WALTHER HEISSIG
Rheinböllen, Germany

Tracing Some Mongol Oral Motifs in a Chinese Prosimetric Ming Novel of 1478

Abstract

Certain narrative motifs present in the *Hua guan suo zhuan*, a recently rediscovered Chinese novel first printed in 1478, are also found in present-day orally transmitted chivalric epics sung by east Mongolian minstrels. This paper examines these cases of the transformation and literary contamination of motifs.

Key words: Transformation — oral poetry — literary contamination

Asian Folklore Studies, Volume 53, 1994: 227–254

THE *Hua guan suo zhuan* 花関索傳 [The story of Hua Guan Suo] is a Chinese *tzu-hua* of prosimetrical structure that relates the adventures of the renowned hero Hua Guan Suo. An illustrated xylograph of the text, printed in 1478, was found, along with other Chinese xylographs from 1471, 1472, and 1479, in a Chinese noblewoman's grave excavated near Shanghai in 1967 (KING 1985). A reprint of an apparently older work, it shows, like the other xylographs from the site, the particular feature of the prosimetrical interchange of prose and rhymed song: repetition of the sections in prose (KING 1985, 26). The only earlier samples of prosimetric texts, primarily records of the narratives of early Chinese storytellers (SPESNEV 1986, 11–180), were found in Dunhuang (WALEY 1960; MAIR 1983; 1989, 26–28, 88–98).

Comparison of this text with Mongolian epics and nineteenth-century eastern Mongolian oral prosimetric traditions (*Bensen üliger*) reveals that Chinese and Mongolian texts shared similar narrative motifs for a period of more than four centuries (RINČEN 1961; CERENSODNOM 1967). This enables us to study the reciprocal influence and transference of the motifs. In this article I analyze the following motifs, citing from Gail KING's English translation of the *Hua guan suo zhuan* (1989):

Birth in the absence of the father (Mot. T 583 [A]);
Early life as a foundling (Mot. L 111.2);
Foreordained education with a Taoist (Mot. D 1711);
Uprooting a tree for use in battle (Mot. F 614.2);
Search for the missing father (Mot. T 621);
Recognition by birthmark (Mot. H 51.1; H 1381.1);
Fighting and heroic deeds;
Battling the bride (Mot. H 332; H 345);
Pleas of mercy and subsequent integration (Mot. M 429);
Companions with extraordinary powers (Mot. F 601);

Recovering a lost sword from the water (Mot. H 1132.1);
Accidental reunion of a husband, wife, and son (Mot. N 741);
The magic arrow (D 1601.4);
Giving one's own flesh to feed another person.

The *Hua guan suo zhuan* has an introductory section that acquaints the reader with the history of the Han dynasty and with the events in the novel *San guo yan yi* 三國演義 [Romance of the three kingdoms], upon which the *Hua guan suo zhuan* is based. This provides evidence that such historical prologues were already in use by Chinese storytellers in the fifteenth century; similar prologues are still used today among the Mongol singers of *Bensen üliger*s.

Following the introduction are descriptions of the twenty-four battles fought by the hero Guan Suo. This might give the impression that the *Hua guan suo zhuan* belong to the genre of swordsman biographies, but this is not the true nature of the narrative. The tale is, rather, that of the hero's traumatic attempt to find his lost father, Guan Yu (Mot. H 1391.2.2.1.1) and establish his legitimacy. Both form parts of the multifarious motif "crucial tensions within the family" (HATTO 1989; HEISSIG 1991a, 61).

The tale belongs to the type in which an entire family is exterminated by an offended and enraged ruler, setting the stage for the subsequent actions of the few family members who are accidentally spared. This is a motif shared by many other Chinese novels, by recent *Bensen üliger*s, and by adaptions such as the Mongol *Tabun ǰuwan* [Five accounts] pentad (Mongol continuations of Tang popular fiction) (HEISSIG 1972b). The one or two children who escape death grow up, become important warriors or the companions of rebelling crown princes, and save the country (HEISSIG 1992, 35). In the *Hua guan suo zhuan* this basic pattern takes a form different from that in the *San guo yan yi*, the novel that comprises the original corpus of all Guan Yu lore (BREWITT-TAYLOR 1925, 5; RIFTIN 1970, 21–43). The *Hua guan suo zhuan* begins with an explanation of how the three companions Guan Yu, Chang Fei, and Liu Pei swear an oath of brotherhood and decide to kill everyone in their families so that they may be free to pursue their political aims. Chang Fei kills eighteen members of Guan Yu's family, but, out of pity, spares Guan Yu's firstborn son, Guan Bing (d. 219), and his pregnant wife, Hu Jingting (KING 1989, 35–37). Hu takes refuge at the home of her father and gives birth to her second son, who later becomes the hero Hua Guan Suo.

Birth in the Absence of the Father (Mot. T 583A)

The motif of birth in absence of the father—who is either missing or dead—abounds in Mongol oral epic tradition. We must assume that this is a reflection of the situation that prevailed in Mongolian history because of warfare, hunting, and caravan trading. Since it is not possible to discuss all of the numerous variants of this motif, I will limit my remarks to a few of the more important ones. Usually the hero leaves his wife to wage war against a menacing power (an enemy or monster) without being aware of his spouse's pregnancy, as in the widely distributed epos *Qan qarangɣui* [King darkness] complex (HEISSIG 1979, 76; concordances of three versions: 1991a, 26) and certain versions of the Sinkiang *J̌angɣar* epos (*ǰANGƔAR* 1988, chapters 7, 11). In view of the many practical reasons why the father might absent himself, it is unlikely that his leaving has any deep connection with the practice of couvade (Stith Thompson T 583).

The legend about the Mongolian paternity of the Ming emperor Ch'eng-tsu (r. 1402–25) suggests a possible historical precedent. The implication of the legend is that Ch'eng-tsu's mother, pregnant by the last Yuan emperor, Togon Temür (r. 1333–68), hid her condition and gave birth only after becoming the consort of the first Ming emperor, Tai-tsu (r. 1368–98) (MOSTAERT 1947, 189–95; HOK-LAM CHAN 1990).

Birth with the father absent is also claimed for Xi Ding Shan 薛丁山, the hero of Chinese and Mongol historical novels. The Mongol minstrel song *Si liyang*, which follows the Mongol novel *Yeke tang ulus-un baraɣun liyang-i toɣtaɣaɣsan debter* [How the great Tang dynasty subdued West Liyang] (BESE 1977, Nr. 95), claims that Xi Ding Shan was born while his father, the Tang general Xi Ren Gui 薛仁貴 (614–683), was fighting the Eastern Liao.

We can thus see in this motif an early exchange of "oral and literary components between Chinese and Central Asian literature" (JOHNSON 1984, 35).

Early Life as a Foundling (Mot. L 111.2)

Two motifs occur in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* before the hero sets out in search of his father: first, his growing up as a nameless foundling, and second, his subsequent education with a Taoist recluse.

The first of these motifs is seen when the fatherless boy, having reached the age of seven in the home of his grandfather, is taken by his mother to see a lantern festival in a nearby town. There the boy gets lost, and his mother is unable to find him. In the Mongol epic and heroic fairy tale it is a prerequisite for the later success of a super-

naturally destined hero that he spend his early years as an *önöčin küü* (foundling) (Mot. L 111.1); the hero is usually orphaned, thrown from the arms of his father by an unexpected storm, or left abandoned after an enemy attack. Thus in the great western Mongolian epos *Jangγar* the hero spends his youth as a poor orphan, and in the tale of King Geser the young king disguises himself as the abandoned foundling boy Oljibai (or Kögetei) to gain the confidence of his enemies (HEISSIG 1983b, 301–302) or to enter unmolested into the home of what was to become his foster family (KUKUNOOR GESER III, 1986, 20).

Although the great ruler Činggis Khan (1162–1227) was never said to have been a foundling, the *Niγnča tobčiyan* [Secret history of the Mongols], the oldest Mongol chronicle, describes the youth of Temüjin (the future Činggis Khan) as a fatherless period of poverty, persecution, and flight, in accordance with an important topos in Central Asiatic epics, "Exiled or banished youth returns and becomes a mighty king" (Mot. L 111.8.1). However, the *Secret History* does contain evidence that at the time of its compilation in the early thirteenth century the discovery of a foundling was a familiar narrative device. It reports in section 114 (CLEAVES 1982, 45) the discovery of a five-year-old boy at the site of a deserted enemy camp; the boy is clad in fur and leather, an attire for foundlings mentioned in other Mongol epics as well. The foundling is given as a gift to the woman Ögelün Eke, yet neither his person nor his name is mentioned in subsequent sections of the *Secret History*, indicating that this episode lacks any historical basis and is simply another well-known literary topos employed to demonstrate the clemency of the finder (Mot. S 354.3).

