

Chinese Stories of Filial Piety in Tangut Literature

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Abstract: Before the formal Chinese compilation of the “Twenty-four filial pieties” appeared in the Yuan era, there were lots of stories concerning family moral code spreading around the Central Kingdom and along the Gansu Corridor. Most of them entered Xixia through the channels of literary record or oral narration. Some of them were translated into Tangut more than once and became the most popular materials used in moral education for youth and in birthday congratulation for aged people. Sometimes the Tangut versions are quite different from the corresponding Chinese originals in their storylines or even in topics. Such fact shows that Tanguts tried their best to make Chinese culture integrate into their own and lots of their Tangut versions were recomposed through oral literature than historical records. Tanguts did not have the real concept of “Twenty-four filial pieties”, but their versions concerning filial piety show the transitory stage shortly before the Yuan era.

Key words: Tangut, Xixia, folklore, Chinese classics, filial piety, translation.

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Introduction

The concept of filial piety is regarded as the most important moral code throughout Chinese history. By selecting 24 relevant stories from literal records and oral narrations, the famous compilation *Ershisi xiao* 二十四孝 (Twenty-four filial pieties) appeared formally in

the Yuan era.¹ Until recent times, various booklets with illustrations and poems have been used in moral education for youth and in birthday congratulation for aged people. As a symbol of family prosperity and parents' longevity, series of brick sculptures concerning these topics may also be seen on the courtyard walls of many old buildings in China.

Compiling the stories about filial piety began with Liu Xiang 劉向 (77 BC–6 BC) by his *Xiaozhi zhuan* 孝子傳 (Biography of filial sons). During a dozen centuries after that, there appeared more works sharing the same title². By the end of the 13th c., Guo Jujing 郭居敬 (or Shouzheng 守正) had finished a selected compilation of 24 stories, entitled “Ershisi xiao”.³ Sequentially, various editions with different entries and divergent orders appeared later, but all of them have been distributed only in civilian and have never been adopted in official government collections.⁴ Perhaps, the concept of the twenty-four filial pieties came to its pinnacle in the Ming era, because at that time there were lots of folk works recording different stories on that topic (Ōsawa 2002). This tradition was carried over to the Qing era. For example, Gong Mengren 宮夢仁 saw another edition of *Ershisi xiao*, in which there are nearly a half entries different from Guo Jujing's compilation⁵. Because most of the folk stories were spread only in some informal oral narrations, their plots are often different from the biographies in orthodox Chinese classics. This fact makes the direct sources of some stories remain unknown. Maybe, the Tangut literature will provide us some information, at least, information about the relevant stories spreading a little earlier than the Yuan era — period of the Xixia state.

Resources

In the last quarter of the 12th c., lots of Chinese stories were translated into Tangut. Now most of them can be seen in manuscripts and xylographs kept in Kozlov collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. As far as we know, the aim of the wide spreading stories in Xixia was to preach the morality of family relationships.

¹ The word “Ershisi xiao” first appeared in an *Ershisi xiao yazuo wen* 二十四孝押座文 (S. 7) excavated from Dunhuang Grottoes (Ōsawa 2002). Though it is not regarded as the real source of “Twenty-four filial pieties” in the academic realm, it implies that the stories of filial piety were spread by folk Buddhist publicities to a certain extent.

² According to the quotations in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, the authors include Xiao Guangji 蕭廣濟, Shi Jueshou 師覺授, Song Gong 宋躬 etc., but their works were long lost. As a parallel fact, there are many series of stone carvings and silk paintings with various topics in the Song-Yuan era, only their amount was often less than twenty-four.

³ Full name “Quanxiang ershisi xiao shi xuan” 全相二十四孝詩選. There are also various compilations published in the Yuan era mentioned in the booklet with illustrations and poems, e.g., Chapter 14 of Xie Yingfang's *Guichao Gao* 龜巢稿, Chapter 5 of Zhang Xian's *Yusi ji* 玉笈集, etc.

⁴ It seems that the concept of “Twenty-four filial pieties” originated much earlier than the 13th c., because in the Beijing Palace Museum there is a series of 16 brick carvings, 19.5 cm high and 25.5 cm wide each, entitled the key figures of filial piety. The topics of these carvings dated the Northern Song dynasty are slightly different from those in the Yuan era.

⁵ The brief catalogue of Gong's “Twenty-four filial pieties” is recorded in Volume 21 of his work *Dushu jishu lie* 讀書紀數略, in which the entries of Han Boyu 韓伯俞, Liu Yin 劉殷, Tian Zhen 田真, Zhe E 陳娥, Cai Gu 蔡姑, Lu Yigu 魯義姑, Bao Shan 鮑山, Zhao Xiaozong 趙孝宗, Wang Wuzi 王武子, Yuanjue 元覺 are included instead of Zilu 子路, Liu Heng 劉恒, Cai Sun 蔡順, Wang Pou 王裒, Yang Xiang 楊香, Wu Meng 吳猛, Yu Qianlou 庾黔婁, Cui Shannan 崔山南, Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 and Zhu Shouchang 朱壽昌 in Guo Jujing's compilation.

Sometimes one and the same story is present in more than two versions, showing that these Chinese stories about filial piety were the most popular legends in Xixia, all of which can be selected from the following resources:

1. Tangut xylograph *Shengli yihai* 聖立義海 (The Sea of Meanings Established by the Saint)⁶, compiled by the Xixia government in 1182, proves to be an imitation of Chinese traditional encyclopedia (Nevskyi 1960: 87–88). According to its contents this compilation includes five volumes and fifty chapters, but there are only about 50 folios of Volume 1, 2 and 5 left.⁷ As suggested by Gorbacheva and Kychanov (1963: 57), along with some entries of pure familial moralization, lots of entries in Volume 5 are brief quotations or re-compositions from various Chinese classics or folklore, but most of their provenances remain unknown at that time.

As the most important reference for the present paper, in Chapter 14 there are dozens of short stories telling about the relationship among family members, which were recognized as translations from Chinese. Since the compilers and translators always used the phrase “somebody in the past” for the key figure of most stories instead of transcribing their real names in Chinese classics, it is difficult to find their originals. Luo (1995) translated the entire work into Chinese but without providing any annotations to trace their provenances, while Kychanov (1997) successfully had found a lot of their sources attached to his Russian translation.⁸ Unfortunately, he did not pay enough attention to the folk legends about Twenty-four filial pieties, otherwise he would have identified the provenances of more stories. More than 20 years ago, in preparing to publish a set of clearest facsimiles, Nie and Huang (2001) also tried to search the sources of those stories, but their report was printed only in an informal publication⁹.

2. Tangut xylograph *Leilin* 類林 (Forest of categories) translated directly from Yu Lizheng’s 于立政 (617–679?), Chinese compilation of the same title, ten volumes of Xixia government printing in 1181, but only approximately eight volumes left,¹⁰ proves to be some kind of *leishu* 類書 in private compilation (Nevskyi 1960: 86). The book might have been completed by more than one translator, because Keping has found (Keping 2002) that one and the same Chinese poem was translated differently in different volumes, though the whole work has its unified translation style. As a tradition of compiling Chinese *leishu*, the provenance of each story was mentioned at the beginning or at the end of a relevant quoted passage, so it is easy to find their sources in Chinese classics. Now we have translation of the whole text in Russian (Keping 1983) and in Chinese (Shi et al. 1993).

⁶ Tangutologists used to indicate the titles in their Chinese translation instead of those in Tangut.

⁷ Inv. № 143, 144, 145, 684, 2614.

⁸ Most of Kychanov’s identifications came from Chinese encyclopedia *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 and *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, but it seems that he also referred to some Buddhist works. For example, he correctly pointed out that an entry “Meeting of the deities” in the part of “The seventh month” told about the Buddhist festival *Ullambana*, in which the key figure should be restored as *Mulian* 目蓮, i.e., the Chinese abbreviated transcription of Sanskrit name Mahā-Maudgalyāyana (Kychanov 1997: 105, 174), not *maoling* 茂陵 transcribed by Chinese scholars.

⁹ There are few errors in their report. For example, the authors misunderstood the story *Liu Yin mengsu* (Liu Yin getting grain in dream) as another story “getting fresh vegetables” with the same character.

