Introduction

The outbreak of rebellions against the Mongol ruler of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), kindled by a peasant uprising in 1351, inaugurated one of the most extensive, bloody civil wars in China prior to the nineteenth-century. The drama of this seventeen-year long power struggle, which climaxed in the ascension of Chu Yuan-chang (1328–98), a one-time Buddhist mendicant, to the throne of the native Ming dynasty (1368–1644), has inspired not only

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- KCTSCC: Ku-ch’in t’u-shu chi-eh’ (1725), ed. CH’EN Ts’ai (1754–1720), 10 chüan, in CLHP chüan 164–73.
historians but also novelists. In the course of time, when fact blurs into fiction, many of the episodes and personalities in these years prior to the founding of the new dynasty have become legends. While demythologization would be a prerequisite for an appraisal of the history of the period, an evaluation of the legends may shed light on the popular conception of a historical hero. A study of these semi-legendary personages of the early Ming, therefore, would be germane to an understanding of the interplay between reality and fantasy in the literature about this period.

The dramatic roles of two types of heroes in the history of the early Ming warrant our investigation. The first is represented by those men of action who not only were acknowledged for their outstanding contributions to the founding of the dynasty, but who also have left substantial records for an appraisal of their lives after one has extracted the legendary components. In an earlier paper I have furnished an example of this type in the case of Liu Chi (1311—75), the chief adviser to Chu Yuan-chang. The second type is a group of individuals whose actual role in these events has become obscure due to the paucity of ascertainable data, yet because of the profusion of legends surrounding their names, have inadvertently become important.

Nearly all the private accounts on the civil wars of this period were written after the establishment of the dynasty; their description thus tends to bias in favor of Chu Yuan-chang, the victor of the power struggle and founder of the Ming dynasty. The important ones are: Yu Pen (1338—97), Chi-shih lu (known under the title Ming-hsing ye-h-chi, ed. Chang Ta-t'ung, preface 1626, Academia Sinica microfilm); Wu Kuan (1435—1504), P'ing Wu lu (CLHP 29); Lu Shen (1477—1544), P'ing Hu lu (CLHP 26); T'ung Ch'eng-hsü (1521 cs), P'ing Han lu (CLHP 28); Kao Tai (1550 cs), Hung-yu lu (preface 1557) (CLHP 67—62). These writings have been critically examined in KCHSL, which is probably the most important source for this period. The civil war is also featured in a fictionalized form in YLC, which treats the rise of Chu Yuan-chang and the contribution of his advisers. This novel appears in two different versions, i.e. 1594 and 1616, and was later adapted for story-telling, for the stage, and for popular singing (see n. 23). There is a profusion of studies in Chinese and Japanese on this period in recent scholarship, the following being a partial selection: Fang Chueh-hui, Ming T'ai-tsu ko-ming wukung chi (preface 1940; 1964 ed.); Wang Ch'ung-wu in CYXY 10 (May 1943), 57—71; id. Ming pen-chi chiao-chu (1948); Wu Han (1949); Wada Sei in TG, 13:2 (1923), 278—302; Otagi Matsuuo in Bunka, 17:6 (May 1953), 597—621. Western writings on this period include: F. W. Motte, The Poet Kao Chi (1336—1374) (Princeton 1962), ch. 1; Rodney Taylor in MS 22:1 (1962), 1—78; John W. Darbess in JAS, 29:3 (May 1970), 539—58.

tant to the study of popular thought. The main characters in this category are four famous Taoists of the early Ming: Chang San-feng₁, Crazy Chou₂, Leng Ch’ien³, and Chang Chung⁴. In all cases the records of their life have been extensively fictionalized; in time they have lost their identity as historical personages and have been transformed into semi-legendary figures. Of the four, it was Crazy Chou and Chang Chung who were credited with a more important role in the events of this period, particularly for their alleged part in assisting Chu Yüan-chang in campaigns against his rival contenders. The stories of their achievement, fanciful as they seem to modern historians, received imperial acceptance so that they were transmitted as an official record. In time these myths were magnified by writers of fiction.

In a study such as this Chang Chung deserves special attention not only because of his colorful career but also because of the magnitude and persistence of legends attached to him. He was invested with an extraordinary gift of prophecy, and the wizardry of Taoist magic which enabled him to contribute to Chu Yüan-chang’s victory. The legends about him fused not only with the historical facts of those turbulent years, but also with those of much later periods. They provided the inspiration for one of the most bizarre

₁ These four famous thaumaturges of the early Ming were grouped together by the official historians as witnesses to the rise of the dynasty, as beneficiaries of imperial favor, and as proof of the Taoist loyalty to the throne. Chang San-feng, the best known Taoist immortal, is said to have lived from the reign of Khubilai Khan (1260—80) to the middle of the Ming period. He died in the last years of T’ai-tsu’s reign, but came back to life and continued to live and manifest himself for centuries. He is hailed as the patron saint of the Ch’üan-fa sect; his name is also associated with the Taoist boxing school of T’ai-chi ch’uan. For basic sources of Chang San-feng’s biography, see MS, 299/8a; KCHCL, 118/109a; MSHU, 160/16b, and Ming wai-shih, in KCTSCC, XVIII/256/33/6a. For a scholarly evaluation of his biographies, and those of the other three Taoists, see Anna SEIDEL, “A Taoist immortal of the Ming Dynasty: Chang San-feng,” in W. T. DE BARY ed., Self and Society in Ming Thought (New York 1970), 483—531. Crazy Chou, another Taoist eccentric of the early Ming, is known as an inspired simpleton and buffoon. He took part in the crossing of the Yangtze in 1360 and reportedly revived the wind to advance the fleet. He is also credited with an extraordinary capacity for healing and is said to have cured the illness of the future emperor. His fantastic stories were enhanced by Chu Yüan-chang who personally composed a biography for him entitled Chou Tien hsien-fen chuan, included in CLHP, 6/1a. For additional biographical information, see MS, 299/6b; KCHCL, 118/99a; MSHU, 160/13a, and KCTSCC, XVIII/256/33/1a. Leng Ch’ien, a Taoist skilful in painting and music, is as rich in legend as his fellow Taoists. He is reported to have studied Buddhism under the same master as Chang San-feng during the reign of Khubilai Khan, and served as a court musician in the early Ming through the recommendation of Liu Chi. When he fell out of favor, his Taoist magic enabled him to escape capital punishment and become an immortal. For his biography, see KCHCL, 118/119a; MSHU, 151/16a, and KCTSCC, XVIII/256/33/10b. He is the only Taoist among the four who has no biography in MS. For a recent contribution on Leng Ch’ien, see WENG T’ung-wen in Draft Ming Biographies, no. 6, 1965 (Ming Biographical History Project, New York), and in Hsin-shih hsüeh-pao (Singapore), 2 (1968), 1—6. Biographical data on Chang Chung are prose and heterogeneous; since these will be analysed and discussed in the text, they will not be listed separately in the notes (see also n. 5, 7). There was, however, another Ming personality known as the Iron-cap Taoist. He is Chan Chung-ho, a painter of bamboo. See Hsü Hsin, Ming-hua lu, in Hua-shih ts’ung-shu (1912), 7/95a.

[38] 周鸞倦者傳  [39] 詹仲和  [40] 徐沁：明畫錄  [41] 畫史叢書

67
books of prophecy in modern China known as Shao-peace ko (Hot roll Ballad)\(^4\). It is hoped that an analysis of this prodigious figure may contribute to an understanding of the pervasive impact of the mythology of an historicized personality in modern Chinese history.

**The Man and Legend**

The earliest biography of Chang Chung which supplies the basic source for later accounts was written by Sung Lien\(^5\) (1310—81), a learned Confucian scholar and imperial adviser. Sung states that he drew his material primarily from a file of notes compiled by Chu Yüan-chang, then emperor, and secondarily from his own reminiscences\(^6\). Sung also relates that he began to keep a record about Chang Chung in the summer of 1364 when he was amazed by his prognostications, and drafted the biography under imperial orders in 1370 while Chang was still alive. The data supplied by the emperor may not have been entirely accurate, yet they provided the primary source of the story. Being personally acquainted with the Taoist, Sung describes him as haughty and taciturn, and prone to sudden fits of incoherent speech on the one hand, yet on the other as a timid but irritable eccentric with a strange gift for inspired prophecy. He gives the following account: \(^8\)

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\(^4\) In my earlier paper on Liu Chi (n. 2, 1968), p. 55, n. 50, I called it Baked-cake Ballad after C. K. YANG, Religion in Chinese Society (California 1960), 236. Here I adopt the present rendition at the suggestion of Professor F. W. Mote. For details, see n. 41 below.

\(^5\) Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi\(^{42}\) (Ssu-p’u ts’ung-k’an [SPTK] ed.), 9/4a (also in KCHCL, 79/15b). Sung does not give the exact date for the composition of the biography. Several of the expanded versions of the Huang-Ming t'ung-chi by Ch'en Chuen\(^{43}\) (see n. 66), however, record the event under the seventh month of 1370, following the announcement of the completion of the Yuan-shih (actually, the latter was completed in the eighth month; see MTTS, 863). See, for example Huang-Ming T'ung-chi shu-i, ed. Pu Shih-ch'ang\(^{44}\) (preface 1603), 2/8a; Huang-Ming T'ou-chi t'ung-chi, ed. Yüeh Yuan-sheng and Shen Kuo-yuan\(^{45}\) (late Ming ed.), 4/39b; Huang-Ming...t'ung-chi t'ung-tsung, marginalia by Li Chih\(^{46}\) (preface 1696), 4/39b (for a bibliographical note of these works, see W. FRANKE, An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History [Kuala Lumpur 1968], 33ff). The Korean scholar Yi Hyön-sök, reporting this event in his Myongsagangmok\(^{47}\) (1704), 1/B, under the date of the second month of 1370, remarks that Chu Yüan-chang, being displeased with the court historiographers for using archaic expressions, advised them to copy from the archival materials in preparing their drafts. Yi points out that the sources which Sung Lien based on in writing Chang Chung's biography is an example of this kind.

\(^8\) Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi, 9/3a—4a (KCHCL 79/14a—15b). The following notes show that Sung's chronology slightly varies from the MTTS. It is not certain, however, whether Sung was not aware of the differences, or if he simply adhered to the emperor's data even though he realized their discrepancies. Cf. KCCHSL, 4/16a. Sung Lien's account was later included in Shen Meng (1510—61), Huang Ming wen-tse\(^{48}\), (pref. 1573), 12/5a. Shen commented that he would consider Chang Chung's achievement in astrology and the art of prognostication the equal of Kuan Lu (206—55) (cf. San-kuo chih 29/13b) and Li Ch'un-feng\(^{49}\) (602—70) (Ilsin T'ang-shu 204/1a).

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[42] 宋濂
[43] 宋學士文集
[44] 陳建：皇明通紀
[45] 卜世昌：皇明通紀述遺
[46] 岳元聲，沈國元：皇明資治通紀
[47] 李贄
[48] 李元錫：明史綱目
[49] 慎蒙：皇明文則
[50] 管轅，李淳風
Chang Chung, 

was a native of Lin-ch’uan (Kiangsi).

He studied Confucianism in his early years, and specialized in the Ch’un-ch’iu for the chin-shih degree examination, but failed the test. Thereupon he took delight in the mountains and rivers, and travelled all over the districts to the west of the Yangtze River. He met a mysterious stranger who taught him the "T’ai-chi numerology" (t’ai-chi shu-hsüeh), whereupon he was able to make predictions of fortune and misfortune, which often turned out to be correct. At that time the country was in chaos, so he retired to Mt. Mu-fu. He advised people on the ways of escaping the ravages of war; those who heeded his opinion survived, those who did not encountered disaster.

In the first month of jen-yin (February 1362), when His Majesty (Chu Yuan-chang) captured Yü-chang (Nanchang, Kiangsi), the censor-in-chief Teng Yü (1337-77), who was with His Highness, recommended Chang Chung, so His Majesty sent a messenger to summon him. Having offered him a seat, His Majesty enquired: "When I captured Yü-chang, may army did not spill blood with their swords, nor did they disturb the peace of the market-place. Will the people now enjoy peace?" "Not yet", said Chung, "very soon blood will stain this place, all the living quarters will be burnt, the T’ieh-chu (Iron-pillar) shrine will also disintegrate into ashes, only one hall will survive."

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a The Lin-ch’uan-hsien chih (1879), 53A/6a has a biography of Chang Chung which reproduces the standard sources and adds the story of how he predicted the rise of Chu Yi based on the Yü-chang shu (cf. n. 35). There is also a notice of his tomb, located at the Tao-jen peak in Mt. Hsia-ma, in ibid, 53B/2a.


c Mt. Mu-fu is situated outside the Shen-ts’e gate of Shang-yüan hsien. Nan-Chihli; see Chiang-ning-fu chih (1880), 6/4a.

d Yü-chang was first called Lung-hsing; it was renamed Hung-tu by Chu Yuan-chang on 1362/2/10, one day after he captured the city. It came to be known as Nanchang on 9/3; see MTTTS, 125, 170.

e Teng Yü, 1337-77. For his biography, see MS, 126/8b, KCHCL, 5/95a. Later accounts tend to place the date of the meeting between Chang Chung and Chu Yuan-chang much earlier than that which reported in this text (cf. also n. 14, 18 below).

f Originally called T’ien-chü kung (kuan); this well-known Taoist shrine was erected during the reign of T’ang I-tsung (860-73) in honor of Hsü Hsün (240-374), an exemplary local magistrate and efficacious Taoist. It was renamed T’ieh-chü kuan during the time of Sung Ning-tsun (1208-24), and became a famous landmark of Nanchang. Since 1883, it came to be known as Wan-shou kuan. For details, see Nan-ch’uan-hsien chih (1919), 15/3b; Nan-ch’ang wen-cheng (1919), 21/7a, 24/7a. Chu Yuan-chang paid a visit to this shrine the day following his entry into the city (MTTTS, 125).
In the fourth month of that summer, commander K'ang T'ai rebelled as Chung predicted. Since then, Chung was increasingly favored. He also foresaw the insurrection of certain high officials, and urged His Majesty to take precautionary measures.