The ultimate historical example of this motif is the feigned abandonment of a son by the Mandju emperor Kanghsi: the son is found by Kanghsi's Mongolian enemy Galdan, who brings the child up as his own and who is finally, in accord with Kanghsi's scheme, murdered by him (HEISSIG 1988, 493, 789).

The fate of an abandoned child has found various representations in Central Asian epics and clan legends (BINDER 1977, 1062–63). It has, nevertheless, its particular expression in Chinese historical novels about the heroes of the Tang dynasty and about chivalry and swordsmen (LIU Tsün-Yan 1967), which later influenced the Mongol *Bensen üliger*s, the five novels of the *Tabun juwan*, and similar Mongolian works.

The support received by the foundling or fugitive member of a persecuted family from supernatural or heavenly powers in Mongolian and Central Asian epics is augmented in later works by new agents, namely the representatives of the Taoist religion. This is already seen in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* of 1478 (HEISSIG 1992, 70–73).

Foreordained Education with a Taoist (Mot. D 1711)
The young Guan Suo, lost in the turmoil of the lantern festival, is found by a member of the wealthy Suo 索 family. The family gladly adopts the foundling, names him Young Suo, educates him, and cherishes him like one of their own blood. But the family had earlier promised a son to the Taoists for education as an adept, and when a Taoist visits the family head and asks for the promised child, he is given the adopted boy instead of the natural son. The foundling is led to the Taoist's mountain abode, where he studies the teachings on military tactics, martial arts, morality, and medicine. Then, in the spring of the boy's eighteenth year, the Taoist master secretly plans his disciple's foreordained return to the "red dust" of the human world. He dispatches him to fetch water that gushes from a particular rock in the mountains. It being the third month of the year, the youth passes many people observing the custom of mourning at the grave of their parents. This induces the youth, for the first time in his lonely life, to ask himself about his own parents.

The device of worshipping at the ancestral graves in the third month is used in such late nineteenth-century Mongol imitations of Chinese fiction as the *Čiyang qo ǰuwan* and *Sung Či Qui* (1982, I, 136–38), where a feigned murder attempt on a similar boy enables him to sever his family ties and find his own way. In the *Hua guan suo zhuan* Young Suo, carrying a bucketful of water from the mountain spring back to his master, is waylaid by a gang of robbers who demand that he pay his passage with gold. This forces the pennyless youngster to martial action: he uproots a dead tree (see following section) and defeats the bandit leader, who together with his followers takes flight. After Young Suo returns to his teacher he asks about his parents, whereupon he is sent back to his foster family for more information.

Similar motif chains abound in the nineteenth-century *Tabun ǰuwan* novels as well as in certain recent stories by eastern Mongolian bards. In them the sons and daughters of influential families are educated by Taoist immortals, brought by them to a preplanned mishap, and later return to worldly life to become persons of decisive political or military influence.

The *Tang ulus-un arban tabuduγar üliger* [The fifteenth story of the Tang empire] sung by the blind singer Dawarinčin (b. 1930) and recorded by us in 1986 (Heissig 1991a, 1991b, 40–50; Veit and Nima 1991, 51–66), contains a variant that Dawarinčin learned from his own teacher, Manliyang (*1914), also blind (Sampilnorbu and Wang Xin 1990, 80). In it the two-year-old daughter of a viceroy is blown by a

storm to the abode of a Taoist immortal in the Yunnan mountains, and is later sent back as an adult to help her father (HEISSIG 1992, 71). Even better known is an episode in the Mongol version of the *Si liyang* that adopted many traits from the Chinese stories of the Xi family (LIU Ts'un-Yan 1967, 19, 122; BANCK 1985, 225). In this tale Xi Ding Shan, the son of the famous Tang general Xi Ren Gui, is educated by a Taoist immortal living at Sui Liyan-tung in the Yün Ming mountains. When the Tang emperor's military expedition to pacify western Liyang is endangered, the immortal tells his pupil (then eighteen years old, like young Guan Suo) of his origins and of his foreordained task to support the emperor and protect his mother and sister. He advises the boy where to find a horse, the "flying" sword of his father, and the fur of an ape that can protect him against evil-minded Taoist sorcerers. After finding this equipment Xi Ding Shan returns to receive his master's blessings, is told to close his eyes, and in an instant finds himself whisked far away from the mountains (chapter 6).

The motif of a child novice living with a Taoist recluse (Mot. D 1711) appears with only minor variations in a Mongol fairy tale recorded in Tsakhar in 1938/39 by the late Danish scholar K. Grønbech (GRØNBECH 1940, 56–93). In this narrative, entitled *Sayin irügeltü qaγan* [The very blessed king] (HEISSIG 1985a, 77–84), a boy named Tabin Belgetü is born to a couple who, having long been childless, cherish him deeply. One day the boy sees a man in monk's robes begging alms for a Taoist immortal living in seclusion on Lotus Flower Mountain, and, out of curiosity, follows him. The man leads Tabin Belgetü back to the mountain, for in reality he has been sent by the Taoist master to fetch the boy, who is the master's foreordained disciple. His parents, deeply grieved, believe that the child is lost. From his eleventh year Tabin Belgetü is trained in spiritual and martial arts. When a dangerous eight-headed bandit attacks the kingdom Tabin Belgetü is sent home, where he defeats the monster using Taoist sorcery. The grateful king offers him his daughter in marriage, but Tabin Belgetü returns to the mountain, riding a dragon like other Taoists with magic powers. In the tranquillity of the mountain he forgets the world below. The Taoist master, however, sends him back (as in the versions of this motif mentioned above) to fight the enemies of the king, after giving him the necessary magic to do so. Tabin Belgetü finally marries the king's daughter. Having thus violated the celibacy of the Taoist recluse, he is no longer allowed to return to the mountain riding a dragon. He closes his eyes and finds himself immediately back at the king's palace.

The similarities between this tale and the ones above indicate the familiarity of the storyteller from Tsakhar with the motifs of the *Bensen*

üliger, and suggest the popularity of this form of oral literature in the Tsakhar area during the late 1930s.

Another event often mentioned in Mongol minstrel songs is the mysterious appearance of the former Taoist teacher when an illness strikes his erstwhile pupil, whom he then cures. Thus when Guan Suo falls ill with malaria fifteen years after leaving his Taoist master, the master appears and cures him with pills made from the herbs of immortality. Three doses bring recovery, and the immortal returns to his mountain abode.

Uprooting a Tree for Use in Battle (Mot. F 614.2)

Having a character uproot a tree and use it as a weapon is generally considered a device to show the character's superhuman strength. In the episode from the *Hua guan suo zhuan* mentioned above, the narrator uses this device to symbolize the beginning of the wordly career of the secluded young Taoist Suo, who is later to become an invincible swordsman and warrior. The motif is not common in Chinese folktales, but appears rather frequently in Mongol epics. It appears, however, to be a loan motif of North Asiatic origin, considering its predominance in Buryat and northern Mongolian tradition and ancient myth.

In the Buryat epics *Yirensei*, recorded in 1905 (ŽAMCARANO 1913–1918; POPPE 1980, 5–7), and *Bükü qara kübüün* [The totally black boy] (ULANOV 1972; POPPE 1975, 5–117), recorded in 1906, the enormous strength of the hero is shown by having him uproot a large tree and then drag it behind a horse to create a wide track for his followers. The hero also uses it as a weapon, hitting a giant monster on the neck and killing it (POPPE 1980, line 3036). The same happens in the Mongol epic *Qan qarangγui*, where the young Qan Qarangγui and his little brother Uladai disguise themselves as urchins and tease Sarkhai, a strong wrestler in the king's court, and his powerful brother Arghai. The enraged Sarkhai uproots a tree and hits Qan hard on the neck, but, though the tree shatters into twenty carloads of firewood, the urchin remains unharmed, thereby displaying his superhuman origin (HORLOO 1967, 33–34; POPPE 1975, 25–26). A variant is seen in a shorter Khalkha epos entitled *Altai tsembel khü* [The boy Altai tsembel] (recorded by G. J. Ramstedt in the early twentieth century from a Khalkha informant), in which the thirteen-year-old hero is struck a deadly blow with an uprooted larch tree by Arghai and Tsarghai, the two bondsmen of the monster Tüsüren Donzin (HALÉN 1973, 270).