¹⁰ Inv. № 125–131, 2625, 6686. For the detailed description, see (Gorbacheva, Kychanov 1963: 40–42). Some of the entries about filial piety are recorded in the second volume, but only the end of that volume is preserved nowadays. Fortunately, there is a later revision of the Jin era, *Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo* 增廣分門類林雜說 (Various augmented and classified forest of categories) preserved in *Jiayetang congshu*, in which one can find more Chinese originals for this topic as complement.

3. Tangut manuscript *Xinji cixiao zhuan* 新集慈孝傳 (Newly collected biographies of affection and filial piety),¹¹ compiled by a Xixia civil official Cao Daole in 1190s, proves to be a story collection of family education based on *Jia fan* 家範 (Family models) written by Sima Guang 司馬光 (Nie 2008). Because each biography shows its key figure's name clearly in Tangut transcription, it is not so difficult for scholars to find the corresponding Chinese originals. In the forty-four biographies preserved in its last volume (*juan xia*),¹² thirty-nine key figures were successfully identified by Keping (1990),¹³ the rests were complemented by (Nie 2009). Now we have the translations of the whole text in Russian, in French (Jacques 2007) and in Chinese respectively.

4. A Tangut fragment from *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biography of women), only one single folio left (inv. № 198), on which there are two fragmentary stories, which were identified by (Nie 2001) and (Matsuzawa 2005) and are coming from *Houhan shu* 後漢書.

Facsimiles of the abovementioned Tangut materials were co-edited by St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS, Institute of Nationalities, CASS, Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House and published in volume 10 and 11 of *Ecang Heishu-icheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻 (Khara-khoto manuscripts collected in Russia), Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 1999 (hereafter *EHW*).

Tangut stories corresponding to *Ershisi xiao*

There are fifteen Tangut stories about filial piety corresponding to those mentioned in *Ershisi xiao*¹⁴. Here, we try to translate and narrate them in titles and sequence of Guo Jujing's edition. The Tangut versions of some entries not found in materials available will be discussed in the next section.

***Xiao gan dong tian* 孝感動天 (Touching Heaven by sense of filial piety)**

There are two Tangut versions of the story about the legendary Emperor Shun of prehistoric times, which are commonly known as *Dashun gengtian* 大舜耕田 (The Great Shun plowing in the fields).¹⁵ One of the versions can be seen in *Xinji cixiao zhuan* (EHW 10: 127; Keping 1990: 26; Jacques 2007: 48–49; Nie 2009: 28):

[illegible]

¹¹ Inv. № 616. For the detailed description, see (Gorbacheva, Kychanov 1963: 56).

¹² According to the Chinese edition *Jia fan*, we know that most stories must have been recorded in the first volume (*juan shang*) of *Xinji cixiao zhuan*, but unfortunately, the Tangut edition of that volume is entirely lost.

¹³ There is merely one single fault in her identification: the name *Wang Xiu* 王修 should be Wang Xiang 王祥.

¹⁴ Of course, in addition, there are also dozens of stories in Tangut which were not included in *Ershisi xiao*.

¹⁵ Most famous stories in *Ershizi xiao* have changed their titles in modern times. Comparing with Guo Jujing's title, the modern ones look better in their writing style and are commonly known, because each title emphasizes the name of the key figure and presents more literary flavor by phonetic harmony.

In the past, a son supported his mother by selling wood. When the son went into the mountain to pick up wood, his mother was told three times: “Your son had killed someone”. In order to let her son to return back, the mother bit her finger in terror; the son felt pain and took wood back to ask his mother respectfully. The mother said: “Is it true that you have killed someone?” The son said: “Mama! How can it be true? The criminal has the same name as me.” The filial son felt pain in his heart because his mother had bitten her finger in terror.

This story, commonly known as *Zeng Shen niezhi* 曾參齧指 (Biting a finger for Zeng Shen), is confusedly recomposed from two irrelevant classics: the story of “biting a finger” comes from Volume 69 of *Houhan shu*, in which the aim of Cai Shun’s mother (and not Zeng Shen’s mother) biting her finger is to pass a message to Cai Shun that there is a guest coming for urgency.²⁵ The story of “killing someone” comes from Volume 4 of *Zhanguo ce*: when being told the rumor of “Zeng Shen killed someone” three times, Zeng Shen’s mother believed and ran away²⁶. The plot of “biting a finger” is not mentioned there.

Luyi shun mu 蘆衣順母 (Respecting his mother by wearing reeds)

This story can be found under the entry “A wise son respecting his stepmother” of *Shengli yihai* (EHW 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73), in which the key figure identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 137, 183) and Nie, Huang (Nie, Huang 2001) as Min Sun in a quotation of *Taiping yulan*²⁷, commonly known as *Min Sun yilu* 閔損衣蘆 (Min Sun wearing reed clothes).

胤姦孀姦楊殺龍弄，嫩姦桶殺龍翫。貌殺循龍嬌楊麗，嫩孀豬綬。殺殺軒弩，貌姦闕：“姦豬綬殺殺龍翫。弄孀龍殺慨龍。”貌孀慨豬。姦孀，殺殺姦豎姦姦。

In the past, a son of a former wife wore thin clothes, but two sons of his stepmother wore warm clothes. Seeing [his former wife’s] son wear thin [clothes], the father became angry and intended to divorce his present wife. The wise and filial son wept and advised the father: “If you divorce my stepmother, the three sons will be alone and helpless. I cannot bear to need so.” The father did not divorce the wife. The mother was awakened and treated the three sons equally.

A vivid original plot is lost in this recomposed version. There *lu* indicates “flocus flowers of reed”, that is to say, in making clothes for the stepson, the stepmother used reed flowers to immitate cotton, which, of course, could not keep warm. The Chinese original recorded that his father found Min Sun could not drive the carriage successfully because he suffered from freezing, but this storyline was removed in the Tangut version.

²⁵ Chinese original: 順少孤，養母。嘗出求薪，有客卒至。母望順不還，乃噬其指。順即心動，棄薪馳歸，跪問其故。母曰：“有急客來，吾噬指以悟汝耳。”(後漢書·周磐傳)。

²⁶ Chinese original: 昔者曾子處費，費人有與曾子同名族者而殺人。人告曾子母曰：“曾參殺人。”曾子之母曰：“吾子不殺人。”織自若。有頃焉，人又曰：“曾參殺人。”其母尚織自若也。頃之，一人又告之曰：“曾參殺人。”其母懼，投杼踰牆而走。(戰國策·秦策二)。

²⁷ Chinese original: 師覺授《孝子傳》曰：[閔損] 早失母，後母遇之甚酷，損事之彌謹。損衣皆藁梟為絮，其子則綿纈重厚。父使損御，冬寒失轡，後母子御則不然。父怒詰之，損默然而已。後視二子衣，乃知其故。將欲遣妻，損諫曰：“大人有一寒子猶上垂心，若遣母，有二寒子也。”父感其言，乃止。(太平御覽 vol. 413)

祗攸殽羽， 殽殽殽殽殽。 殽殽殽殽殽。 殽殽， 殽殽殽殽殽， 殽殽殽
 而殽殽殽， 殽殽殽殽。 殽殽殽殽殽殽， 殽殽殽殽殽殽。 殽殽： “殽
 殽殽殽殽， 殽殽殽殽殽。” 殽殽殽殽殽殽殽殽殽殽殽殽。 殽殽殽殽： “殽
 殽殽殽殽殽殽。 殽殽殽殽殽。” 殽殽殽殽殽。

It is unknown why “burying his father” in Chinese original was changed to “burying his mother” in Tangut.

Another Tangut version in *Leilin* is lost. Its Chinese original is preserved in Chapter 8 of *Zengguang fenmen Leilin zashuo* (Shi et al. 1993: 255).³⁰ These stories became one of the most famous legends in various modern dramas, commonly entitled “Dong Yong and the Seventh Fairy”.

