Monkey and the Journey Back to Paradise

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Joy can be a second. To spin out
The guides to joy is to perform
Every operation in the book ...[1]

The novel that lies at the heart of this paper, *Xiyou ji* 西遊記, or *Journey to the West*, is perhaps better known by the title Arthur Waley gave to his abridged and much-loved translation, *Monkey*.[2] It was written in the 16th century, between the two great periods of translation activity and inter-cultural exchange in Chinese history. Its origins lie in the period from the 3rd to the 8th centuries when Buddhism, and Indian culture more generally, exerted a powerful influence over the Chinese worlds. Its popularity also meant that it was soon translated into other languages, Japanese, but also Western languages, thus it was part of the tremendous inter-cultural exchange that has been integral to Chinese modernity over the past few centuries.[3]

The novel itself represents only one version of the multitude of stories surrounding what might be called the Monkey phenomenon. It is a quest narrative, with a journey to the west at its heart. For most of Chinese history, the West has meant not Europe and America but inner and southern Asia, which was the main route for the transmission of Buddhism into China. The journey to the west that lies at the heart of the Monkey phenomenon is an imaginative response to the epic adventure of a Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century. The transformation of that adventure into the journey of the novel was a gradual process, built as much through oral performance as textual development. The Monkey phenomenon has always been much greater than any one of its many manifestations. I begin this essay with the journey that provided the impetus for all that was to follow, then turn to the transformation of the journey into literature. The essay ends with some reflections on the ways in which the Monkey phenomenon reflects Chinese approaches to paradise.

For Paradise is in India,
and in Paradise is the living fountain ...[4]

In the third year of the zhenguan 貞觀 era, 629 in our modern calendar, a Buddhist pilgrim left Chang'an, the capital of China, the largest and most cosmopolitan

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city in the world, and headed out into the wilderness, on a journey to the west. This pilgrim is now known by his Buddhist name, Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664). He crossed the great deserts of Inner Asia, the Gobi and dreaded Takla Makan, and climbed the passes that traverse the Tianshan and the Hindu Kush, travelling on down through Afghanistan and Pakistan into India. He lived there for many years, studying at the famous Buddhist university, Nalanda, improving his command of the scriptural languages, especially Sanskrit, and extending his understanding of Buddhist philosophy.[5]

After 16 years Xuanzang returned to China (in Zhenguan 貞觀 19, 645), with more than 650 Buddhist texts. The emperor had a special pagoda built to house the texts, the White Goose Pagoda (which still stands in Xi'an today). He also funded a massive translation project to see these scriptures transformed into Chinese texts. Xuanzang spent the last 20 years of his life at the head of this great translation project. Some have called Xuanzang the 'greatest Chinese Buddhist translator' and his translation of the 600-chapter *Mahaprajñaparamita sutra* 大般若波羅密多經 is still considered the best-translated text in the whole of the 5,000 volume Buddhist canon.[6]

Within a short time these endeavours were being transformed into printed form. It has been suggested that Xuanzang himself was involved in the development of printing in China, having images of the Bodhisattva Somanta Bhadra printed from blocks onto paper. This print has not survived, so we cannot say if Xuanzang did indeed help initiate the new technology, but printing was certainly developing in conjunction with these translations projects during 7th and 8th centuries and many of Xuanzang's translations were the first full texts to be printed. The oldest surviving printed book in the world, the *Vajracchedika prajñaparamita* (金剛般若波羅密經 *Diamond Sutra*), dates from 829. Thus, very soon after Xuanzang returned from India, the scriptures he brought back were being translated into the world's first print culture, which was Chinese and Buddhist.[7]

Xuanzang's expedition to gather scriptures quickly captured the Chinese imagination, and even before he died stories about his miraculous journey began to circulate through monasteries and market places.[8] His exploits became folktales, part of a growing oral tradition that increasingly incorporated elements from Chinese popular culture. Here the human world intersected with the world beyond, in both its angelic and demonic manifestations. Gods, ancestors, ghosts and demons all interacted with humans, particularly with those humans who ventured beyond the bounds of normal civilised life. Xuanzang's journey was absorbed into and refashioned by this cultural matrix. It was perilous not just because of the natural hazards that he had to negotiate, but also because of the demons and monsters who tried to capture him and taste his flesh or semen — which, because of his purity, was thought to confer immediate immortality.[9]

