüeh-yang") whose author is Ma Chih-yüan. In this play the hero-type Lü Tung-pin, having become a hsien himself, is sent to lead two tree-spirits to the road of immortality through transformation and achievement of the Tao ("Way"). In the fourth che (act) of this play when Lü finally succeeds in his mission, he introduces to his new converts the rest of the Eight Immortals with a song set to the tune Shui hsien tzu:

This one is Chung-li of Han, who is now in charge of the Register of Immortals.
This one is Li, holding an iron crutch, whose hair is untidily combed.
This one is Lan Ts'ai-ho, whose musical boards are made of Yun-yang wood.
This one is Chang Kuo-lao, who rode his donkey backward on the Chao-chow bridge.
This one is Hsü Shen-weng (Hsü, the Old Divine One), who carries his gourd on his back.
This one is Han Hsiang-tzu, who is a nephew of Han Yü.
This one is Ts'ao Kuo-chiu, who is related to the royal family.
Your humble Taoist is surnamed Lü and named Yen with a tzu (literary name) Tung-pin, and a Taoist title, Ch'un-yang-tzu.

The author of this play, Ma Chih-yüan, was a man of the early period of the Yuan dynasty and a native of Ta-tu, the capital of Yuan (the present Peking). He identified the Eight Immortals as Han Chung-li, Li T'ieh-kuai, Lan Ts'ai-ho, Chang Kuo-lao, Hsü Shen-weng, Han Hsiang-tzu, Ts'ao Kuo-chiu and Lü Tung-pin.

Another play, T'ieh-kuai Li ("Li with an Iron Crutch") was written by Yüeh Po-ch'üan, of the middle Yuan period. In this play also Lü
Tung-pin appears as the hero. The story concerns Lü Tung-pin's transformation of Li T'ieh-kuai; both are members of the pa hsien. As the drama develops, Lü finally convinces Li and helps him achieve the Tao of immortality. As in the preceding play, Lü Tung-pin also brings Li T'ieh-kuai to meet with the rest of the Eight Immortals at the end of this play by singing the following song:

Chung-li of Han has a heart of righteousness.  
Lü Tung-pin has enlightened talent.  
Both Chang Ssu-lang (Chang the Fourth Boy) and Ts'ao Kuochiu have great divine powers.  
Lan Ts'ai-ho claps his musical boards and the sound reaches into the clouds.  
Han Hsiang-tzu's magic flowers bloom in the winter months.  
Chang Kuo-lao's donkey is very fast.  
I call on these seven Real Ones to roam around the islands of the seas,  
And I follow the Eight Immortals to go to P'eng-lai.

Though the pa hsien group is again introduced in this play, the list of the eight figures is different from that given in the first play. In this drama, the seat of Hsü Shen-weng of the first group is taken over by a Chang Ssu-lang. A further comparison with the list of the established legend of the Eight Immortals shows that these two figures, Hsü Shen-weng and Chang Ssu-lang, are replaced by others later on. This interesting point will be discussed later in this study.

The third play of Yüan time is entitled Ch'eng nan liu[35] ("The Willow in the South of the City") and was written by Ku Tzu-ching[36], a man of late Yüan and early Ming. The hero of this play is also Lü Tung-pin whose supernatural deed in this episode is to transform the spirit of a willow tree located in the southern suburb of the city of Yüeh-yang. The plot and the story of this play is almost identical to that of the Yüeh-yang lou. Again in this play when Lü's task is successfully completed, when the willow spirit is finally led to the right road of immortality, Lü takes him to meet the rest of his pa hsien group. The same song is sung in the last che of this play when Lü introduces each one of the other immortals:

This one is carrying an iron crutch to enter the land of immortality. (Li T'ieh-kuai)
This one is carrying three volumes of sacred scriptures to come out of Chien-chang. (Han Chung-li)
This one is playing his musical boards during his visit to the Fang-chang mountain. (Lan Ts'ai-ho)
This one is riding his donkey backward to go up to heaven. (Chang Kuo-lao)
This one is carrying a bamboo ladle and ignores the palace of the queen. (Ho Hsien-ku)
This one carries his gourd and has a divine power. (Hsü Shen-weng)

[35] 城南柳  
[36] 谷子敬
This one plants the peonies and his name becomes very fragrant. (Han Hs'ang-tzu)

Your humble Taoist, because of this transformation of a willow, has a Taoist name, Ch'ung-yang. (Lü Tung-pi)

Here again the identities of the eight figures is not the same as in the preceding plays. The only female immortal in the pa hsien group, Ho Hsien-ku, is introduced by Ku Tzu-ch'ing in his play.

The fourth play is Chu-yeh chou (The Bamboo-leaf Boat), written by Fan K'ang of middle Yüan. He also wrote about the favorable character-type Lü Tung-pi, who was sent to guide a scholar named Ch'en Chi-ch'ing to the road of Tao so that he might attain immortality. When Ch'en is finally made to realize the importance of the life of an immortal and decided to follow the footsteps of Lü Tung-pi, he is then led to a meeting with the other Immortals. To the tune Shih-erh yüeh (I have dreamed a dream while the yellow millet was still being cooked in a soup-pot. When I woke up, fifty years had gone already.)

Lü sings the following melody:

This one rides his donkey as fast as going down a slope.

Ch'en: (saying) "Oh, it is actually the Great Immortal Chang Kuo-lao".

Lü: (singing, pointing at Hsü) "This one plays his iron flute whose tone is beautiful and harmonious. Ch'en: "Oh, it is actually the Great Immortal Hsü Shen-weng".

Lü: (pointing at Ho) "This one is very beautiful. She holds a bamboo ladle in her hand. Ch'en: "Oh, it is actually the Great Immortal Ho Hsien-ku".

Lü: (pointing at Li) "This one has his hair untidily combed and drags an iron crutch along. Ch'en: "Oh, it is actually the Great Immortal Li T'ieh-kuai".

Lü: (pointing at Han) "This one has, in front of the Lan Kuan pass, transformed the Duke Wen. Ch'en: "Oh, it is actually the Great Immortal Han Hsiang-tzu".