***Kemu shi qin* 刻木事親 (Making a wood sculpture for filial serving)**

This story can be seen under the entry of a quite different topic “Daughter-in-law violating her mother-in-law” in *Shengli yihai* (EHW 10: 261; Luo 1995: 82–83), identified as the story of Ding Lan (Kychanov 1997: 152, 192; Nie, Huang 2001) quoted in *Taiping yulan*,³¹ commonly known as *Ding Lan ke mu* 丁蘭刻木 (Ding Lan carving a wood).

[illegible]

²⁸ Chinese original: 刘向《孝子图》曰…前漢董永，千乘人。少失母，獨養父。父亡，無以葬，乃從人貸錢一萬。永謂錢主曰：「後若無錢還君，當以身作奴。」主甚愍之。永得錢葬父畢，將往為奴，於路忽逢一婦人，求為永妻…主曰：「為我織千疋絹，即放爾夫妻。」於是索絲，十日之內千疋絹足。主驚，遂放夫婦二人而去。行至本相逢處，乃謂永曰：「我是天之織女。感君至孝，天使我償之。今君事了，不得久停。」語訖，雲霧四垂，忽飛而去。(太平御覽 vol. 411).

²⁹ The length unit *pi* for textile is equivalent approximately to 13.2 m.

³⁰ *Zengguang fennmen leilin zashuo* was composed by Wang Pengshou 王朋壽 in the year 1189. But unfortunately, the end of volume 2 are severe fragmentary in Tangut version, except the last two stories of “Yin Boqi” and “Bao Shan” preserved.

孫盛《逸人傳》曰：「丁蘭者，河內人也。少喪考妣，不及供養，乃刻木為人，髣髴親形，事之若生。朝夕定省。後鄰人張叔妻從蘭妻借物，看蘭妻跪拜木人，木人不悅，不以借之。叔醉酣，來罵木人，以杖敲其頭。蘭還，見木人色不懌，問其妻，具以告之。即奮劍殺張叔。」（太平御覽 vol. 414）。

There must have been another version spreading in Xixia, but now we can read it only in the Chinese edition *Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo* (Shi et al. 1993: 256)³², which tells that the key figure's wife burned the wooden statue accidentally, not hit it with a stick maliciously.

This seems the most popular story in Xixia, for in the Kozlov collection there are three Tangut versions of different contents. The relatively complete story may be found in *Xinji cixiao zhuan* (EHW 10: 121; Keping 1990: 20–21; Jacques 2007: 11–13; Nie 2009: 16–17),³³ commonly known as *Jiang Shi yueli* 姜詩躍鯉 (Carps jumping out for Jiang Shi).

Jiang Shi's wife was the daughter of Pang Sheng in the Late Han era³⁴. Jiang Shi was filial in nature. His mother was fond of drinking river water, but the river was located some six or seven *li*³⁵ away, so Jiang Shi used to let his wife fetch water. Once on a blustery day, she came back late and the mother felt thirsty, therefore Jiang Shi was angry and sent his wife away. The wife stayed at a neighbor's home, making textiles day and night to serve [her mother-in-law with] delicacies, asking the hostess to [send it to] her mother-in-law. Many days passed, [the mother-in-law] asked in surprise and the neighbor told her the truth. The mother-in-law felt ashamed and let her daughter-in-law back home, the daughter-in-law was more diligent than before. The mother-in-law also liked to eat fish fillet. For the daugh-

³⁵ The length unit *li* in the Later Han dynasty is equivalent approximately to 400 meter.

ter-in-law it was hard to get it. Suddenly a spring gushed out beside the house, its taste was equal to river water, moreover, there were two carps jumping out every day for her to serve the mother-in-law.

The story comes from Volume 114 of *Houhan shu*,³⁶ where the Chinese original includes three storylines, but in *Xinji cixiao zhuan* there are only two of them selected, i.e., an abandoned wife kept serving her mother-in-law and a spring gushed out for children's filial piety. Another topic, how Jiang Shi and his wife concealed the information of their son's death³⁷, is omitted in the Tangut story. This story is retained completely in Volume 10 of *Jia fan*, the model of the adaptation *Xinji cixiao zhuan*; it may be suggested that the topic was removed by the Tangut compiler and translator for it would cause more or less displeasure of a reader.

All the three topics are present in *Shengli yihai*, but were adapted into two different entries. The first can be seen under the entry “Becoming famous for good result of filial piety” (EHW 10: 261; Luo 1995: 82), identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 151, 252) and Nie, Huang (Nie, Huang 2001):

祢纛嗽羽薨髡纛， 纛穉穉鞞祢， 懔纛髡薨祢穉。 刻纛穉穉， 薨穉穉
 纛纛。 纛穉纛纛薨穉， 纛穉穉穉穉， 纛穉穉穉。 刻纛薨髡
 薨纛： “穉纛懔穉？” 纛薨穉穉： “懔懔穉纛纛。” 薨髡穉穉， 纛
 穉穉穉。 懔穉纛， 穉穉纛穉穉穉穉， 纛穉穉穉穉， 薨
 薨穉。

Someone in the past had an old mother who was fond of drinking deep-water and eating fish, every day his wife fetched deep-water for the mother. One day the wife came late, the husband was angry and drove her out. The wife stayed at a neighbor's home, fetching water according to former schedule and asking the host to send [it to the old mother]. One day the old mother asked: "Who has sent the water?" The neighbor host said: "Your daughter-in-law let me send it." The old mother regretted and ordered her son to greet [her back]. Because of the daughter-in-law's filial piety and morality, a spring of deep-water taste gushed out in front of the side door, from which two fish came out to provide the mother.

The second entry, “A spring of deep-water taste gushing out”, can be seen in the chapter “Meaning of daughter-in-law’s formalities” (*SHW* 10: 258; Luo 1995: 76), identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 141–142, 187) and Nie, Huang (Nie, Huang 2001):

窳窳毳毳毳毳毳毳. 窳窳毳毳毳, 毳毳毳毳毳毳, 窳窳毳. 窳窳毳
窳窳毳毳毳毳, 窳毳毳毳毳毳. 窳毳毳, 毳毳毳毳: “窳窳毳.” 窳
窳毳[窳]窳毳: “窳窳毳?” 毳毳毳毳毳毳毳.

Someone in the past served his parents faithfully. The mother was fond of the taste of deep-water. The filial son stayed with his mother for daily service. He dispatched his son to fetch water in the depths, but the son died of drowning in water. The mother asked [where] her grandson [was], the filial son answered: “He is traveling for studies.” After that the filial

³⁶ Chinese original: 廣漢姜詩妻者，同郡龐盛之女也。詩事母至孝，妻奉順尤篤。母好飲江水，水去舍六七里，妻嘗泝流而汲。後值風，不時得還，母渴，詩責而遣之。妻乃寄止鄰舍，晝夜紡績，市珍羞，使鄰母以意自遺其姑。如是者久之，姑怪問鄰母，鄰母具對。姑感慚懷逆，恩養愈謹。其子後因遠汲溺死，妻恐姑哀傷，不敢言，而詎以行學不之。姑嗜魚鱸，又不能獨食，夫婦常力作作鱸，呼鄰母共之。舍側忽有涌泉，味如江水，每旦輒出雙鯉魚，常以供二母之膳。(後漢書·姜詩妻傳)

³⁷ Translation from the original: Her son drowned when fetching water far away. The wife worried about her mother-in-law's sorrowing, so she lied that he did not die, but was traveling for studies.

presumed that the key figure of this story is Sima Zhi recorded in *Cefu yuangui*⁴⁰, but it seems that the Chinese original is different from the Tangut entry, so the identification by (Nie, Huang 2001) as Jiang Ge in volume 69 of *Houhan shu* should be accepted⁴¹. This story proves to be the commonly known as *Jiang Ge fumu* 江革负母 (Jiang Ge carrying his mother on his back) in *Ershisi xiao*.

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In the past, Heaven was cruel. [A son] carried his mother on his back to visit relatives to find some food. The robbers met him on the road and intended to kill him. The filial son told them: “I am willing to be killed, but I am carrying my old mother”⁴². The atrocious robbers became merciful, gave him money and released him for his filial piety.

Of course, the Tangut version is much shortened by removing the detail that Jiang Ge entreated the robbers not to kill him.