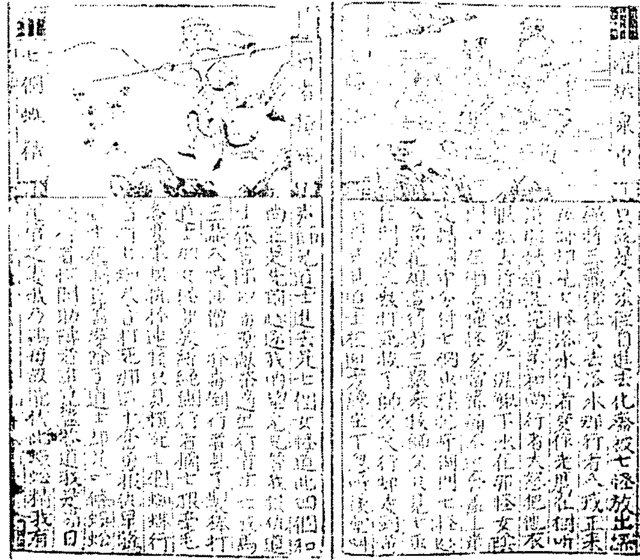

Figure 1. Shangtu-xiawen text. *Dingqie quanxiang Tang Sanzang xiyou zhuan* 鼎鍥全相唐三藏西遊 in Lucille Chia *Printing For Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 56, figure 10, a.

These stories were part of popular culture long before they assumed textual form, and when they were first written down it seems they were in the form of prompt books for storytellers. The textual history of this transformation in the representation of Xuanzang's journey is far from certain, but it is clear that the stories took a multitude of different forms before being shaped into the sixteenth-century novel that we are most familiar with today. Many of them incorporate text and image, in the 'picture above, text below' (*shangtu xiawen* 上圖下文) format that was used first for Buddhist texts during the Tang period (6th - 9th centuries; the time of Xuanzang). As non-religious printing began to flourish from the 10th century onwards it was used increasingly in works of popular literature aimed at readers with varying degrees of literacy.[10] The Xuanzang stories continued to have a life independent of the novel, even after it appeared, but increasingly the version of the stories sanctioned in the novel shaped all others. Thus, increasingly people came to know Xuanzang simply as one of the characters in the stories they heard in marketplaces or perhaps encountered in printed form.

In these stories, and in the novel, Xuanzang is transformed from a scholar-translator into an earnest but somewhat naïve monk, riding his trusty dragon-horse, and accompanied by the earthy and passionate Pigsy, the stoic Sandy and, of course, mischievous Monkey. Due to the perils of the journey the pious Xuanzang needed

the protection of these fellow scripture pilgrims, all of whom were gods entrusted with the task of ensuring that he reached the Western Paradise (see Plate 12). In particular, it was Monkey who protected Xuanzang, and, in doing so, it is he who commands our attention, and our enthusiasm; increasingly Xuanzang's story had become Monkey's story.[11]

This transition is clearly evident in *Xiyou ji*, the sixteenth-century novel. This was one of the 'Miraculous Four' (*sida qishu* 四大奇書), the four great novels that appeared during the late Ming period which marked a substantive transformation in the nature of the novel in Chinese literature. It is big book, 100 chapters — four volumes and around 2,000 pages in the standard English-language translations. The novel also marks a major transformation in the Monkey stories. New episodes were introduced into the journey, and the development of existing episodes reached a new level. The novel also interweaves poetry and prose; there are over 750 poems in the novel. This novel also set the tone for subsequent representations of the Monkey stories, whether in opera, in plays, or in the street corner storytelling that remained the site for much Chinese literature down into the 20th century.[12]

Averil Mackenizie-Grieve captures very well the enthusiasm and excitement generated by the Monkey stories in this depiction of a street-corner theatre which she encountered in coastal south China, in Xiamen, in the 1920s.