In the seventh month of that autumn, administrator Shao Jung and assistant administrator Chao Chi-tsu hid an army in the north gate of Nanking in readiness for a coup. The plot was discovered, and they were executed.

On the kuei-wei date of the fifth month of kuei-mou (June 26, 1367), His Majesty was to leave for Mt. Fu-chou to officiate in a sacrifice to the mountains and streams and the hundred deities. He enquired of Chung as to the prospects of his trip. Chung said: 'It is auspicious. There you will meet two heavenly horses, moving as if bowing and dancing.' At the conclusion of the ceremony, when His Majesty was about to leave, his horse suddenly stood up like a human, making a gesture in the form of dancing, and lowered his head as if he was bowing. On that very day, a mission from the "Central Plain" presented an extraordinary horse, thus fulfilling the prediction of "two horses". Chung also foresaw a tremor in the office of the central secretariat (in Nanking), and some disturbances in the city, but these did not harm His Majesty.

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[h] This rebellion occurred on 1362/8/3 (MTTSL, 141; KC, 299). Both Shao Jung and Chao Chi-tsu had been comrades of Chu Yuan-chang since the latter started his uprising in 1354. MTTSL reports that they hid an army inside the San-shan gate in the southwest corner of the city wall when Chu Yuan-chang was about to review a parade outside the gate. They were discovered, sentenced, and executed on the same day.

[i] This is not mentioned in the official records. Mt. Fu-chou is situated in the Taip'ing gate northeast of the city wall of Nanking. See Hung-wu ching-ch'eng t'u-chih, in Lu Ch'ien ed., Nan-ching wen-hsien (1947), III, 5, and Wang Yin, Fu-chou-shan chih, in ibid. 1. This and the following anecdotes are quoted in Ch' en Chi-lu, Mei-kung ts'a-chu (Po-yen-t'ang pi-chi, 1922 ed.), 57a.

[j] MTTSL, 156, under the date of 1363/8/4, however, reports that Fang Kuo-chen (1319/20—74), an arch-rival of Chu Yuan-chang, sent an envoy to present tribute horses. If Chang Chuno's prediction alludes to this incident, then it actually took place more than a month later.

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[71] 康泰 [72] 徐達 [73] 祝宗 [74] 胡廷瑞 (胡美)
[75] 國瑞 [76] 邵榮 [77] 趙繼祖 [78] 三山門
[79] 覆舟山 [80] 洪武京城圖志 [81] 麾前：南京文獻
[82] 陳繼儒：眉公雜著 [83] 寶顏堂祕笈 [84] 方國珍
On the ting-wei date of the sixth month (July 20), a fire gutted the Chung-ch’in pavilion\(^k\), where the gunpowder storage caught fire and caused a thunderous explosion. As the secretariat office was adjacent to the pavilion, people inside and outside feared that it might become involved too.

At the time, the illegitimate ruler of the Han kingdom, Ch’en Yu-liang\(^l\) (1320/21—63), was laying a siege to Yü-chang which had already lasted three months\(^1\). On the kuei-yu date of the seventh month (August 15), His Majesty launched an offensive against him and asked Chung about the outcome. Chung said: ‘My Lord will win a decisive victory in fifty days, and capture the head [of Ch’en Yu-liang] on the hai or tsu date. The battle will be fought at Nan-k’ang\(^m\).’ His Majesty consequently invited Chang Chung to accompany him.

On approaching Mt. Ku\(^n\), the wind dropped, hence the ships were stalled. Chung said, ‘Your servant has studied the art of tung-hsüan\(^o\), and will conduct a sacrifice [reviving the wind].’ On the conclusion of the ceremony the wind increased in intensity, and the ships reached Poyang Lake. On the chi-ch’ou date (August 31), a battle was fought off Mt. K’ang-lang\(^p\) inside the Lake. Ch’ang Yü-ch’un, later prince of Chung-wu\(^q\), having penetrated with his forces deep into the enemy

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\(^k\) MTSSL, 155, under the date of 1363/7/20; see also KC, 302. This pavilion is not recorded in the Ming gazetteers of Nanking.

\(^l\) The siege of Hung-tu by Ch’en Yu-liang began on 1363/6/5 and lasted until 8/28, totalling eighty-five days. Ch’en lifted the siege when Chu Yüan-chang arrived with reinforcements on 8/25; four days later they fought a decisive battle inside the Poyang Lake. See MTSSL, 151, 157. For Ch’en’s biography, see MS, 123/1a; P’ing-Han lu (n. 1); KCHSL 4/1a.

\(^m\) Nan-k’ang is the name of the district on the west shore of the Poyang Lake, adjoining Nanchang in the north; see Non-K’a-ning hsien chih (1872). Here Sung Lien says that Chang Chung predicted the demise of Ch’en Yu-liang on a certain hai or tsu day, but as the story is copied into the MTSSL, the date is changed to make it correspond to the exact date of Ch’en’s death in order to strengthen the belief in the prognostication (see n. 11).

\(^n\) There are two islands known by the name Ku. The first, called Mt. Hsiao (Small) Ku, is located in the Yangtze river in P’eng-ts’e hsien, about 80 li northeast of the entrance to the Poyang Lake; see P’eng-ch’eng hsien chih (1873), 2/14a. The other, called Ta (Big) Ku, is situated inside the Lake, about 40 li from the entrance within the territory of Te-hua hsien in Ch’ing times; see Te-hua hsien chih (1872), 4/12a. When the name Ku is mentioned alone, it generally refers to Ta Ku.

\(^o\) Tung-hsüan is a common Taoist term with various and ambiguous shapes of meaning; it is also the name of one of the three major divisions of the Tao-tsang. The art of reviving the wind known as tung-hsüan, however, could have been any name conjured up by the Taoist. In the Taoist canon, this magic feat is discussed in Tai-shang liu-jen ming-chien liu-yin ching\(^9\) (Tao-tsang, 1924—25 ed., 1, s’e 577, 3/23a). This story of Chang Chung reviving the wind at Mt. Ku has a parallel in the account of Crazy Chou who is also said to have performed a similar feat when the absence of wind stalled Chu Yüan-chang’s fleet in Wan-ch’eng\(^9\) before reaching Mt. Hsiao Ku in an expedition in September 1360. See Chou T’ien hsien-jen chuan (n. 3), 6/3b.

\(^p\) Mt. K’ang-lang (sometimes abbreviated as Mt. K’ang) is an island in the southern part of the Poyang Lake within the territory of Yü-k’an hsien in Ch’ing times; see Yü-k’an hsien chih (1872), 1/13a. According to MTSSL, 159, the battle actually took place on 8/29 and lasted until 9/2.

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[90] 太上六壬明鑑符陰經  [91] 廣城  [91a] 康郎山
[92] 常遇春（忠武王）
defense], was encircled by the opposing fleet and in imminent danger. Many people thought [Ch’ang] could not be saved. Chung said: ‘Don’t worry, he will come out on the hai hour (9—11 p.m.).’ [Ch’ang managed to break out] on time, and scored several victories. Ch’en Yu-jen (Ch’en Yu-liang’s brother), the wu (sic. fifth?) prince of the illegitimate [Han kingdom], and countless enemy soldiers were drowned. On the jen-hsü date of the eighth month (October 3), His Majesty launched another offensive, after which, the drifting bodies of the defeated overflew the river. Ch’en Yu-liang was killed by a stray arrow. On the kuei-hai date (October 4), His Majesty secured the surrender of fifty thousand enemy forces. [According to Chang Chung’s original estimation], the date of victory, i. e. October 4 was exactly fifty days from the kuei-yu (August 15 prediction). Only in the location of the battle, Mt. K’ang-lang instead of Nan-k’ang, was there a slight difference.

Earlier, when Yü-chang was beleaguered by the enemy, His Majesty enquired when the siege could be lifted. Chung replied: ‘It ought to take place on the ping-hsü date of the seventh month (August 28).’ When the report arrived, it occurred on the i-yu date (August 27). [This marginal variation is] due to the [erroneous calculation] of the calendar by the court astronomers (jih-kuan), which often resulted in one day’s difference in that month, so the siege actually ended on the ping-hsü date. Chang Chung’s many other predictions were all allegedly fulfilled in like fashion. Being a cautious man, he rarely talked to people. He used to wear an iron-cap, hence people gave him the sobriquet ‘T’ieh-kuan tzu’ (the iron-cap master).

The “encomium” (tsan): I have had several encounters with [Chang] Chung, and found him to be haughty and taciturn. In conversation, when we came to a certain point, he would often interrupt by interjecting incoherent speech which no one could understand. On the fifth month of chia-ch’ên (June 1364), two of my colleagues “erudite scholars” (po-shih) offended His Majesty and awaited punishment. Chung then enquired their year of birth, took up a brush and made dots on a piece of paper as if he were doing a calculation. Before long, he burst into laughter and remarked: ‘The time of their re-installation will be on the fifth day of the seventh month.’ I took note of this. Toward the end of the sixth month, an imperial edict ordered them to resume duty. At that time the two still wondered if the

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prediction of the Taoist would be fulfilled. When they received an audience to thank the emperor, the date fell just when Chung had predicted. Chung’s Taoistic power is really marvellous. His Majesty personally compiled ten accounts [of his life], and asked me to compose his biography to be deposited with the “golden casket” [history archive]. Six years later (1370), I came across the draft in an old portfolio. I have therefore copied it, and supplemented the account with my personal reminiscences.

In this biography Chang Chung emerges as a Taoist disciple with an extraordinary talent in the pseudo-sciences and a strange gift for prophecy; he was imaginative yet eccentric and unconventional in behavior and thought. There are few verifiable facts about his life, however, other than the brief comments by Sung Lien who assertedly made his acquaintance. Many of the anecdotes which Sung uncritically incorporated into the text sound so fanciful and unreal that their authenticity has to be discounted. It is likely, however, that Chang Chung was introduced to Chu Yuan-chang in the course of Chu’s contest with his rivals, and that the latter, who strongly believed in the role of astrology in battle, recruited the Taoist as one of his advisers. Chang Chung’s precise contribution, such as his alleged predictions, is subject to conjecture in the absence of ascertainable data. If we discount his prophetic gift, such stories could have been a vulgarized perception of his foresight; otherwise they may have been conjured up by the Taoist himself to meet Chu Yuan-chang’s anticipations.

Some of Chang Chung’s predictions, however, were not entirely fictitious; rather, they appear to have been a vulgarization of the records through the cycle of his anecdotes. These include the story of the rebellion of Kang Tai, the coup of Shao Jung and Chao Chi-tsu, and the more bizarre incident about the burning of the Chung-ch’in pavilion. While these events were historically verifiable, the account about Chang Chung’s performance in the

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7 Chu Yuan-chang, who was deeply obsessed with astrology and the importance of observing cosmological signs for directions in battle, had recruited several astrologer-advisers. Famous among these was Liu Chi who on several occasions provided directives for Chu Yuan-chang in campaigns by consulting the movement of stars, which reportedly turned out to have been accurate. Chu Yuan-chang acknowledged his indebtedness to Liu Chi in several of his letters to the latter preserved in Liu Chi, Ch’eng-i po Liu Wen-ch’eng kung chi (SPTK), ch. 1. The other better known astrologer-advisers were Chang Chung and the monk (Meng) Yieht‘ing (see below). Chang Chung’s presence in Chu Yuan-chang’s retinue is also recorded in contemporary sources. In his biography of a certain Pao Shang-kang of the early Ming, T’ang Tzu-i mentions that the Taoist was one of those who had attended a gathering with the emperor at Mt. Chung where they composed poems. The other attendants were Chu Sheng (n. 24), Chang I-ning (1310–70) (biography in MS 285/9a; KCHCL 20/60a), Ch’in Yu-po (biography in Lu Shen, Yü-chang wan-ch’ao (CLHP 135), 9b), and others. This is quoted in Ho Meng-ch‘un (1474–1536), Yü-tung hsii-lu (1528) (CLHP 148), 26b, and repeated in the works of Cheng Hsiao, Li Mo, Teng Ch‘iu (n. 17), and others. Ho Meng-ch‘un, however, did not know that the so-called Iron-cap Taoist was Chang Chung until he consulted Sung Lien’s works. T’ang Tzu-i, tzu Wen-feng, a Confucian scholar of  

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[97] (孟)月庭  [98] 鲍尚纲  [99] 唐子儀(文鳳)  [100] 張以寧  
[101] 崔裕伯  [102] 豫章漫抄  [103] 何孟春；餘冬序錄  

73
battle of Poyang Lake against Ch'en Yu-liang is problematic. Though the story is cast in a historical setting, those anecdotes about his prognostications and his magic feat in reviving the wind appear incredible. They could have been the invention of Chu Yuan-chang himself in order to strengthen by supernatural signs the belief of his followers in his divine pre-destination.

However unsatisfactory it may seem as a historical document, Sung Lien's account of Chang Chung serves as the basic source for later biographies in both official histories and private works of fiction. The story acquires a sanctioned status when it was incorporated into the final version of the T'ai-tsu shih-lu (completed 1418) as literal evidence of the alleged assistance of the supernatural rendered to Chu Yuan-chang during his rise to power.