***Wen lei qi mu* 聞雷泣墓 (Weeping at a tomb when hearing thunder)**

This story can be seen under the entry “Crying at a tomb when hearing thunder” of *Shengli yihai* (EHW 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73). The key figure is identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 136, 184) and Nie (Nie, Huang 2001) as Cai Shun in Volume 69 of *Houhan shu*,⁴³ commonly known as *Cai Shun wen lei* 蔡顺闻雷 (Cai Shun hearing thunder).

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Someone in the past had a mother who was afraid of thunder when living. After the mother died and was buried in a tomb, whenever there was thunder in summer, the son moved around the tomb and cried, so Heaven relented and stopped thunder. Afterwards the emperor heard about that and granted him an official post, making him being famous all over the land.

According to the commentary in Yuan edition of *Ershisi xiao*, Guo (Guo 2017) pointed out that the figure should be Wang Pou from Volume 88 of *Jin shu*.⁴⁴ Considering that *Jin shu* does not tell that Wang Pou had an official position because of his crying at the tomb, one can believe that *Houhan shu* should be its real source, though the annotator of *Ershisi xiao* confused him with Wang Pou.

***Ku zhu sheng sun* 哭竹生筍 (Crying to cause bamboo shoots to grow out)**

This story can be seen under the entry “Serving stepmother faithfully” from *Shengli yihai* (EHW 10: 258; Luo 1995: 76). The key figure is identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 142, 187) and Nie (Nie, Huang 2001) as Meng Zong quoted by Pei Songzhi 裴松之 in his

⁴⁰ Chinese original: 司馬芝字子華, 河內溫人也。少為書生, 避亂荊州, 于魯陽山遇賊, 同行者皆棄老弱走, 芝獨坐守老母。賊至, 以刀臨芝。芝叩頭曰: “母老, 唯在諸君!” 賊曰: “此孝子也, 殺之不義。” 遂得免害。Evidently, the key word “carrying the mother” is absent in this quotation.

⁴¹ Chinese original: 江革字次翁, 齊國臨淄人也, 少失父, 獨與母居。遭天下亂, 盜賊並起。革負母逃難, 備經阻險, 常採拾以為養。數遇賊, 或劫欲將去。革輒涕泣求, 哀言: “有老母。” 辭氣愿款, 有足感動人者, 賊以是不忍犯之。(後漢書·江革傳).

⁴² This sentence means “If I die, nobody will carry my old mother”.

⁴³ Chinese original: [蔡順] 母平生畏雷。自亡後, 每有雷震, 順輒園冢泣曰: “順在此!” 崇聞之, 每雷, 輒為差車馬到墓所。太守鮑衆舉孝廉。(后漢書·周磐傳).

⁴⁴ Chinese original: [王哀] 母性畏雷。母沒, 每雷輒到墓曰: “哀在此。” (晉書·王哀傳).

commentary to Volume 38 of *Sanguo zhi*⁴⁵. The story is commonly known as *Meng Zong ku zhu* 孟宗哭竹 (Meng Zong crying at bamboo).

甞效舛殺羽肱，甞鋒熾羸，燠燠甞舛燠。甞燠燠甞甞甞甞，燠燠甞甞甞甞甞甞。甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞，甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞，甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞，甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞，甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞。

There was a filial son in the past whose mother died, and he served the stepmother faithfully. The stepmother was fond of bamboo shoots, saying in winter that she wanted to eat bamboo shoots. Her own son could not find any bamboo shoots, because it was not the right season, so the stepson cried with tears, then a bamboo shoot grew out in front of him and he gave it to the mother.

It is unknown why the real “mother” was substituted here by “stepmother” in the Tangut version.

Wo bing qiu li 臥冰求鯉 (Acquiring carps by lying on ice)

This story can be seen under the entry “Ice thawing and fish coming out” of *Shengli yihai* (EHW 10: 258; Luo 1995: 76). It is identified as Wang Xiang (Kychanov 1997: 141, 186; Nie, Huang 2001) in Volume 33 of *Jin shu*⁴⁶, commonly known as *Wang Xiang wo bing* 王祥臥冰 (Wang Xiang lying on ice)⁴⁷.

甞效舛殺羽肱，甞鋒熾羸，燠燠甞舛燠。燠燠甞甞甞甞甞甞，燠燠甞甞甞甞甞甞，甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞，甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞，甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞，甞燠甞甞甞甞甞甞甞。

Somebody in the past served his parents faithfully. The mother was fond of fish filet, saying in winter that she wanted to eat fish filet. The filial son lay on the ice and informed the Heaven while crying. Because of the filial piety, the ice split off, two fishes jumped out for him to provide his mother.

The plot of “lying on ice and crying” proves to be an absurd figment by later generations, because the Chinese original only mentioned “undressing and cracking ice [with a tool]”.

E hu jiu fu 扼虎救父 (Saving father by curbing a tiger)

This story can be found under the entry “A filial daughter protecting her father” of *Shengli Yihai* (EHW 10: 257; Luo 1995: 74; Kychanov 1997: 137–138), it is identified as the story of Yang Xiang (Guo 2017) in a quotation of *Taiping yulan*⁴⁸, commonly known as *Yang Xiang da hu* 楊香打虎 (Yang Xiang fighting a tiger).

⁴⁵ Chinese original: 《楚國先賢傳》曰：“宗母嗜筍。冬節將至，時筍尚未生。宗入竹林哀歎，而筍為之出，得以供母。(三國志·吳志·孫皓傳)。

⁴⁶ Chinese original: [王祥]母常欲生魚。時天寒冰凍，祥解衣，將剖冰求之。冰忽自解，雙鯉躍出，持之而歸。(晉書·王祥傳)。

⁴⁷ Besides, there are two other stories concerning Wang Xiang. The first, in *Xinji Cixiao Zhuan*, tells about his younger brother Wang Lan how to protect him from stepmother’s maltreatment (EHW 10: 129; Keping 1990: 28; Jacques 2007: 57–59; Nie 2009: 32–33). The second, in *Leilin*, tells about Wang Xiang how to tolerate the stepmother’s maltreatment (EHW 11: 236; Keping 1983: 41; Shi et al. 1993: 62). Both stories have little relation with the topic “lying on ice”.

⁴⁸ Chinese original: 《異苑》曰：順陽南鄉縣楊豐與息女香於田穫粟，豐因穫為虎所噬。香年甫十四，手無寸刃，乃搥虎頸，豐因獲免。(太平御覽 vol. 415).

The plot “strangling the tiger’s neck” in the Chinese original was substituted by “grasping the tiger’s ears” in the Tangut version, because a tiger’s neck is too thick to be strangled.

This Tangut story with an identical plot appeared twice in *Leilin*, but only version that in Chapter 14 is preserved (EHW 11: 237; Keping 1983: 41, 78; Shi et al. 1993: 64), which proves to be the story of Wu Meng in Volume 95 of *Jin shu*.⁴⁹