> The crowd was packed tight below the stage; sugar-cane sellers, hot dumpling and bean-cake sellers, vendors of brilliant raspberry-pink and lime-green cordials generously flecked with dead flies. The crowd was held like meat in brawn, by a thick, cloying smell of sweat, frying and cheap tobacco; glazed over by the brazen assault of the sun, of the cymbals, clappers, drums and clarionets [...] the troupe was playing *The Monkey King* (part of all repertoires) to an appreciative and certainly chiefly illiterate crowd, who, according to our Chinese companion, never missed a point. [...] The audience had seen and heard it all before, they condemned the same villains, applauded the same feather-decorated patriots, laughed at the same buffoons, as generations of their ancestors had done.[13]

The Monkey stories also colonised other media. They seem especially well suited to visual forms, to cartoons, film, television and the Internet. Hearing and seeing have always been as important as reading in the reception of these stories.[14] Thus, many people who know nothing of the sixteenth-century novel are familiar with the Japanese television series, which has become a cult classic throughout the world. And those who don't know the TV series may be fans of Dragon Ball Zee, a cartoon series based on the Japanese TV version of *Monkey* (in particular, on the character of *Son Goku* 孫悟空 or Monkey). Thus, while the imprint of the novel on this vast repertoire of Monkey stories was significant, thereby reinforcing the view that print culture does indeed colonise new worlds, it is also the case that text was

constantly shaped by spoken word and performance. There is no single, originary text behind all these manifestations of the Monkey stories. Indeed, the texts grow out of an oral and visual tradition, and constantly interact with that tradition right up to and beyond the great sixteenth-century novel which now stands at the heart of the Monkey phenomenon.

In China, the stories are so familiar that they have become a form of extra-linguistic coding, and thus have been used for all sorts of reasons, including political propaganda. We can see this in an image from a picture book produced during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, *Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Demon* (see Plate 13). In a one-Party state, particularly in a highly politicized one as China was during the Cultural Revolution, criticisms of the government had to be disguised. The Monkey stories became a perfect vehicle for this, and both sides in the factional conflict the led up to the Cultural Revolution produced their own versions of the Monkey stories in order to convey their own messages. Mao Zedong claimed to be a modern manifestation of Monkey, and the battles with the White Boned Demon were meant to represent real-life battles with imperialists and capitalist-roaders. As the Cultural Revolution advanced, however, and its lunacy became more apparent, different readings were given to this story. Increasingly Monkey was seen to stand not for Mao but for the Chinese people, and the White Bone Demon symbolized not imperialism but Jiang Qing, Mao's wife and member of the Gang of Four, those blamed for the turmoil and anarchy that was the revolution.[15]

Monkey's next manifestation will possibly be as mascot for the 2008 Olympics Games to be held in Beijing, and no doubt Xuanzang and the other scripture pilgrims will feature prominently along with Monkey in the dramatic depiction of the glories of China that will dominate the opening ceremony for the games.[16]

> The real is the atlas of fiction, over which all novelists thirst.
> The real is contour, aspiration, tyrant.
> The novel covers reality, runs away with it, and, as travelers
> will yearn to dirty their geography, runs from it, too.[17]

Some have made the connection between *Journey to the West*, between Monkey, and other quest narratives like *Pilgrims Progress*. Perhaps a better comparison is the story cycles beginning with *The Odyssey*, which were then developed through Virgil (*Aeneid*), Dante (*Commedia*), James Joyce (*Ulysses*) and Derek Walcott (*Omeros*), and then, most recently, transformed onto the screen in *O Brother Where Art Thou?* Indeed, *O Brother*, with its collection of pilgrims (Ulysses Everett Grant, Delmer O'Donnell and Pete Hogwort), its comic episodes and its hints towards a greater purpose perhaps comes closest to giving an impression of the appeal of *Monkey* to a

Chinese audience. The Klu Klux Klan scene in *O Brother*, which is a cross between Snow White and the Seven Dwarves and a Gang Show, with a touch of martial arts thrown in, reflects the humorous approach to more menacing and serious issues that we find in many of the episodes that make up the *Journey to the West*.[18]