Lü: (pointing at Lan) "This one wears a green silk robe, and sings aloud with his musical boards. Ch'en: "Oh, it is actually the Great Immortal Lan Ts'ai-ho".

Lü: (pointing at Chung-li) "This one wears a twin-knot hair-do, and drinks until his face becomes red. Ch'en: "Oh, it is actually the Great Immortal Han Chung-li". (to Lü) "May I ask you, sir, what is your name?"

Lü: "You stupid fool! I shall not tell you". (singing) I have dreamed a dream while the yellow millet was still being cooked in a soup-pot.

When I woke up, fifty years had gone already.

[37] 竹葉舟 [38] 范康 [39] 十二月
Ch’ en: “The Master has told me. Your disciple is truly stupid. (making a bow)

Today I am really fortunate to bow to you”.

Lü:

You know well that Lü Tung-pin is I, and no one else.

In this play the pa hsien group is entirely identical with the list in the preceding play by Ku Tzu-ching.

In the fifth play, Sheng hsien meng ("The Dream of Ascending to a Hsien") written by Chia Chung-ming of late Yün and early Ming, tells the story of Lü Tung-pin’s transformation of two tree spirits, a peach and a willow. However, the plot in this play does not include the introduction of the new convert to the Eight Immortals, as was done in the preceding plays. Nor is the task of transformation performed alone by Lü Tung-pin in this drama; he is accompanied by two other immortals, Chang Ssu-lang and Han Chung-li.

In the sixth play written by a Yün author is called Huang liang meng ("The Dream of the Yellow Millet"). The same character, Lü Tung-pin, is involved in this drama, but the hero in this story is Han Chung-li, who is sent to convince Lü of the emptiness of human life and the happiness of the life of immortals. Lü in this play is made to have a dream, and in the dream he experiences fifty years of human life full of fame and wealth, adventures and sufferings. When he awakes from his dream, the yellow millet is still not cooked. After this experience Lü decides to give up his human endeavors and follow Han Chung-li on the road of immortality. At this point in the play, Chung-li makes a remark in which he hints at the formation of the group of the Eight Immortals. Chung-li sings the tune Sha wei at the end of this play:

Bending your fingers you can count for yourself.
The Real Immortals (hsien) are seven now,
With you being added to them, they are now altogether eight.

Though he mentioned the Eight Immortals, the author of this play, Ma Chih-yüan, did not identify them. However, the same author wrote another play, Yüeh-yang lou, in which he did identify these figures, it is reasonable to assume that the Eight Immortals in this play must be the same group.

A comparison of these authors and their plays indicates some different ideas concerning the Eight Immortals. In all these plays there are eight of these holy figures, but their identities are not always the same. The following table shows the different identifications which the authors have made of these immortals in their respective plays.

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[40] 弊仙夢 [41] 黃梁夢 [42] 煞尾
In the fifth play, Sheng hsien meng, only three of the eight were mentioned; Lü Tung-pin, Chang Ssu-lang, and Han Chung-li, whereas in the last play, Huang liang meng, only two of this group, Lü Tung-pin and Han Chung-li, were presented by the author. A glance at the pa hsien groups as presented by the Yüan authors in the Yüan drama has shown a lack of agreement on their identity. The names of those Taoist figures shown in italics in the above table are apparently those who have been rejected from the recognized list of the legend of the Eight Immortals as the Chinese people know it to-day. Yet the term pa hsien itself was repeated many times by the authors of the Yüan time. Thus it can be safely concluded here that though the authors of the Yüan dynasty thought of the Eight Immortals as a unit, the identification of the individual figures varied considerably throughout the Yüan era. Such findings in the Yüan drama certainly throw some interesting light on the origin of this legend.

Later in the Ming dynasty, the Yüan drama, or tsa-chü, continued to be a favorite type of literature during the first part of Ming. The topic of Lü Tung-pin was still a favored one among the Ming dramatists, who apparently followed the footsteps of their predecessors in the preceding dynasty in their interest in the Eight Immortals. Consequently six of such plays were written by the Ming authors and are found in the materials available to-day. Unfortunately the authorship of most of these plays is now unknown except for one by a well-known author, Chu Yu-tun[48], who wrote Shen-hsien hui[44] ("The Meeting of the Immortals"). The other five plays are Pa hsien kuo hai[45] ("The Eight Immortals Cross the Sea"), San hua Han-tan[46] ("Three Transformations at Han-tan"), Tung-hsüan sheng hsien[47] ("Pien Tung-hsüan Ascends to Immortality"), Tu Huang-

lung \(^{[48]}\) ("The Conversion of Huang-lung"), and Ch'ang-sheng hui \(^{[49]}\) ("The meeting of the Longevities")\(^ {18}\).

All these six plays have mentioned the Eight Immortals and one of them, Pa hsien kuo hai, even used the name of the group as its title. As far as the identification of the Eight Immortals is concerned, these six plays take two different points of view: The first group, represented by the authors of Shen-hsien hui, Pa hsien kuo hai, and San Hua Han-tan, has identified the Eight Immortals as Han Chung-li, Li T'ieh-kuai, Lan Ts'ai-ho, Chang Kuo-lao, Hsü Shen-weng, Han Hsiang-tzu, Ts'ao Kuo-chiu, and Lü Tung-pin. The second group represented by authors of Tung-hsüan sheng hsien, Tu Huang-lung and Ch'ang-sheng hui, has substituted Chang Ssu-lang in the group by removing Hsü Shen-weng from the picture. Comparing with the Yüan authors, some of whom listed the female member of the pa hsien, Ho Hsien-ku, in their plays, the Ming authors apparently advocated an all-male group for the Eight Immortals. It is known that the Yüan drama as a genre of literature survived the early part of the Ming dynasty. It is clear that in this period though the pa hsien theme was still favored by the play-wrights as a popular subject, the actual identification of the individual members in the group was still a matter of disagreement and uncertainty among the authors at this time.

