Records of Chinese Recluses appeared as early as the pre-Han period. However, it was Fan Ye (398-445) who first gave them a collective identity in the ‘Yimin liezhuan’ of his work, the Hou Hanshu. It was Fan Ye, too, who drew attention to the wives themselves, - as neither the Shiji nor the Hanshu, before him, had done - by including them in the biographies of their reclusive husbands. Scholars have usually focused on the Recluses themselves such as the nature of their lives, their beliefs and writings. This paper, however, proposes to examine the Han Recluses from a different angle, from that of their wives and the important role they played in shaping what came to be known as a reclusive life.

Keywords: Han Recluses, Fan Ye, Chinese family dynasties, Chinese literature, Chinese civilization
INTRODUCTION

This article focuses on the family life of a group of Later Han individuals (25-220), and makes specific reference to their wives. The group, twenty-six men in all, came to be known as the ‘Yimin’ (Disengaged Persons) when Fan Ye 氾濫 (398-445) first paid special attention to them, in his Hou Hanshu 後漢書 (History of the Later Han), in the chapter ‘Yimin liezhuan 殊民列傳 (Biographies of Disengaged Persons). Their seemingly resemblance to Westerners’ notion of Recluses has stimulated much scholarly interest in Chinese Reclusion. Besides delving into the works of the Recluse poet Tao Qian 陶潜 (365-427), Albert Richard Davis comments on the tendency of later Recluses not to hide in the forests and mountains, but to reside near market places.3 Frederick W. Mote discusses varieties of eremitism in terms of philosophical thoughts and investigates the Yuan period.4

While Aat Vervoorn examines Recluses of the Han period and explains their emergence;5 Alan Berkowitz scrutinises Recluses of the six dynasties and discusses the portrayal of Recluses in Chinese Literature, at the same time, analyses the ‘Beckoning the Recluses’ Poems of the Western Jin.6 Li Chi traces the long history of preoccupation with Recluses in Chinese Literature; Margaret Pearson explores into the writings of the Han Recluse Wang Fu 王符;7 Wendy Swartz questions the portrayal of Tao Qian by early Biographers and argues that the perceptions of Tao Qian were influenced by purposeful construction.8 Talking about Han

1 The term is first seen in the Analects, referring to seven men named Bo Yi 子貪, Shu Qi 子喜, Yu Zhong 胤仲, Yi Yi 耶惠, Zhu Zhang 朱張 and Shao Lian 少連. Liuxia Hui 雷夏慧 was demoted to humble position, the remaining (excluding the unknown Zhu Zhang and Shiao Lian) refused to serve at Court.
2 Also Tao Yaumin or Tao Yuan-ming.
8 Wendy Swartz. ‘Rewriting a Recluse: The Early Biographers’ Construction of Tao Yuan Ming’, Chinese
A glance in the English works tells us that the Jin period (265–420) (Davis, A.R. Alan. J. Berkowitz, Wendy Swartz) is just as attractive as the Han period (Aat Vervoorn, Miranda Brown). Similarly, attention is paid to all periods in the Chinese Literature. From the Pre-Qin to the Ming, hardly any era is less investigated. However, we will begin our quest with Han period, for good reasons. First, pre-Han Recluses could be legendary figures, 23 before concrete evidence of their existence materializes, examination of them poses some problem. Second, pre-Han Recluses are fewer. It was during the Han period that the number of Recluses started to increase, growing to a considerably large size by the time of the Later Han period. 21

As subjects of study, many find that there is none better than the Yimin in Fan Ye’s chapter. Both Aat Vervoorn and Alan J. Berkowitz, the former working on the Han period, the later not, have referred to Fan Ye’s Yimin in their discussions about Chinese Reclusion, the same is found in the Chinese Literature. 22 Moreover, before Fan Ye, the zhengshi zhuan (Standard Histories) of China had made only scant reference to individuals showing similar traits, and even then only in passing. 22 Fan Ye’s chapter is thus regarded as an essential source of reference for scholars studying