The attraction of the Monkey stories lies not just in the universal appeal of the quest narrative. The stories, and their central characters, all of whom are a mix of the human, the animal and the divine, also help us reflect on what it is that makes us human. As Felip Fernández-Armesto suggests in his recent book *So You Think You're Human?*:

> Many of our favourite stories are anthropomorphic [...] The satires of Aristophanes would not bite so deeply into the foibles of humans if they were not disguised as birds or frogs. In children's stories, personality traits which would seem shallow and uninteresting in human characters gain charm from animal guises. The muppets would not be half so amusing if they were presented as humans, rather than as fluffy pigs and cuddly bears [...] Our imaginations blur and traverse the frontier between humans and other animals.[19]

There is, of course, a paradox here, and Fernández-Armesto spends much of his book exploring the ways in which we have, for very good reasons, policed the frontier between the animal and the human. The transformation of the story of Xuanzang's journey to the west into a quest narrative, with Paradise at its end and with a Monkey at its heart, reflects the way Chinese also have used animals in order to explore what it means to be human.

Translation is at the very heart of all the various manifestations of the Monkey phenomenon. All involve translation: from one language to another, from one cultural context to another, from one genre to another. And, of course, the journey stories have their origins in translation. It was the original pretext for Xuanzang's journey and it has motivated all those who wished to bring the stories to new audiences. What, then, does the Monkey phenomenon tell us about the nature and significance of translation? Much of the most interesting recent scholarship in this area is about translation in the context of modernity, particularly with regard to Christianity and colonialism. Some of this is highly polemical, but the best is extremely rich and stimulating, such as Vicente L. Rafael's work on translation and conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule, Saurabh Dube's similar work on translation and Christian conversion in colonial India, and Naoki Sakai's more theoretical discussion of the relationship between translation, nationalism and modernity.[20]

Is the nature of translation completely different in a non-colonial situation, as was the case with the translation of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature into Chinese,

the work Xuanzang was so closely involved with? It is certainly true that Buddhism totally transformed the Chinese world, from the fundamentals of material culture (as with printing) right through to the development of new critical registers in philosophy and politics, and in the expansion of the Chinese imagination. Translation was at the heart of these transformations. But do we view these things more positively because they were conducted in a non-colonial environment? Not all Chinese at the time did — many saw them as a eroding the fabric of 'Chineseness' — but looking back from this distance the overall impression we have is of an enormous enrichment of Chinese life.

> Here is too narrow and brief:
> equality and justice, to be real,
> require the timeless. It argues
> afterlife even to name them.[21]

One of the most impressive contributions Buddhism made to the expansion of the Chinese imagination was in introducing new conceptions of paradise. This is a dominant feature of *Journey to the West*, and the Monkey stories more broadly, and we see this operating in at least two distinct ways.

Firstly, there is the paradise that is at the heart of the quest for Xuanzang, Monkey and their fellow scripture pilgrims. The historical Xuanzang was a devotee of vijñanavada (or *weishi* 唯識), a highly esoteric and deeply philosophical school, and he concentrated his translation energies on the texts associated with this school. Support for *weishi* in China did not last long following Xuanzang's death, however, and it was the much more popular forms of the religion that became integrated into the Monkey stories.[22] The bodhisattvas that figure most in *Xiyou ji* are Avalokitesvara (Guanyin 觀音) and Amitabha (*Emituofo* 阿彌陀佛), both enormously popular with the non-literati.[23] Amitabha is the bodhisattva who resides in the Pure Land (*Jingtu* 淨土), the Western Paradise where devotees believe they will go after death. Avalokitesvara, literally 'the one who hears the sound of prayers', is also closely associated with the Western Paradise.

Buddhist soteriology and numerology shape the narrative structure of the novel, and it is the Western Paradise of the Pure Land that is the goal of the scripture pilgrims.[24] It is here, also, that we can see the intersection of Buddhism and Daoism. The Daoist deity, the Queen Mother of the West (*Xi wang mu* 西王母), was closely associated in Chinese cosmology with autumn, death, the afterlife and paradise.[25] Hence, of all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas that were introduced to China, it was those associated with the Western Paradise, Avalokitesvara and Amitabha, who came to have the greatest appeal.