The two wrestlers Sarkhai and Arghai belong to the epic tradition of Central Asian Turks to the west, a fact that bolsters our assumption of a North Asiatic origin for this motif. In the epic *J̌ula aldar qan*

[The king whose fame (shines like a) lamp] by the Uriyanghai singer Öljei, the hero uses an uprooted larch as a nose-peg (*buyila*) for a subdued wild camel (HEISSIG 1988, 675; KOPPE, 1962). But why this mention of different kinds of larches (Mo.: *qara modn*; Bur.: *ulaan sünühyje senehe*) in connection with bodily strength? Does it originate in a northern area where the larch is the dominant tree, given that the trees most commonly worshiped by the Mongols are elm, willow, birch, sandalwood, tamarisk (*suqai*), and various conifers (BUYANBATU 1990, 26–49)? There is a clear lack of research on this subject.

Search for the Missing Father (Mot. T 621/Type 6.1.3.2)
The inquiries of the *Hua guan suo zhuan*'s young hero at the home of his foster family, the Suos, yield the information that his mother's name is Hu Jinding, that his father is the famous Han general Guan Yun Zhang 関雲長, and that he himself had been sent to the Taoist master by the foster family in place of their own son (KING 1989, 43–44; MAYERS 1924, 97). The Suos themselves had learned the names of Young Suo's father and mother only recently. The head of the Suo family then accompanies the youth on his way to the house of his real grandfather, Hu.

In the Mongol parallels to the narrative motif "The quest of a late-born child for his unknown father" (Mot. H 1381.1), the curiosity of the fatherless child is often aroused by the taunting of playmates (*J̌angγar* 1982, chapters 7, 37). The motif of a youth searching for his missing father appears, with only slight variations, in Mongolian epics and heroic stories as well as in Chinese fairy tales (TING 1978, 64, #369; HEISSIG 1991a, 26). This motif has also entered the narrations of neighboring Turkic groups, as in the fairy tale *Qalǰi ǰalǰi baγatur* [The hero Qalǰi ǰalǰi] of the Köke Moncaγ, a small Turkish-speaking ethnic unit in the Altai border region (KATERBERG 1988). In this story a boy named Jiγal learns while playing with the other children of his settlement that his supposed father, Qalǰi, is actually an impostor who killed Jiγal's real father, J̌alǰi, and took Jiγal's mother as his wife. The youth thereupon sets out to find his father's corpse and take revenge upon the usurper. He finally succeeds in freeing his buried father and killing Qalǰi.

Recognition by Birthmark (Mot. H 51.1; M 1381.1)
Suo's visit to the home of his natural grandfather Hu leads also to his reunion with his mother (Mot. H 80; H 162; H 731). Young Suo asks of Hu that he be recognized as a legitimate member of the family, but his grandfather denies this on the basis of physical dissimilarity: the

youth is short and stocky, while the supposed father, Guan Yu, is tall. The decision then rests with the mother. Although the old grandfather stubbornly continues to reject the child's legitimacy, Suo's mother looks for a hidden mole that she remembers her son having behind his ear; discovering it, she declares the boy to be her lost son (KING 1989, 45–48). The boy then takes the name Hua Guan Suo, combining the names of his Taoist teacher Hua, his father Guan, and his foster family Suo.

Recognition by birthmark, a motif of universal distribution (Mot. H 54.1), is to be found in Chinese as well as Mongolian narrations (BUYANKESIG 1991, 47). In the above-mentioned *Tang ulus-un arban tabuduγar üliger* the same motif is found applied to a fictitious situation in Tang times. After many years of absence, a lost daughter of the viceroy Ru Nan returns to her father at the command of her Taoist master. The understandable uncertainty of her father regarding her identity is cleared up by the discovery of the birthmark the lost girl had on her neck: three red moles like drops of blood, the middle one of which is shaped like the Bird King Garuda.

The Mongol parallels are fundamentally similar. The valiant sons who search for their parents and liberate women carried into slavery by enemies and monsters (Typ 6.3.1–2) are all recognized by their sceptical parents when brown or ink-black moles are discovered on their backs, necks, or between their eyebrows. Examples are the epics *Altan γalaγuu küü* [The boy Golden Goose], *Altai hajlah* [Praising the Altai], *Altan sembüü mergen küü* [The clever boy Altan sembüü], and many others (HEISSIG 1988, 89, 174, 299, 305).

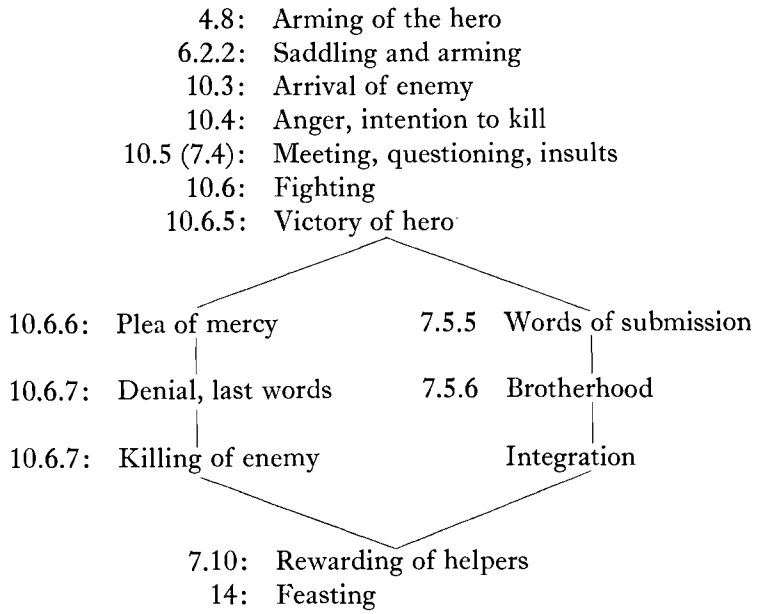
Fighting and Heroic Deeds

Immediately after finding home and being reunited with his mother, Hua Guan Suo's swordsmanship is tested for the first time (KING 1989, 48–62). A roving band of outlaws from the mountains surrounds his grandfather's estate, threatening to ransack it if not given gold and silver. Guan Suo arms himself with his grandfather's weapons for the first time in his life and fights thirty times with the two leaders of the bandits. He forces them and their troops into submission but spares their lives, upon which they swear allegiance and become his first body of troops.

The victory forms the precondition for the further development of the story. Guan Suo subsequently engages in twenty-three more battles of similar pattern. The translator of the *Hua guan suo zhuan* distinguishes in all of these the following elements: threat, the raising of troops, the arming of the general, the exchange of insults, boasting,

battle, the hero's victory, and feasting (KING 1989, 11–12). This sequence of elements follows the same pattern as the poetic presentation of the duel between two enemy generals found in Mongolian minstrels' adaptations and developments of Chinese swordsmen stories during the last two centuries (RINČEN 1961; CERENSODNOM 1967; KARA 1970; RIFTIN 1992; HEISSIG 1992).

The motif-typology of the rhymed Mongol epic is more detailed (HEISSIG 1988, 847–55; BÜRINBEKI and BUYANKESIG 1988, 987–1006):



Evidence of the above structural sequence in a Chinese work reprinted in the fifteenth century suggests both the early appearance and the historical immanence of this poetical arrangement (JASON 1977, 471–515; 1981).

Battling the Bride (Mot. H 345)

The description in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* of the battle between Guan Suo and Sanniang, the valiant daughter of the bandit king Bao, belongs to the very old and universal motif of the suitor's tests (ATh 519, "The strong woman as bride"; Mot. H 345). Sanniang will marry only a suitor who can subdue her in battle, as she declares on a stone tablet set outside her home (KING 1989, 43). This androgynous behavior places Sanniang with the Brunhild-like female remnants of a rather early society. Not so early, however, as to prevent Marco Polo from

mentioning Aijaruc Agirma (the great-great-granddaughter of Činggis Khan), whom no suitor could subdue in wrestling (PELLIOT 1959, 15; BENEDETTO 1939, 365–68). Yet Sanniang, in fighting primarily to defend her father and brothers, parallels also the figure of the "helpful sister" (Type 7.3) in Mongol epics, heroic tales, and the Geser-cycle (HEISSIG 1983b, 9–24).