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Chinese Recluses, in particular, those in the Han period. In addition to the merits of Yimin liezhuan already pointed out, the author has another reason to base this study on the Yimin liezhuan. That Fan Ye’s treatment of Recluses is unconventional. Fan Ye differs from previous historians in that he regarded the wives as unique, relevant and important in his accounts. The wives, only six in all, 24 this number is nevertheless highly significant when compared to the records of earlier historians. Sima Qian’s Shiji (ca.145–86BC), the author of Shiji, for instance, made no reference at all to the Recluses’ wives, while Ban Gu’s Hanshu (32–92), the author of Hanshu, acknowledged the existence of two, but provided no other information. 25 In his view of the family orientated lifestyle of Chinese Recluses, as observed by Aat Vervoorn, 26 family life of Recluses is indeed worth investigating. Although a wide range of political, philosophical, literary, cultural, religious and aesthetic topics about Chinese Reclusion had already been explored, the bulk of the research works mentioned above rested on Recluses themselves, seldom touching on their family or relationships with family members. 27 This article therefore seeks to fill the gap in the literature by looking at the lives of the Recluses through the perspectives of their wives. In doing so, the author hopes to highlight the significant part played by these women in the reclusive lives of their husbands and the meaning of reclusive life for both the wives and the Recluses themselves.

For these reasons, our investigation begins with the Recluses and their wives in the Yimin liezhuan.

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21 They are the wives of Liang Hong, Gao Feng, Wang Guang, Zhou Dong, Qi Wang and Dai Liang. The sixth, the wife of Wang Ba, although not mentioned in the chapter, is known from the Cliffs and Caves (Reclusial Thoughts of the Wei-Jin Periods and their Aesthetic Meaning) (Taipei: Wenjun chubanshe, 2001), 37.


23 Standard Histories (referring to Dynastic Histories compiled by Court appointed historians or officials at the command of reigning Emperors) of earlier time, such as the Shiji (Records of the Historian) and Hanshu (History of the Former Han), do not have a special chapter recording singularly the recluses; however, the two Standard Histories do keep some records of such people. In particular, the chapter of ‘Boyi laizhu’ in the Shiji, and the chapter of ‘Wang Gong Liang Gong Bao zhu’ in the Hanshu contain more recluses than the other chapters, but the description of these recluses tends to be fleeting, besides, the recluses mentioned often are not the central characters of the biographies. For example, in the Shiji, to unfold the life story of the aristocrat Wei Wujing, the compiler has laconically treated four talented Recluses (Hou Ying, Zhu Hua, Mao Gong and Xue Gong) awaiting a serving opportunity made their appearance. In the Hanshu, the semi- Recluse Zhang Zhao was mentioned simply because he was the son of Zhang Shihua, one of the main characters of that chapter.
I. THE SIX WIVES OF THE ‘YIMIN’ IN FAN YE’S WRITINGS

What defines the twenty-six Recluses or ‘Yimin’ as a group is that they all refused to serve the Imperial court of the Eastern Han dynasty, some protested against the new rule of Wang Mang (45 BC-23 AD), many simply preferred to lead a less public life at the periphery of the Han bureaucratic world. Out of a total of twenty-six recluses, fifteen of them were reported to be offered official appointments but declined. The remaining eleven held no official posts either. All of them opted to live from the land (farming, selling cows and herbs, hunting wild birds or rabbits) or lead a scholarly existence (teaching, studying and writing); in short, they declined an official career, preferring instead a simple life.

Quiet their lives may have been but this did not automatically mean living in physical isolation. Only eleven, (less than a half) lived in the mountains, and even here, they were accompanied by their family. Some were within reach of a city or marketplace. Nor did a Recluse cut off human intercourse and live in total isolation. Instead they had an active social life. Fan Ye records the presence of friends, neighbours and disciples, along with parents, siblings, children and wives. For example, Gao Feng mediated disputes between quarrelling neighbours. Liang Hong and Feng Meng interacted with friends. Xu Fang, Li Ziyun, Gao Feng and Fa Zhen had hundreds and thousands of disciples who followed and lived near them. Dai Liang was said to be a filial and attentive son, at the same time, a responsible father who educated well his five daughters and married them off. Similarly, although Xiang Zhang preferred a simple life, he educated well his five daughters and married them off. He dismissed the imperial heir, declared himself as Emperor, and founded the Xin dynasty (9-23).