黠𪔐𪔑𪔒𪔓𪔔𪔕𪔖𪔗𪔘𪔙𪔚𪔛𪔜𪔝𪔞𪔟𪔠𪔡𪔢𪔣𪔤𪔥𪔦𪔧𪔨𪔩𪔪𪔫𪔬𪔭𪔮𪔯𪔰𪔱𪔲𪔳𪔴𪔵𪔶𪔷𪔸𪔹𪔺𪔻𪔼𪔽𪔾𪔿𪕀𪕁𪕂𪕃𪕄𪕅𪕆𪕇𪕈𪕉𪕊𪕋𪕌𪕍𪕎𪕏𪕐𪕑𪕒𪕓𪕔𪕕𪕖𪕗𪕘𪕙𪕚𪕛𪕜𪕝𪕞𪕟𪕠𪕡𪕢𪕣𪕤𪕥𪕦𪕧𪕨𪕩𪕪𪕫𪕬𪕭𪕮𪕯𪕰𪕱𪕲𪕳𪕴𪕵𪕶𪕷𪕸𪕹𪕺𪕻𪕼𪕽𪕾𪕿𪖀𪖁𪖂𪖃𪖄𪖅𪖆𪖇𪖈𪖉𪖊𪖋𪖌𪖍𪖎𪖏𪖐𪖑𪖒𪖓𪖔𪖕𪖖𪖗𪖘𪖙𪖚𪖛𪖜𪖝𪖞𪖟𪖠𪖡𪖢𪖣𪖤𪖥𪖦𪖧𪖨𪖩𪖪𪖫𪖬𪖭𪖮𪖯𪖰𪖱𪖲𪖳𪖴𪖵𪖶𪖷𪖸𪖹𪖺𪖻𪖼𪖽𪖾𪖿𪗀𪗁𪗂𪗃𪗄𪗅𪗆𪗇𪗈𪗉𪗊𪗋𪗌𪗍𪗎𪗏𪗐𪗑𪗒𪗓𪗔𪗕𪗖𪗗𪗘𪗙𪗚𪗛𪗜𪗝𪗞𪗟𪗠𪗡𪗢𪗣𪗤𪗥𪗦𪗧𪗨𪗩𪗪𪗫𪗬𪗭𪗮𪗯𪗰𪗱𪗲𪗳𪗴𪗵𪗶𪗷𪗸𪗹𪗺𪗻𪗼𪗽𪗾𪗿𪘀𪘁𪘂𪘃𪘄𪘅𪘆𪘇𪘈𪘉𪘊𪘋𪘌𪘍𪘎𪘏𪘐𪘑𪘒𪘓𪘔𪘕𪘖𪘗𪘘𪘙𪘚𪘛𪘜𪘝𪘞𪘟𪘠𪘡𪘢𪘣𪘤𪘥𪘦𪘧𪘨𪘩𪘪𪘫𪘬𪘭𪘮𪘯𪘰𪘱𪘲𪘳𪘴𪘵𪘶𪘷𪘸𪘹𪘺𪘻𪘼𪘽𪘾𪘿𪙀𪙁𪙂𪙃𪙄𪙅𪙆𪙇𪙈𪙉𪙊𪙋𪙌𪙍𪙎𪙏𪙐𪙑𪙒𪙓𪙔𪙕𪙖𪙗𪙘𪙙𪙚𪙛𪙜𪙝𪙞𪙟𪙠𪙡𪙢𪙣𪙤𪙥𪙦𪙧𪙨𪙩𪙪𪙫𪙬𪙭𪙮𪙯𪙰𪙱𪙲𪙳𪙴𪙵𪙶𪙷𪙸𪙹𪙺𪙻𪙼𪙽𪙾𪙿𪚀𪚁𪚂𪚃𪚄𪚅𪚆𪚇𪚈𪚉𪚊𪚋𪚌𪚍𪚎𪚏𪚐𪚑𪚒𪚓𪚔𪚕𪚖𪚗𪚘𪚙𪚚𪚛𪚜𪚝𪚞𪚟𪚠𪚡𪚢𪚣𪚤𪚥𪚦𪚧𪚨𪚩𪚪𪚫𪚬𪚭𪚮𪚯𪚰𪚱𪚲𪚳𪚴𪚵𪚶𪚷𪚸𪚹𪚺𪚻𪚼𪚽𪚾𪚿𪛀𪛁𪛂𪛃𪛄𪛅𪛆𪛇𪛈𪛉𪛊𪛋𪛌𪛍𪛎𪛏𪛐𪛑𪛒𪛓𪛔𪛕𪛖𪛗𪛘𪛙𪛚𪛛𪛜𪛝𪛞𪛟𪛠𪛡𪛢𪛣𪛤𪛥𪛦𪛧𪛨𪛩𪛪𪛫𪛬𪛭𪛮𪛯𪛰𪛱𪛲𪛳𪛴𪛵𪛶𪛷𪛸𪛹𪛺𪛻𪛼𪛽𪛾𪛿𪜀𪜁𪜂𪜃𪜄𪜅𪜆𪜇𪜈𪜉𪜊𪜋𪜌𪜍𪜎𪜏𪜐𪜑𪜒𪜓𪜔𪜕𪜖𪜗𪜘𪜙𪜚𪜛𪜜𪜝𪜞𪜟𪜠𪜡𪜢𪜣𪜤𪜥𪜦𪜧𪜨𪜩𪜪𪜫𪜬𪜭𪜮𪜯𪜰𪜱𪜲𪜳𪜴𪜵𪜶𪜷𪜸𪜹𪜺𪜻𪜼𪜽𪜾𪜿𪝀𪝁𪝂𪝃𪝄𪝅𪝆𪝇𪝈𪝉𪝊𪝋𪝌𪝍𪝎𪝏𪝐𪝑𪝒𪝓𪝔𪝕𪝖𪝗𪝘𪝙𪝚𪝛𪝜𪝝𪝞𪝟𪝠𪝡𪝢𪝣𪝤𪝥𪝦𪝧𪝨𪝩𪝪𪝫𪝬𪝭𪝮𪝯𪝰𪝱𪝲𪝳𪝴𪝵𪝶𪝷𪝸𪝹𪝺𪝻𪝼𪝽𪝾𪝿𪞀𪞁𪞂𪞃𪞄𪞅𪞆𪞇𪞈𪞉𪞊𪞋𪞌𪞍𪞎𪞏𪞐𪞑𪞒𪞓𪞔𪞕𪞖𪞗𪞘𪞙𪞚𪞛𪞜𪞝𪞞𪞟𪞠𪞡𪞢𪞣𪞤𪞥𪞦𪞧𪞨𪞩𪞪𪞫𪞬𪞭𪞮𪞯𪞰𪞱𪞲𪞳𪞴𪞵𪞶𪞷𪞸𪞹𪞺𪞻𪞼𪞽𪞾𪞿𪟀𪟁𪟂𪟃𪟄𪟅𪟆𪟇𪟈𪟉𪟊𪟋𪟌𪟍𪟎𪟏𪟐𪟑𪟒𪟓𪟔𪟕𪟖𪟗𪟘𪟙𪟚𪟛𪟜𪟝𪟞𪟟𪟠𪟡𪟢𪟣𪟤𪟥𪟦𪟧𪟨𪟩𪟪𪟫𪟬𪟭𪟮𪟯𪟰𪟱𪟲𪟳𪟴𪟵𪟶𪟷𪟸𪟹𪟺𪟻𪟼𪟽𪟾𪟿𪠀𪠁𪠂𪠃𪠄𪠅𪠆𪠇𪠈𪠉𪠊𪠋𪠌𪠍𪠎𪠏𪠐𪠑𪠒𪠓𪠔𪠕𪠖𪠗𪠘𪠙𪠚𪠛𪠜𪠝𪠞𪠟𪠠𪠡𪠢𪠣𪠤𪠥𪠦𪠧𪠨𪠩𪠪𪠫𪠬𪠭𪠮𪠯𪠰𪠱𪠲𪠳𪠴𪠵𪠶𪠷𪠸𪠹𪠺𪠻𪠼𪠽𪠾𪠿𪡀𪡁𪡂𪡃𪡄𪡅𪡆𪡇𪡈𪡉𪡊𪡋𪡌𪡍𪡎𪡏𪡐𪡑𪡒𪡓𪡔𪡕𪡖𪡗𪡘𪡙𪡚𪡛𪡜𪡝𪡞𪡟𪡠𪡡𪡢𪡣𪡤𪡥𪡦𪡧𪡨𪡩𪡪𪡫𪡬𪡭𪡮𪡯𪡰𪡱𪡲𪡳𪡴𪡵𪡶𪡷𪡸𪡹𪡺𪡻𪡼𪡽𪡾𪡿𪢀𪢁𪢂𪢃𪢄𪢅𪢆𪢇𪢈𪢉𪢊𪢋𪢌𪢍𪢎𪢏𪢐𪢑𪢒𪢓𪢔𪢕𪢖𪢗𪢘𪢙𪢚𪢛𪢜𪢝𪢞𪢟𪢠𪢡𪢢𪢣𪢤𪢥𪢦𪢧𪢨𪢩𪢪𪢫𪢬𪢭𪢮𪢯𪢰𪢱𪢲𪢳𪢴𪢵𪢶𪢷𪢸𪢹𪢺𪢻𪢼𪢽𪢾𪢿𪣀𪣁𪣂𪣃𪣄𪣅𪣆𪣇𪣈𪣉𪣊𪣋𪣌𪣍𪣎𪣏𪣐𪣑𪣒𪣓𪣔𪣕𪣖𪣗𪣘𪣙𪣚𪣛𪣜𪣝𪣞𪣟𪣠𪣡𪣢𪣣𪣤𪣥𪣦𪣧𪣨𪣩𪣪𪣫𪣬𪣭𪣮𪣯𪣰𪣱𪣲𪣳𪣴𪣵𪣶𪣷𪣸𪣹𪣺𪣻𪣼𪣽𪣾𪣿𪤀𪤁𪤂𪤃𪤄𪤅𪤆𪤇𪤈𪤉𪤊𪤋𪤌𪤍𪤎

Suggested by *Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo*, there must have been another record of the same story in Chapter 9 of *Leilin* (Shi et al. 1993: 256), but its Tangut version is lost.