The Yüan drama, or Isa-chü, was later succeeded by the ch'uan-ch'i \(^{[50]}\), the so-called Southern drama; and the Southern drama was later succeeded by the K'un-shan drama \(^{[51]}\), or K'un-chü \(^{[52]}\). In this newly developed dramatic form, the outstanding playwright was T'ang Hsien-tsu \(^{[53]}\) (1550—1617). T'ang wrote a number of plays, but the most famous works are his four 'dreams', four plays which have the word 'meng' (dream) in their titles. One of the 'dreams' is his Han-tan meng \(^{[54]}\) ("The Dream at Han-tan") in which he too has chosen the popular hero Lü Tung-pin as his subject. He even wrote a song on the Eight Immortals called Pa hsien ko \(^{[55]}\), in which he presented the eight figures as follows:

Han Chung-li in his old age combed his hair into a hair-do.
Ts'ao Kuo-chiu in drunkenness danced in his court robe.
As captain of the guards of ya-men \(^{[44]}\) Li held his crutch taking his nap.
Lan Ts'ai-ho abandoned his wife in a windy snowstorm.
Ho Hsien-ku mended her bamboo ladle with a needle.
Oh, Chang Kuo-lao predicted correctly with his five-star wheel.
Lü Tung-pin got drunk three times at Yüeh-yang before he returned\(^ {15}\).

It is noteworthy that here for the first time in all the dramas so far discussed, the names of these eight figures are exactly identified with those in the presentday legend. All the controversial and disagreeable names, such as Hsü Shen-weng and Chang Ssu-lang mentioned by some
of the Yüan and Ming authors, were removed from T'ang's list. T'ang Hsien-tsu was a man of late Ming and lived at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Ever since the pa hsien group first appeared in the plays of the early Yüan authors in the late thirteenth century, the pa hsien group has been a favorite subject of the playwrights for more than three centuries. However, during these years the identification of the eight figures in the pa hsien group had never reached an agreeable solution in the opinions of the dramatists of both Yüan and Ming. In the time of T'ang Hsien-tsu, however, there was a sharp development in the identity of these eight figures, and the list of the Eight Immortals given in T'ang's play became exactly identical with the recognized legend. Such a change in the identification of the Eight Immortals provides a point of interest in the origin of this legend.

During the time of Ming another type of literature was developed, that is the novels. One of these novels was written about the episodes of the Eight Immortals by a man named Wu Yüan-t'ai [56] (about 1522—1566), and the title of this novel is Tung yu chi [57] ("The Eastern Travels"). In this novel there are fifty-six hui (chapters), and the Eight Immortals discussed in this book are the same as in the present-day legend. The author of this novel starts his book with the episode of Li T'ieh-kuai (chapters 1—10), then the other immortals appear one after another in the order as follows: Han Chung-li (chapters 11—18), Lan Ts'ai-ho (chapter 19), Chang Kuo-lao (chapters 20—21), Ho Hsien-ku (chapter 22), Lü Tung-pin (chapters 23—39), Han Hsiang-tzu (chapters 30—31), and Ts'ai Kuo-chiu (chapter 45); then the adventures of the Eight Immortals as a group are dealt with at the end of this novel (chapters 48—56); the main episode is their crossing of the sea. The novelist, Wu Yüan-t'ai, was also a man of late Ming and lived some thirty years earlier than T'ang Hsien-tsu, the playwright. The presentation of the pa hsien group in this novel and its identification with the legend again throws light on the formation of this group.

Putting all the materials of drama and novel together for comparison and analysis may provide some clues regarding the origin and the formation of the pa hsien legend. The Eight Immortals were first introduced as an entity by the Yüan playwrights, but in their time there was always one member of the group in question. Seven of the eight figures had been given a permanent place in the picture, but the eighth seat had been a matter of choice in the minds of the Yüan authors between Hsu Sheng-weng, Chang Ssu-lang and later the girl Ho Hsien-ku, until finally Ho won out over the other two male candidates and secured a permanent position in the group. Such a competition between these three figures had been going on from the beginning of Yüan till the middle of the fifteenth century in Ming, a period covering roughly two hundred years from 1260 to 1450. Among the authors of the Yüan drama the first

[56] 吳元泰  [57] 東遊記
and the earliest one was probably Ma Chih-yüan, who lived about 1250, and the last Ming author who also wrote about the Eight Immortals in his plays was Chu Yu-tun, who lived in the late fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century, and died in 1439. When the novelist, Wu Yüan-t'ai, wrote his book in the years 1522—1566, the formation of the pa hsien group was brought to completion. When later T'ang Hsien-tsu's play, Han-tan chi, came out, the names of the Eight Immortals in this play are identical with the legend.

The examination of the records in drama and other materials in Chinese popular literature has thus thrown some light on the origin and development of the famous legend of the Eight Immortals. The fact that the Yüan dramatists first introduced this group in their writings deserves a special notice by those who are interested in Chinese legends. But how these eight holy figures get together and they were recognized as a solid group is another question which must be answered for the clarification of this legend. It is therefore important to look into the relations among the members of the group. For such an inquiry materials in the drama alone are not sufficient. Other kinds of materials should also be investigated and compared. It must be borne in mind, however, that since these people were mainly legendary figures and since no official Chinese history has ever recorded anything about this group, contradictions and disagreements between different sources are only natural and understandable. For this reason the scientific, historical approach will be out of question.

As far as the records in the Yüan drama are concerned, the first one in the pa hsien group who ever achieved the Tao (or immortality) was Chung-li Ch'üan[58] or Han Chung-li[59] (Chung-li of Han) as the legend indicates. Ma Chih-yüan's Huang Jiang meng ("The Dream of the Yellow Millet") tells the story of his conversion of Lü Tung-pin. In the play, when Han Chung-li first appears on the stage, he introduces himself as follows:

Your humble Taoist has a double surname Chung-li and a single name Ch'üan, with a tzu Yün-yang[58], and a Taoist title Chengyang-tzu. I am a man of Hsien-yang, the capital (of Ch'in T'ang). During my childhood, I have achieved both the civil and military trainings to perfection in the Han dynasty. I was appointed a commander in charge of a western expedition. Later on, I left home and lived as a recluse on the Chung-nan mountain[60]. I met the Real One Tung-hua who taught me the Tao. I made my hair into a twin coiled hair-do on the top of my head. I have been called Real Man T'ai-chi[60].