For more information about the reasons of these Recluses for their refusal to serve, see Tan Soon Cheng, ‘To Serve or Not to Serve: A Study of Han Recluses’, and also the thesis of Tan Soon Cheng, ‘To Serve or Not to Serve: Recluses of the Han, Wei and Jin Periods’.

The twenty-six persons are the Two Old Men 高王 two old men, Xiang Zhang 向長, Wang Jungong 王君公, Jing Dan 靖丹, Xu Fang 許方, Li Ziyun 李子雲, Wang Ba 王巴, Ba Xian 巴賢, Jiao Shen 邕舍, Liang Hong 梁鴻, Ma Yao 馬瑤, Dai Liang 戴良, Xu Yuanzhi 徐元之所, Yin Mo 殷謨, Wang Ba 王霸, Fan Ye 范蠡, Li Ziyun 李子雲, Ma Yao 馬瑤, Tai Tong 台佟, Yan Guang/ Yan Zun 楊光, Gao Feng 高鳳, Wang Ba 王霸, and Pang Gong 潘公.

Most of these Recluses were within reach of a city or marketplace, and did not lead a completely isolated life. Some even had parts of the Han bureaucratic world around them. Xiang Zhang, for example, had lived in the court of Chang An and had quite a few benevolent friends at court. In the case of the wife of Liang Hong, we learn nothing about her physical appearance, character or background; yet from the few lines that Fan Ye devotes to her, we get as distinctive an impression of her as we have of her husband. He records one occasion when she admonished her husband for being so preoccupied with his studies that he forgot to take care of some wheat laid out to dry. The fact that Gao Feng agreed to help his wife and accepted her rebuke shows that there existed a real partnership between them inside the domestic household.

Fan Ye’s account of the wife of Liang Hong, by comparison, is a lot more detailed. Not only are we told her name Meng Gang 孟光 (light or brightness) or De Yao 德耀 (dazzling virtue) but we know her age (thirty), her physical appearance (plump, ugly, tanned, strong), her family background, her character and her ambition. She also emerges as someone with a mind of her own. She was determined to marry Liang Hong, she made known her wish to her husband, respecting his decisions, and accepted his commands as if from her own husband.

In the case of the wife of the Recluse Gao Feng, we learn nothing about her physical appearance, character or background; yet from the few lines that Fan Ye devotes to her, we get as distinctive an impression of her as we have of her husband. He records one occasion when she admonished her husband for being so preoccupied with his studies that he forgot to take care of some wheat laid out to dry. The fact that Gao Feng agreed to help his wife and accepted her rebuke shows that there existed a real partnership between them inside the domestic household.

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The wife of Pang Gong is referred to more than once, but no clear picture of her as a person emerges. We do know that she and her husband farmed, respected one another and gathered herbs on Mount Lu Men 卢门山 and then eventually simply disappeared. Yet in spite of the meager information available about her, one can still conclude that she shared her husband’s life to a significant degree. She had other merits, too. If her husband’s friends appeared unannounced, and if Pang Gong was not at home, she accepted their commands as if from her own husband.

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wanted to roam mountains with his best friend, he postponed the long for activity until all his children were grown up and well settled down. Out of a total of twenty-six, there were only two celibates, Tai Tong and Jiao Shen who also chose to live in a cave, however, they were visited by officials who came to persuade them to accept posts, or they received letters inviting them to serve.