Besides the fifteen narrations above, there are five other stories in *Ershisi xiao* preserved in Chinese *Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo* and *Jia fan*. The former presenting the original compilation of Yu Lizheng's *Leilin* is the source of the Tangut version (Shi et al. 1993: 9), the latter proves to be the basic model of Cao Daole's composition. Many stories in Tangut literature are direct translations from Sima Guang's Chinese narration (Nie 2008), thus materials from both works are reliable. One can estimate reasonably that the relevant stories may have been translated into Tangut together with other volumes of *Leilin* and *Xinji cixiao zhuan*, merely the corresponding volumes of the Tangut version are long lost.

蔡順字君仲，汝南人。少失父，養母至孝。王莽未定，天下大饑荒。順摘椹，赤黑異器。赤眉賊見，問之。順曰：“黑者與母，赤者自食。”賊感其孝，遺斗米，令順養母。

⁵⁰ Shiyun 士雲, recorded in volume 85 of *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, was mistranslated as *chuyun* 出雲 by (Shi et al 1993: 64).

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Cai Shun, also named Junzhong, was a native of Runan⁵². Losing his father in childhood, he served his mother extremely faithfully. [When the insurgency of] Wang Mang⁵³ had not been quieted down, a bad famine was full of land. Cai Shun picked up mulberries, putting the red ones and black ones into different containers. The robbers of Chimei⁵⁴ saw him and asked him [the reason]. Cai Shun said: “Black ones for mother, red ones for me”⁵⁵. Robbers were touched by his filial piety and gave him one *dou*⁵⁶ of rice to serve his mother.

***Qin chang tangyao* 親嘗湯藥 (Tasting medicine decoctions personally)**

This story is recorded in volume 4 of *Jia Fan*:

漢文帝為代王時，薄太后常病三年。文帝目不交睫，衣不解帶。湯藥非口所嘗弗進。

When Emperor Han Wendi was the King of Dai,⁵⁷ Empress Dowager Bo had been ill for three years. [During that time] Wendi did not blink his eyes and did not unfasten his belt. [He ordered the servants] not to serve her medicine decoctions without his tasting personally.

***Mai er feng mu* 埋兒奉母 (Burying his son to provide his mother)**

This story is recorded in Volume 5 of *Jia Fan*:

後漢郭巨，家貧，養老母。妻生一子，三歲，母常減食與之。巨謂妻曰：“貧乏不能供給，共汝埋子。子可再有，母不可再得。”妻不敢違。巨遂掘坑二尺餘，得黃金一釜。

Guo Ju in the Late Han era served his old mother in a poor family. His wife gave birth to a son. When the son was three years old, [Guo Ju's] mother often saved [her own] food to feed him. Guo Ju said to his wife: “because we are too poor to provide [the whole family], I shall bury the son with you together. We may have sons later, but never have a mother again.” The wife dared not to disobey him. Then Guo Ju dug a pit of two *chi*⁵⁸ deep, he suddenly found one *fu*⁵⁹ of gold.

***Shan zhen wen qin* 扇枕溫衾 (Cooling pillow and warming quilt)**

This story is recorded in Volume 4 of *Jia Fan*:

晉西河人王延，事親色養。夏則扇枕席，冬則以身溫被。

Wang Yan, a native of Xihe,⁶⁰ served his parents amiably. He cooled their sleeping mat with a fan in summer and warmed the quilt with his body in winter.

⁵² Runan is an ancient prefecture located at present-day Zhumadian City.

⁵³ Wang Mang (45 BC–23AD) was the founder of Xin dynasty in 9 AD and failed in 23. Traditional Chinese historians regard this short period as usurping the legitimate Han emperor's authority.

⁵⁴ Chimei, literal meaning “Red eyebrow”, was the name of a famous peasant rebel force in Shandong in 18 AD and failed in 27.

⁵⁵ A mulberry turns black from red when it is ripe.

⁵⁶ *Dou* is a traditional Chinese unit of measurement, less than two kilograms in Han dynasty.

⁵⁷ Dai is an ancient prefecture located approximately at present day Yuxian County, Hebei Province. Emperor Han Wendi (reign 180–157 DC) was a king there before he came to the post of emperor.

⁵⁸ *Chi* is a traditional Chinese unit of measurement, ≈ 22cm.

⁵⁹ *Fu* is a traditional Chinese unit of measurement, ≈ 20.5kg.

⁶⁰ Xihe is an ancient prefecture located at present-day Fenyang City, Shanxi Province.

***Chang fen youxin* 嘗糞憂心 (Tasting excrements worriedly)**

This story is recorded in Volume 4 of *Jia Fan*:

南齊庾黔婁為孱陵令。到縣未旬，父易在家遘疾。黔婁忽心驚，舉身流汗，即日棄官歸家。家人悉驚其忽至。時易病始二日，醫云：“欲知差劇，但嘗糞甜苦。”易泄利，黔婁輒取嘗之，味轉甜滑，心愈憂苦。

In Southern Qi⁶¹, Yu Qianlou got a magistrate post in Chanling⁶². Less than ten days after his arrival in the county, his father, Yi, got sick at home. Qianlou suddenly felt panic with sweat all over his body, so he gave up his job and went back home that very day. His family members were surprised at his sudden arrival. Two days after Yi got sick, the doctor said: “To know whether he is seriously ill, merely taste his excrements being sweet or bitter”⁶³. Yi had diarrhea, Qianlou took his excrements and tasted, [finding] their taste turning sweet and soapy, so feeling worried and painful.

As for the last three stories, according to the commentaries of *Ershisi xiao* in Yuan times: a story *Rugu budai* 乳姑不怠 (Lactating the mother-in-law never slackly) tells about the wife of Cui Shannan 崔山南 (active in the second quarter of the 9th c.),⁶⁴ *Di qin niqi* 滌親溺器 (Washing his parent's toilet bowl) tells about Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105), *Qiguan xun mu* 棄官尋母 (Giving up official job to seek his mother) tells about Zhu Shouchang 朱壽昌 (active in the last half of the 11th c.). It is evident that the stories might not be known to Tanguts, because the key figures' living time is too late to be recorded timely in the Tangut literature, although Zhu Shouchang might have been a famous filial son at that time.⁶⁵

All the other stories occurred no later than the 6th c. (Southern Dynasties, 420–589 AD), in which the only exception is *Baili fu mi* 百里負米 (Carrying rice a hundred *li* away). The key figure of this story is Zhongyou 仲由 (i.e. Zilu 子路), one of the most famous students of Confucius, recorded in the second volume of *Kongzi jiayu*. Accordingly, in the past when Zhongyou served his parents, he often had food of roughage but carried rice a hundred *li* away for his parents. After his parents died, he traveled south to Chu.⁶⁶ Then he had one hundred accompany carriages and ten thousand *zhong*⁶⁷ of accumulated grain, sat on multiple blankets and ate from cauldron series. Even though he wanted to have food of roughage and to carry rice for his parents again, he would not have [the opportunity].⁶⁸

In all of the historical records, *Baili fu mi* was merely an idiom in the quote that Confucius told his students, without any storylines presented. Maybe this is just the reason why “Carrying rice a hundred *li* away” was not regarded by later generations as a story of filial piety. Actually, all the four entries above were substituted by others which spread more widely beyond Guo Jujing's *Ershisi xiao*.

⁶¹ Southern Qi was a dynasty from 479 to 502 AD in South China.