The motif became contorted in Russian byliny like *Dunaj*, in which the hero fights a duel with his amazonian wife Nastasja (OINAS 1990, 299–301). The variant of the Mongolian Geser tale told by the Bagharin bard and former Lamaist monk Lubsang and recorded in 1984 narrates how Geser Khan obtains the hand of Nurusuγma, daughter of the Dragon King, only after successfully completing three tests (LUBSANG 1984, 65–74). The figure of Geser's wife in this variant is not that of Alu γoo-a (Aǰu γoo-a), the warrior spouse of Geser Khan in the more classic versions of the Mongol Geser Khan cycle.

The poetical form of the duel between suitor and bride closely follows the descriptions of fighting in the Mongol *Bensen üliger* genre (RIFTIN 1985, 125–205; 1992, 144–82). Taking into account the tradition of the valiant Agirma, a woman of the thirteenth century, it would appear that the episode of the warrior maiden Sanniang still possessed a certain contemporaneous reality at the time the *Hua guan suo zhuan* was printed in the fifteenth century. Even the larger editions of the *Shui hu zhuan* 水滸傳 [Marsh chronicles], a Ming novel based on the orally transmitted stories of professional storytellers (LIU, J. Y. 1967, 108–16), tell a similar tale of a warrior-maiden named Sanniang of the Hu family. When bandits under Song J̌iyang attempt to ransack the manor of landlord Chiu they are opposed by the valiant Sanniang. She repulses the leader, Wanging, but is later captured by another warrior. Later she marries Wanging (BANCK 1985, 209–11; SHAPIRO 1980, chapter 47).

Part of the duel between Guan Suo and Sanniang in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* is a contest to hit the four characters on a golden Chinese coin with four arrows, and then place a fifth arrow into the hole in the coin's center (KING 1989, 76–79). A similar suitor's contest is described in a Mongol *Bensen üliger* entitled the *Γarudi γalbingγa-yin üliger*, based on the Chinese novel *Zai sheng yuan* 再生緣 [Fates of the reborn] by Chen Duan Sheng 陳端昇 (1751–1796) (SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1990, 466–67; HEISSIG 1992, 127–31) and sung by the eastern Mongolian minstrel Buyannemekü (1903–1966) (NIMA-SEČENΓOO-A 1986). A Sui dynasty (560–618) Chinese manuscript found in Dunhuang (WALEY 1960, 84–85) describes a context between a Hunnish ambassador and a Chinese general in which victory was decided by hitting

and splitting the arrow of the other contestant. This points to a Central Asiatic model for this narrative motif, plus Tibetan parallels (HERRMANN 1991, 383).

The *Hua guan suo zhuan* provides an additional example of the special preference of the Chinese storyteller and his public for brave female warriors (BANCK 1985). Guan Suo, while on his way to meet his father, is halted by two female generals, an eighteen-year-old and her sixteen-year-old sister, who block the road with their soldiers. Guan Suo defeats them both and marries them (KING 1989, 89–92). In both cases the defeated women in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* use a formula of submission, declaring, "Spare me. I am willing to be someone who makes your bed, provides your cover, and puts it on" (KING 1989, 79, 92).

Pleas of Mercy and Subsequent Integration (Mot. M 429; Type 7.5.5)
Additional scrutiny of the *Hua guan suo zhuan* reveals additional examples of pleas for mercy accompanied by offers to perform menial work for the former enemy; these pleas result in pardon and subsequent integration into the hero's forces. Typically, the defeated warrior says, "If you spare what remains of my life, I am willing to serve you even as a stableboy and groom" (KING 1989, 143, 162, 180); one case mentions the "pretense" of wanting to be a stableboy and groom. Another expression of submission used in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* is reference to the victorious warrior by the Chinese honorific "elder brother" (KING 1989, 86, 89).

The plea for mercy and the offer to perform degrading service as seen in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* are bound in a formula shorter than those usually seen in Mongol epics. In Mongol tradition the formulaic differentiation is more multifarious, as shown in table 1 (HEISSIG 1988, I/II; BÜRINBEKI and BUYANKESIG 1988, 1078–1251; HEISSIG 1983b, 350–54).

The oldest known example in Mongol sources of a plea for mercy is that of the Tangut (Hsi Hisa) ruler Sidurγu in the *Altan tobči* [The golden summary] (anon.); Sidurγu, however, does not offer any of the above-mentioned services but instead promises the Venus star (*colmon*) and the Pleiades (*mecid*) (BAWDEN 1955, 57, 140; HEISSIG 1985b, 141). The *Altan tobči* has been dated to the early seventeenth century on the basis of certain convergences with Siregetü Guosi Čorǰi's *Čiqula kereglegči* (HEISSIG 1959, 76–79).[1]

The earlier Chinese-style formula of submission seen in the 1478 xylograph of the *Hua guan suo zhuan*, with its offer to "become a stableboy and groom," converged with the more detailed submission for-

	Jögei nijid kiüü	Aburaltu qan	Ladakh-Geser	Galbyn üliger	Qabqan soyuya	Ayula Khan	Gošö čuluun	Hara nyden baatar	Gunan qara mekile	Hambudai mergen	Argil čayan öwgön	Altan yalayu kiüü	Silin yaljayu	Bayan bolod ebügen (A)	Bayan bolod (B)	Siregetü-yin mergen	Jöng biligtü bayatur	Toyoyan siremüin	
Stableboy / Groom	X										X	X							
Shepherd	X						X												
Horse-halter	X	X		X	X	X	X					X		X	X		X		
Horse hobble	X	X			X	X	X					X		X	X		X		
Horse bridle																		X	
Servant		X							X						X				
Slave (boyol)		X						X					X	X	X	X	X		
Friend/brother		X					X												
Retinue		X		X				X											
Luggage carrier						X													
Cup bearer						X												X	
Gatherer of firewood									X										
Ash shovel														X					
Hatrack (Haloy)	X																		
Table	X	X																	

TABLE 1.

mulas of the Mongol epic tradition, indicating a symbiotic preference for this motif as early as the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. In the Mongol tradition the formula of promising menial service was applied also to the figure of the abandoned foundling. An oral version of the Geser epos recorded in the Mongol-Tibetan cultural frontier region of Kukunoor describes such a situation. A small boy, found at the deserted site of an enemy camp, claims that when the enemy decamped during the night they left him behind, seeing him as simply another mouth to be fed. He pleads to be rescued, promising to serve his finders:

If you take me with you,	*Abuγad namayi yabubal*
I shall gather dried dung for you,	*Arγasu ni čini tegüjü*
I shall collect firewood for you,	*Tülege-yi čini abuya*
I shall kindle the fire for you,	*Γal-i čini asγaju.*
I shall boil the tea for you.	*Čai-yi čini činay-a!*

(DORONGΓA 1986, 37).

There is still another similarity between the *Hua guan suo zhuan* and the Mongol epics regarding the integration of pardoned bandits and enemy generals. In the *Hua guan suo zhuan* these enemies are treated as equals after having sworn allegiance, and some are even incorporated into the Guan family as "brothers"—the captured general Lu Kai, for example, becomes Guan's "third brother" and receives the name Guan San. Later the former enemy general Wang Chi is given the name Guan Chi to become the "fourth Guan" (KING 1989, 158, 162).

Similar cases of integration into the family are found in the *Čiyang qo ǰuwan* (a nineteenth-century Mongol novel that forms part of the *Tabun ǰuwan* pentad [HEISSIG 1972a]).[2] The hero, Han Kai Wang, was in his youth a soldier subject to ill treatment and abuse. Afterwards Han, still childless, becomes one of the Tang emperor's most trusted officials and as such is asked to investigate an uprising in Shantung. In the course of solving some cases of injustice and blackmail he is able to clear three supposed culprits of all charges and unmask the real culprits. The vindicated young men, Bai Hsiyoo Feng, Wang Biyoo, and Jen Yun, become Han Kai Wang's most important assistants and companions, and are adopted by him as sons to form a parallel to the "brothers" of Guan Suo (SULFUNGTA 1982, chapters 10, 28, 32–33).[3]

Various "barbarian" (i.e., non-Chinese) methods of swearing brotherhood are mentioned in the *Hua guan suo zhuan*: mingling the blood of Guan Yu and an impostor (KING 1989, 97), killing an ox, and slaughtering a horse (WEIERS 1987, 137; FRANKE 1979, 26). These oaths bear a structural similarity to those of the Mongols, and the novel's integration of strangers into the family parallels the Mongolian form of brotherhood that leads to the formation of a greater ethnic unit (HEISSIG 1984, 50–53).

