Literary Parody in Traditional Chinese Literature: Descriptive Pseudo-Biographies

Von Herbert Franke (München)

To Jaroslav Průšek on the occasion of his 65th birthday

Literature should be edifying and serve a moral purpose. This is a belief which has been held for many centuries by the literati class and which accounts for the sometime rather oppressive seriosity where even occasional humour (as in Chuang-tzu, for example) has distinctly didactic aims. Literary activity for sheer enjoyment's sake and a playful element in literature do not seem to arise in China before the Liu-ch'ao period. The homo ludens in literature has been, in China as elsewhere, a comparatively late phenomenon. To play with literary forms and genres is perhaps only possible where a leisure class has out of a certain saturation developed play instincts or where traditional and accepted forms become the vehicle of satire. But both play and satire of this kind can be understood and appreciated only by those who are familiar with the serious forms and genres. Literary play-forms are definitely a l'art pour l'art phenomenon, written for the chuckling enjoyment of the connoisseur and therefore seldom if ever popular. But once the literary mind has emancipated itself from unquestioning belief, we find that not even the most venerable literary forms are safe from being used for rather secular and unserious purposes. In the European Middle Ages even the liturgy of the Holy Mass served as a formal model for parody, that is, unserious use of a serious form. There are Latin masses for drinkers and gamblers, parodies of the Christian doxology and of papal decretalia. Paul Lehmann, the great authority on mediaeval Latin literature, distinguishes two different kinds of parodies, one militant and critical, one entertaining and jocular. The same distinction may be made for Chinese literature too. From the jocular kinds of parody in China, which I have tried to follow up for some time ago, I shall single out the pseudo-biographies, that is, descriptive essays using the form of a lieh-chuan, the biography par excellence, a literary form created by the great Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his Shih-chi. Lack of space forbids to go into details, and only a preliminary survey of the subject can be given here.

Personification is a literary device which does not lend itself easily to the Chinese language owing to its absence of grammatical gender and explicit morphology. This is particularly true for abstract ideas which are in China almost never represented as such in an anthropomorphic way, only indirectly by exemplary figures, either legendary or historical ones. On the other hand the fact that Chinese family and personal names have inevitably a

---

1 For humour and satire as elements in social antagonism see also Jaroslav Průšek, Die Literatur des betreiten China und ihre Volkstraditionen, Prag 1955, p. 492—496, on burlesque elements ib. p. 507—515.
3 It might be of interest to our Czechoslovak friends that there existed also anti-Hussite mass parodies, Lehmann op. cit. p. 12.
definite and identifiable meaning has produced a tendency to play with names. All Chinese names are what German philologists call "redende Namen". Here, then, was a possibility to incarnate and personify ideas and non-human realities by giving them a name, the constituents of which expressed or alluded to characteristic features or events linked up with the particular idea or reality. The fancy names given in Chuang-tzu to personifications of wisdom are an early testimony of this tendency.

To write, however, a whole biography of a non-human reality using the stilistic frame-work of the lieh-chuan and inventing a name which somehow expressed that reality or thing, is a comparatively late development. It seems that Han Yu (768-824) was the first to write a pseudo-biography as a stilistic parody of the Shih-chi. Parodies as such occur, of course, much earlier in China, and there are examples to be found in Liu-ch’ao and even Han literature. But pseudo-biographies do, according to my knowledge, not occur before the middle of T’ang. Han Yu wrote a biography of Mao Ying, the *Mao Ying chuan* which at first glance reads like a normal biography of a historical, real person but which in reality is a descriptive "biography" of the writing-brush. *Mao Ying* means literally "Point of the Hair", an expression, which in later literature became a metonymy for the brush. Han Yu’s *Mao Ying chuan* (for the text see Han Yu’s Collected Works in the Ssu-pu ts’ung-k’an ed. ch. 36, p. 1a—3a and the many reprints in later anthologies of prose literature) is a literary *tour de force*, crammed with learned allusions which have to be taken up piece by piece in order to bring out the pervading ambiguities and double meanings. A pseudo-biography was therefore not only a way to show off the author’s erudition but also to test the readers’ ability to decipher the meaning and to find out what was really meant. They were a kind of literary riddle. I am convinced that the *Mao Ying chuan* was originally written with no other purpose in mind but to amuse the educated reader (and would like to add that also Han Yu’s famous Address to the Crocodile is in my opinion more a tongue-in-the-cheek parody than anything else). But later writers could not, as it seems, bear the idea that a staunch Confucian like Han Yu could have written a piece of literature for sheer amusement’s sake, and saw in the *Mao Ying chuan* a satire directed against inefficient officials. This allegoric interpretation of the "Biography of the Brush" existed already under the Sung (see Yeh Meng-tê, 1077—1148), *Pi-shu lu-hua* ed. Hsüeh-chin t’ao-yüan, ch. hsia, p. 69b—70a) and is quite in harmony with the age-old tendency of Chinese literati to read a moral or political meaning into normal poetical productions. The allegorical interpretation of the love-poems in the Book of Odes is perhaps the best known example for this tendency.