⁶² Chanling is an ancient county located at present-day Gong'an County, Hubei Province.

⁶³ This sentence means “If his feces taste sweet, he will be ill seriously”.

⁶⁴ It is noticeable that the stories of Zui Shannan (Cui Guan 崔瑗) was first recorded in *Jiu Tangshu* compiled as late as the year 945. One cannot believe the stories spreading widely in folklore during the next century.

⁶⁵ As for the admiring to Zhu Shouchang by his contemporaries, see Ōsawa (2002).

⁶⁶ The state Chu (?–223 BC.) located at the surrounding area of present-day Hubei and Hunan province.

⁶⁷ *Zhong* is an ancient Chinese unit of measurement, ≈ 45 kilograms.

⁶⁸ Chinese original: 昔者由也事二親之時，常食藜藿之實，為親負米百里之外。親歿之後，南遊於楚。從車百乘，積粟萬鍾，累茵而坐，列鼎而食。願欲食藜藿，為親負米，不可復得也。(孔子家語·致思)。

Substitutions in Tangut resources

According to Gong's collection mentioned above, there are also other stories well known to people at that time and being regarded as the entries from "Twenty-four filial pieties", in which there are six entries being found in Tangut literature. The following titles are directly translated from Tangut *Shengli yihai*.

1. An old mother beating her son with a rod

This entry (*EHW* 10: 256–257; Luo 1995: 73–74; Kychanov 1997: 137) was identified as the story of Han Boyu (Nie, Huang 2001) in Chapter 3 of *Shuoyuan*⁶⁹, commonly known as *Boyu qi zhang* 伯俞泣杖 (Boyu weeping for being beaten by rod).

竊絲竊竊桶筵。竊竊竊，鋒鋒竊竊竊。刻竊竊竊，竊竊。竊竊：“竊竊竊，竊竊竊？”竊竊竊：“竊竊竊竊竊，竊竊竊鋒竊竊。竊竊竊，竊竊竊竊。”刻竊，竊竊竊竊竊竊竊。

In the past, a son lived with his mother. When the mother beat the son, the son received it with pleasure. But one day when the mother beat the son, the son wept. The mother said: "It is not like [you did] previously. Why do you weep?" The son said tactfully: "When mother was young, the rod brought pain, but this time the rod does not bring pain. [The fact indicates that] my mother is already senile, so I weep for this." Hearing that, the emperor granted the filial son an official post.

2. Getting grain in a dream for filial piety

This entry (*EHW* 10: 258; Luo 1995: 76, 188) was identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 142) as the story of Liu Yin in Chapter 11 of *Soushen ji*⁷⁰, commonly known as *Liu Yin meng su* 劉殷夢粟 (Liu Yin getting grain in dream).

竊絲竊竊竊竊竊。竊竊竊，刻竊竊，竊竊竊。竊竊，竊竊竊。竊竊竊，竊竊竊竊竊竊，"竊竊竊竊竊竊竊"竊竊。

A son in the past served his parents faithfully. Meeting a famine period, one night he dreamed of someone telling him there was millet to the west. Thus, he went to the west and found a cellar [full of millet], in which there was an inscription on a stone: "Heaven gave the filial son grain for seven years to eat."

3. Three trees changing their color

There are two Tangut versions of this topic. The first under the entry "Brothers respecting each other" (*EHW* 10: 259; Luo 1995: 78) was identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 146, 190) as Yin Tang, but actually it proves to be the story of Tian Zhen in *Xu Qixie Ji*⁷¹, commonly known as *Tian Zhen ku shu* 田真枯樹 (Trees withered for Tian Zhen).

⁶⁹ Chinese original: 伯俞有過，其母笞之，泣。其母曰：“他日笞子，未嘗見泣。今泣，何也？”對曰：“他日俞得罪，笞嘗痛。今母之力不能使痛，是以泣。(說苑·建本)

⁷⁰ Chinese original: [劉殷]事曾祖母王氏。嘗夜夢人謂之曰：“西籬下有粟。”寤而掘之，得粟十五鍾。銘曰：“七年粟百石，以賜孝子劉殷。”自是食之，七歲方盡。(搜神記 vol. 11).

⁷¹ Chinese original: 京兆田真，兄弟三人共議分財。生費皆平均，惟堂前一株紫荆樹，共議欲破三片，明日就截之。其樹即枯死，狀如火燃。真往見之，大驚...因悲不自勝，不復解樹，樹應聲榮茂。(續齊諧記)。

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛，𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛。𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛，𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛。

In the past, when three brothers intended to separate,⁷² three trees planted in front of the gate suddenly turned withered. All of the brothers regretted and gave up [the idea of] separation. Those trees revived again.

The second version can be seen in Volume 7 of *Leilin* (EHW 11: 289; Keping 1983: 66, Shi et al. 1993: 163–164).

[illegible]

Tian Zhen was a native of Jingzhao.⁷³ After their parents died, the three brothers immediately intended to live separately. After dividing up all the houses and properties, there was only a redbud tree in front of the hall left. The brothers intended to divide it and conferred with each other in the very evening that they would together cut it down the next morning. After a night, that tree suddenly withered. The brothers cried and said each other: "Even a tree showing this, can it be compared with our so-called 'person'?" They immediately stopped [the idea of] separation, and the tree became luxuriant again as before.

4. A woman treating the sons equally

This entry in *Shengli yihai* (EHW 10: 255; Luo 1995: 70; Kychanov 1997: 131) was identified as Lu Yiguzi in *Lienü Zhuan* (Nie, Huang 2001), commonly known as *Yigu qi zi* 義姑棄子 (Yigu abandoning her son).

[illegible]

In the past, the child of a former mother was older and the baby of a stepmother was younger. Meeting unexpectedly with a troop, the stepmother ran away discarding the baby and holding the elder child in her arms. The troop leader asked why she had done that way. [She answered:] “The baby is my own son, the elder child is the former mother’s son. According to the mind of equality, I discard my ignorant baby and protect the elder wise child.” The troop leader was surprised and let the mother and the sons reunite.

Another version can be seen in *Xinji cixiao zhuan* (EHW 10: 125–126; Keping 1990: 24–25; Jacques 2007: 38–43; Nie 2009: 25–26), which seems more detailed and closer to the Chinese original in *Lienü zhuan*.⁷⁴

⁷² “Separate” here means “to divide up family property and live apart”.

⁷³ Jingzhao is an ancient prefecture located at present-day Xi'an City, Shanxi Province.

⁷⁴ Chinese original: 魯義姑姊者，魯野之婦人也。齊攻魯，至郊，望見一婦人抱一兒攜一兒而行。軍且及之，棄其所抱，抱其所攜而走於山。兒隨而啼，婦人遂行不顧。齊將問兒曰：“走者爾母耶？”曰：“是也。”“母所抱者誰也？”曰：“不知也。”齊將乃追之。軍士引弓將射之，曰：“止！不止，吾將射爾！”婦人乃還。齊將問：“所抱者誰也？所棄者誰也？”對曰：“所抱者妾兄之子也，所棄者妾之子也。見軍之至，力不能兩護，故棄妾之子。”齊將曰：“子之於母，其親愛也，痛甚於心。今釋之而反抱兄之子，何也？”婦人曰：“己之子，私愛也。兄之子，公義也。夫背公義而嚮私愛，亡兄子而存妾子，幸而得幸，則魯君不吾畜，大夫不吾養，

The King of State Qi⁷⁵ dispatched a troop to the borders of State Lu⁷⁶. Entering the frontier, [he saw] a woman in the suburb holding one baby in her arm and leading one child by hand. When the troop approached, she discarded the baby she held, took the child she led and ran into the hill. The baby [being discarded] went after her crying, but she did not look back. The general of State Qi asked the baby: “Is that your mother?” [The baby] said: “Yes.” [The general asked:] “Who is that in her arms?” [The baby] said: “I do not know.” The general chased her and said: “Stop, that woman! If not, I shall shoot you [by an arrow]!” Thus [the mother] stopped. The general asked: “The one you hold and the one you abandon, whose sons are they?” She answered: “This is the son of the humble female servant’s⁷⁷ sister⁷⁸, the one being left is the son of the humble female servant. Now I am not able to protect both of them from the troops, so I discarded [my own] son.” The general of Qi said: “A son is the most cherished and distressed [by the mother], but now you abandoned him and protect your nephew. What is the reason?” She answered: “To cherish a son is a personal love, to cherish a nephew is a moral obligation. If violating morality, discarding nephew and saving my son, even being fortunate [in success], the monarch of Lu will not need me, ministers will not support me and the national masses will not be with me. If so, there will be no place for me to enter, even if I incline my shoulder; there will be no place for me to occupy, even if I put one of my feet on the other. For this reason, I discard my son to fulfill morality. If there are no moralities, how dare I live in State Lu?” At that time, the general of Qi ordered his troop to stop and dispatched someone to tell the King of Qi: “State Lu cannot be destroyed. When I entered the frontier, even a woman in the suburb fulfilled morality, knowing not to impair morality by private benefit, can it be compared with the officials to their royal court? It is natural [for us] to retreat our troops.” The King of Qi complied with him. Hearing that, the

⁷⁶ Lu (1043–255BC) was an ancient state located in the present-day southern part of Shandong Province.