Companions with Extraordinary Powers (Mot. F 601; Type 7.11) and *Recovering a Lost Sword from the Water* (Mot. H 1132.1)

In the *Hua guan suo zhuan* no distinction is made between the original followers of the hero and the bandits who become, after the submission of their leaders, fully integrated members of the army. Such bandits, in fact, form the core of Guan Suo's first army. This reflects the Chinese love of the image of the valiant highwayman, so often depicted in Chinese literature. Figures of this type, who take to the mountains seeking revenge for injustices done to them and others, have found a convincing literary documentation in the Chinese novel *Shui hu zhuan*. Legends of these brigands appear in the programs of professional story-

tellers as early as the Song dynasty, long before the composition of the *Hua guan suo zhuan* (LIU, J. Y. 1967, 109).

In the *Hua guan suo zhuan*, Guan Suo's first victory leads to the submission of twelve bandits: Mountain-plucker Hsu, Cloud-grabber Tsao, Dragon-catcher Chang, Tiger-catcher Ma, Fly across the River, Jump across the Sea, Repulse the River, Jui the Terrifier, Luo the King of Hell, Stone Jupiter, Fly on Grass, and Walk on the Ice (KING 1989, 56). The presence of so many names indicative of magical powers suggests—despite the fact that similar nicknames are given to bandits in other literary traditions as well—that some connection exists here with the narrative motif "Companions with extraordinary powers" (Mot. F 601; Enzcl.d.M. VI, 780). At least two of the names mentioned in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* correspond with figures that fill this role in folk literature. "Tiger-catcher," for example, corresponds to the character "Catch Tiger" in a Chinese story found in Dunhuang and translated by WALEY, who believes it to have been written after A. D. 843–45 since it mentions diplomatic envoys to the Huns (1960, 255). Catch-Tiger advances to the position of commanding general, the same rank as Tiger-catcher comes to hold in the *Hua guan suo zhuan*.[4]

Companions having power over the water are common figures in Asian folklore. In Mongol epics, for example, the character Sea-swallower protects the protagonist by swallowing or creating floods (HEISSIG 1985a, 53–55), while an Indian epic about Pabuji from Rajastan mentions a genie who sucks a well dry of water (SMITH 1991, 73). In the *Hua guan suo zhuan* this role is filled by the bandit Guan Chi "the Hideous," also known as Water-swallower or River-repulser, who is integrated into the Guan family as the above-mentioned "fourth Guan."[5]

Guan Chi's status as a "companion of extraordinary power" is made clear during the episode that describes the recovery of Guan Yu's sword. The *Hua guan suo zhuan* relates how Guan Yu, Guan Suo's father, not only suffers defeat in battle at the hands of the Prince of Wu but also loses his renowned sword Santing, which is hanging on his saddle when his horse Red Hare jumps into a deep pond (KING 1989, 193–215). The desperate Guan Yu commits suicide by cutting his own throat.[6]

Later, when Guan Suo marches against the Prince of Wu with a big army to avenge the death of his father, he too is defeated with heavy losses. He falls into a deathlike coma, and his family succeeds in bringing him back to life only with a method resembling the Buddhist-influenced practice of "calling the soul" (BAWDEN 1962, 81–103), a practice also described in Mongol epics (HEISSIG 1988, 453–56; 1992,

76). The revived Guan Suo discloses that he had in fact died and been sent to hell, but that the Lord of the Underworld had returned him to life. In hell he had seen his father Guan Yu, who told him that he could win victory only after recovering the submerged sword Santing from the Jade Pool (KING 1989, 212).

The motif of a person returning from a deathlike state and reporting his or her experiences in the underworld found an early popularity in Chinese tradition. Passages in early Chinese translations of the *Mahā maudgalyayana sūtra* and similar Buddhist works found at Dunhuang (MAIR 1989, 14–18; WALEY 1960, 216–35) bear witness to this interest, as do various Chinese reports (MCCLENON 1991, 326–29). The motif was treated variously in Uighur, Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian peregrination stories (SAZYKIN and YONDON 1984; HEISSIG 1972a, 87–147).[7]

After Guan Suo's soul returns to his body, he asks who of his warriors can recover the submerged sword (KING 1989, 212–14). Guan Chi immediately declares his ability to stay underwater for three days. He jumps into the pool, anxiously observed by the others. After some time he emerges again, holding the sword Santing in his hand. Guan Suo gladly takes this memento of his dead father and burns incense to it.

The same motif of recovering a lost sword is transposed to two "companions with extraordinary powers" in the heroic tale (Helden märchen) *Amin ildü* [The life-sword] of the Sinkiang Mongols (QOOSMENGGE 1986, 145–57). These two helpers, named Mountain Hero (Aγula baγatur) and Water Hero (Usun baγatur), are of the types known from other fairy tales as Mountain-remover (Aγula Ergügči) and Sea-swallower (Dalai Uγuγči) (HEISSIG 1985a, 51).[8]

In *Amin ildü*, which is in the category of monster-suppressing tales (Drachentöter-Motiv/Supernatural adversaries), the central theme is the battle of a valiant youth, Amin Sülde, against a cannibalistic female monster. Amin Sülde was born with a sword at his side, marking him as the possessor of a heavenly destiny (another such sign is holding blood clots or stones at birth) (BISCHOFF and SAGASTER 1989, 35–66). The hero kills six of the man-eating monster's similarly cannibalistic children during the monster's absence, then, exhausted, lays his sword by his side and falls asleep in her stone house. The female monster returns silently and steals the sword. Breaking hilt and blade apart, she throws the hilt into the mountains and the blade into a mountain stream.[9] She then wakes Amin Sülde, threatening to destroy the land of his grandfather Qambal and father Qalimbu if he does not promise to live with her as husband.[10]

Meanwhile, Amin Sülde's companions Mountain Hero and Water Hero, with whom he has earlier become sworn brothers, notice the gradually dying flame on a stone lamp that he had given them to keep them informed of his well-being (HEISSIG 1990b, 458). Alarmed, they go in search of him. They quickly discover him and notice the absence of his sword. Unable to wake him up, they set out in search of the sword. Mountain Hero lifts the mountains on the palms of his hands and the hilt of the sword falls loose, while Water Hero swallows the waters of the stream and thus finds the blade. The two sections reunite magically with a clack to form the original sword. Amin Sülde immediately wakes up, uttering the question asked in all Mongolian epics and tales by reanimated people: "How could I have ever slept so long?" (HEISSIG 1990b, 460).

In this tale the sword has taken on the function of outer soul for the hero, a function additional to that of its original role as a symbol of exceptional birth. Yet here the Mongol tale starts to converge with the *Hua guan suo zhuan*: loss of his sword Santing deprived Guan Yu of his strength and good luck; recovery of the sword enabled young Guan Suo to regain his confidence and strength.

Accidental Meeting of Husband, Wife, and Son (Mot. N 741)

In an episode that took place prior to his last battle and death, Guan Yu meets his wife, Hu Jingting, and his son, Hua Guan Suo, an event that combines all the elements of the motif "Accidental reunion of husband, wife, and child" (Mot. N 741). Guan Yu, remembering his pact with his sworn brothers to kill all of their kin, believes his entire family to be dead and gruffly rejects any meeting with his wife and son. It is only after his old companion Chang Fei convinces him that his wife and eldest son, Guan Ping, were spared that he finally agrees to see Jingting and Guan Suo. "Husband and wife were reunited and son met father," states the *Hua guan suo zhuan*. "This sort of happy event is no ordinary thing" (KING 1989, 104–105).

The motif of the "unexpected reunion" is one much favored in both Chinese popular literature and Mongol epic. In both cases the reunion comes about because of a situation of need in which people—brides and bridegrooms, husbands and wives, parents and children—suffer from the absence of their partners (PROPP 1972, 31–66). In most Mongol epics this absence motivates all subsequent attempts to reunite (Type 6.1.3.2; 10–10.6.12). In Mongolian epics and heroic tales the cause of all such absences is the Monster (*mangγus*), an abstract symbol for everything evil, cruel, and bad; the hero has only to eliminate the monster in order to achieve a reunion with the absent loved one.

In contrast, the Chinese catalogue of situations leading to separation is much larger and more realistic, and includes natural catastrophies like floods and famines as well as poverty, usury, political unrest, social disgrace, and persecution. Such conflicts offered the Chinese narrators possibilities to bind their stories into a historical or pseudo-historical framework.