The play then goes on to tell how Chung-li met Lü Tung-pin and how he helped Lü achieve the Tao. From this record in the drama it is thus clear that the relationship between Chung-li and Lü is that of a...
teacher to a disciple. Such a teacher-disciple relationship between these two men is also supported by other playwrights in the Yuan period. For example, in the play *Chu-yeh chou* ("The Bamboo-leaf Boat") written by Fan K'ang, Lü Tung-pin, in his own self-introduction on the stage, relates a similar story; he says:

> I am surnamed Lü with a single name Yen[61]. I have a tzu Tung-pin and a Taoist title Ch'un-yang-tzu[62]. When I passed through Han-tan district, I met with my teacher Chung-li Ch'üan, who helped to convert me through a dream of yellow millet . . .[18].

Almost the same information is found in another play, *Sheng hsien meng* ("The Dream of Ascending to Immortality") by Ku Tzü-ching. There Lü remarks about himself by saying:

> . . . I was a chin-shih[63] in the T'ang dynasty. When I went up to the capital, I stopped at an inn called Huang-hua-tien on the Chung-t'iao mountain. There I met my teacher Chung-li who taught me the Great Tao of the Golden Pill . . .[19].

Thus it becomes very clear that the relationship of teacher and disciple between Chung-li and Lü was firmly established by the Yuan writers.

The teacher-disciple relationship between the members of the Eight Immortals had apparently become a stereotype in the eyes of the dramatists in the Yuan period. One of the authors, Yüeh Po-ch'üan, describes the same relations between Lü Tung-pin and Li T'ieh-kuai in his play, *T'ieh-kuai Li* ("Li with the Iron Crutch"). The drama is really the story of Li T'ieh-kuai's conversion to immortality in Taoism through the able assistance of Lü Tung-pin, who had already attained the Tao. According to the opinion of this playwright, the teacher-disciple relationship also exists between Lü Tung-pin and Li T'ieh-kuai. But a further study of other sources shows that Li's achievement of the Tao had nothing to do with Lü Tung-pin, for Li learned his Tao from the great Lao Tzū, who was claimed to be the founder of Taoism. The following record tells their story very clearly:

*T'ieh-kuai* was surnamed Li. He was originally a heavy-built man. In his early years, he learned the Tao and took his further training in a mountain cave. One day he planned to visit Lao Chün (Lao Tzu's title in Taoism) in his spirit, so he called his disciple and instructed, 'I have my p'o (body) here. If my wandering hun (soul) does not come back with seven days, you may burn my body'. After he had left for a few days, his disciple had to go home on account of his mother's illness. So on the sixth day, he burned Li's body and went home. On the seventh day, the wandering hun of Li came back, but was unable to find his p'o. In desperation, he could only find the body of a newly dead beggar, so he attached his hun to the corpse and became alive again. Thus he became a crippled man with an ugly appearance. Of course this was not his original form[20].

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[61] 峥
[62] 純陽子
[63] 進士
This version of the legendary record of Li T'ieh-kuai has become a standard story about Li in many mythological books, such as Li-tai shen-hsien shih, Lieh hsien chuan, and even the novel Tung yu chi. In the novel, however, the author not only contradicted the record found in the drama, but even built up the leadership of Li T'ieh-kuai and made him the founder and initiator of the pa hsien group. According to Wu Yüan-t'ai, the author of Tung yu chi, Li was responsible for the conversion of both Han Chung-li and Lü Tung-pin. In so far as their relationship is concerned, the teacher-disciple pattern is still held unquestionable in the mind of the novelist.

Other than these three members in the Eight Immortals, the tsa-chü writers of both Yuan and Ming did not clarify the relations between other members of the group in their plays. However, from some of the tsa-chü titles some conjectural hints may be acquired concerning their relationships. One such title, Han Chung-li tu Lan Ts'ai-ho ("Han Chung-li Transforms Lan Ts'ai-ho"), seems to suggest that the relationship between Chung-li and Lan follows the same teacher-disciple pattern. Unfortunately the text of this play is no longer available, and its title is the only indication of the possibility of such a relationship. Other sources, however, show clearly that such a relationship between these two men did not exist. One of the earliest records on Lan Ts'ai-ho is found in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, an anthology of myths and mysteries, compiled during the Sung dynasty. The record shows that Lan Ts'ai-ho usually wore a blue robe, one of his feet wore a shoe, the other foot was bare. In the summertime, his robe was padded with cotton, but in the winter he usually lay on the snowy ground. When he entered a town he usually carried a huge castanet singing the song which went like 'T'ä-ko, t'a-ko (dancing and singing) is Lan Ts'ai-ho. How long can this human world be? The ancient has gone in oblivion and would never come back. But people today have come in greater number than before.  

This story has become a standard version of the legend of Lan Ts'ai-ho and has also been recorded by others in such books on mythology as Hsü hsien chuan, Lieh hsien chuan, and Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng discussed and mentioned before.