Han Yu is also said to have written a pseudo-biography of the boots, the Hsia-p’i hou Ko Hua chuan. The "name" Ko Hua is a rather obvious ortho-

---

4 On names in general see the comprehensive work by Wolfgang Bauer, *Der chinesische Personennname*, Wiesbaden 1959 (Asiatische Forschungen Band 4).
graphic pun because the two characters together form the character Hsüeh [4] "boots". But this "biography", amusing as it is, was regarded as spurious and is therefore missing in most editions of Han Yü's works. The text can be found in the appendix to Han Ch'ang-li wen-chi chiao-chu [5], Taipei 1960, p. 432—433. Considering the high esteem in which Han Yü was held in China it is not surprising that he found followers. There is a Mao Ying hou-chuan by the 17th century writer Shen Han-kuang [6] (1620—1677) in Chien-hu chi [7] (ed. Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan IX, ch. 1, 7b).

A great number of pseudo-biographies has been written on writing-instruments: brush, ink, ink-slabs and paper [8]. To the references given in my work on ink (note 5) I might add a later pseudo-biography on paper, the Chu hsin-sheng chuan by Chang Ch'ao [8] (17th cent.) in Chien-hu chi IX, ch. 1, 13b—14a. But even a list of the titles of these learned literary jokes would be rather long. As a rule, Chinese works on the brush, paper etc. include also this kind of literature, e.g. the Wen-t'ang ssu-p'u [9]. In this and in similar works it is no problem to discover the parodistic biographies. But if pseudo-biographies occur in the collected works of authors one will find them next to absolutely serious essays or biographies of real persons within the same chüan. This is disconcerting sometime; the literary genre theory of the Chinese had no room for a special section "literary jokes", and only the formal characteristics such as "letter", "biography" etc. are responsible for the place where a certain piece of literature is reprinted. Altogether the amount of literary parody in China is surprisingly great. Once the reader is warned that not everything is so serious as it looks at a first glance, one discovers a multitude of texts which are nothing but parodies [6].

In any case, from Han Yü on we have an uninterrupted tradition of pseudo-biographies. From the late T'ang, we might mention here a "biography" of the mirror by Ssu-k'ung T'u (837—908), the Jung-ch'eng hou-chuan [10] (Ssu-k'ung piao-sheng wen-chi [11], ed. Ssu-pu ts'ung-k' an ch. 1, 4b—6a). Su Tung-p'o (1036—1101) who had a great sense of humour, has written several pseudo-biographies. They are conveniently grouped together in his Collected Works in the Ssu-pu pei-yao edition, Tung-p'o hsü-chi (fascicule 22 of Tung-p'o ch'üan-chi), ch. 12. One is on the ink-slab, Wan-shih ch'un Lo Wen chuan [12], one on tea, Yeh Chia chuan [13] (lit. Biography of Pleasure derived from Leaves). The Huang Kan Lu Chi chuan [14] is a description of the sweet and sour oranges where Huang Kan is regular name of the fruit ("yellow-

---

5 For a brief survey see Herbert FRANKE, Kulturgeschichtliches über die chinesische Tusche, München 1962 (Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen Neue Folge Heft 54) p. 21—22. The same work has also a translation of a "biography" of ink with full explanations p. 137—139.

sweet") and Lu Chi (also lü-chi[15], probably a rendering of the native name loquat[7]). Dumplings are described in the Wen-t'ao chün chuan[16], scallops in the Chiang Yao-chu chuan[17]. The Tu Ch'u-shih chuan[18] is a very clever biographical parody on the tree Tu-chung[19] whose bark is used as medicine; the whole text is full of hidden names of drugs taken in their original, non-technical meaning.