As Mongol minstrels and bards became increasingly familiar with the Chinese knight and swordsmen novels they adopted the conflict situations of these genres. Evidence of this literary amalgamation is seen in a description of an "accidental reunion of husband, wife, and son" in the aforementioned Mongolian novel *Čiyang qo ǰuwan.* In chapter 33 the following episode is told about the imperial investigator and military hero Qan Kai Wang, whose real name is Qan Sün Biyoo. In the course of his duties in Shantung, Qan visits a small hamlet to apprehend the last two of a gang of robbers. One day he is greeted by a good-looking woman in her young thirties, accompanied by a fifteen-year-old boy. The mother and boy wear clean but rather shabby clothes. Both are tall; the hair of the woman is yellowish, and the boy has an open, friendly face. Their bearing is proud.

The woman, who calls herself Feng Čün Siyang, begs Qan for help concerning her and her son's circumstances. When she was nineteen years old, she explains, a hungry and thirsty general appeared at the door of her father's home and asked for some nourishment. Her father invited the officer in. The unexpected guest, who called himself Sün Biyoo, came from the vicinity of Tsinan fu in Shantung and was twenty-three years old. He remained for only a few days, but in that time Feng fell in love with him. Her father married her to the general, who left soon after and was never heard from again. When she gave birth to her son she named him Sün San, after his father. Loved by mother and grandfather, the boy grew up. When her father died he bequeathed all his possessions to her and the boy, but the previous year lightning had destroyed everything that belonged to her. She is now destitute; the boy is all that remains to her. She thus asks Qan to help her locate her missing husband Sün Biyoo.

Asked for proof of her marriage, the woman hands Qan a small silver box, adding that her father had always stated that the box should never be opened. Qan however, emphasizes the need to find clues to the situation and opens the box. It contains a small statue of Buddha Ariyabalu, beneath which is a small slip of folded paper. Opening it, Qan reads: "Out of caution regarding my enemy Siye Yen Wang, I, Čin Sün Biyoo, had to hide my family name. This, circumspect spouse, is my signature for you to use when you search for me on a later

day."

Reading this, Qan is deeply moved. He jumps up, takes Feng's hand, and with tears in his eyes apologizes to her for not having been able to state his real name at the time of their marriage. Feng, however, sees her wish to find him fullfilled, and husband, wife, and son are reunited. A feast of three days acquaints mother and son with Qan's three adopted sons.

The Chinese *Hua guan suo zhuan* of 1478 (KING 1989, 107) and the Mongolian *Čiyang qo ǰuwan* of the nineteenth century end the "Reunion of husband, wife, and son" motif chain with the same structural sequence as all Mongol epics and heroic fairy tales:

Type 14.4.1: Reunion with parents;
Type 14.4.2: Reunion with spouse;
Type 14.4.3: Banquet feast.

Other Motifs

The *Hua guan suo zhuan* describes a total of twenty-four different battles. These descriptions contain certain formulaic expressions for battlefield occurrences that reappear, translated into Mongolian, in the phraseology of the *Bensen üliger*s. This similarity of expression provides evidence both of the stability of the formulas and of the four-hundred-year exchange between the Chinese and Mongolian languages. The novels of the *Tabun ǰuwan*, written about 1870 in the Mongγoljin district of Mongolia, formed an early fixation of the minstrels' oral figures of speech, known as "collective formulas" (HEISSIG 1992, 90–126). Certain of the formulaic expressions, such as "stepping ten feet forward in a 'dragon-roiling-the-water pose' " or "jumping in a 'tiger-turning-his-body pose'," can be traced back to the nomenclature of ancient Chinese fencing (KING 1989, 42).

Two further motifs in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* suggest the existence of a "Far Eastern narrative syndrome," with variants of the motifs transcending geographical and linguistic barriers.

First is "the arrow that follows orders," a form of the "magic arrow" motif (Mot. D 1601.4). In the *Hua guan suo zhuan*, the hero cries "Fly true!" when he looses his metal-tipped arrow from the bowstring (KING 1989, 78), bringing to mind the "magic" behavior of arrows in Mongolian oral narrative that obey orders to hit the enemy in certain parts of the body, such as a main artery, the spine, the marrow of the bones, etc. I have located at least eighteen instances of such orders being given to arrows in thirteen Mongol epics; the situation in heroic fairy tales is much the same. In addition there are are arrows that return of themselves after hitting their mark. Parallels

are found in Tibetan versions of the Geser-cycle (HERRMANN 1991, 240); fire arrows occur mostly in Mongolian Geser-chapters. A thorough monographic treatment of this topic is still lacking, despite an intriguing discussion of the magic arrow in the *J̌angγar* epic by KORSUNKIEV (1978). In view of the importance of the bow and arrow (DUMEZIL 1968; LEGOFF 1984, 69–70; HEISSIG 1993, 8–11), an analysis of their position in Central Asiatic societies is very desirable.

The second motif involves offering the flesh of one's own body to feed someone who is starving. This motif, related to the stories that popularized the Buddhist idea of self-sacrifice, was known to the Chinese since at least in the Tang dynasty, when a translation was made of the collection of Buddhist stories known as 賢愚經 [The sutra of the sage and the fool] (found amongst the Dunhuang texts) (MAIR 1989, 18, 53). The motif appears in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* in connection with the last days of Guan Suo's father Guan Yu (KING 1989, 193). Encircled by the enemy and having lost most of his army, Guan Yu complains of hunger. Chou Jang, one of his last remaining followers, immediately goes hunting for some meat. Finding no animal, he cuts two pieces of flesh from his left and right legs, grills them and serves them to his lord, who eats them thinking they are the meat of an animal. Only after Chou has died of his wounds does Guan Yu learn of this generous action.

There is no reason to assume non-Chinese influences on the unknown author of the *Hua guan suo zhuan* when he used this motif in the fifteenth century. The Mongolian translation of *The Sutra of the Sage and the Fool* by Toyin guosi (HEISSIG 1975, 362–446) dates from the late sixteenth century—no translation from the Yuan period is known. A daughter's sacrifice of flesh from her own body to feed her starving mother as an act of filial piety is treated in the Mongolian version of *Naran-u gerel-ün tuγuǰi* [The story of Madame Sunshine] (SAZYKIN and YONDON 1984; DAMSINSÜREN 1976; HEISSIG 1972a, 108–20). The contents of this story parallel to a certain extent the plot of the Chinese opera *Pipaji* 琵琶記 [The record of the lute] (1345), but it is not clear whether the *Naran-u gerel-ün tuγuǰi* is a translation from the Chinese or a more recent compilation in literary form from Mongol *Bensen üliger*, although there is an older manuscript written in the style of the seventeenth century (HEISSIG 1972a, 115). The story compares the daughter's unselfish action to analogous deeds by a certain Jangsan (Jang sang) and Tayisung (Dayiming) qaγan (HEISSIG 1972a, 112; SAZYKIN and YONDON 1987, 44), but no source for these references is known. The only evidence of a common source for the Chinese *Hua guan suo zhuan* and the Mongolian *Naran-u gerel-ün tuγuǰi* is the fact

that in both cases the person offering the flesh does not disclose its true origin.

To discern the time of origin of motifs and motif-chains is almost impossible. However, historical dates like 1478 (the year of the publication of the *Hua guan suo zhuan*) can help to fix the time from which the influx of Chinese narrative motifs into the Mongolian oral tradition became possible, and to determine if a particular Mongol narrative motif was already in use at the time. This is indispensable for comparative research, yet it is very tedious work.

NOTES

1. Another manuscript of this text, known as the *Činggis qaγan-u altan tobči neretü čadig* [Biography named the golden summary of Činggis Khan], was unearthed in 1958 by the Inner Mongolian scholar Dorongγa at the old site of Qabutu qasar worship in the Muumingγan region (KESIGTOΓTAQU 1991, 45–49; HEISSIG 1987, 209–20). Certain passages in the *Altan tobči* regarding the early Indian kings are not present in the *Čadig*, and for this reason, as well as for the ancient style of its writing, the latter text is considered to have been written in the sixteenth century. The *Čadig* contains Sidurγu's plea for mercy with the same wording, thus demonstrating that the plea dates from at least that period.

2. The *Čiyang qo ǰuwan* was written in Mongolian during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is attributed to Erdenitegüs, a lamaist monk in the eastern Mongolian Mongγoljin district (QAI LUNG BOO 1987, 32–38), who used the contents of another Mongol novel known only by its Chinese title *Sung či qui* and preserved in a few manuscripts in Ulanbator, Kökehota, Copenhagen, and Berkeley; it is not found in the catalogues of Chinese popular fiction. That the *Čiyang qo ǰuwan* and the other four Mongol novels commonly included in the *Tabun ǰuwan* pentad are genuine Mongol works seeking a new literary form has been established for some time (HEISSIG 1972a, 793–810; BUYANBATU 1986, 1–12; RAKŠAEV 1991, 137–50). During the last century Mongol singers have again used these texts for oral performances and changed and enlarged many parts.