For the scripture pilgrims their ascent to this paradise is a return. All have been exiled for transgressions, and all must work their way back. The karmic unfolding of that return links the pilgrims to the gods and demons with whom they interact and it structures the episodes in their journey. And it is this paradise that was uppermost in the mind of the author of the sixteenth-century novel. He ends the novel, as a devotee would invoke a bodhisattva:

> I dedicate this work to the glory of Buddha's Pure Land. May it repay the kindness of patron and preceptor, may it mitigate the sufferings of the lost and damned. May all who read it or hear it find their hearts turned towards Truth, and in the end be born again in The Realms of Utter Bliss, and by their common intercession requite me for the ardours of my task.[26]

One problem with this Western Paradise, however, was that you had to pass through death in order to have any hope of getting there, and for some that was too great a price to pay. They wanted their paradise to be here on earth, and, again, we find *Journey to the West*, and Monkey in particular, providing the resources to envisage such an earthly paradise. Here again we see the intersection of Buddhism and Daoism. Buddhist eschatology was not strongly millennial when it first reached China. It was the fusion with Daoism that saw the development of a Buddhist apocalyptic: the notion of the imminent end of the world and the intercession of a saviour who would deliver paradise to the pious and devout. There was always an increase in support for this messianic strand in sectarian Buddhism during times of social and political chaos.[27]

This strand of messianic Buddhism also often intersected with another permanent feature of Chinese popular religion, spirit possession (*pingfu* 憑附), which was itself usually occasioned by a crisis in social relations. Spirit possession involved the calling down of a god, a ghost or an ancestor to inhabit an individual. But while an individual would invoke possession that action was fundamentally a social experience, a role assumed in public and for the benefit of the community of which the inhabited person was a member. The gods that were most often called upon in times of crisis were those from popular culture, from vernacular literature and street theatre, gods such as Monkey. One of Monkey's manifestations was as the *Great Sage Equal to Heaven* (*Qitian dasheng*齊天大聖), as he is in this depiction of spirit possession (in 1950s Singapore).[28]

Monkey was one of the gods most often called on in times of crisis to come and transform the world. This is clear from what we know of the popular uprisings of late imperial China, particularly the White Lotus uprisings, but also from the testimony that survives from the social upheavals generated by the impact of imperialism in China, such as the Boxer Uprising of 1900. This uprising saw large numbers of

Figure 2. Spirit Possession. Alan J. A. Elliott Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore *(London: London School of Economics, 1955), plate VI, b.*

Chinese peasants flood into Peking and lay siege to the foreign legation quarter, an incident reported all around the world and which seemed to many Westerners to confirm the uncivilized nature of the Chinese world.[29] The uprising began in the north China countryside. Drought and then flooding had pushed peasants from their farms into vagrancy, and in seeking explanations for why Heaven had treated them in such a way they turned to the new presence in their midst, the foreign missionaries, in particular, a rather aggressive German Catholic order called The Society of the Divine Word. People came to believe that the only way to restore the natural order was by eradicating this foreign presence.

But the missionaries and their supporters had machine-guns. To confront them special powers were needed, and only gods had the powers that might protect people from such force. Monkey was one of those gods called upon by the Spirit-Boxers for this task. What they sought from Monkey was not only divine relief from the current distress, but also the creation of a new world on the other side of that distress, a paradise in which there were no more demons, Western or Chinese, and where the harvests were always bountiful.

To the missionaries spirit possession and the promise of paradise were simply evidence of the very heathenism that they wanted to eradicate. Each group came to see the other as the cause of their distress and conflict inevitably followed. After some initial success for the Boxers, mission and imperialism won out. Political and religious authorities in China had always been opposed to heterodox religious

activity of the kind the Boxers represented, but this time the challenge was felt not only by Chinese authorities. The Boxers came hard up against the forces of Western imperialism. The consequences were harsh. Many of their leaders, the very ones who had claimed Monkey as saviour, the Great Sage who would deliver paradise, were decapitated. Paradise can take many forms, some of which are political and highly dangerous, and, like the Spirit-Boxers, those who try to create it in this world usually invoke the wrath of authorities.