The Sung author Chang Lei[20] (1054—1114) wrote a "biography" of the "Dutch Wife", that is, the bamboo cushion used during hot summer-nights. His Chu fu-jen chuan "Biography of Lady Bamboo" is contained in his Collected Works ed. Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an, Chang Yu-shih wen-chi[21] ch. 50, 14a—15b. This text has been reprinted inter alia in Hsiang-yan ts'ung-shu (2!) VI ch. 1, 27a—b. There is also another Dutch Wife biography in a late Ch'ing work, the Leng-lu tsa-chih by Lu Ching-an[23] (preface dated 1856), ed. Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan hsü-pien ch. 8, 8b—9a. The author is a 19th century scholar by the name of Chu Pan-hsiang[24] whom I could not identify. Also the famous 14th century author Yang Wei-chen[25] (1296—1370) wrote a Chu Fu-jen chuan (Tung Wei-tzu wen-chi[26] ed. Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ch. 28, 7b—8b). Other pseudo-biographies by Yang are those on the onion (Ping-hu hsien-sheng chuan[27], ib. 28, 3a—4b), on wine (Chü Sheng chuan[28], ib. 28, 1a—3a) and on ink (P'u Yin-chê chuan[29], ib. 28, 6b—7b).

Another author who wrote several pseudo-biographies is Wu K'uan[30] (1435—1504). One is on the hot-water bottle, T'ang Wen chuan[31], lit. "Biography of Mrs. Hot Water", one again on the ink-slab, Tuan Yu chuan[32] lit. "Biography of the friend from Tuan (-ch'i where famous ink-stones were mined)". These texts can be found in his Collected Works (P'ao-weng chia-tsong chi[33], ed. Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ch. 57, 3a—4b and 4b—6a. There exists also a "biography" on Bean-curd (tou-lu), the Fu Hou chuan[34], to be found in Chien-hu chi IX, ch. 3, 7b—8a.

The genre of pseudo-biographies was still en vogue towards the end of the last century. A whole book was compiled of descriptive "biographies" of flowers and plants, the Ch'ün-fang lieh-chuan[35] in 4 ch. with illustrations of each plant. The date is 1883 but I could not trace this work in bibliographies (I saw a copy in the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto, Canada in 1965).

From China the genre also reached Korea where many pseudo-biographies in Chinese (Hanmun) were written since the 12th century. It seems that most if not all of these texts were satirical and didactic in character. From a recent study of Korean fiction in Hanmun we learn that there were pseudo-bio-

---

graphies of wine, of paper, of the coin, of the Dutch Wife, of the tadpole and of many flowers. In Japan, the genre flourished too at least since the Heian period but this is a subject that had better be left to Japanologists.

II.

This rather cursory and pointillistic covering of the subject would be incomplete without giving an example of a whole text in translation. For this purpose I have selected a pseudo-biography which is not only learned and witty but which also has a definite moralistic and socio-critical tendency. It is the *Wu Pao chuan* “Biography of Mr. Black Treasure”, by Kao Ming (1310—1380), the author of the famous play “Story of a Lute” (*P'i-pa chi*). Wu Pao is here a metonymy for paper-money. The text is preserved in T’ao Tsung-i’s *Cho-keng lu* ed. Ts’ung-shu chi-ch’eng ch. 13, p. 193—194. I have tried to keep the explanations of puns and allusions at a minimum; most of them have been put between parentheses instead of hiding them away in footnotes. The whole paragraph in *Cho-keng lu* reads as follows:

The Biography of Wu Pao

When I was young I once saw the “Biography of Hsüan Pao” (*Hsüan Pao chuan* (“Dark Treasure”) by Mr. Hu Shih-t’ang but today I would not be able to remember the entire text. But then there was somebody who brought me a “Biography of Wu Pao” written by Kao Tsé-ch’eng (Kao Ming) from Yung-chia and showed it to me. Even if one should say that literary skill has been used there in for a playful purpose, I would maintain that (the *Wu Pao chuan*) has some relevance for teaching our times. The Biography reads as follows:

As to Wu Pao, his ancestors came from the Chu clan (homophone of *chu*, the paper mulberry-tree, *Broussonetia papyrifera*) in Kuei-chi (i.e. Shao-hsing in Chêkiang province, a centre of paper manufacture; also a pun on *kuei-chi* “to account, calculate”), which had for generations venerated Confucianism and given itself to literary activities (paper was first used for centuries as writing material) but nobody ever reached some prominence. But when Pao came, he obscured the profession of his ancestors (paper-money became more important than learning). He changed his family name and personal name and became a follower of the Mohists (*mo* “ink” was used for printing; also a gibe against Mohism as later on in the text) and obtained to the highest degree their divine techniques. From that time on he became famous.