While this official account based itself chiefly on Sung Lien's biography, it introduced, under two separate entries, significant alterations aiming to embellish the existing record about the occult elements surrounding the empire-founder.

the Hung-wu period, has a biography in Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi hsiao-chuan [104] (1959 ed.), E/61b. There is another reference to Chang Chung's whereabouts. Liu Ch'en [105] (1335—1412), mentions the Taoist in his Kuo-ch'i shih-chi (1411) (in Chin-sheng yü-chen chi, ed. Yüan Chihung [106], 1959 ed.) 28b, in an account about a fellow astrologer (Meng) Yüeh-t'ing (known as Yüeh-t'ing in MSHU, 160/3a). Yüeh-t'ing was recommended by general Hu Ta-hai [107] (d. 1370) (biography in MS, 133/6a; KCHGL, 6/20a) to serve Chu Yuan-chang when the latter was waging a campaign against Mu-chou [108] early in 1359. Impressed by his knowledge of astrology, Chu often invited him to observe the cosmological phenomenon to give him instruction in battle. He then served Chu Yuan-chang at Nanking where he reportedly quarreled with both Chang Chung and Liu Chi over differences of views on astrological matters. Yüeh-t'ing was later executed by the emperor as the victim of a scandal. (This story is also reported in CHENG Hsiao, Chin-yen [109] [CLHP 145], 10b). These two accounts, therefore, corroborate the official sources on the presence of Chang Chung in Chu Yuan-chang's quarters.

[104] 列朝詩集小傳 [105] 劉辰：國初事蹟 [106] 姜燁：金聲玉振集
[113] 朱允炆 [114] 朱棣
First, it introduced an anecdote of how, during Ch'en Yu-liang's siege of Nan-ch'ang in August 1363, Chang Chung snuffed out a burning lamp then forming a flower-bud shape at its root which people construed to be an auspicious omen, as a warning sign not to indulge in joy over premature victory while the enemy is still at large. Second, it altered the date on which Chang Chung predicted Ch'en Yu-liang's death, from the vague expression of a certain hai or tzu day to the (jen)-hsü or (kuei)-hai day, corresponding to October 3 or 4, the date of the actual occurrence of the event. This latter alteration therefore helps to strengthen the popular belief in Chang Chung's prognostication and, by implication, the superhuman capacities of Chu Yüan-chang's advisers. Third, it incorporated a story of how Chu Yüan-chang, upon hearing Chang Chung's rather incredible prediction of Ch'en Yu-liang's death, sent a musician under the disguise of offering sacrifice to Ch'en on the spot to verify the report, which turned out to be correct. These alterations and additions to the existing record, probably inspired by stories about Chang Chung in circulation after Sung Lien had completed his biography, not only substantiated the prevailing myth about the Taoist clairvoyant, but also the popular belief in Chu Yüan-chang's imperial destiny.

Presumably stimulated by the official accounts, several expanded versions of Chang Chung's life appeared in the literary miscellanies of the

10 MTTSL, 169. The popular belief in the burning lamp forming a flower-bud at its root as an auspicious omen can be traced to Han times. See the remark by Lu Chia quoted in Ko Hung (?), Hsi-ching tsa-chi (SPTK), 3/5a.

11 MTTSL, 170. See also n. 6m, 14c.

12 MTTSL, 165. This story was later adapted by Lu Ts'an in KSP (n. 14) with slight changes, and was also included in KC under the same date (p. 305). T'an Ch'ien, however, eliminated all other anecdotes about Chang Chung from his narrative, arguing that the inclusion of these fanciful stories might distract the readers from following the true events of history (p. 310).

13 The MTTSL, under the date of 1373/11/12 (p. 1521), includes another story of how Chu Yüan-chang, acting on Chang Chung's prediction that a battle would
later centuries, the most important of which occurred in the Keng-ssu pien (ca. 1520) by Lu Ts'an (1494–1551). Drawing on the existing data, Lu embellishes the legend by incorporating into his account several bizarre anecdotes, such as the story of the Taoist returning to life after his reported death by drowning. These additions provide the basis for future falsifications of Chang Chung's records, and inspire a profusion of more fanciful anecdotes about his prophetic gift. Lu's version reads 14:

Chang Ching-ho, the Iron-cap Taoist, is a magician from the west of the Yangtze River. His art of prognostication is such that few people can fathom him. When Emperor T'ai-tsu (Chu Yuan-chang) first came to Ch'u-yang (in 1354), the Taoist called upon the military quarters and made a prediction to His Majesty. He said: 'In these turbulent times only a man who commands the mandate of Heaven can attain peace. As I see it now, it must be my Lord.' His Majesty then demanded an explanation. He replied: 'My Lord has the dragon's pupil, the eyes of phoenix; [your features] are extraordinary and noble beyond description. When you rise with a radiant countenance, like the wind sweeping dark clouds, this will be the date you will receive the mandate.' Amazed by his prediction, His Majesty kept him in his quarters, whereupon the Taoist accompanied His Majesty on several campaigns. When His Majesty was engaged in battle against Ch'en [Yu-liang], he often asked the Taoist to observe the ethers to predict the outcome for him. Every prediction he made came true. In the battle of Poyang Lake, Ch'en was killed by a stray arrow, but neither side was aware of his death. The Taoist, however, perceived it after observing the ethers, and secretly communicated the intelligence to His Majesty. He said: 'Ch'en Yu-liang is dead, but his men have not been informed, so they are still fighting hard. I beg my Lord to compose an eulogy, and send a criminal convicted of death sentence to take the eulogy and wail for him. The morale of the enemy will be undermined and we shall attain our

14 KSP 170/1a.

a i.e. Ch'u-chou, in modern Anhwei on the northern bank of the Ch'u river. Chu Yuan-chang arrived in Ch'u-chou in late March 1354; see MTSL, 11; KC, 264. This places Chang Chung's meeting with Chu Yuan-chang eight years earlier than the report by Sung Lien (February 1362); see also n. 6e, 18, 19.

b The art of predicting future events by observing the ethers, known as wang-ch'i, based on the mystical theory of the cosmological school, occurred early in Chinese history. Two ancient works devoted to this subject, all presumably lost, appear in the bibliographical section of the Han-shu and Sui-shu. They are Pi-eh-cheng-tzu wang-ch'un-ch'i, 3 chüan, in Han-shu I-wen chih (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ed.), 2/60, and Wang-ch'i shu, in Sui-shu ching-chi chih (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ed.), 3/91. Examples of the performance of this magic art can be found in Shi-chi (PN ed.), 7/13b, 10/15b, 28/21a. Two other contemporaries of Chang Chung, Liu Chi and (Meng) Yi-eh-t'ing (n. 7), are reported to have been capable of performing similar feats; see KCHCL, 9/3b, and Liu Ch'en (n. 7).
After His Majesty designated Chin-ling (Nanking) as his capital and began to plan its construction, he often asked the Taoist to examine the geomancy of the site, and greatly favored him. [Once His Majesty] made a trip to a monastery in Mt. Chi-ming. Upon observing that the towering stupa overlooked the inner palace, he intended to demolish it and replace it with a lower building. Before he revealed this, the Taoist suddenly said to the monks: 'His Majesty plans to demolish your stupa. When he visits the monastery the next day, you should detain him on the way and plead with him, [the stupa] will then be spared.' Being amazed by the Taoist's prognostication, the monks, carrying burning-incense, went several li away from the mountain at dawn of that day, waiting for the emperor. When His Majesty arrived, the monks begged him earnestly not to destroy the stupa. His Majesty was astonished and enquired: 'I do not have such intention, why should you conjure up the charges?' The monks replied: 'The Iron-cap Taoist instructed us to do so.' Surprised at the Taoist's pre­science, His Majesty desisted from demolishing the stupa.

Earlier when Hsü Ta was a high commander, the Taoist once remarked to him: 'Your honor has red cheeks, your eyes look like fire, and you have reached the top rank. Unfortunately you will have only a medium life-expectancy!' Hsü later died at the age of fifty-four sui (fifty-five). Once the Taoist found a lodging at the foot of Mt. Chung, Lan Yü, the Duke of Liang-kuo, brought wine to visit him. The Taoist emerged in rustic garments to greet him. Lan Yü, feeling slighted, was quite displeased. As they were drinking, Yü snubbed [the Taoist]: 'I have a line of poetry, would you listen to me?' The Taoist replied that he would. Yü snubbed him again, then recited the lines: "A tower of iron crowns the stupa, / In the same stand, my essence is fading. / If you are merciful, save me from this hour. / My soul will return to you in a moment."

He then removed the iron cap from his head, displayed the head of a toad, and jumped off the stupa. The Taoist caught him and took him home where they remained together for a month. The Taoist then recited another line: "Without your prescience, I could not have lived to see this day."

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This is based on MTTSL, 165 (n. 12), which introduces a few alterations in the contents. It adds the story that Chang Chung preceived of Ch'en Yu-liang's death by observing the ethers; and, instead of sending a musician as reported in MTTSL, it tells that Chu Yuan-chang sent a criminal convicted of capital punishment. This new version of the story was followed by later writers.

In his account of Liu Chi in KSP, Lu also reports a story that the Taoist submitted a plan for the construction of the palace in Nanking which turned out to be the same as that which presented by Liu Chi and Crazy Chou (KSP, 173/2a). This story is also reported in KPIT, B/1a, and Chou Hui (Wan-li period), Hsü Chin-ling so-shih (1610; 1955 ed.), 10a.

The Chi-ming monastery is situated on Mt. Chi-ming in the northern gate of Nanking; see Hung-wu ching-ch'en t'u-chih (n. 6i), 6, 13. Chou Hui reports in Chin-ling so-shih, 174a, that Chang Chung was responsible for drafting the plan for enlarging the foundation of the monastery.

Wang Chi (1565 cs) states in Hsü Wen-hsien t'ung-kao (1603), 243/34a (also quoted in KCTSCC, XVIII/256/33/11b) that Chang Chung's revelation of Chu Yuan-chang's intention to destroy the stupa antagonized the emperor who subsequently ordered that the Taoist be thrown over the Ta-t'ung bridge (i.e. Ta-chung bridge, see below, n. j.), but later he was reported to have returned to life.

For Hsü Ta's biography, see MS, 125/1a, and its German translation in Jubiläumsband der OAG, Tökyö 1933, II, 305–327. KCHCL, 5/1a. Hsü's death is shrouded in mystery. It is widely believed that he was poisoned by the emperor; see Hsü Tao-lin in Tung-lang tsa-chih, 1:4 (Oct. 1967), 58.
you match yours with mine?' He then said: 'Wearing a pair of straw sandals to greet a guest is impolite under foot [130].' The Taoist, pointing to the coconut cup Yü was holding, responded: 'Holding a coconut shell as a cup is unfaithful before the goblet [131].' Lan Yü, being a military man [averse to letters], did not catch the pun [132]. He laughed with the Taoist and departed. Later Yü was executed on the charge of treason, implicating his entire clan, [thus fulfilling Chang Chung's prognostication][133].

The Taoist lived in the capital for several years. Then one day, not knowing why, he fell from the Ta-chung [134] bridge [135] in Nanking and drowned. His Majesty ordered a search for his body, but it was not recovered. Then the guards of the T'ung Pass [136] in Shensi reported that on a certain day of a certain month the Iron-cap Taoist left the Pass leaning on his walking-cane. When [the date] is checked, it turned out to be the date of his reported drowning. He was never seen again.

The anecdotes which Lu incorporated in his biography present a mixed ingredient of imaginative fantasy and vulgarized historical facts. On the fantastic side are the story of Chu Yüan-chang wanting to demolish the stupa of the Chi-ming monastery but renouncing his plan after his intention was revealed by Chang Chung's pre-knowledge, and the account that the Taoist returned to life after a reported drowning which, as Lu Ts'an confides, derives from the hearsay of a certain Mr. Mao of Nanking [137]. The other anecdotes, incredible as they seem, were not entirely fictitious. The tragic ends of both Hsü Ta and Lan Yü, which Chang Chung reportedly predicted, are historical facts; except that they are presented here in vulgarized form, perhaps to dramatize the precarious nature of officials serving under a self-willed, despotic monarch.

Sung Lien's account, together with Lu Ts'an's supplementary notes, lay the groundwork for future writers to dramatize the story of the Taoist. A profusion of bizarre anecdotes about Chang Chung marks the miscellanies of the Chia-ching (1522-66) and subsequent periods. During these decades,

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[130] The original expression of "under foot," (chu-hsia), is an honorific address to the other party; it pairs with "chün-ch'ien" (before the cup), which alludes to "His Majesty," i.e., Chu Yüan-chang. Lan Yü, however, failed to catch the pun.

[131] Lan Yü was executed on the charge of treason on 1393/3/22, implicating his entire clan, and tens and thousand of his associates and friends. See MTTSL, 3296, MS, 132/5b, and CHAO I 1132/678. In this passage, Lan Yü is referred to as the Duke of Liang-kuo; actually he was offered only the less prestigious title of Liang-kuo as punishment for an alleged offense.


[133] The T'ung Pass, situated in the southeast of T'ung-kuan hsien, Shensi, is the main gateway and defensive bastion of Kuan-chung, and the scene of frequent battles in history. See Ku Tsu-yü, Tu-shih tang-yü chi-yao [137] (1879 ed.), 54/7a.

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(130) 脚穿芒履迎賓, 足下無禮  (131) 手持椰瓢作蓋, 尊前不忠
(132) 趙翼：廿二史劄記  (133) 涼國公
(134) 大中橋  (135) 白下橋
(136) 通濟門  (137) 顧祖禹：讀史方輿紀要
78
the popular craving for fantasy, kindled by religious Taoism, reached its peak and produced an upsurge of fictional literature. These authors enhanced the Chang Chung mythology by further embroidering it with imaginative anecdotes interlaced with vulgarized versions of contemporary events, even though some of them may have had only vague notions about the man as a historical personage. In so doing they perpetuate the story of his meeting with Chu Yuan-chang, his miraculous performance in the battle of the Poyang Lake, and the anecdotes about his prognostications which, as time passed, prompted fiction writers to endow the man with prophetic insight.