But for most people who read the novel or who participate in some way in the Monkey phenomenon, it is the less utopian aspects of it that are of greater importance. Rather than these totalistic and timeless visions of Paradise, it is the more mundane and temporal notions we might associate with paradise, happiness and joy, that are of most significance. And it is the pleasure people get from these stories of Monkey and the spirit pilgrims that accounts for their continuing appeal.

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Endnotes

[1] Elizabeth Smither 'On finishing the complete works of Wallace Stevens,' *The Legend of Marcello Mastroianni's Wife* (Auckland: Auckland/Oxford University Press, 1981), 14.
[2] Wu Chengen 吳承恩 *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 1954). Arthur Waley, translator *Monkey* (London: George Allen & Unwin, [1942 hbk] 1979 pbk).
[3] This periodisation, and the associated appreciation of the Indianisation of the Chinese world, was developed by Chinese scholars during the early 20th century, but then became the focus for considerable criticism during the intensely nationalistic decades that followed the founding of the People's Republic of China. A good example of the early twentieth-century scholarship is Liu Yizheng 柳詒徵 *Zhongguo wenhua shi* 中國文化史 (Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin, [1932] 1996).
[4] Eliot Weinberger 'The Dream of India [1492]' *Works on Paper* (New York: New Directions, 1986), 3.
[5] The most extensive study of Xuanzang is Alexander Leonhard Mayer & Klaus Röhrborn *Xuangzangs Leben und Werk*, 7 volumes (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991). But see also Arthur Waley, *The Real Tripitaka and Other Pieces* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1952), and, most recently, Sally Hovey Wriggens, *Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996). For accounts of recent journeys inspired by that of Xuanzang see Maxine Hong Kingston, *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), Mark Salzman, *The Laughing Sutra* (New York: Random House, 1991) and Sun Shuyun, *Ten Thousand Miles Without a Cloud* (London: HarperCollins, 2003).
[6] Jan Yün-hua 'Buddhist Literature,' in William H. Nienhauser Jr. ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 5. For perspectives on the early Chinese translation enterprise see Yuan Yi 苑藝 'Zhongguo gudai de fojing fanyi yu yizhang' 中國古代的佛經翻譯與譯場 *Tianjin shiyuan xueyuan xuebao* 天津師院學報2 (1982) and Ma Zuyi 馬祖毅 *Zhongguo fanyi jianshi: "Wusi" yundong yiqian bufen* 中國翻譯簡史：“五四”運動以前部分 (Beijing: Zhongguo duiwai fanyi chubanshe, 1982).
[7] On Xuanzang and the origins of printing see Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin (錢存訓) *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology: Paper and Printing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 148-9, and on the *Diamond Sutra*, 151-162. This text was obtained for the British Museum, where it now resides, by Sir Aurel Stein. It was one of around 40,000 books and manuscripts Stein collected from the Dunhuang cave complex in Central Asia in 1907. For more on this aspect of the link between print culture and imperialism see Jeanette Mirsky *Sir Aurel Stein: Archaeological Explorer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
[8] Xuanzang's own account of his journey helped generate these developments, as did the biography written by his students. For Xuanzang's record of his travels see Takakusu Junjiro高楠順次郎 & Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 eds., *Taisho shinshu Daizokyo* 大正新修大蔵経 [Hereafter *Taisho*] (Tokyo: Daizo shuppan, 1922-32), volume 51, Number 2087: 867b-947c, and for the biography see Huli & Yancong *Da tang Dacien si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大茲恩寺三藏法師傳 *Taisho* volume 50, Number 2053. For translations of these texts see Li Rongxi *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions* (Berkeley: Numata Centre for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1996) and Li Rongxi *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty* (Berkeley: Numata Centre for Buddhist Translation, 1995).
[9] As Edward H. Schafer notes, "All travel is perilous. Supernatural enemies threaten the wayfarer as much as physical hazards." See *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 108.
[10] Lucille Chia, *Printing For Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 40.
[11] The scholarship about this transformation of Xuanzang's journey into literature is extensive. Hu Shi 胡適 began modern studies of the topic with his article '"Xiyou ji" kaozheng' «西遊記»考証 in

Hu shi wenji 胡適文記 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chbanshe, 1998), volume 3, 500-535. This was first published in *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜志 6 (February 4, 1923). Hu Shi's suggestions were developed by Glen Dudbridge in *The Hsi-yu chi: A Study of the Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), which remains the best study of this process.