9 In a seminar on 14th century texts I once presented this text to advanced students without telling beforehand that it was a parody. They all took it seriously.

10 Hu Ch’ang-ju (1240—1314), Yuan author and scholar. On him see *Yüan-shih* ed. Po-na ch. 190, 1a—4b. Of his works only a selection of his poems seems to have survived in *Yüan-shih hsüan*.
In the beginning there had been one of his ancestors a Mr. Ch’ien (money, coins) who also had become prominent through his divine techniques. But when Pao appeared the Ch’ien family went into decline (paper-money superseded coins), although their techniques were quite similar. Therefore the ignorant still take (Pao) for Ch’ien (treat paper-money like coins).

Pao was light of weight, thin, soft and dark (like the dark paper on which notes were printed); his external appearance resembled that of a straightforward and correct man (lang “square” alludes to the shape of notes) but inwardly he was in fact mean and filthy. He was an expert in adapting himself to circumstances (lit. “to stretch out or curl up” — paper-money can be carried flat or rolled). He was constantly satisfied with the doctrine of all-pervading unity of the Holy Man (allusion to Lun-yü IV, 15: “My doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity” (trs. Legge), at the same time pun on i-kuan “one string of cash”). This is why there was nowhere satisfaction before he came.

Under the prevalent customs many suspected him, yet everywhere schemes were made for Pao. Whether small or large, light or heavy, many or few, fine or coarse — there was nobody to whom he did not bow when asked for. From the highest dignitaries down everybody respected and loved him. His descendants have been spreading over a large area (fan-yen, allusion to Book of Odes, Ode No. 117, Chiao-liao, Karlgren p. 76) and live scattered over the provinces and states. Everywhere the administration provided lodgings for them (the public treasuries) and gave them additional protection. If some of them died of old age, the administration collected their corpses and cremated them (used paper-money was withdrawn from circulation and burnt). One may see in this a last remnant of the customs of Mo (Ti, who advocated simple burials).

As to Pao’s residence, people competed to invite him, and if they could make him come to their homes, everybody, old and young, servants and slaves all were full of joy, and they placed him in a secluded room with double bolts (kept their money under lock and key). They served him respectfully and protected him lovingly; their only fear was that he might go elsewhere. But it was his nature to run after profit-seekers. If there were powerful people in rich households, he joined them immediately whenever they bowed to him, and they never tired of serving him to the end of their lives. The poor in their shabby holes, however, might well incline their hearts and long for his visit, but he never deigned to go there, not even once.

Most of all he despised Confucian scholars. Even if they chanced to have social intercourse with him for a while, they were never able to make him stay for a longer period (scholars mostly remain poor). This shows the incompatibility of the Confucian and Mohist schools!

Pao was fond of leisure and hated work; he loved economy and frugality, and disliked luxurious spending. For a long time he stayed as a guest with the T’ien (“Field”) family from Hung-nung (name of a district in Honan, lit. “plentiful agriculture”). Mr. T’ien was plain and economising. Pao therefore
had a most sincere friendship with him (a frugal peasant may get rich). But after Mr. T’ien died, his sons loved spending and day for day amused themselves with music, women and banquets. Pao loathed this. In the vicinity there lived a Mr. Shang ("Merchant") who was like old Mr. T’ien. Therefore Pao agreed to come to his house and stay there. This was because the Mohist doctrine advocated simplicity (luxury means losing money, whether peasant or merchant).