As for other members in the Eight Immortals group, the dramatists of Yuan and Ming failed to clarify their relations. Consequently, other sources must be consulted in order that some kind of connection can be made about the relations between these figures. Among the eight of the pa hsien group, Chang Kuo-lao was the only member whose biography is recorded in the official histories, the T'ang shu. His lengthy biography was later quoted in other works on mythology, such as Hsü hsien chuan, Yün chi chi ch'ien written by Chang Chün-fang of Sung, Li-tai shen-hsien shih and Ku-chin t'u-shu chi ch'eng. Each of these

[64] 漢鍾離度藍采和 [65] 雲笈七籤

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books has recorded the same kind of story about Chang Kuo-lao with perhaps minor modifications and condensations. The brief account of the life of Chang Kuo-lao is found in the Ch'üan T'ang shih[66] ("The Poems of the Entire T'ang"), which was compiled under the imperial auspices of Ch'ien-lung of the Ch'ing dynasty; it summarizes Chang's biography given in the T'ang shu as follows:

Chang Kuo(-lao) was a man from Liang-tang (of Shansi province). He first lived in seclusion in the Chung-t'iao mountains. Later he moved to Teng-ch'en cave[67] ("Climbing to Realness") of the Yu-tsu mountain. At the time of Empress Wu of T'ang, he was summoned to the capital by the Empress, but he refused. Later Emperor Ming-huang sent a man to call on him with full courtesy and propriety. He entered the palace in a sedan-chair. The Emperor bestowed upon him the title Ch'ing-kuang-ju ta-tu[68] and a Taoist title, T'ung-hsüan hsiien-sheng[69] ("Master of Understanding the Mystery"). After a short while, he returned to his mountain.25

In this record there is no mentioning at all of any relationship between Chang and the rest of the Eight Immortals. But when the novel Tung yu chi[66] came out in the Ming time, the author has linked Li T'ieh-kuai with Chang and claimed that Chang received his Tao from Li. Thus the popular teacher-disciple relationship was given to these two men by the novelist24. Unfortunately no other sources have reported such a relationship between Chang Kuo-lao and Li T'ieh-kuai.

Han Hsiang-tzu's story, like that of Chang Kuo-lao, can also be found in several of the mythological compilations mentioned above. The earliest is perhaps the story which appeared in the Yu-yang tsa-tsu[70], written by Tuan Ch'eng-shih[71] (— A.D. 863) of T'ang; it tells that Han Yü had a nephew who had just come back from Ching-huai district in the South. He was very young. Han Yü asked the boy to be a companion to his pupils in the local academy. All the pupils were annoyed and insulted by him. Han Yü heard of this, so he sent the boy to a nearby Buddhist temple to study. Ten days later, the chief monk of the temple by the name of Kang-fu[72] also complained about the boy's rudeness and mischief. Yü called him home and gave him a good scolding by saying, 'The poor people in the market are trying very hard to make a living. Even these people have their goodness and usefulness. All you can do is just mischief. Don't you know anything else?' The nephew made a bow and replied, 'I have a skill which, I am afraid, you know not'. After having said this, the boy pointed at the peonies in front of the house and remarked, 'If uncle wants the flowers to be green, purple, yellow or red, I shall make them so as you wish'. Han Yü was rather astonished in hearing

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this, but told the boy to do what he had just said. His nephew then put up some tinfoil to cover up the peony bushes so that no one could see them. He dug around the flowers until he reached the roots. He made a hole big enough for a man to stand in it. Then he got hold of some purple-colored minerals, some pink powder and some red color with which he worked on the roots of these flowers in the early morning and again at night. He did these for seven days and nights. Then he filled the hole again, and said to his uncle, 'I regret that it is a month too late'. For it was the first month in winter, the peonies were already purple in color. But when the flowers came out again, they turned green, red and white. On each flower there was also a character, and all the characters were purple in color and were distinctly visible. The characters formed into two lines of a poem which Han Yu wrote when he was banished sometime ago. The poem read:

The clouds blocked the Ch'in mountain. Where is home?
The snow had surrounded the Lan Kuan pass and the horses could not go forward.

Han Yu was very much surprised to see this. Later the nephew left him for Ching-huai and gave up his ambitions for official life.

Though the name of Han Hsiang-tzu was not mentioned in this passage, it was meant him by implication, for the same relationship between Han Yu and Han Hsiang-tzu was also mentioned by other writers in other sources, and the ability of making magic flowers is said to be the secret power of Han Hsiang-tzu. There are two of his poems which are incorporated in the Ch'üan T'ang shih; one of these has the title 'Speaking of my Ambitions' [73], which could clearly express the inner thought of Han Hsiang-tzu himself. The poem reads:

The caves of cloud and water in the blue mountains are my home.  
There during the second half of the night the liquid of jade flows.  
In the early morning I chew the red-colored clouds.  
The music of my lute gives a beautiful tone of jade.  
Inside the stove the white cinnabar is being refined.  
In the precious tripot the golden tiger is kept.  
In the virgin field the white ducks are raised.  
Inside the gourd the whole universe is hidden.  
My three-feet sword kills all demons.  
I can make wine in a moment of a walk.  
I can also make flowers bloom in a short time.  
If someone can learn together with me,  
We'll go together to see the sacred flowers.

This poem is full of Taoistic allusions and expressions for anyone to understand. However, it can very well suggest the inner inclinations of this man as a Taoist. The Ch'üan T'ang shih gives also a brief biographical

[73] 言志
sketch about Han Hsiang-tzu. Besides mentioning the relationship between him and the famous Han Yü, this short note also tells the fact that he later became a hsien. The note states, 'Han Hsiang(-tzu) had a tzu Ch'ing-fu.' He was a nephew of Han Yü. He was very poor, but seemed not to be concerned about it. When he was compelled to marry the daughter of an official, he rejected the idea completely. Later he achieved the Tao and became a hsien. The two sources mentioned here do not give any clue as to the relationship between Han Hsiang-tzu and other member of the Eight Immortals. Later when the novel, Tung yu chi, came out, the author had to fill up this gap by linking Han Hsiang-tzu with some of the immortals in the pa hsien group with the following story found in the thirtieth chapter of that novel:

Han Hsiang-tzu had a tzu Ch'ing-fu. He was a nephew of Duke Wen, Han Yü of T'ang. He was said to be born with a bone structure like that of an immortal. He was destined to distinguish himself from the usual ways of men in the human world. He did not have any desire for any luxury or excessive enjoyment, but preferred quietness and seclusion. Beautiful girls could not tempt him; nor could wine or other fine food make him forget his high ideals. He concentrated himself on the Taoist nurture and alchemical devices. Duke Wen once advised him to study hard in his classics in order that he might get into officialdom; but he remarked, 'What I want to learn is different from yours'. This made the Duke very angry, and Duke Wen scolded him very severely. One day Han Hsiang-tzu went out of his home hoping that he might find someone who might teach him the Tao. By a sheer chance he met both Chung-li and Lü (Tung-pin). Since then he left home for good. Finally he learned the Tao from these two hsien.