In at least two accounts Chang Chung's first meeting with Chu Yuan-chang was presented in a more exciting form. The Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao (ca. 1566) by Lang Ying, for example, gives the story that the Taoist first met the future emperor in 1344 in Su-chou (Anhwei). Having heard Chu Yuan-chang chant a verse which unveiled his imperial pretensions, the Taoist was impressed and predicted that he would achieve his ambition. In a later account reported in the Ming-shan ts'ang (1640) by Ho Ch'iao-yüan (1558—1632), Chang Chung is said to have met Chu Yuan-chang during a trip over ten years before his emergence as a rebel leader. After reading Chu's palm, the Taoist predicted that he would become a "Son of Heaven in times of Peace", (t'ai-p'ing t'ien-tzu) but pointed out that time was not yet ripe and implored him not to be too politically active.

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16 As indicated elsewhere in the notes, most of the anecdotes about Chang Chung occurred in the miscellanies of the reign of Chia-ching, while a few others, duplicating the earlier materials, appeared in the Wan-li period. This type of fictional miscellanies is illustrated in the bibliographical survey of the section on "Various notes dealing with historical subjects" in W. Franke (n. 5), 100ff. An examination of their contents reveal the pervasive influence of popular religion, although the precise relation between the two still awaits further investigation. For a useful survey of the development of religious Taoism during this period, see Yang Ch'i-ch'iao, in Hsiao shu-yan Hsiih-shu nien-k'an, IV (1962), 73—147; Li T'sun-yen, in Hsin-ya hsiih-pao, 8:1 (Dec. 1967), 1—38; id., in W. T. de Bary ed. (n. 3), 291—330.

17 Ho Meng-ch'un (n. 7); Li Mo, Ku-shu p'ou-t'an (n. d.), 1/7a; Teng Ch'iu (1535 ed.), Huang-Ming yung-hua lei-pien (1570; 1965 ed.), 131/3a.

18 LANG Ying, Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao, hsii-kao (1961 ed.), 2/764. The verse reads: "Heaven be the canopy and earth be the carpet; the sun, the moon and the stars follow me to bed. At night I dare not stretch my legs; else I fear I might step through the floor of the mountain and river". This story is derived from a popular tradition about Cu Yuan-chang's early years transmitted down to later centuries. It appears, somewhat differently, first in the Lung-hsing tz'u-chi (1551) (CLIP, 13/2b) by Wang Wen-lu, who asserts that the story was told to him by his mother who learnt it from her father. According to this, Chu Yuan-chang uttered this verse when he was a Buddhist novice in the Huang-ch'u-eh monastery on an occasion when he was tied up in confinement by the abbot as a punishment for unorthodox behavior.

19 MST, Fang-wai chi, biography of Chang Chung, 6 a.
It is interesting that in these two accounts the meeting occurred much earlier than the dates reported by either Sung Lien (1362) or Lu Ts’an (1354); furthermore, they are presented in more fanciful details. These accounts seem to have been conscious though far-fetched attempts to utilize Chang Chung’s anecdotes to perpetuate the legend about the destiny of Chu Yüan-chang.

In due course, the stories of Chang Chung’s role in the battle of the Poyang Lake came to be confused with two outstanding personages, Liu Chi and Chu Sheng, who also advised Chu Yüan-chang in that campaign. Liu Chi, as has been noted above, was similarly transfigured in fiction as a Taoist to enhance their position by exploiting the legends attached to the founding of the dynasty.

20 There is another dramatic version of the meeting between Chang Chung and Chu Yüan-chang in MST, Fang-wai chi, 7b, which involves a Taoist magician by the name of Pei Kuo-ch’1 who reportedly professed the occult power capable of transforming the shape of his body. Presumably based on older sources, Ho Ch’iao-yan relates an incident taking place in 1367, the year in which Chu Yüan-chang inaugurated the reign of Wu, when Chang Chung and Pei travelled together to Nanking. One night, while staying in a country inn, they ran into the future emperor then travelling incognito and happened to share a room with him. Chu, lying in bed without a pillow, rested on a tou peck-measure. When Pei rose up at mid-night, knowing Chu’s identity, and, looking up the sky, exclaimed: “The majestic star is approaching the tou constellation!” The word tou, here referring to the star Dipper in the Ursan Major, is homonymous with tou, the peck-measure on which Chu was resting. Thus he was alluding to the impending success of Chu Yüan-chang. Hearing Pei’s exclamation, Chang Chung interrupted with a retort: “Not yet, it is still more than a foot away,” hinting that Chu had yet to wait for another year before realizing his imperial pretension. Overhearing their conversation, Chu Yüan-chang was startled; the next day he sent for the two Taoists. Both responded. Chu then asked what they would suggest for the national name and his reign-title; to this they reportedly supplied an answer which corresponded exactly with what Chu Yüan-chang had in mind. The first part of this story also appears in Huang Ch’ing-fang’s (1596–1662), Kuo-shih wei-ju (Taipei 1969 ed., p. 26), in an anecdote about Pei Kuo-ch’1. It was later incorporated in full in Chang Chung’s biography in CH’A Chi-tso, Tsui-wei lu (SPTK 3rd ser., chüan 26, Fang-wai). Without disclosing his source, Huang wonders if the story about Chu Yüan-chang might have been in fact appropriated from an earlier popular tradition about the Han Emperor Wu travelling incognito being publicized in post-Han fictional literature. (On the latter story, see, for example, PAN Ku, Han-Wu ku-shih (1937 ed.) The MST account of the conversation between Chu Yüan-chang and the two Taoists, on the other hand, seems to have been inspired by an earlier version of a similar story reported, for example, in HSIA Yüan-chi (1366–1430), I-fung chao-chi lu (in Huang Ch’ang-ling ed., Pai-ch’eng, Wan-li ed., 1/10b). This tells the story that before he inaugurated the Ming Dynasty, Chu Yüan-chang had planned to curb the spread of Taoism. During this time, however, a Taoist by the name of Huang Yueh-ch’1g submitted a report that the name “Hung-wu” (Grand Military Achievement) and “Ta-Ming” (Great Brilliance) had already been written on a poster pasted on an outer wall of the city (i.e. Nanking). Chu Yüan-chang was exhilarated as the news anticipated what he would want to name his dynasty and reign; hence he changed his mind about the Taoist establishment. The historicity of this story, however, is rather doubtful, since modern researches have shown that the name of the new dynasty and that of Chu Yüan-chang’s reign was chosen under the influence of the Manichaean religion. See WADA Sei in SZ, 42:5 (1931), 70–75 and Wu Han, in CHHP, 13:1 (1941), 49–85. It is possible, therefore, that the story was fabricated by the Taoists to enhance their position by exploiting the legends attached to the founding of the dynasty.

[154] 黃月清

80
Taoist magician-adviser\textsuperscript{21}. In later descriptions of this battle, he is often mentioned together with Chang Chung. Comparisons between the performance of both men gave rise, as the legends developed, to several bizarre accounts\textsuperscript{22}. One of the popular stories about Liu Chi's participation in this campaign is the assertion that he devised a scheme to destroy Ch'en Yüan-chang to victory. In the late Ming historical romance, Ying-lieh chuan (\textit{Romance of the Ming Dynasty Heroes}), Liu Chi, like the earlier reports about Chang Chung, is credited with changing the direction of the wind with his Taoist charms to set fire to the enemy fleet\textsuperscript{23}. Chu Sheng\textsuperscript{168} (1299-1371) was a Confucian scholar specializing in the art of divination based on the \textit{Book of Changes}. During his first meeting with Chu Yüan-chang in Hui-chou (Anhwei) early in 1358, Chu reportedly presented a three-point counsel: "Erect high walls around Nanking. Accumulate ample provisions. Delay the proclamation of kingship\textsuperscript{24}.", Impressed by his

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} Cf. n. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{22} WANG Shih-ch'en (1526-90), \textit{Yen-chou shan-jen hsü-kao} [168] (Taipei 1970 ed.), 85/5a. WANG points out that while Chang Chung excelled in magic feats, Liu Chi surpassed him in the management of state affairs. This remark is repeated in T'ANG Hao-cheng (1538-1619), \textit{Huang-Ming Ju-shih pien} [156] (1642), 1/13b, and Lo Hung-yün, \textit{Huang-Ming cho-yü chi} [157] (late Ming ed.), 1/16b.
\item \textsuperscript{23} YLC, 204ff. There are two versions of YLC. The earliest, attributed to Kuo Hsün (1475-1542) [158], is called \textit{Huang-Ming k'ai-yün ying-wu chuan} [194], 8 chüan, first published in 1591, which appears to be more of a popular historical work than a romance. This was soon replaced by its revised version, subtitle \textit{Yün-ho chi-t'ung} [148], 20 chüan, attributed to the celebrated novelist Hsü Wei [161] (1521-93), with a preface dated 1616. In the latter version, YLC becomes a full-fledged romance, in which factual details were minimized to make way for more dramatic and fictitious narratives. It was in the latter that Liu Chi received a thoroughly fictionalized treatment. The Iron-cap Taoist appears only in the second version where he is said to have predicted the enthronement of Chu Yüan-chang (pp. 39, 54), surpassed him in the management of state affairs. This remark is repeated in Chu Liang's armada to lead Chu Yüan-chang to victory. In the late Ming historical romance, \textit{Hsiao-shuo shu-mu}, published in 1591, which appears to be more of a popular historical work than a romance, the fictionalized treatment. The Iron-cap Taoist appears only in the second version where he is said to have predicted the enthronement of Chu Yüan-chang (pp. 39, 54), surpassed him in the management of state affairs. This remark is repeated in Chun Sheng,\textit{Chu Kuo-chien} [169] (1616), 9/1b. While most of the sources attributed the story to Chun Sheng, Chu Kuo-chien [169].
\end{itemize}
counsel, Chu Yüan-chang invited Chu Sheng to take part in the campaign of the Poyang Lake as his adviser. In a later account which attempts to damatize his role in this battle, the author credits him, as in the case of Chang Chung, with having predicted the demise of Ch'en Yu-liang. The only alteration in the story is that whereas the Taoist perceived of the outcome by observing the ethers, Chu made his divination according to the Book of Changes. Apparently, Chang Chung’s legends provided an inspiring model for the vulgarization of the exceptional contribution of both Liu Chi and Chu Sheng in the battle of the Poyang Lake.

Similarly, the anecdotes about Chang Chung’s predictions immortalized his legendary prophetic gifts and made him a popular hero in the minds of the uncultured who are believed to have secretly transcribed his prophecies. Eventually, through the inventive decorations of the fiction writers, these anecdotes coalesced with contemporary events and enhanced the existing myths. These semi-literary, semi-historical developments culminated in the appearance of a prognosticatory scripture attributed first to Chang Chung and then to Liu Chi. Prophesying the future events of China it became one of the most publicized books of its kind in modern times.

**Origin of the Prophecy**

The first mention of Chang Chung’s prophetic insight occurs in the Ch’anshsüan hsien-chiao pien by Yang P’u (1373—1446), who reports a meeting between Chang Chung and Chu Yüan-chang during which the former prophesized the events of the Ming Dynasty:

The Iron-cap Master is an efficacious Taoist. Once as he examined the physiognomy of His Majesty, [he observed that] the latter was destined to be an emperor. After his enthronement, His Majesty summoned the Taoist to his presence, and enquired of him about the duration of the dynasty. The Taoist predicted [that the dynasty] would surpass the T’ang but not the Han, and wrote a big character “Shun” (agreeable, or prosperous) for the emperor. He then took his leave and retreated to the mountain; no one knows where he is. A piece [of his work] entitled T’ieh-kuon tao-jen ko (Ballad of the Iron-cap Taoist) survives.

Yang P’u gave no further details of the contents of the ballad. Neither did he elaborate on the statement [that the duration of the dynasty] would...

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25 Chu Feng-lin chi, 9/13a, under the title I-yün chi-häeh. It is an account of the meritorious deeds of Chu Sheng composed by his descendants. Chu is credited with predicting the safety of Chu Yüan-chang during the battle of the Poyang Lake and the demise of Ch’en Yu-liang. For remarks on Chu Sheng’s prognostication, see also Huang Yu (1425—97), Shuang-huai sui-ch’ao (172) (1831 ed.), 1/9a.

26 Cf. n. 16.

27 In Huang Ch’ang-ling ed., Pai-ch’eng (n. 20), ts’e 9, 10b. This is also available in Ts’ung-shu chi-eh’ eng ed., no. 3347.
surpass the T'ang but not the Han, nor did he elucidate the meaning of the character "Shun"; the latter allusion, when placed in a different historical context, gave rise to extraordinary interpretations. This report of Chang Chung's prophecy subsequently excited fiction writers, and the ballad germinated a more elaborate book of prophecy. It appears, however, that the story was inspired by the legends about the usurpation of Chu Ti, the Prince of Yen, (later the Yung-lo emperor, 1402-24), and the subsequent mysterious disappearance of the deposed monarch Chu Yün-wen (the Chien-wen emperor, 1399-1402). The tragedy of this palace rebellion not only shocked the people who were anxious to know what had taken place, but also generated endless myths about what might have actually happened to the ex-emperor. In time the record of these political crises came to fuse with the Chang Chung cycle of anecdotes, and created the additional story that he had left a prognosticatory scripture foretelling these events.