⁷⁷ “Humble female servant”, *jianqie*, is a self-appellation of humility when a woman talks to others.

⁷⁸ "Sister" here indicates the wife of her elder brother.

emperor of Lu granted that woman one hundred *shu*⁷⁹ of silk, and gave her the title the “Loyal aunt”.⁸⁰

5. Brothers respecting each other

This entry (*EHW* 10: 259; Luo 1995: 78; Kychanov 1997: 145–146) was identified as Zhao Xiao (Nie, Huang 2001) in Volume 69 of *Houhan Shu*⁸¹.

繡效膝卽儼，姦曉粧，繡卽梟報匪，靚叢茲譏，羣曉綏。姊羣儼。繡
羣粧殤：“羣卽姦報効，繡姊梟報，姦羣夥効儼。”靚叢羣粧。羣
儼効姦，繡卽羣粧姦梟報粧，姦夥羣報効。

In the past, the Heaven was cruel that people ate each other. When the two brothers went out together, they met robbers. The robbers intended to kill the younger brother to eat. The elder brother rushed for being killed: “I am fat enough to be a substitution. Because I love my younger brother, please kill me for the reason.” The robbers realized and let them go. After hearing that, the emperor gave brothers chief posts for the brothers’ compassion with each other.

Another slightly detailed version can be seen in Volume 3 of *Leilin* (*EHW* 11: 237; Shi et al. 1993: 63).⁸²

繡効羣，姦曉卽粧効報効。羣繡姊羣靚叢夥報効，羣儼報，効羣姦
儼，靚儼効粧，姦報効夥効：“羣儼羣報，効羣靚，儼報姦羣羣
効。”靚羣繡夥効：“姦報繡姊報効，夥報効。”梟報羣粧報効。効
羣報効羣卽効卽儼報効夥，姦報報効報効夥。

Zhao Xiaozong was a native of Changping County of State Pei⁸³. His younger brother, Li,⁸⁴ was captured by robbers who intended to boil him [to eat]. Hearing that, Xiaozong caught up with the robbers and told them reverently: “Li is emaciated, while Xiaozong is fat. You should kill me [to eat] instead of him.” The robbers said to each other: “This guy loves his younger brother. He is a benevolent guy.” Then they released both of them. Xiaozong became the Changle Weiwei⁸⁵ during the reign of Emperor Mingdi⁸⁶ of the Later Han dynasty, and Li became Yushi Zhongcheng.⁸⁷

Evidently, the above three stories tell about the solicitude between brothers and sisters, which has nothing to do with serving parents. Maybe in somebody’s mind, serving parents (*xiao* 孝) and respecting brothers (*ti* 悌) were complementary to each other, because in Chinese classics one can see *xiaoti* as a disyllabic word appeared repeatedly. If, of course, only

⁷⁹ “Shu” was an ancient unit of measurement for silk, = 5 *pi*.

⁸⁰ “Sister” here indicates the sister of the elder child’s father.

⁸¹ Chinese original: 趙孝字長平沛國斬人也...及天下亂，人相食，孝弟禮為賊賊所得。孝聞之，即自縛詣賊，曰：“禮久餓羸瘦，不如孝肥飽。”賊大驚，並放之...顯宗素聞其行，詔拜諫議大夫，遷侍中，又遷長樂衛尉。復徵弟禮為御史中丞。(後漢書·趙孝傳)。

⁸² The reason why (Keping 1983: 41) did not translate this passage is unknown.

⁸³ This sentence is confusing. According to *Hou Hanshu*, Changping was the other name (*zi* 字) of Zhao and Zhao was a native of County Ji (now near Suzhou City, Anhui Province), not a native of County Changping (now near Xihua County, Henan Province).

⁸⁴ Li (manner) was the name of Xiaozong’s brother, but it is unknown why the Tangut equivalent word *tšia* (to collapse) shows neither phonetic nor semantic connection with Chinese.

⁸⁵ Changle Weiwei was an ancient officer in charge of guarding Changle Palace.

⁸⁶ Emperor Mingdi, Liu Zhuang, reigned 57–75 AD.

⁸⁷ Yushi Zhongcheng is the chief officer of supervisory institution in the government.

the first two stories, “An old mother beating her son with a rod” and “Getting grain in dream for filial piety” are qualified to be complements of *Ershisi xiao*.

Conclusion

Chinese stories entered Xixia through two channels: one is the literary channel as shown in *Leilin* and *Xinji cixiao zhuan*, presenting direct translations from Chinese monuments, the other is the oral channel as shown in *Shengli yihai*, presenting translations from Chinese folk legends spreading in Xixia. Stories in the latter were greatly recomposed in their original plots or even topics, though we do not know who did that, i.e., Tanguts or Chinese? Or both? What may be concluded is that the compilers of *Shengli yihai* concealed the key figure's name of every story, in order to tell the readers an illusion that these stories occurred in the Tangut history, and not in Chinese. It is beyond doubt that such an illusion would make Tanguts feel gracious in their native culture, though the Tangut titles they gave to the stories were not as appropriate as the common titles in Chinese. The decade of composing the Tangut works mentioned above is the most prosperous period of culture education in Xixia. It was the time when Xixia Emperor Renzong (reigned 1139–1193) showed great enthusiasm to develop Chinese values and to accelerate the cultural combination between Tangut and Chinese. By the same consideration, officials of the Xixia government translated many Chinese classics into Tangut for school teaching and popular reading. The concept of filial piety proves to be one of the most important topics in various textbooks for Royal School and primary readers for folk education.

The spreading of the stories concerning filial sons went through a long period of history, in which most illiterate narrators might, according to their personal preferences, add and delete the storylines, or even modify the topics of the originals. This fact often results in various versions of one and the same story, presenting different contexts more and more inconceivable or even absurd, so that it is difficult for contemporary scholars to trace their provenances one by one. Tangut translations, together with relevant materials in other languages, constitute a complicated appearance of the stories of filial piety spreading in north China, which is an interesting task for the future.

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Китайские истории о сыновней почтительности в тангутской литературе

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Аннотация: Большое количество рассказов о семейных морально-этических правилах были распространены в Срединной империи и вдоль коридора Ганьсу задолго до официального появления «Двадцати четырех историй о сыновней почтительности» при династии Юань. Большинство из них проникли в государство Сися как литературные записи или устные рассказы. Некоторые из них неоднократно переводились на тангутский язык и использовались как популярный материал для обучения молодежи моральным устоям или как поздравления с днем

рождения пожилых людей. Довольно часто тангутские версии значительно отличаются от китайских оригиналов, как по сюжету, так и по тематике. Это указывает на то, что тангуты старательно адаптировали китайскую культуру к своей, пересказывая тангутские версии на основе устных рассказов, а не исторических фактов. У тангутов не существовало устойчивого текста подобно «Двадцати четырем историям о сыновней почтительности», однако их версии о сыновней почтительности являются переходным этапом пост-Юаньского периода.

Ключевые слова: тангуты, Сися, фольклор, китайские классики, сыновняя почтительность, переводы на тангутский язык.

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