Here again the version of the life of Han Hsiang-tzu according to the novelist bears a striking difference from other records about him. Through the intentional effort of the author of Tung yu chi, the relationship between Han Hsiang-tzu and the rest of the Eight Immortals, particularly Chung-li and Lü, was established, and the teacher-disciple pattern was again claimed between these two men and Han himself.

The next figure on the list is Ts'ao Kuo-chiu. The most quoted story about him is the following one which can be found in most of the mythological volumes cited before:

Ts'ao Kuo-chiu was a brother of the Queen Mother Ts'ao (of Sung). He had a brother by the name of Erh-t'e who, taking advantage of his relationship to the emperor, had often abused his power and privileges and violated the law by seizing people's lands and taking their wives and daughters. As a result, many bad people were associated with him. At first Kuo-chiu admonished his brother to change his conduct, but to no avail. Gradually the brother considered Kuo-chiu as his bitter enemy. Kuo-chiu was so ashamed of what his brother
was doing that he decided to give away his wealth to the poor, and went to the mountains to seek the Tao. After several years, he had reached the point where his mind became harmonious with the Tao and his body could freely transform with his soul. One day, Han Chung-li and Lü Tung-pin passed by his place and asked him what he was doing. Kuo-chiu answered, 'Nothing else but to nurture the Tao.' Asked where the Tao was, Kuo-chiu pointed to heaven. Asked where heaven was, he pointed to his heart. Chung-li smiled and said to him, 'The heart is heaven, and heaven is the Tao. You have indeed found the Truth.' So these two led Kuo-chiu to join the group of immortals.

The same story is found in Li-tai shen-hsien shih and Lü Tsu ch'üan shu. According to the research of Chao [87], the author of Kai yü ts'ung k'ao [88], there was only one queen named Ts'ao throughout the whole Sung dynasty, and this Queen Ts'ao had only one brother named Hsiu [75]. He died at the age of seventy-two. There was no record of his becoming a hsien [39]. It is thus clear that the story of Ts'ao Kuo-chiu was apparently legendary in nature. However, as far as his relation to the rest of the Eight Immortals is concerned, the same teacher-disciple pattern was given between him and Chung-li and Lü by most of the writers on mythological writings.

The last figure on the pa hsien list is Ho Hsien-ku. Most of the sources on immortals contain the story about this female member, but the earliest record is perhaps the following one found in the Chi hsien chuan:

Ho Hsien-ku was a Taoist girl of Ling-ling (of Hunan province). When she was only thirteen years of age, she went with a girl companion to a mountain to gather tea leaves for medical use. She became lost on the mountain. As she was wandered around on the mountain, she saw a man with a long beard sitting at the foot of the eastern cliff. This man had a pair of beautiful eyes. She approached the man and made a bow to him. This man took a peach out of his pocket and gave it to Ho saying, 'You are still young. You must like to eat fruit. If you eat this peach, some day you will be able to ascend to heaven. If not, you would be just another common person on earth.' Ho took the peach and ate only one half of it. Then she was shown the way home and she went back. She thought that she was away from home for only half a day. But when she returned home, she found out that a whole month had already passed. Actually the man she met on the mountain was the Great Immortal Lü Tung-pin. From then on, Ho Hsien-ku never felt hungry. Besides she could foretell the fortunes and misfortunes of people's lives. Later she too became a hsien [31].

The same story is also found in the Lü Tsu ch'üan shu in which the relationship of Ho Hsien-ku to Lü Tung-pin is again set on the teacher-dis-
ciple pattern. But the author of the novel, Tung yu chi, denied such a relationship between the two, instead, the following story is recorded in that novel:

Ho Hsien-ku was a native of Tseng-ch'eng (of Kuangtung province). Her father was named Ho Su. When she was born, she had only six hairs on her head. During the time of Empress Wu of T'ang (684—705) she lived at Yun-mu-hsi (or Mica Stream). When she was about fourteen or fifteen years old, she dreamed that a certain immortal told her that by eating the yun-mu (mica) powder her body would become light and she would never die. When she woke up the next day, she thought to herself, 'The words of a hsien cannot be deceiving'. So from that time on she ate the yun-mu powder everyday. Little by little she found out that her body did become very light. The time came when her mother thought that she was old enough to get married. But she rejected the idea of marriage. One day she met Li T'ieh-kuai by the river together with Lan Ts'ai-ho. Li taught her the secret of the Tao. Since then she went back and forth from the mountains. She could travel as swiftly as if she was flying. Every morning she would go to the mountain, and in the evening she would come back home. When she came back she always brought some mountain fruits for her mother. When her mother asked her why she went to the mountain, she told her mother that she went there to discuss things with some female hsien. Later when she grew older, she began to talk about things on a different basis. When Empress Wu heard of this, she sent for Hsien-ku. She did not refuse the invitation, but on the way she suddenly disappeared. The messenger looked everywhere for her, but could not find her at all. In the years of Ching-lung (707—710), Li T'ieh-kuai finally helped her to reach immortality. In the fourth year of T'ieh-sheng (1026) she appeared on the Ma-ku Altar in the midst of many colored clouds. During the years of Ta-li (766—780) she was seen at Kwangchow (Canton). The local magistrate saw her in person, so he reported this to the emperor. In the opinion of the novelist, Li T'ieh-kuai was instrumental in transforming Ho Hsien-ku to immortality. It is because the author of the novel, Tung yu chi, has maintained, throughout his entire book, the leadership of Li T'ieh-kuai in the pa hsien group. In comparison with the authors of the Yuan drama who all maintained the dual leadership of Han Chung-li and Lü Tung-pin, a sharp contrast has been established; as a result of such disagreement, the members of the pa hsien group follow two different lines of lineal succession. In any case, however, the teacher-disciple relationship between the individual members of the Eight Immortals has been firmly established. Because of such an intimate relationship the Eight Immortals have formed a solid and inseparable unity from which a very interesting legend has been developed among the Chinese people.