The earliest report of such a story appears in the Chin-yen (preface 1566) by Cheng Hsiao (1499-1566) who, after relating an anecdote that the Taoist predicting Chu Yüan-chang's visit to a monastery (reminiscent of the episode in an earlier report), introduces a description of the meeting between

28 The source of Chang Chung's remark "[that the duration of the Ming dynasty] would surpass the T'ang but not the Han" could be traced to a prognosticatory text of the post-Sung period where this statement purports to be a prediction of the destiny of the Sung dynasty in comparison with the Han and T'ang. It was presumably manufactured by astrologers sometime after the Mongol conquest of south China in 1279 as a post-eventum judgement of the fate of the Sung ruling house. This statement is quoted in the Yai-shan chih attributed to CHANG Hsü (1455-1514) (Han-ien-lou mi-ch'i, ser. 4, 1916 ed.), 6a, 22b. It includes the comment of an anonymous writer who proclaimed that the prophecy has been fulfilled as the Sung, reigning over 316 (sic. for 320) years, surpasses the T'ang, which lasted only 280 (sic. for 290) years. In view of the popularity of this prophecy, attribution of its authorship to Chang Chung would have undoubtedly enhanced the myth of his prophetic insight, although the prediction itself must be adjudged fallible since the Ming lasts only 277 years, falling short of the duration of the T'ang. The meaning of the character "Shun" reportedly left by Chang Chung as an allusion to the fortune of the Ming, on the other hand, remains obscure as no commentators attempted to speculate on its implications. Instead they exploited Chang Chung's legend to conjure up a similar story of prophecy about the fall of the Ming in the name of Liu Chi who, as indicated elsewhere in this paper, was subject to intensive mythologization shortly after his passing. There is an anecdote in the Ch'ien-wen chi (ca. 1500) by Chu Yün-ming (1461-1527), quoted in T'AN Ch'ien, Tsao-lin tsa-cho, jen-ch'i (1911 ed.), 8a (the present edition of Ch'ien-wen chi does not include this reference), relating that Liu Chi once made a prediction that the dynasty would end with a reign-title called Shun. In light of the turbulent events of his time, Tan wondered if this might have alluded to Ta-shun (reign-title of Li Tzu-ch'eng, 1644-), and Shun-chih (reign-title of the Ch'ing emperor Shih-ts'u, 1644-61), the two reigns immediately following the fall of the Ming. His opinion was shared by an anonymous Ch'ing writer in Ch'ing-ko o-t'an (177), quoted in CHAO CHi-shih (180), Chi-yüan chi so chi (preface 1695), 10/19a. The story was later incorporated into SPK and became an integral part of Liu Chi's alleged prophecy.

29 There is a considerable volume of literature on this subject in modern scholarship. The authoritative writings on the usurpation are the two volumes of study by
the two. In a cordial atmosphere where Chu Yüan-chang reportedly offered Chang Chung a piece of "hot roll" as was his habit with ministers after an imperial audience, he invited the Taoist to make predictions 30:

Once while travelling in disguise, His Majesty arrived at a monastery. The monks were kneeling on the sides of the gate to greet him. His Majesty enquired how they had learned about his coming. They replied that they had heard of it from the Iron-cap Taoist. His Majesty immediately summoned him. On his arrival, His Majesty was holding a piece of hot roll and had not yet eaten half. He offered it to the Taoist, saying that, since he had known about his visit beforehand, he wished he could speak about the events of the nation without reservation or inhibition. The Taoist delivered impromptu several lines [of prophecies], among which were these: "In the intercalary fifth month of the wu-yin year the dragon returned to the sea; in the jen-wu year a black snake escapes from the fire." These predictions were found to be fulfilled between the Hung-wu (1368-99) and Chien-wen (1399-1402) periods. As to the rest [of the prophecies, no one] dared transmit them...

Cheng Hsiao did not elaborate on these two lines, nor did he give the rest of the prophecies; presumably, these were the only predictions attributed to Chang Chung that people could claim fulfillment during this time 31. The two cyclical years, wu-yin (1398) and jen-wu (1402) correspond to the death of Chu Yüan-chang (1398) 32, and the escape from the fire by Chu Yün-wen. Apparently the story arose after the appearance of the legend that the deposed emperor did not die in the fire of 1402 33.


30 Chin-yen (n. 7), in CLHP, 147/33b. It was a custom for Ming T'ai-tsu to offer food, usually hot rolls or cakes, to his ministers after an audience. This practice was followed by later emperors, and provides the historical background of the "hot roll" story. See Shen Te-fu (1578-1642), Wan-li yeh-huo pien 1189 (1619: 1959 ed.), 1/4; Chu Kuo-chen (n. 24), 1/4. This story was later included in Chang Chung's biography in MSUU, 160/15b.

31 Cheng Hsiao's apologetic remark was repeated by subsequent writers until Ku Chi-yüan who amplifies the story with the inclusion of the prediction about the T'u-mu incident (see n. 36, 37 below).

32 Chu Yüan-chang died on the i-yin date of the intercalary fifth month of the thirty-first year of Hung-wu (1398/6/24). See MTTSL, 3717; WC, 783. The circumstance of his death has been a subject of speculation among historians; for details, see Ming ching-nan shih-shih k'ao-cheng kao (n. 29), 43ff.

33 The fate of the deposed emperor is shrouded in mystery. The official record, in a bid to justify the legitimacy of Chu T's succession, asserts that Chu Yün-wen died in the fire of the palace at the fall of Nanking in July 1402. See Feng-t'ien ching-nan chi (Wang Ch'ung-wu, n. 29, 130); T'ai-tsung shih-hu (1962), 208. Popular
The rebellion of Chu Ti against his nephew in his bid for the throne indeed served as a catalyst in the mythologization of Chang Chung. During the rise of Chu Ti, there was a story of an anonymous Taoist predicting the usurpation of the prince. He is said to have left a line of warning: "Don't drive away the "swallow" (yen), otherwise it will fly higher everyday, till it flies as high as the imperial domain." The word "swallow", being the homonym of the Prince's title Yen, is said to have alluded to Chu Ti. In the official records of the Prince, the name of the Taoist remains unknown, but as the story was transmitted, it came to be identified with Chang Chung. Kuo Tzu-chang (1542–1618), reporting this anecdote in the Yu-chang shu (ca. 1608), presumably based on local legend concerning Chang Chung's reappearance in Nanking at the time of the usurpation, claims him to be the author of the prophecy.

Later, a more detailed story about Chang Chung's prophetic powers appeared. Ku Ch'i-yuan (1565–1628), after retelling the episode of the Chi-ming monastery in his K'o-tso chui-yü (preface 1617), introduces the accounts, however, contend that the deposed emperor escaped from the fire under the disguise of a monk and lived to an elderly age of sixty-four sui. The latter story began with a simple version in Wang Ao (1460–1524). Chen-see chi-wen (also known as Shou-ch'i pi-chi) (preface 1551), A/3b, and in Chu Yün-min (preface 1511), 2/1a. It was subsequently elaborated by Cheng Hsiao in Chien-wen hsüan-chi (preface 1566), and was further embroidered by writers sympathetic with the ex-emperor. The story acquired a multi-facet in private writings of the late Ming when the Chien-wen emperor became a popular hero, culminating in the appearance of a full-length chronological biography by Chao Shih-che, entitled Chien-wen nien-p'u, in 1695 (1955 ed.). For details, see the references in n. 29.

This is first reported in Feng-t'jen ching-nan chi under the date of 1402 (see Wang Ch'ung-wu, n. 29, 216), and was later included in T'ai-tsung shih-ju (n. 33), 135, as part of the official mythology about the usurpation.
story of Chang Chung leaving behind a prognosticatory scripture called 
Cheng-ping ko [209] (Steamed roll Ballad) [20]

His Majesty then summoned the Taoist and enquired: 'What will happen to me today?' 'The heir-apparent will present hot rolls at a certain hour,' the Taoist replied. It was the mid-autumn festival day. His Majesty then confined the Taoist to a room to test the accuracy of his prediction. When the hour came, the heir-apparent presented hot rolls as predicted. While he was tasting the hot roll, His Majesty thought of the Taoist, and wanted to give him the piece he was eating. When the door was unlocked, [His Majesty found that] the Taoist had vanished. He left [a prognosticatory scripture called] Cheng-ping ko on the desk for the emperor. The contents [of his predictions] about the usurpation of the Prince of Yen and the defeat at T'umu [215] are all being fulfilled.

This story augments that of Cheng Hsiao by revealing the prophecy about the T'umu incident of September 1449. This humiliating debacle of Emperor Ying-tsung (Chu Ch'i-chen, 1427—64) and his subsequent captivity by the Oirat-Mongol tribesmen caused a great sensation at that time and provided a source for legends [37]. The credit given to Chang Chung for predicting this incident likewise enhanced the existing stories about his prophecies. This is all we know about the Cheng-ping ko, the text of which is reportedly kept secret; presumably, the severe punishment meted out against people who circulated such prognosticatory texts (if in fact they existed) discouraged them from making them public [38]. In any event, it appears that

36 K'o-tso chui-yü (Chin-ling is'tung-k'o) ed. (1904), 2/3a. The origin of the SPK traced to the K'o-tso chui-yü was first noted by a late Ch'ing scholar writing under the pseudonym Tun-i in "Hsiao-san-wu-t'ing sui-pi" in Kuo-tsui hsūeh-pao [214], vol. 7 (1912), 1a. This was followed up by Ch'ü Tui-chih (pseudonym Ch'ü-mi) in Chung-bo yüeh-kan [214], 1:5 (1940), 103. Both writers, however, did not seem to have been aware that the story could be traced to an earlier source in the works of Cheng Hsiao.

37 For a full picture of the T'umu incident, see Ying-tsung shih-Ju (1963), ch. 180, 181; Yang Ming (ca. 1433—1503), Cheng-t'ung lin-jung lu [216], Liu Ting-chih (1409—69), Pi-i'ai lu [217] (CLHP, 19, 16), and MS, 10/11a, 304/7b, 328/4a. On the legends, see, for example, the accounts in Shên Te-fu (n. 30), 29/736; Chu Kuo-chen (n. 24), 1/10. For a critical analysis of this incident, see, among others, Hagihara Junpei in TK, 11:2 (1951), 1—21; Li Kuang-pi and Lai Chia-tu [218], Ming-ch'iao tui Wa-la ti chan-cheng [220] (Peking 1954), and Professor F.W. More's essay to be included in the forthcoming Chinese Ways in Warfare, ed. by F.A. Kierman, Jr. & J.K. Fairbank (Harvard University Press).

38 Wang Ch'i, Pai-shih hui-pien [221] (1610; 1969 ed.), 63/10a. Under the Ming law, punishment for circulating prognosticatory scriptures in public was a flogging of a hundred strokes. In extreme cases, where sedition was implicated, the offenders could be condemned to capital punishment. See (Ta)-Ming lü chi-chieh tu-li, ed. Ko Ch'i [222] (1553—1624) (1610 ed.), 11/9b, 12/5b; Huang-Ming tiao-ta shih-lei tsuan [223].
the Cheng-ping ko amplifies the T'ieh-kuan tao-jen ko, and provides the inspiration for yet a more detailed book of prophecy.

During the early Ch'ing period, a slightly different version of Chang Chung's alleged prophecy about the fate of the Ming dynasty appeared in the Tsui-wei lu by Ch'a Chi-tso (1601—76), completed in 1672. Ch'a relates that the Taoist, while taking residence in Nanking during the early years of the Ming, composed a prognosticatory scripture called Ch'üeh-ping ko (Cracked roll Ballad), predicting the future of the dynasty. Ch'a quotes two lines from a text he allegedly saw, which happened to be the same as those cited earlier by Cheng Hsiao: the prediction about the death of Chu Yüan-chang and the escape from fire by Chu Yün-wen. Here the title, Ch'üeh-ping instead of Cheng-ping, varies slightly from Ku Ch'i-yüan's report, yet there is little doubt that the author refers to the same text, which probably acquired renewed attention in the midst of the upheaval attending the fall of the Ming dynasty. This indicates the continuous popularity of Chang Chung's alleged prophecy into the Ch'ing period, and provides an important evidence on the uninterrupted transmission of this prognosticatory scripture until it re-emerges in its present form in the modern era.

**Prognosticatory scripture I**

The transmission of the stories about Chang Chung's prophetic gift finally culminated in the appearance of the Shao-ping ko in the late Ch'ing period. Since I have discussed the evolution and sources of this extraordinary text, I shall limit my remarks to those pertinent to Chang Chung. In the

**Prognosticatory scripture II**

...
modern edition of the Shao-ping ko, the authorship is attributed to Liu Chi whose life, as already noted, has been extensively embroidered in popular fiction. The text is based on the story of Liu's receiving a piece of hot roll from Chu Yuan-chang in a meeting during which he is said to have divulged the events of the next five hundred years. His predictions, made in a dialogue with the emperor, reportedly foretold several major upheavals in China from the Ming through the Ch'ing. Besides the usurpation of Chu Ti and the T'u-mu incident, Liu Chi's prophecies about the Ming include the rise of the grand eunuch Wei Chung-hsien (1568—1627), the rebellion of Chang Hsien-chung [235] (1605—47) and Li Tzu-ch'eng (1605?—45) which brought about the fall of the dynasty. Many of these predictions had their origin in earlier fictional works which relate popular stories attributed either to Chang Chung or to Liu Chi; only in the Shao-ping ko were they presented as an independent and complete piece. Liu Chi's predictions of the events after the Ming, such as the rise of the Manchus, the successive reigns of the Ch'ing emperors from the beginning of the dynasty to the Kuang-hsü period (1875—1909), and the major upheavals culminating in the fall of the Manchu dynasty, are less precise. In the latter cases, the author expresses his prophecies in irregular verses, introducing allusions in the form of the decomposition of characters typical of the casting of horoscopes by physiognomists or fortune-tellers. The language is so veiled and implicit

...
that later commentators were able to exploit the text to make the prophecies consistent with contemporary events\(^4^4\). In the absence of data, the real author of this book, or the precise date of its first appearance may never be known, let alone the meaning of some of the ambiguous passages of the prophecy. By virtue of its prophetic forecasts, the Shao-ping ko captivated the popular imagination in troubled times when people were eager to search for knowledge of the unpredictable and anticipation of a brighter future\(^4^5\). This probably explains the popularity of the Shao-ping ko in the turbulent years of contemporary China.