As a person, Pao was full of deceit, fond of change and of an inconstant nature (like money and wealth). Among the officials and powerful persons everybody wished to become his friend (officials were greedy). This as a rule resulted in disaster and misfortune (open bribery could be punished). Therefore the incorruptible, honest and principled officials normally had nothing to do with Pao (and remained poor). Since Pao’s tricks were spreading, impostors over and over again imitated his tricks (money was forged) if they wanted to show off among their contemporaries, but later they all perished and died (forgery was a capital offence). This increased the reverence for Pao’s tricks. At that time Lord Pao-p’u ("Embracing Unpolished Jade", homophone and in meaning identical with pao-p’u,[41], the famous Taoist expression occurring already in Tao-tê-ching 10 — here: a personification of jade) from K’un-lun (the mountains in the Far West where jade was said to come from), Sir Hsüan-chu ("Dark Pearl", originally another Taoist expression, denoting the essence of Tao, cf. Chuang-tzu XII, 4, Wilhelm p. 86 (tsrl. Jena 1923), Wieger; Textes Taoistes p. 296—297 — here hsüan-chu personifies pearls) from Nan-hai ("Southern Ocean", also name of a district in Canton province where pearls were found), and Mr. Ts’ung-ko (ts’ung-ko "obeying and changing" is an epithet for metal, after a passage in Shu-ching, Hung-fan 5, trsl. Karlgren p. 30—31: "metal is said to obey and change") from Yung-ch’ang (district in Yünnan where gold is found) all were able to help people. They (i. e., jade, pearls and gold) had their ups and downs in successive generations and adapted themselves to the wishes of men. These three also established relations with Pao. If it happened that Pao came once (into a house), then these three men inevitably followed (money can buy jade, pearls and gold). Therefore all the praise universally went to Pao.

Although Pao’s family members were numerous, all their looks and techniques were extremely similar (like money printed from the same block). Whether one knew one of them or not — everybody addressed him as Wu Pao.

The critical discussion says: A Wu family appears in the Ch’un-ch’iu, in the Shih-pen and in the Hsing-yüan[11]. As to (Wu) Ts’un (on whom see Tso-
chuan, Legge p. 696), (Wu) Yü (Tso-chuan, Legge p. 522, 528), (Wu) Chih-ming (Tso-chuan, Legge p. 686) and (Wu) Huo (a warrior in Ch’in, see Shih-chi ch. 5,26b and 79,5b; Chav., Mém. Hist. vol. II p. 76), they were all prominent dignitaries. And under the T’ang, there flourished (Wu) Ch’eng-ên (a military commander who perished during a plot against Shih Ssu-ming in 758 A. D.; see Chung-kuo jen-ming ta tz’u-tien p. 818 IV) and (Wu) Ch’ung-yin (a famous military governor, ca. 819 A. D.; see Wang Gungwu, The Structure of Power in North China During the Five Dynasties, Kuala Lumpur 1963, p. 9 n. 2; T’ang-shu ch. 161, Hsin T’ang-shu ch. 171), but only when Pao came (the family’s) renown increased.

Pao could trace his ancestry to the Chu clan but he called himself a member of the Wu family. This shows his inconstancy and deceitful nature. Although his doctrine originated from the Mohist school, he violated the Tao and corrupted civilization much worse than these. If Meng K’o should be reborn, he would not be able to expose him (as Meng-tzu did with the Mohists). And in the case that Pao had been born under Yao, Shun or the Three Dynasties (in ages of perfection), his tricks would not necessarily have become so widely known. That Pao could realise his intention must also be ascribed to the fact that there was something in his time that urged him on. Alas! How could this be the fault of Pao alone? —

Thus Kao Ming’s pseudo-biography ends on a note denouncing the evils of money and moneymaking. A literary joke is here turned into a medium of expressing social criticism and a play-form becomes the vehicle for lamenting a society corrupted by the greed for money — an eternal theme which, to use the words of our text, could not sufficiently be exposed even if Kao Ming would be reborn in our time.
烏寶傳

余幼時嘗見胡湖州先生玄寶傳今不能記其全篇有人出永嘉高則誠烏寶傳相示雖以文為戲。

烏寶，字與可，南蠻之內史也。父玄寶，母王氏。寶幼好學，博涉羣書，尤精於《易》。年二十，應進士舉，尋以父憂去位。淮安守劉公，嘉其才，薦之朝，擢為御史。寶以言事得罪，貶為潮州別駕。寶自是不復問世事，歸書於山中，作《烏寶傳》以自况。