Having examined all the sources on pa hsien, it is possible to make a tentative conclusion on the origin and formation of the Eight Immortals as
a legend. First of all, though actual data is still lacking on the original creation of this legend, it is safe to say that the Yüan drama, as a type of literature, is the first source material where the introduction and discussion of the Eight Immortals is presented. The drama of Yüan therefore has a close connection with the legend concerning this group. Secondly, even though pa hsien was introduced and discussed by some of the playwrights of both the Yüan and Ming periods, the disagreement existed among the authors on the identification of these eight figures indicates that the pa hsien as a legend was not prevalent among the people of the time. Hence a reasonable assumption to the fact that there may be some intentional endeavor on the part of the dramatists to create such a group in their plays. This theory of the intentional creation of the pa hsien group by the Yüan playwrights can be further supported by the findings that the various and different records about these eight figures have failed to present uniform and consistent information on their backgrounds. Though one or two of these people were historical personalities, a great majority of them were created by the imaginative minds of the dramatists. The final victory of Ho Hsien-ku, the only female member, in winning the eighth place among the Immortals is another proof of the creative skill of the dramatists. For the final selection and formation of this group was completed during the later part of the Ming dynasty when the novel, Tung yu chi, was written and the K'un-shan drama was developed by T'ang Hsien-tsu. Thirdly, even the final formation of the Eight Immortals reveals intentional creation on the part of the artists; for a glance at these eight figures shows clearly the variety among them. This group is certainly represented by the old (Chang Kuo-lao) and the young (Han Hsiang-tzu), the poor (Li T'ieh-kuai) and rich (Ts'ao Kuo-chiu), military (Han Chung-li) and civil (Lü Tung-pin), men and woman (Ho Hsien-ku). Besides, these figures represented different dynasties from Han through T'ang down to Sung. Such a variety, therefore, cannot be purely accidental. The remark made by the great Ming writer, Wang Shih-chen,[76] certainly expresses this interpretation about the Eight Immortals:

The Eight Immortals are Chung-li, Li, Lü, Chang, Lan, Han, Ts'ao and Ho. No one knows their origin. No one knows how this picture was originated. I have read many books on the biographies of these Immortals as well as many pictures and historical records. But there was nothing mentioned about them in the books written before the Yüan dynasty. Even in our Ming time, famous painters such as Leng Ch'i-ching, Wu Wei and Tu Chin, have never touched this group. Perhaps they thought that these people are not worthy to be painted. Actually these people possess certain unique features: Chang represents age, Lan and Han represent youth, Chung-li represents soldiery, Lü represents scholarship, Ts'ao represents nobility, Li re-
presents sickness, and Ho represents womanhood. Thus each one of them is a specialty. Together they represent a picture of variety.* 33.

It is certainly true that 'each one of them is a specialty' as Wang pointed out, as a group they certainly shared some common qualities. First of all, they were all followers of Taoism. Taoism at the Yüan dynasty was at its height. 34. Each one of these eight had become a founder of a Taoist sect during the Yüan time. 35. Yet together they did not form any clique or school. During the Yüan time the Taoist records have registered such terms as Wu-tsu (*Five Patriarchs*) and Ch‘i-chen (*Seven Real Ones*) 36. Nevertheless, nowhere in the Taoist documents can one find the term pa hsien. This again points to the conscious intention of the dramatists in creating such a group. Another feature these figures shared in common is the fact that they were practically all common, ordinary people of different times, with perhaps the exception of Ts‘ao Kuo-chiu who, being a brother-in-law of the emperor, may be considered a nobility. Because they were common and ordinary folks, most of them never had a chance to enjoy either fame or wealth in their lives. They represented those people who were usually looked down upon and despised by the society. But in the eyes of the dramatists these common, ordinary people all achieved the status of immortality. Here again the intentional and conscious minds of the dramatists seem to have been at work. Throughout the entire Yüan dynasty, most of the dramatists, being common and ordinary people, never had a chance of enjoying prestige or privilege. On the contrary, most of them suffered the humiliation and oppression of the Mongol conquerors. So when they wrote their plays, they chose these common people, and elevated them to the higher status of immortality. In these people the dramatists have found hope, sympathy, satisfaction and even salvation.

The study of the plays in the Yüan drama where the pa hsien group is presented has also shown an interesting phenomenon, that is, the dominant leadership of Lü Tung-pin among the eight figures. There are perhaps two reasons for this: First, at the time of Yüan, Taoism enjoyed tremendous popularity among the Chinese people, and consequently several Taoist sects were established in North China. All these Taoist sects revered Lü Tung-pin as their patriarch. 37. Since most of these playwrights were people of the north, they must have experienced the influence of Taoism and thus were aware of Lü Tung-pin’s leadership in Taoism. Secondly, of the Eight Immortals Lü Tung-pin was the only scholar who failed twice in his attempt to pass the imperial examinations so as to enter into the life of officialdom. The fate suffered by Lü Tung-pin in his life resembled very much that of the scholars of Yüan time. During the first eighty years of the Yüan dynasty, the Mongols had abolished the examination system. As a result, the only way by which the scholars could hope to enter into the life of honor and prominence in officialdom had been cut off by the ruling

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[37] 五祖

[38] 七眾
court of Yüan. Furthermore, the discriminatory policies of the Mongols against their conquered people — the Chinese — had made the life and fate of the scholars of the time even more unbearable and humiliating. So when they began writing their plays, they purposely chose Lü Tung-pin as their hero who had, in his dramatization, not only conquered his own fate, but also achieved a much higher ideal the life of immortality. In Lü Tung-pin the playwrights of Yüan saw a new hope and comfort. For this reason, a large number of plays were written by the Yüan scholars on the common and popular theme of Lü Tung-pin and his associates.