Whatever the implication of Liu Chi's prophecies, present evidence strongly indicates that the Shao-ping ko originated with the Chang Chung cycle of stories. The title of the text, Shao-ping, for instance, appears to have been derived from the Cheng-ping ko reported in the K'o-tso chui-yü by Ku Ch'i-yüan. A modified version of the latter provides the setting for the prophecy: water floods over the moon palace, with the master standing above it\(^3^3\), containing the components of the character "ch'ing" (shui [water], chu [master], and yüeh [moon]). The prophecy alluding to the reign of Tung-chih (1862-74) dissects these two characters into: "Only when the water [radical] is removed from the cave (tung), and the terrace (t'ai) is supplied [yung] with water, can the old régime be restored\(^3^8\)." An ancient work devoted to this technique of divination, entitled P'o-tzu yao-ch'üeh\(^1^3^9\), is reported in Sui-shu ching-chi chih (n. 14b), 3/87. See Jung Chao-tsu 1240 1, in CYYY, 1:1 (1928), 83. For a brief history of the ch'e-tzu divination, see, among others, J. J. M. De Groot, in TP, I (1890), 239-41; Kung-hao [pseudonym], in Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao, 6:12 (Dec. 1915), tso-cho, 1-5, and Meng Sen, in ibid, 7:12 (Dec. 1916), pi-chi, 1-6.

In the 1912 edition of the SPK, one already finds explanatory notes indicating the fulfillment of the prophecies, beginning with the rise of the Ming and ending with the Kuang-hsi reign in late Ch'ing. Since predictions can only be adjudged post eventum, this provides an indirect clue that the book must have been completed sometime after this period. There were no new explanatory notes until the appearance of the annotated text by Yang Liao-kung, who claims that the prophecies actually foretold the events leading to the establishment of the Republic. The latest attempt to provide a new annotation was Wei Chi-hsien, who tries to show that the prophecies fulfilled the events down to the Second World War. Apparently, the ambiguity of the text enables these authors to advance their own opinion of the prophecy in the light of contemporary affairs.

\(^4^4\) In the civil war of the 1920's, for example, prophecies re-emerged in answer to the psychological needs of the time. There is a report that the southern city of Canton saw the revival of the SPK. A number of small sectarian groups pointed to the line in the prophecy which declared that there was a cave under the Yellow Oxon hill which would furnish a safe haven for refugees when the calamity struck, that those who arrived at the cave first would be saved and those arriving late would perish. The line reads

黄牛山下有一洞，可投千萬八千衆，先到之人得安穩，後到之人半路送。In later days, pious believers maintained that the prophecy was fulfilled; they argued that the great calamity of the eight years of Japanese invasion followed the civil wars, and that many who took refuge in the mountains were saved. Rumors of this nature are said to have been current in many southern localities during the years following the Second World War. See C. K. Yang (n. 4), 239. During the upheaval of the Great Cultural Revolution in mainland China in 1967-68, reports arriving in Hong Kong told of a renewed interest in the SPK, and the appearance of similar prophecies attributed to Liu Chi. See The Express \(^4^4\), 1968/7/4. This shows the dynamic and psychological impact of prophecies among the Chinese public in times of social and political upheavals.

[237] 水浸月宫主上立  
[238] 洞遊去水台用水，方能復正舊朝綱  
[239] 破字要訣  
[240] 容肇祖  
[241] 公鶴  
[242] 快報

89
phecy by way of the introduction of the Shao-ping ko attributed to an event in the life of Liu Chi 46:

One day when Ming T'ai-tsu, then residing in the inner palace, was eating a mouthful of hot roll, an eunuch reported that the "Minister of State" Liu Chi desired to see him. T'ai-tsu then covered it with a bowl, and summoned Liu to enter. Following a ritual exchange, the Emperor said to Liu: 'Sir, I understand that you have thoroughly commanded the principle of numbers; would you know what is inside the bowl?' Liu Chi folded his fingers and counted. He then responded: 'It half looks like the sun, and half like the moon; it appears that a section was bitten by a golden dragon. It is a piece of food.' This was shown to be true.

The Emperor then asked him about the future of the dynasty. Liu Chi replied: 'According to the majestic principles of Heaven, my Lord has "ten thousand of sons and grandsons" a, why should my Lord raise such a question?' The Emperor said: 'Although there has been a definite course in dynastic rise and fall since antiquity, the empire is by no means dominated by a single person, and only the virtuous enjoys it. It does no harm if you make a prediction.' Liu Chi then replied: 'I am fully aware of the immense crime of divulging the secret plans of Providence. I beg your forgiveness before I dare memorialize.' The Emperor then bestowed upon him a "golden-plaque" b granting him immunity from the death sentence. Liu Chi thanked the Emperor and then [made his predictions]...

This clearly indicates that the Shao-ping ko uses the Chang Chung stories as a source. There is reason to believe, however, that in the early form of this text, it was Chang Chung rather than Liu Chi who was credited with authorship. According to a certain Wang Liu-men 248(fl. 1850—1912) of Nanking, reporting in his Ch'ien-ch'ing shih sui-pi, some of the manuscript copies of the Shao-ping ko circulating during his day were attributed to Chang Chung 47. In the 1912 edition of this book, preserved in the British Museum and presumably the earliest printed version known to exist, Liu Chi already emerges as the author. This change of authorship seems to have

46 SPK, 90.

a This can also mean "sons and grandsons of Wan," alluding to the descendants of the Wan-li emperor. This story appears earlier as a pun implying that the Ming dynasty ends with a grandson of Wan-li. See Chan-chu ts'ung-pien; Ch'ien-k'ua liu-chi (n. 35). The same story appears later in TKCC (n. 56).
b This "golden-plaque" probably refers to the t'ieh-ch'üan 244 (made of iron and engraved with writings in gold), a kind of safe warrant bestowed upon meritorious officials when they received noble titles. It has two parts, one held by the imperial office, and the other by the recipient. This guaranteed the recipient and his immediate descendants immunity from capital punishment, except in the case of high treason. The practice was set by Chu Yuan-chang in October 1369 (see MTTSL, 903) and was followed by later emperors. The format of the plaque was modelled on that which conferred upon Ch'ien Liu 244 (852—932), later ruler of the Wu-Yüeh kingdom, by T'ang Chao-tsung (688—904). This supplies the historical fact of the "golden plaque" story. On the origin of the t'ieh-ch'ün, see Robert des Rous, in TP, 41 (1952), 87—91. On the t'ieh-ch'ün of the Ming Dynasty, see Liu Yen-aö 244, in Shih-hsüeh nien-pao, 2: 4 (Dec. 1937), 121—26.

47 Wang Liu-men was the tsu of a certain Mr. Wang, a native of Nanking who lived ca. 1850—1912. No biographical data of the man survive. He is known mainly
occurred when the present edition of the Shao-p'ing ko appeared in the late Ch'ing, most probably before 1912 when the first printed version was produced.

In the light of present evidence, the shift of authorship appears to have been a result of the restoration of the Ming image in the anti-Manchu movement of the late nineteenth century. The fact that Liu Chi, being a great statesman and chief adviser to the dynastic founder, even in the absence of bizarre legends relating to him, seems sufficient to bolster his importance in this movement. In the surviving documents of the Heaven and Earth Society (T'ien-ti hui), for example, Liu Chi is apotheosized as a champion of the native Chinese style, and is said to have left a scheme for the destruction of the alien Manchus. Perhaps this explains why the anti-Manchu organizations of the late Ch'ing felt that Liu Chi deserved a higher place in their hierarchy of patron-saints than Chang Chung. For, whatever the fanfare over his legend, the latter was at best a semi-legendary figure of ambiguous historical standing. Moreover, the fact that Liu Chi appropriated the magical attributes of Chang Chung in the transmission of the legend, embellished the prevailing myth about him and enhanced his image as a prophet in the restoration movement. This probably offers an explanation why in the transmission of the Shao-p'ing ko Liu Chi finally displaced Chang Chung as the most distinguished prophet in the minds of the Chinese people.

Prognosticatory scripture II

In modern times Chang Chung's prophecies were continued in yet another similar book known as T'ou-t'ien hsiian-chi (The Magic keys to the Plans of Providence) or T'ieh-kuan shu (The Calculations of the Iron-cap Master), through the Chien-ch'ing shih sui-pi, a collection of miscellaneous jottings through which the above chronology is established. The present edition is included in Nan-ching wen-hsien (n. 61), II, 14, with a preface by Chin Ssu-fen dated 1924. It is worthy of note that the passage of (Cheng) Shao-p'ing ko quoted by him is identical to that which recorded by Ku Chi-yüan. This further substantiates the conjecture that the SPK derives its sources from the Chang Chung stories.

In the doctrine of the Heaven and Earth Society, Liu Chi, juxtaposed with Chu-ko Liang (181—234), the famous statesman of the Three Kingdoms period who was also mythologized in popular literature, was hailed as a champion of the society, and apotheosized for his tactical ingenuity and political foresight. There are several references to Liu Chi among the surviving Hung Society documents, including a few ballads extolling him as a great military adviser and prophet who had left a scheme for the organization and predicted the fall of the Manchus. One of these reads: "Master Liu, the grand military adviser in the founding of the Ming, resigned his post to follow the example of the ancient sages; the teaching of the precious pagoda (Liu was enshrined in a pagoda called Po-wen t'a) will spread down the hill, the scheme contained in the "Embroidered Purse" has presaged the doom of the Ch'ing." See Hsiao I-shan (248), Ch'ing-t'ai mi-mi she-hui shih-llao (1965), 4/11b. For other references, see ibid, 5/3b—4b, 9a, 6/16b. The founder of the Hung Society is traditionally attributed to Yin Hung-sheng (248) in 1674. See Chu Lin (250), Hung-men chih (1947); John Ward & W. G. Stirling, The Hung Society, or the Society of Heaven and Earth, 3 vols. (London, 1925—26). Recently Tai Hsüan-dih (251) presents a revised view in Ta-lu tsa-chih, 36: 11 (June 1969), 1—9, that the Society was founded by a monk called T'i-hsi (252), alias Hung the second (253) in 1767.

[250]  朱琳：洪門志  [251]  戴玄之  [252]  提喜（洪二）
which gives Chang Chung and Liu Chi as joint authors. This work appears
in at least two editions, with slight content variations. In format and style
the T'ieh-kuan shu resembles that of the Shao-ping ko; though the contents
are less detailed, the former appears to have been inspired by the latter. The
prophecy, according to the preface, originates from a meeting between
Chang Chung and Liu Chi during which Liu is said to have begged the Taoist
to enlighten him on future events:

Toward the last years of the Yüan, Liu Po-wen (Chi) made a trip to Mt.
Hua [253]. When he arrived at a tranquil cave in an untenanted peak, he found
a Taoist style-named Hsü-ning-tzu [254], who was the Iron-cap Taoist Hsüan-
chen [255], a master of immense virtue. He could by means of self-cultivation
achieve longevity and well-being, and understand the causation of the
"three cycles" (san-yüan)\(^6\), the occurrence of calamity, and the rise and fall
of fortune and misfortune. His knowledge of astrology, geography, yin-yang
philosophy, and other arts was extensive. Po-wen knelt down and said: 'I
have studied the principle of numbers but found it puzzling, and not know­
ing the way of fortune and misfortune. I wish to become your disciple and
learn from you the secret plans of Providence.' The Taoist said: 'You are the
Wen-ch'ü [256] star descending on earth to assist the Tzu-weı [253] star

\(^6\) There are two extant versions of the TKS. One is an undated copy included
in a Japanese edition of the SPK of ca. 1920 preserved in the Harvard-Yenching
Library also known by its sub-title T'ou-l'ien hsüan-chi. The other is an edition of
unknown origin included in the Chung-kuo yü-yen wu-tsung, along with the SPK
and three other prognosticatory scriptures. The text of the latter is slightly varied
and includes annotations attributed to Yang Liao-kung of the early republican
period (n. 41). I prefer to use the first edition in this essay as it represents an older
text.

\(^{253}\) TKS, preface.

The "three cycles" (san-yüan), which originated as time units in the san-t'ung
[256] calendar of the Former Han and the ssu-fen [257] calendar of the Later Han, were
later developed by astrologists in formulating their theory of the causation of the
universe. The "three cycles" are made up of the "upper" (shang), "middle" (chung),
and "lower" (hsia) layer, each containing three units, a total of nine cycles. In the
Han systems, a cycle comprises 4,617 years (san-t'ung) and 4,560 years (ssu-fen)
respectively. It has been computed that the "upper cycle" of the san-t'ung system
began thirty-one cycles prior to 104 B. C., i. e., 143,231 Julian years B. C. Later
superstition believed that following the first 106 years of a cycle there were to be
nine years which would suffer yin disasters or drought, called yang-chiu [258].
Following the next 374 years there were also to be nine years which would suffer yin
disasters or flood, called yin-chiu. 480 years after this there would again be nine
disastrous years called yang-chiu. In the entire period of 4,617 years there were
the 4,560 normal years and 57 bad years. For details, see W. Eberhard & R. Hen­
seling, in SBAW phil.-hist. Kl. (1933), 209—29; Id. & R. Möller, in HJAS, I (1936), 205;
L. S. Yang, in ibid 9 (1946), 135, n. 48; Michael Rogers, The Chronicle of Fu Chien:
a case of exemplary history (1968), 262, n. 534. In the TKS, the "three cycles" or
"chiu-kung" [259] (nine divisions) theory appears to have been an elaborate version
of the earlier superstitions. According to the Taoist's elucidation, each cycle
consists of 15,000 years divided into "five convergences" (wu-hui)[258]; each hui
comprises "six circulations" (liu-yün)[251]; in each of the latter there were to be six
disasters, one every five hundred years. The events in these nine cycles of
I shall show you the true principle but be careful not to divulge it." Po-wen knelt down again and made his vow. The Taoist then taught him all about history, geography, the art of geomancy, yin-yang philosophy, astrology, all the fortune and misfortune of the Chinese and barbarians, and the calamities in a fifteen-thousand-year cycle of the "three cycles" of the universe...