[12] The best introduction to the novel is that by Anthony C. Yu (余國藩) in his translation: see *The Journey to the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977-83), volume 1, 1-62.

[13] Averil Mackenizie-Grieve, *A Race of Green Ginger* (London: Putnam, 1959) 78.

[14] "Homer makes us Hearers, and Virgil leaves us Readers." Alexander Pope in the introduction to his translation of the *Iliad*, cited by Eugene Chen Eoyang in '"Artifices of Eternity": Audiences for Translations of Chinese Literature,' in *The Transparent Eye: Reflections on Translation, Chinese Literature, and Comparative Poetics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993) 63.

[15] Rudolf G. Wagner, '*Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Demon*: A Study in PRC Mythology,' in his *The Contemporary Chinese Historical Drama: Four Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 139-235.

[16] The other contender for mascot, perhaps the more likely one, is the panda.

[17] James Wood, *The Broken Estate: Essays on Literature and Belief* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1999) xi.

[18] Anthony Yu makes some interesting comparisons between *Xiyou ji* and Western quest narratives in 'Two Literary Examples of Religious Pilgrimage: The *Commedia* and *The Journey to the West*,' *History of Religions* 22, 3 (February, 1983), 202-230, and Zhou Zuyan explores the similarities with Rabelais in 'Carnivalization in *The Journey to the West*: Cultural Dialogism in Fictional Festivity,' *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 16 (1994), 69-92.

[19] Felipe Fernández-Aremsto, *So You Think You're Human?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 9.

[20] Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1993); Saurabh Dube, 'Conversion to Translation: Colonial Registers of Vernacular Christianity,' *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, 4 (fall, 2002), 807-837 and Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

[21] Les Murray, 'Suspended Vessels.' *Subhuman Redneck Poems* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997) 19.

[22] On Xuanzang's Buddhist scholarship see Christoph Harsbmeier *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 7, Part 1, Language and Logic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 360-402 and Fung Yu-lan *A History of Chinese Philosophy, Volume 2: The Period of Classical Learning* translated by Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 299-338. And for the Indian context for Xuanzang's thought see T.H. Stcherbatsky *Buddhist Logic* 2 volumes (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993).

[23] On Avalokitesvara see Yü Chün-fang *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) and Diana Y. Paul *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in Mahayana Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp.245-280. On the popular affection for Amitabha see Beata Grant *Mount Lu Revisited: Buddhism in the Life and Writing of Su Shih* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 32-3 & 43.

[24] There is an extensive literature on this, but the most useful place to start is the recent book by Li Qiancheng *Fictions of the Enlightenment: Journey to the West, The Tower of Myriad Mirrors, and The Dream of the Red Chamber* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004). See also Jan Fontein *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana: A Study of Gandavyuha Illustrations in China, Japan and Java* (The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 1967).

[25] Suzanne E. Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

[26] Wu Chengen 吳承恩 *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (Hong Kong: Guangzhi shuju, 1954), 1217. I have used here Arthur Waley' s translation: see *Monkey*, 336.

[27] Erik Zürcher, '"Prince Moonlight": Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Bud-

dhism,' *T'oung Pao* LXVIII, 1-3 (1982), 1-75, and David Ownby 'Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age,' *American Historical Review* 104, 5 (December, 1999), 1513-1530.

[28] On spirit possession see Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001). For a rich discussion of monkey cults in China see Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂 'Son Goku shin,' 孫悟空神 in *Chugoku no Minkan shinko* 中国の民間仰 (Tokyo: Kosaku sha, 1982), 86-102, and on the *Great Sage Equal to Heaven* cult see Alan J. A. Elliott, *Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore* (London: London School of Economics, 1955), 74-76, 80-109.

[29] B. J. Ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987), 62, 294 & 328-9, and Paul A. Cohen *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). 97-98, 106-9 & 228.