It may be an overstatement to say that the legend of the Eight Immortals was created by the tsa-chü writers of Yüan, but the drama of Yüan time together with the social background of the time certainly had an intimate relationship with this legend. Drama is not only the greatest form of entertainment for the Chinese people, it is also one of the important media for spreading and popularizing their legends and folklore. This is certainly true of the modern drama, such as the Peking Opera. It must also have been true of the Yüan drama, though more research needs to be done in this connection. The dramatization of historical personalities have created such a strong impression on the people that the people have ceased to consider these personalities as just common folks, but rather regard them as some kind of deities. Many examples can be found in modern drama, as for instance in the case of Kuan Kung (Lord Kuan) of the story of the Three Kingdoms, Pao Kung (or Duke Pao) of Sung, and even the 'King of Monkeys', Sun Wu-k'ung, in the stories of the Western Travels (Hsi yu chi). All of these people, whether historical or fictional, have been respected and even revered by the common people in China, and their legends are known to everyone, young and old. If this theory can be accepted, then the part played by the Yüan drama in the development of the legend of the Eight Immortals can be readily understood, and the hypothesis that the origin of this pa hsien legend had a great deal to do with the Yüan drama would not be too far-fetched.
Essai

The other two are so are Laloy entitled M. Bazin in (1851), p. 280. Shen-hsien hui Shanghai. Another tsa-chü collection is the newly found also summarized by Hans Rudelsberger in Office, Peking, dynasty. Han Gallery of Chinese Immortals' M. Bazin in the JA (1851), pp. 262-263. Liu-shih chung ch'ü collection of the Yüan drama is chü shu, (1923), pp. 77-96. A translation of the entire play has been made by the author cited above, pp. 77-96. 7

Yüan Ch'ü hsüan, op. cit., p. 630 (in the World Book Co. edition). The summary of this play is given by M. Bazin in his Le siecle des Youen (1850). It is also summarized by Hans Rudelsberger in Alchinesische Liebes-Komödien (1923), pp. 77-96. A translation of the entire play has been made by the author of this article and will be published soon.

Ibid., p. 510. The summary of this play, T'ieh-kuai Li, has been given by M. Bazin in his Siècle, pp. 276-298; and also by Rudelsberger in his book cited above, pp. 77-96.

7 Fang-chang[81] is one of the three Sacred Mountains (or Islands) of Taoism. The other two are P'eng-lai[82] and Ying-chou[83].

8 Yüan ch'ü hsüan, op. cit. pp. 1196. A summary of this play is given by M. Bazin in (1851), p. 280.

9 Duke Wen was the posthumous title given to Han Yu[84] of the T'ang dynasty. Han Yu was believed to be the uncle of Han Hsiang-tzu.

10 Yüan ch'ü hsüan, op. cit., p. 1058. This play has been summarized by M. Bazin in the JA (1851), pp. 262-263.

11 See Ku-pen Yüan Ming tsa-chü[85] (Han-fen-lou of the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1928), ts'e 7.

12 Yüan ch'ü hsüan, op. cit., p. 793. This play has been summarized by Louis Laloy entitled Le Reve du Millet Jaune' (Paris, 1935). It is summarized by M. Bazin in Chine Moderne (Paris, 1851), pp. 427-431.

13 All these plays are incorporated in the Ku-pen Yüan Ming tsa-chü, op. cit.; Shen-hsien hui in ts'e 11, Pa hsien kuo hui in ts'e 17, Han-tan in ts'e 28, so are Tung-hsüan sheng hsien and Tu Huang-lung; Ch'ang-sheng hui in ts'e 31.

14 Ya-men[86] is an old Chinese term for government offices.

15 T'ang Hsien-tsu's Han-tan meng (or Han-tan chi[87]) is incorporated in the Liu-shih chung chü[88], edited by Mao Chin[89] of Ming (Hua-wen Printing Office, Peking, 1955), ts'e 4, pp. 111-112.
This novel has been discussed by Chao Ching-shen in his *Hsiao-shuo hsien-hua*, pp. 77–83.

17 Ibid., p. 1043.


19 Ch’en Jen-hsi’s *Ch’ien-ch’üeh lei shu*, as cited by Chao Ching-shen, op. cit., p. 83.

21 *Chao I* [97], *Kai yu ts’ung k’ao* [98] (Shen-i-t’ang [100] Publishing House Shanghai, 1970), chüan 34, pp. 24a–26b.

22 See note 2.

23 *Ch’üan T’ang shih* was compiled under the imperial auspices of Emperor K’ang-hsi of the Ch’ing dynasty, and completed in 1706; 900 chüan. The present edition was published by Jao Yü-ch’eng [101] in 1875; 12th han, ts’e 7, p. 6a.

24 *Tung yu chi* [97] (Chin-chang Printing Company, Shanghai, 1915), chüan 1, p. 9b

25 *Tuan Ch’eng-shih, Yu-yang tsa-tsu* (Modern edition is in the *Ts’ung-shu chi ch’eng* series, printed by the Commercial Press, Shanghai), chüan 19, p. 157.

26 *Ch’üan T’ang shih*, op. cit.

27 Ibid.


29 Ibid., chüan two, p. 6.

30 *Chao I*, op. cit.

31 Ibid.

32 *Tung yu chi*, op. cit., chüan 1, p. 10a.


34 For the study of the rise of Taoism during the Yüan time, see Ch’en Yüan [103], *Nan-Sung mo Ho-pei hsin Tao-chiao k’ao* [103] (“A Study of the New Taoist Societies in North China at the end of the Southern Sung”) (Catholic University Press, Peiping, 1937).


37 See Fu Ch’in-chia, op. cit. and Ch’en Yüan, op. cit. and *Yüan shih* (edited by Sung Lien of Ming (Pai-na-pen edition by Commercial Press of Shanghai), chüan 202.

[100] 湖語堂
[101] 劫玉成
[102] 陳垣
[103] 南宋末河北新道教考
[104] 傅勤家
[105] 中國道教史