This story is a modified form of an anecdote about Liu Chi which first appeared in Lu Ts'an's Keng-ssu pien, and was subsequently reproduced in several popular miscellanies. Lu relates the story that Liu Chi, after coming into possession of a treatise on war during his early travels and being unable to understand the contents, finally found a Taoist to explain to him the meaning of the book:

Before [Liu] Ch'eng-i (Chi) was invited to public service, he was aware that there were spiritual beings in the hills of Ch'ing-t'ien. Every day, holding a book in his hand, he sat facing the hill, his eyes never relaxing for a moment. A year passing by when one day the cliff suddenly rent to form two open doors. Liu immediately threw away his book and hurried into the opening. He heard a voice shouting: 'There is poison inside, don't enter.' Heedless of the warning, Liu forced his way in and came to a place where the sun shone through. There he found a stone chamber of ten square feet, and saw seven characters on the wall reading: 'This stone wall will be broken by Liu Chi.' In delight, Liu struck it with a huge rock, and easily broke it open. He found a stone case containing four old manuscript scrolls of a treatise on war. Carrying them against his breast he departed. As soon as he left, the wall closed as before.

135,000 years, as the Taoist explained to Liu Chi, will degenerate in the descending order until the end of the entire period, then they will return to the perfect world of the original cycle. Within this context the Iron-cap master expounded to Liu Chi his predictions of the future events of China.

b In Chinese popular beliefs, the Wen-ch'ü star, also known as Wen, or Wen-ch'ang, is the deity of literature. The first literary man who was hailed as the incarnation of the Wen-ch'ang star and subsequently became an object of worship was Chang Ya of the T'ang dynasty. In later times, many distinguished literati who served as imperial advisers, as Liu Chi in this case, have been acclaimed as the incarnation of the Wen-ch'ang star. The Tzu-wei star, a celestial body in the north of the Ursa Major, is thought to be the residence of the heavenly emperor; whereas the surrounding stars were designated as members of the imperial clan, nobility, and high officials. There was the belief, therefore, that this star was to be incarnated in the person of the emperor. The first to be canonized as the incarnation of the Tzu-wei star, however, was the famous lute-player Po I-k'ao, the eldest son of King Wen of the Chou Kingdom (1231?-1135? B.C.). On the legend of the Wen-ch'ang and Tzu-wei stars, see, among others, Henri Doresse, Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine (1914), Pt. II, Tome VI, 30, 22; E. T. C. Werner, A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology (1932; 1960 ed.), 354, 379, 396. On the latter, see also Henri Maspero, in TP, 26 (1929), 323, and Joseph Needham (n. 43), III (1959), 259.

51 KSP, 173/1b. This story later appeared in KPIT, B/2a, in which Liu Chi's name is replaced by three letters: "mou-chin-iao" [KSP], representing the separate parts of the character "Liu". The origin of this story can be traced to the legend of Liu Hsiu, later Emperor Kuang-wu (25-57 A.D.), founder of the Later Han. Before Liu Hsiu came to the throne, prophecies abounded that the man whose name had the
Returning home, Liu studied the scrolls assiduously but found he could not grasp their essentials. He then set out to travel all over the mountains and shrines in search of a man of extraordinary ability. After a while he came to a monastery in a mountain and there he found an old Taoist leaning against a couch, reading. Liu realized that he must be a hermit-scholar. He fell on his knees, begging the old man to give him instruction. The Taoist at first ignored him, but Liu pleaded earnestly. The Taoist then raised the book he was reading and said: 'If you could memorize this book in ten days, you may have your way. Otherwise, you had better leave.' The book was two inches thick, but Liu memorized half of it by heart overnight. The Taoist was astonished and exclaimed: 'Your talent is that of a heavenly prince.' He then taught Liu all he knew...

The text of the *T'ieh-kuan shu* begins with a dialogue between Chang Chung and Liu Chi during which, in reply to Liu's queries, Chang Chung explains the causation of events in terms of the Taoist cosmogony, and foretells the future of China from the Ming through the Ch'ing. These pro-

components of *mou* and *chin* would become the Son of Heaven. See Ho Hsiu, Ch'un-ch'iu Kung-yang chung chuan chieh-ku [SPTK], 12/9a; Wang Hsien-ch'ien, Hou Han-shu chi-chieh [1915 ed.], 1A/16a (cf. Hans Biehnenstein, "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty: the Civil War," BMFEA 31 [1959], 240). In KPIT, however, the man from whom Liu Chi received enlightenment on the divine book he found in the mountain cave is said to have been Huang Ch'u-wang [270], a well-known Neo-Confucian scholar of the late Yuan (same in Pa-i-shih hui-pien [n. 38], 52/15b; for Huang's biography, see Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an [1271], 92/29b). This story is probably inspired by a similar account about Chang Liang (d. 189 B.C.), the chief adviser to Emperor Han Kao-tsu (206—195 B.C.), whose life also received a fictionalized treatment in popular literature. It is said that during his early days, Chang Liang encountered an old Taoist who later claimed to be Huang-shih-kung [272], on a bridge called I [273]; after complying with the Taoist's demand to fetch his shoes under the bridge, he received from the old man a scroll of book known as the Grand Duke's Art of War (*T'ai-kung ping-ia*). After studying it Chang Liang became conversant with state matters and military tactics. For this story, see Shih-ch'iu, 55/2a (cf. Wolfgang Bauer, in ZDMG. 106:1 [1956], 174; Burton Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China [New York, 1961], I, 136); Han-shu, 40/1b. On Huang-shih-kung, see Wolfgang Bauer, in OE, 3:2 (Dec. 1956), 137—52. In popular literature, Liu Chi's story is merged with both Chang Liang and Chu-ko Liang. In YLC, for example, it says that the divine book Liu Chi found in the mountain cave was passed onto him from Chang Liang who received it from Huang-shih-kung. Chang entrusted a white gibbon, an auspicious animal, with the custody of the book and asked him to turn it over to a man called Liu, i.e. Liu Chi (pp. 27—28). Later Liu received instruction on the book from the eccentric Crazy Chou. In a Ch'ing play called Yao-shang chi [274] ("The Story of a Jade Goblet"), also known as Wan-nien shang ("A Ten-thousand-years-old Goblet"), attributed to Chu Ho (tsu Su-ch'ien) [275], it says that Liu Chi, after coming into possession of the book, received instruction to seek enlightenment from Chu-ko Liang (n. 49), who lived as an immortal in Szechwan after his departure from the human world. Under Chu-ko's instruction, Liu learnt all about astrology and the military arts, with which he was well-equipped to serve Chu Yuan-chang. See Huang Wen-yang, Ch'ü-hai lsung-mu t'ieh-yao [276] (1930), 27/10b. On the transmission of this story, see also CHAN Hok-lam (n. 2; 1968), 46ff., n. 24.
Predictions include the founding of the Ming, the reigns of the Wan-li emperor (Chu I-chün, 1573–1620) and his sons and grandsons, the end of the dynasty brought about by the rebellion of Li Tzu-ch‘eng, and the suicide of the Ch‘ung-chen emperor (Chu Yu-chien, 1628–44). Many of these prophecies originated as individual stories in fictional miscellanies of the earlier period which, as previously stated, have been knitted into a continuous work in the Shao-ping ko\(^{52}\). Predictions on events after the Ming, being couched in a veiled and ambiguous language, were subjected to various interpretations by commentators of later times\(^{55}\). It is quite likely that this book was doctor-ed by astrologists of the 1920’s when the uncertainties of civil wars caused a resurgence of interest in prophecies and a market for works of this kind. The same situation prevailed after the fall of the Ming Dynasty when the Chinese people tried to ascertain the reason for the disasters and wondered how long the Manchus could maintain their rule. Because of the overwhelming publicity given to the Shao-ping ko, the T‘ieh-kuan shu has attracted less attention in modern times. The image of Chang Chung as a prophet, therefore, becomes subordinate to that of Liu Chi who, for reasons explained earlier, has assumed his prophetic gift and replaced the Taoist as the greatest prophet of all times.

Transmission of the Prophecy in Fiction

In the early Ch‘ing, Chang Chung’s legend was also perpetuated in a story about the Taoist predicting the future of the Ming Dynasty by leaving an illustrated chart to Chu Yüan-chang\(^{54}\). This story, known as T‘ieh-kuan t‘u ("The Chart of the Iron-cap Taoist"), was featured in various forms in the vernacular literature. Significantly, it provides the background of a novel of anonymous authorship entitled T‘ieh-kuan t‘u ch‘üan-chuan (The Complete Story of the Charts of the Iron-cap Taoist), featuring the insurrection of Li Tzu-ch‘eng and Chang Hsien-chung\(^{55}\). The novel begins with an anecdote in the reigns of the last descendants of the Wan-li emperor, produced

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52 TKS, preface. These include the stories of the rise of Chu Yüan-chang, the reigns of the Wan-li emperor and his descendants, the rebellion of Li Tzu-ch‘eng, and the suicide of the Ch‘ung-chen emperor.

53 Such as the two annotated editions by Yang Liao-kung and Wei Chü-hsien respectively, bringing the fulfillment of the prophecy down to the Second World War. See n. 44.

54 This story seems to have first appeared in Hsü Tao, Li-tai shen-hsien t‘ung-chien\(^{[277]}\) (preface 1700), 21/6/8a. Hsü reports that the Taoist, before taking leave of Chu Yüan-chang at the conclusion of the Poyang Lake campaign (September 1363), left a chart containing his prediction of the future of the dynasty. Chu Yüan-chang then kept it secret. After he became emperor, Chu asked Liu Chi to predict the future of his dynasty and found that his predictions coincided with those illustrated in the chart of the Taoist (ibid, 21/7/5a). This story seems to have been inspired by the prevailing legend at the fall of the Ming that Liu Chi had left three charts predicting the events of the last days of the dynasty (see n. 59).

55 The TKTCC, 8 ch‘üan, 50 chapters, is one of the three popular novels on the fall of the Ming Dynasty brought about by the uprising of Chang Hsien-chung and Li Tzu-ch‘eng. The other two are Hsin-shih ch‘i-kuan\(^{[278]}\), and Chia-shen t‘ung-shih\(^{[279]}\).
about Chang Chung who, after alluding, as did Liu Chi, to the end of the three charts to the Ming emperor predicting the fall of the dynasty:

There is a song:

'The [stream] flows east, and flows west, flowing to the terminal end in the south.
The Chang fails, the Li also fails, their failures bring forth a perfect world.'

This song was composed by the Iron-cap Taoist of the early Ming. He was Chang Tzu-hua, ming Ch'ung, who was in the habit of wearing an iron-cap. He was well-versed in the Taoist arts. Emperor T'ai-tsu once summoned him to the palace and enquired him about the duration of the dynasty. The Taoist responded: 'Your Majesty enjoys a long reign, lasting until the sons and grandsons of Wan (*ten thousands,* alluding to the Wan-li emperor). The events of their reigns will correspond to the description in my charts. He then presented three pictures to the Emperor. After examination, [Chu Yuan-chang] ordered that they be stored in the *golden casket,* and personally wrote a note on the sealed opening exhorting his descendants not to open it without good cause. Later, the predictions were fulfilled when the Ming fell in the reign of the descendant of the Wan-li emperor...

Thereafter the novel traces the events of the last reign of the Ming, when corruption and maladministration culminated in the outbreak of uprising led by Chang Hsien-chung and Li Tzu-ch'eng. After enumerating the course of the insurrection, the anonymous author concludes his narrative by retelling Chang Chung's predictions of the defeat of the rebels. It relates that on the eve of his defeat Li Tzu-ch'eng located the concealed chest in the imperial treasury, and read the three charts left by the Taoist. One of these alluded to his ascension by invoking the legend of the *Shih-pa hai-er* (eighteen children):

all by anonymous authors. The *TKTCC,* also known as *T'ieh-kuan t'u yen-i,* bears the name of Sung-chi shan-jen as compiler, and a certain Lung-yen-tzu as editor. No date of authorship is given. The edition used for this study is a 1890 reprint of a certain earlier edition. CHENG Chen-to believes it to be a work of the early Ch'ing during which the *T'ieh-kuan t'u* story enjoyed considerable popularity on the stage (n. 61). For a bibliographical note of this work, see CH'IEN Ching-fang, *Hsiao-shuo ts'ung-k'ao* (1957), 226; SUN K'ai-ti, *Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu* (n. 23), 70; CHENG Chen-to, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yen-chiu* (1961), 341.

TKTCC, preface.