3. The figure of Han Kai Wang is partly based on the protagonists of popular Chinese detective stories (Judge Bao 包公, Shi Shi-lun 施世綸, etc. [LIU, J. Y. 1967, 117–20]), Mongolian translations of which were widely distributed in nineteenth-century Mongolia and which remain popular at the present time (SCHOLZ 1975).

4. These similarities, plus the presence in the *Hua guan suo zhuan* of another episode found in the Dunhuang stories (WALEY 1960, 84–85), suggest that there was a continuation of over six hundred years of motifs already found in the "Transformation" texts (MAIR 1989).

5. The name River-repulser can be linked to Chang Fei 張飛, one of the heroes of the *San guo yan yi*, who was able to turn back a river (KING 1989, 55).

6. The self-destruction of deposed statesmen, plotting royals, intriguing ministers, and unlucky generals is a commonly used device in Chinese historical novels, from which it penetrated the Mongol *Bensen üliger*.

7. The inclusion of Guan Yu in the lore of afterlife and hell experiences is not limited to the *Hua guan suo zhuan*—more recent written and oral parallels are known. In the *Erten-ü qan ulus-un lingdi qaγan-u čaγ-un se ma moo-yin bičig γaγča debter* (a book

about Si Ma Mao in the time of Emperor Ling-ti of the early Han dynasty, only one fascicle), we have an apparently shortened Mongol translation of one of various Chinese novels about the scholar Si Ma Mao 司馬貌 (LEVY 1978, 292–95; RIFTIN 1987, 225) of the Three Kingdom period, who falls into a deathlike sleep, during which his soul journeys to hell and learns of the forthcoming rebirth of twenty-two persons who suffered under Emperor Ling-ti (HEISSIG 1990a, 253–57). An oral variant by the Aukhan bard Urtunasutu (1866–1930) tells of a brawl between the spirits of Guan Yu and Yüčijingde at the door of heaven (ČOYIJIRAWA 1990, 104–105; HEISSIG 1992, 30).

8. The nickname of one of the bandits subdued by Guan Suo, "Mountain-plucker," seems to be a synonym for "Mountain remover," designating a similar degree of physical strength.

9. For another magical breaking of a sword, see MOSTAERT 1934, 75 and SERRUYS 1948, 173–74.

10. In Mongolian heroic narrations, the unsatisfied desire of a female monster (*mangγus*) for a human partner often culminates in an attempted abduction, necessitating the final destruction of the monster (URANCIMEG 1989, 28; HEISSIG 1988, 317–19).

REFERENCES CITED

BANCK, W.

1985 Funktion and Charakteristica der "Schwertjungfrau" im chinesischen Helden- und Räuberroman [Function and characteristics of the "sword maiden" in Chinese heroic and chivalrous novels]. In *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung* 3, 206-36. Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 91. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

BAWDEN, C. R., ed. and trans.

1955 *The Mongol chronicle Altan Tobči.* Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 5. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1962 Calling the soul: A Mongolian litany. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25: 81-103.

BENEDETTO, F.

1939 *The travels of Marco Polo.* London: George Routledge and Sons.

BESE, L.

1977 The Mongolian collection in Berkeley, California. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31/1: 17-50.

BINDER, G.,

1977 Aussetzung. In *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* I. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

BISCHOFF, F. A. and K. SAGASTER

1989 Das Zaubersiegel des Činggis Khan. In *Gedanke und Wirkung.* Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 108. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

BREWITT-TAYLOR, C. H., trans.

1925 *San kuo, or romance of the Three Kingdoms.* Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh.

BÜRINBEKI and BUYANKESIG

1988 *Mongγol ündüsüten-ü baγaturliγ tuulis-un songγumal* [A selection of Mongolian chivalrous epics]. Kökehota.

BUYANBATU, G.

1986 "Tabun juwan"-u jokiyaγči-yu todolaqu nigen tölüge [A proposal to explain the authorship of the *Tabun juwan*]. *Journal of Inner Mongolia Teachers'*

University.

1990 Mongγolčud-un modun-u sitülge [Tree worship among the Mongols]. Hailar.

BUYANKESIG

1991 "J̌ingγar"-un ǰarim nere ba učir-un irel-ün tuqai [Concerning certain names in *J̌ingγar* and the reasons for their origin]. *Journal of Inner Mongolia Teachers' University.*

CERENSODNOM, D.

1967 Bensen üligerijn onclog bajdal [The exceptional situation of the *bensen üliger*]. *Studia Folclorica* 6: 33–45.

CLEAVES, F. W.

1982 *The secret history of the Mongols.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

ČOYIǰIΓAWA

1990 Quγurči ba quγur-un tuqai [About minstrels and their violins]. *Mongγol kele udga ǰokiyal* 5: 92–106.

DAMSINSÜREN, C., ed.

1979 *Mongolyn uran zohiolyn tojm* [Survey of Mongolian literature]. Ulanbator: Academy of Sciences.

DORONGΓA, ed.

1986 *Kökenaγur "Geser-ün tuγuǰi"* [The Kökenoor *Geser* story] 3. Ulaγanqada.

DUMÉZIL, G.

1968 *Mythe et épopée* [Myth and epic] 1. Paris: Gallimard.

FRANKE, H.

1979 Some folkloristic data in the dynastic history of the Chin. In *Legend, lore and religion in China.* Eds. S. Allan and A. P. Cohen. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center.

GRØNBECH, K.

1940 Srog og skrift in Mongoliet. Foreløbig beretning om det sproglige arbejde paa Det Kgl. Danske Geogr. Selskab centralasiatiske Ekspedition 1938–39 [Language and writing in Mongolia: A preliminary report on the linguistic research of the Royal Danish Geographic Association's Central Asian expedition 1938–39]. *Geografisk Tidskrift* 43.

HALÉN, H.

1979 *Nordmongolische Volksdichtung* [Folk poetry of northern Mongolia] 1. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura.

HATTO, A. T.

1989 Towards an anatomy of heroic epic poetry. In *Traditions of heroic and epic poetry*, eds. A. T. Hatto and J. B. Hainsworth, 147–294. London: The Modern Humanities Research Association.

HEISSIG, W.

1959 *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, I. Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 5. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrossowitz.

1972a *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur* [History of Mongolian literature] 1, 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1972b New Mongolian minstrel poems. *Orientalia Romana* 4: 3–70.

1975 Toyin guosi (guisi) alias Toyin čoγtu guisi. *Zentral-Asiatische Studien* 9: 361–446.

1979 Die Zeit des letzten mongolischen Grosskhans Ligdan (1604–1634). *Vorträge* G 235, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Opladen: Westfälischer Verlag.

1983a *Westliche Motivparallelen in zentralasiatichen Epen.* München: C. H. Beck.

1983b *Geser-Studien.* Abhandlungen, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 60. Opladen: Westfälischer Verlag.

1984 Ethnische Gruppenbildung in Zentralasien im Lichte mündlicher und schriftlicher Überlieferung. *Studien zur Ethnogenese.* Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abh. 72. Opladen: Westfälischer Verlag.

1985a *Tsakhar-Märchen nach Aufzeichnungen aus dem Jahre 1938/39 beschrieben und eingeleitet.* Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 87. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1985b On some epical motifs in the Altan tobči. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9: 137–43.

1987 A new version of the "Battle of the Tayičighut." *Central Asiatic Journal* 31: 209–23.

1988 *Erzählstoffe rezenter mongolischer Heldendichtung* 1, 2. Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 100. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

1990a Zur Rezeption chinesischer Heldenromane in der mongolischen mündlichen Dichtung [About the reception of Chinese swordsmen novels in Mongol oral tradition]. *Central Asiatic Journal* 34: 214–99.

1990b Motif correspondences between Mongolian epics. In *Religion, myth and folklore in the world's epics*, ed. L. Honko, 455–70. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

1991a Heldenmärchen versus Heldenepos: Strukturelle Fragen zur Entwicklung altaischer Heldenmärchen [Heroic tale vs. heroic epic: Structural problems in the development of Altaic heroic tales]. Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abh. Nr. 85. Opladen: Westfälischer Verlag.

1991b Quγurči Dawarinčin-u kelegsen üliger-ün tuqai sudulul [Research on the epic told by the minstrel Dawarinčin]. In *Mongγol-un sudeulul* 3: 40–50.

1992 Oralität und Schriftlichkeit mongolischer Spielmannsdichtung [Orality and literacy of Mongolian minstrel songs]. *Vorträge*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Opladen: Westfälischer Verlag.