* TkTCC, B/22b. The expression "eighteen children" represents the breakdown of the character "Li," alluding to Li Tzu-ch'eng. According to WEI P'ing, *Lieh-huang hsiao-shuo shih* (1887 ed.), 11a and other contemporary sources, it was Sung Hsien-tse (n. 58a) who made this prediction to please Li Tzu-ch'eng when he first met the rebel leader. The "eighteen children" story appeared in a slightly varied form in earlier history. In the T'ang Dynasty, the Li family, the dynastic founder, was alluded to in a popular expression called *shi-ha tzu* (the eighteenth son). In the Pellion collection of Tunhuang manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, there is a ballad entitled *Hsiao-kuan chen ts'ung-ti yung-ch'u tz'u* (1879) predicting the fall of the T'ang by citing the prophecy of the *shi-ha tzu.* In a Sung miscellany by Wu Ch'u-hou (d. ca. 1093), *Ch'ing-hsiang tsa-chi* (1887), 879, predicting the fall of the T'ang by citing the prophecy of the *shi-ha tzu.* In a Sung miscellany by Wu Ch'u-hou (d. ca. 1093), *Ch'ing-hsiang tsa-chi* (1887), 879.
There was the story that Li the Dashing (291a) (i.e. Li Tzu-ch'eng), after repeatedly suffering defeat after the rise of the Ch'ing forces, became unhappier with each day. He then announced that he would tour the imperial treasury to make an inspection of antiques to ease his despondency. Once inside the treasury he noticed on both sides of the desks innumerable antique objects and vessels in extraordinary shapes, which he had not known about. He then found a sealed iron chest with engravings of a dragon on a desk in the east corner. Not knowing what was inside, he enquired of the custodian. The latter said: 'This was left by the Ming dynastic founder Hungwu. It is said to contain three charts presented by the Iron-cap Taoist, but I do not know what is inside.' Li the Dashing then gave order to open the chest. Without hesitation the custodian unchained the lock and lifted the lid. [There they found] three scrolls of charts and nothing else. The first depicted colorful clouds bearing up numerous "celestial soldiers" and ten "celestial generals," each gleaming with golden light and auspicious vapors and looking as if they were struggling to seize the "eighteen children" to devour them alive. Unveiling the second chart, they saw a gentleman, whose hair was tied behind [his neck], hanging from a rafter. He wore a blue robe, his left foot was bare, and on his right foot he wore a red shoe. Then they opened the third chart, the most extraordinary of all, since it was written with five big characters: "T'ien-hsia wan-wan nien" ("the kingdom lasts a hundred million years"). After examining these charts, Li the Dashing did not seem to have understood them. He merely instructed the guards to put them back in the chest, and gave orders to prepare for his return trip...

The full implication of these charts, however, was revealed in the concluding part of the novel in which the author pointed out that they fulfilled Chang Chung's predictions of the demise of both Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung:

[After the capture of Chang Hsien-chung], His Majesty (i.e., the Shun-chih emperor of the Ch'ing, 1644—62) ordered that the bandit be sliced up for a sacrificial offering to the late Ming emperor (Ch'un-chen), and that honors be lavished on meritorious officials. All surviving meritorious officials were to receive a noble title and stipend; those who had perished were

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Note: The full implication of these charts, however, was revealed in the concluding part of the novel in which the author pointed out that they fulfilled Chang Chung's predictions of the demise of both Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung:

After the capture of Chang Hsien-chung, His Majesty (i.e., the Shun-chih emperor of the Ch'ing, 1644—62) ordered that the bandit be sliced up for a sacrificial offering to the late Ming emperor (Ch'un-chen), and that honors be lavished on meritorious officials. All surviving meritorious officials were to receive a noble title and stipend; those who had perished were

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accorded posthumous insignia. This occurred in the chia-shen year (1644). After this [Shun-chih] ceased warfare and concentrated on civil matters; all the subjects joyously submitted. This ends the cycle of calamity and reopens the era of prosperity, lasting endless years, and fulfills the prediction of the Iron-cap Taoist in the third chart. The meaning of the phrase “the kingdom lasts a hundred million years” is therefore plainly easy to comprehend.

The second chart showing a man hanging from a rafter with hair loosened foretells the suicide of the Ch’ung-chen emperor.

As to the third (sic. should be “first”) chart showing colored clouds bearing up the “celestial soldiers” and “celestial generals,” this indicates the descent of the “malignant stars” to earth. The “eighteen children” is Sung Chiung’s prediction that [the man whose surname Li breaks down to form] “shih-pa hai-er” (eighteen children) will obtain the mandate of Heaven.

As to the song composed by the Iron-cap Taoist, the first two lines: ‘The [stream] flows east, and flows west,’ fulfill the prediction of the ravages by the mobile bandits. The next line, ‘all [streams] flowing to the terminal end in the south,’ fulfills the prediction of the Hung-kuang emperor (Chu Yu-sung, 1644) annihilating the forces of the bandit Li Tzu-ch’eng in Hukuang. The next two lines, ‘the Chang fails, the Li also fails,’ fulfill the prediction that both Chang Hsien-chung and Li Tzu-ch’eng failed to achieve their enterprise. As to the last line, ‘their failures bring forth a perfect world,’ this fulfills the prediction that when the bandits are defeated, a prosperous and peaceful world will arrive. This is why the title of this book, T’ieh-kuan t’u, can be constructed as the elaboration of the story of the charts of the Iron-cap Taoist.

This dramatic story, here attributed to Chang Chung, in fact originated from an account about Liu Chi predicting the fall of the Ming Dynasty, first reported in the Ming-chi i-wen by Tsou I [preface 1657].

In the early years, when the Yencity (Peking) was made the capital, there was a sealed chamber in the inner palace, heavily locked, where Liu Ch’eng-i left a secret document. He is said to have admonished people not to reveal it until a calamity occurred. In the autumn of the kuei-wei year (1643), the Ch’ing forces besieged the capital. His Majesty (the Ch’ung-chen emperor)
then unlocked the chamber for inspection, and found only a chest. On opening it, he sighted three scrolls of charts. The first featured several thousands of civil and military officials holding their official costumes in their hands and with their hair loosened, running around wildly. His Majesty then enquired what it suggested. A eunuch said: 'This may allude to the fact that superabundance of officials leads to a confusion of the law.'

The second chart depicted soldiers stripping themselves of their armor and escaping with weapons, and desperate people fleeing with their children on their backs. His Majesty again enquired what this meant and the eunuch said: 'This may represent the defection of the soldiers and civilians.' His Majesty at once changed countenance.

The third shows a portrait resembling his Imperial Highness. He was dressed in white, his right foot is bare, and on his left foot he wears a sock; his hair is loosened and hangs down his back. These charts picture exactly what is happening today.

This is a popular story about the fall of the Ming which is also featured in several contemporary writings with varying amounts of descriptive passages.

Furthermore, the story of the "Charts of the Iron-cap Taoist" has been the theme of several plays and popular songs. One of the plays in the southern drama (K'un-ch'ü) bearing this title, presumably developed from the novel, reportedly appeared in the K'ang-hsi period (1662-1722).

The story also came to be transmitted in the form of a popular song, widely circulated...
in the markets of Peking in the early years of the Republic. Thus in several variations the legend of Chang Chung's prophetic gift has maintained its popularity into the modern century.

Epilogue

In summary, a study of the Chang Chung cycle of anecdotes provides an excellent example of the interaction between high and popular culture in modern Chinese history. To begin with, it was the official legend about the man initiated by Chu Yüan-chang himself that set the pace of myth-making. Basic to the hard core of the myth are Chang Chung's prophetic gifts and his possession of occult power. Recorded by the literati they subsequently reinforced the popular legends that were orally transmitted in a parallel development among the unlettered. These legends, duly absorbed certain elements from the official myth, later inspired several variations. In time fiction writers embellished this prevailing mythology with their imaginative decorations.

The second stage of the interaction between élite and vernacular literature occurred in the middle of the sixteenth century during which fictional accounts about Chang Chung flourished under the impact of religious Taoism. Some of the stories gradually merged with the historical facts pertaining to other distinguished contemporaries of Chang Chung, i.e., Liu Chi and Chu Sheng. Liu Chi in particular came to be identified with Chang Chung and shared the stereotyped attributes of his magic feats. The earlier anecdotes about Chang Chung's predictions later gave rise of a more bizarre mythology about his prophetic gifts, culminating in the appearance of the Shao-ping ko. In this case, the prevailing legends about Chang Chung fused with those of Liu Chi to form a book of prophecy which continually excited both the literati and the unlettered in troubled times even into the modern centuries.

This stage of interaction, however, represents a fusion of élite and popular beliefs. Though the legends about Chang Chung may have permeated at the broad, popular level, it was the fiction writers among the literary class that transmitted and dramatized the stories. Their use of the official myth in the new fiction not only strengthened popular beliefs, but also enriched and...
perpetuated the prevailing legends. The repetition in the miscellanies of the sixteenth century of the very same stories about Chang Chung's prophetic gifts and magic feats in assisting Chu Yuan-chang to victory over his rivals bespeak this development.

There is a third stage in the interaction. The very acceptance by the official world and the literati of these fantastic stories about Chang Chung enabled them to be included among private as well as official writings. As indicated earlier, Chang Chung's story was incorporated into the chronicles of the Ming empire-founder which draws heavily on the biographical accounts by Sung Lien. This inspired the proliferation of more bizarre anecdotes about Chang Chung in the private writings of the following centuries. The latter in part found their way into private historical works, from the Huang-Ming t'ung-chi (1555) by Ch'en Chien (1497—1567) to the Ming-shu (ca. 1679) by Fu Wei-lin (d. 1667), and to several local gazetteers. Chang Chung's story finally made its way, along with that of Chang San-feng and Crazy Chou, into the biographical section of the Ming-shih. Though the bizarre anecdotes about his prophecies presented in the "hot roll" story were deleted probably because they implicated the new ruling class, still the essence of the mythology was preserved and transmitted as an integral part of Chinese tradition.

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[309] Wu Han, "Li-shih chung ti hsiao-shuo", in Fu Tung-hua and Cheng Chen-to ed., Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yen-chiu (1934), 1216. The author argues the fact that so much fictional material representing the popular tradition had been incorporated into the official history of the Ming Dynasty (Ming-shih) was mainly because these popular beliefs were also embraced by the literati-historians and the ruling class.

[310] In most of these writings, Chang Chung is featured in a biography, except in a few historical chronicles where there is no provision for biographies. He has a biography in the following private historical works of the late Ming and early Ch'ing: Teng Ch'u, Huang-Ming yung-hua lei-pien (n. 17); Pai-shih hui-pien (n. 38), 63/8b; MST: Fang-wai chi, biography (n. 19); Ming wai-shih, in KCTSCC, XVII/256/33/11a (n. 14f); MS, 160/14b (the only source that cites the "hot roll" story; see n. 30). His biography is also featured in several local gazetteers, such as: Lingshan hsien chi (n. 6a), 53/7a; Fu-chou lu chih (n. 35), 83/10b; Ch'ang-hsi t'ung-chi (1890), 179/23a; Chiang-nung lu chih (n. 6c), 51/11a; and a modern work on the biography of the "diviners" in Chinese history: Yu-an Po (n. 35). Excerpts of Chang Chung's stories are presented in Ch'en Chien, Huang-Ming t'ung-chi (1555) (n. 5) and its supplement (no copies of the first edition of this are known to exist, but the original version has been incorporated in later supplements as the following). His meeting with Chu Yuan-chang, based on Lu Ts'an's account, is featured in: Hsiang Tu-shou, Ming (Sheng)-chao lu-chi (1583), 1/19a; Huang-Ming t'ung-chi ts'ung-hsin lu (n. 11), ed. Shen Ku'o-yuan (1627), 1/12b; Huang-Ming tsu-chih t'ung-chi (n. 5), 1/16b; Huang-Ming t'ung-chi ta-ch'uan lu, ed. K'uo Ju-ch'ih (1644), 1/11b; Huang-Ming t'ung-chi t'ung-tsung (n. 5), 1/19a; T'ung-chi tsuan (preface by Chiang Ying, 1696), 1/2a. An abridgement of his biography by Sung Lien is presented in: Huang-Ming t'ung-chi shu-i (n. 5); Huang-Ming tsu-chih t'ung-chi (n. 5); Huang-Ming t'ung-chi t'ung-tsung (n. 5). For a bibliographical note on these supplements to the Huang-Ming t'ung-chi, see W. Franke (n. 5). The story of Chang Chung's prediction of the death of Ch'en Yu-liang is also presented in Chu Kuo-chien, Huang-Ming ta-shih chi (1632), 2/22b; Ku Ying-tai (1647cs), Ming-ch'ao (shih) chi-shih pen-mo (1658), 3/20b. This bibliographical listing seems sufficient to show Chang Chung's popularity among the later private historians.

[311] Ming-shih kuo, (1723), 281/7a; MS, 299/7b.
part of the dynastic record. The legend of Chang Chung, therefore, re-emerged anew in the official history after it had been disseminated among the common folk and absorbed vulgar beliefs from the popular tradition.

In the context of the evolution of the Chang Chung cycle of anecdotes, the interaction between high and popular culture shows a continuous diffusion of two cultural currents, each clearly distinguishable, yet flowing into and out of each other. Such reciprocal influences are only possible, however, when mutually acceptable ideologies are operating in both traditions. In most cases, there appears to have been a common belief in fate, in prophecies, and in the endowment of supernatural powers in gifted personages. In the legend of Chang Chung these qualities were inspired by those periodic occurrences of human crises which demand the manifestation of miracles. The intensity with which they fired the popular imagination accounts for the persistence and dynamics of the prophecy down through the centuries.

88 Chang Chung's story, however, is not featured in the Annals of T'ai-tsu in either version of the official Ming history (n. 67). This is probably because the Ch'ing historiographers discounted the historicity of the legend and did not consider it of relevance to the account of the founding of the Ming Dynasty. On the official instructions and regulations governing the compilation of the Ming history under the auspices of the early Ch'ing emperors, see, among others, Liu Ch'eng-kan, Ming-shih II-an (1915), and Pao Tso-p'eng ed., Ming-shih pien-tsuan k'ao (Taipei 1968).

89 Robert Redfield (n. 63), 34.

70 See C. K. Yang (n. 4), ch. 3. For an earlier view, see Kotanagi Shigeta (n. 16), "Dōyō, toshin, kyōhi" in Tōyō seisō kenkyū (Tokyo 1942), 416.