HERRMANN, S.

1991 *Kesar-Versionen aus Ladakh.* Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 109. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

HOK LAM CHAN

1990 A Mongolian legend of the building of Peking. *Asia Major* 3/2: 63–95.

HORLOO, P.

1967 *Halh ardyn tuul'* [Epic of the Khalkha]. Ulanbator: Academy of Sciences.

JOHNSON, D.

1984 Communication, class and consciousness in late imperial China. In *Popular culture in late imperial China*, eds. D. Johnson et al., 34–72. Berkeley: University of California Press.

JANCI'AR

1988 Kökehota edition.

JASON, H.

1977 Precursors of Propp. *PTL, A Journal for Descriptive Poetics* 3.

1981 An epic struggle: A model for the narrative structure. *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 5/6: 47–54.

KARA, G.

1970 *Chants d'un barde Mongol.* Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 12. Budapest: Akademiai Kiadó.

KATERBERG
1988 Koke mončaγ tuuli-yin tuqai [About the epic *Köke mončaγ*]. *Öbör mongγol-un yeke Surγaγuli erdem sinǰilegen-ü sedkül* 2: 100–18.

KESIGTOΓAQU
1991 Činggis qaγan-u altan tobči neretü čadiγ—un ǰokiyaγdaγsan čaγ üye-yin tuqai [Concerning the time of compilation of the chronicle "Činggis Khan's *Altan tobči*"]. *Mongγol kele udqa ǰokiyal* 3: 45–49.

KING, Oman Gail
1985 Discovery and restoration of the texts in the Ming Chenghua collection. *Ming Studies* 20: 21–34.
1989 *The story of Hua Guan Suo.* Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Asian Studies.

KOPPE, K.
1992 *J̌ula aldar Qaγar.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

KORSUNKIEV, C. K.
1978 Motiv o metkom strelke v epose "Džangar" [The motif of the well-aimed arrow in the epic *Džangar*]. In *Džangar i problemy epiceskogo tvorčestva tjurko mongol'skich narodov* [Problems of epic creations of the Mongolian peoples]. Elista: Akademia Nauk.

KUKUNOOR GESER III
1986 Dorongγa, ed. Ulaganhata.

LEGOFF, J.
1984 *Für ein anderes Mittelalter.* Frankfurt, Berlin: Ullstein.

LEVY, A.
1978 *Inventaire analytique et critique du conte chinois en langue vulgaire*, 1. Paris: Collège de France.

LIU, J. Y.
1967 *The Chinese knight errant.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

LIU TSUN-YAN
1967 Chinese popular fiction in two London libraries. Hong Kong: Lung Men Bookstore.

LUBSANG
1984 *Ulaγančab "Geser-ün tuγuǰi"* [The Geser narration of the Ulaγančab]. Kökehota.

MAIR, V. H.
1983 *Tun-huang popular narratives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1989 *T'ang transformation texts.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

MAYERS, W. F.
1924 *The Chinese reader's manual.* Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission.

MCCLENON, J.
1991 Near-death folklore in medieval China and Japan: A comparative analysis. *Asian Folklore Studies* 50: 319–42.

MOSTAERT, A.
1934 *Ordosica.* Bulletin 9. Peking: Catholic University.
1947 *Folklore Ordos.* Peking: Catholic University.

NEKLJUDOV S., ed.
1991 *Vzaimosvjazi i zakonomernosti razvitija literatur central'noj i vostočnoj Azii* [Alternative and regular developments in the literatures of Central and East Asia]. Moscow: Nauka.

NIMA-SEČENTOO-A
1986 Buyannemekü: Γarudi γalbingγa-yin tuγuji [The tale of Gaaru Kalpinga]. *Celeger tala* 1/2: 1–158.

OINAS, F. J.
1990 Russian and Finnish epic songs. In *Religion, myth and folklore in the world's epics*, ed. L. Honko, 287–309. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

PELLIOT, P.
1959 *Notes on Marco Polo*, 1. Paris: Impr. Nationale.

POPPE, N.
1975 *Mongolische Epen* 4. Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 48. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
1980 *Mongolische Epen* 9. Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 65. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

PROPP, V.
1972 *Morphologie des Märchens* [The morphology of fairytales]. München: Hanser.

PRUŠEK, J.
1970 The creative method of Chinese mediaeval storytellers. In *Chinese history and literature*, eds. A. Palát and T. Pokora, 366–84. Prague: Academia.

QAI Lung Boo
1987 Mongγoljin-u "Injanasi"-Engketegüs [Engketegüs: The Inǰanasi of the Mongoljin]. *Liao ning-un Mongγol kele bičig-un aǰil* 2.

QOOSMENGGE
1986 *Oyirad mongγol-un arad-un aman üliger-üd* [Oral folktales of the Oyirad Mongols]. Kökehota.

RAKŠAEV, P.
1991 Proizvedenie mongol'skoj povestvovatel'noj prozi 19 veka "Ku si džuan" [*Ku si ǰuwan:* A work of Mongol narrative prose]. In *Vzaimosvjazi zakonomernosti razvitija literatur central'noj i vostocnoj Azii*, ed. S. Nekljudov, 137–50. Moscow: Nauka.

RIFTIN, B. L.
1970 *Istoriceskaja epopeja i folklornaja tradicija v kitae* [Historical epic and folkloristic traditions in China]. Moscow:
1985 Die Beschreibung der heldischen Frau im ostmongolischen Epos [The description of heroic women in east Mongolian epics]. In *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung* 3: 125–251. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
1987 Mongolian translations of old Chinese novels and stories: A tentative bibliographic survey. In *Literary migrations*, ed. C. Salmon, 213–82. Peking.
1992 Die Beschreibung des heldischen Zweikampfes im ostmongolischen Epos [The description of the heroic duel in the east Mongolian epic]. In *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung* 5. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

RINČEN
1961 Žanr bensen-ü üliger v mongol'skom folklore [The genre *bensen üliger* in Mongolian folklore]. *Studia Mongolica* 42–54.

SAMPILNORBU and WANG-XIN 王欣
1990 *Mengguzu shuoshu yiren xiao zhuan* 蒙古族説書藝人小傳. Liao-ning.

SAZYKIN, A. G. and YONDON, D.
1984 Rannjaja versija "Povestl o Narany-Gerel" [An early version of "The story of Narany-Gerel"]. *Studia Mongolica.*

SCHMIDT-GLINTZER
1990 *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur.* München: Scherz.
SCHOLZ, A. G.
1975 Chinesische Stoffe und Motive in der populären mongolischen Literatur gegen Ende des 19. Jhdts. Unpublished dissertation, University of Bonn.
SERRUYS, P.
1948 Notes marginales sur le folklore des Mongols Ordos. *Han sueh* 3: 168–80.
SHAPIRO, S.
1980 *Outlaws of the marsh.* Beijing: Foreign Language Press.
SMITH, J. D.
1991 *The epic of Pabuji.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
SPESNEV, N. A.
1986 *Kitajskaja prostonarodnaja literatura: Pesenno povestvovatel'nye žanry* [Chinese popular literature: Songs of narrative genre]. Moscow: Nauka.
SULFUNGГА
1982 *Čiyang qo ǰuwan.* Kökehota.
SUNG ČI QUI
1982 Kökehota Edition.
TING, Nai-tung
1978 *A type index of Chinese folktales.* FF Communications No. 223. Helsinki. Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
ULANOV, A. l., ed.
1972 *Bükü qara kübüün, Üligernuud* [The totally black boy]. Ulan-Ude.
URANCIMEГ
1989 Qorčin tuuli-yin ončalig [Characteristics of Qorčin epics]. *Mongγol kele udga ǰokiyal* 6.
VEIT, V. and NIMA
1991 Quγurči Dawarinčin kiged mongγol bensen üliger-ün sudulul [The minstrel Dawarinčin and research in the Mongol *bensen üliger*]. *Mongγol-un sudulul* 2: 51–66.
WALEY, A.
1960 *Ballads and stories from Tun-huan.* London: George Allen and Unwin.
WEIERS, M.
1987 Die Vertragstexte des Mandschu-Khalkha Bundes von 1619/20. In *Aetas Manjurica* 1, eds. M. Weiers, G. Stary, M. Gimm, 119–65. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
n.d. *Yeke tang ulusrun bararun liyang-i tortayaysan debter* [Book (about) how the great Tang steadied West Liang]. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley.
ŽAMCARANO, C. Ž.
1913–18 *Prozvedeniya.* St. Petersburg.