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her parents, Liang Hong was agreeable, and duly she was married to Liang Hong. Seven days after the marriage, when she realized that her husband refused to talk to her, she insisted on finding out the reason for his displeasure. On learning that the way she dressed was too ostentatious for his liking, she immediately adopted more modest attire. In her support for her husband, she did not waver, from the time when he first decided to live on Mount Ba Ling 新陵山, through the later years when he moved to the land of Wu 魏, until his death. Like the other wives of Recluses, Liang Hong’s wife farmed and wove to support the family. However, her participation in her husband’s Reclusive way of life involved more: he included her in his literary or aesthetic activities, such as reciting poems, reading classics, or playing musical instruments. Fan Ye drew particular attention to her extremely respectful manner towards Liang Hong at meal times.35 Although Liang Hong’s wife complied with the wishes of her husband, she cannot be viewed as a submissive wife: she initiated the marriage, she spoke out about her “cold” treatment and she took matters into her own hands to remedy the situation.

Lastly, the wife of the Recluse Wang Ba is particularly noteworthy. The treatment of her differs significantly from that of the other wives since Fan Ye records her in a separate chapter entitled ‘Lienü zhuan 列女傳 (The Biographies of Exemplary Women).36 Amongst the women recorded, Wang Ba’s wife appears second on the list.37

Leaving aside the questions of whether the women were ranked according to their merits, and what criteria the women were ranked, the fact that Fan accorded her – and uniquely her amongst the wives of Recluses – a place in the ‘Lienü zhuan’, independent of her husband, whereas the rest of the wives only made their debut conveniently at the time when the husbands were mentioned, signifies her special standing. The way Fan Ye presents her is also distinctively unlike the rest. Although her background remains obscure (her parentage was unknown), her thoughts and character are nevertheless clearly depicted. Besides managing the household, in common with the rest of the recluses’ wives, she was wise, had her own opinion and moral courage and offered sound advice to her husband. When a friend of high social status visited them with his equally prosperous son, Wang Ba felt a sense of inferiority both for himself and his own son. After the visit, discouragement and confused, Wang Ba took to his bed but his wife reminded him of his contempt for fame and riches, whereupon he recovered his spirits, and both he and his wife resumed their reclusive way of life.

All twenty-six Recluses led very frugal lives; they had to labour to earn their living.4 Yet, none of their wives objected to the life their husbands had chosen. Indeed, not only did they remain with their husbands in spite of the hardship, they gave their husbands strong practical support and in the case of Wang Ba’s wife, significant moral support, too. She, in fact, adhered more firmly to her husband’s choice of life, while her husband, momentarily lost courage. Although the existence of the other two wives, the wife of Feng Meng and Xiang Zhang is assumed, what we could gather from the records is that, they, too, did not leave their husbands to their hiding in the mountains, or at a remote corner. In this sense they could be considered equally supportive.

II. THE CHANGING REPRESENTATIONS OF RECLUSES’ WIVES

A century before Fan Ye, Huangfu Mi 黃甫謐 (215-282) and Ji Kang 景仰 (223262?) also had their collections of recluses. In Gaoshi zhuang高士傳 (The Biographies of Noble Scholars),49 Huangfu Mi 黃甫謐 referred to ninety-nine recluses, the wives of ten of whom were mentioned. Of the ten wives, five (the wife of Laolai 老萊子, Lieyukou 列禦寇, Chenzhongzi 陳仲子, Liang Hong 梁鸿, Pang Gong 森公) were described in some details. All except one (the wife of Lieyukou) supported their husbands’ decision not to serve,49 or persuaded the husbands to resist the temptation to serve. Let’s look at the four of them:

The wife of Laolai 老萊子, in particular, was a lady of strong character. Not only she did not

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35 “Wei jushi, bugan yu Hong qiao yangshi, ju’an qimei” 為其舍，不敢於鴻前仰視，居安問便 she raise whatever she was supposed to serve up to eyebrow level, and she dared not lift up her head to look straight into her husband’s eye.

36 This chapter is, in fact, a new category of biographies, which is nowhere to be found in the Shi ji or Hanshu, a creation uniquely Fan Ye’s.

37 The first on the list is the wife of Bao Xuan 鯁玄.

38 Only Zhou Dang was wealthy; but he gave away all his property and money, to be distributed among his clans; Dai Liang’s great grandfather was rich, but there was no description of riches in his account. Wang Ba stayed in a shabby hut; the poverty of Xiang Zhang and Feng Meng were stated plainly by Fan Ye.

39 The text that this article studies is: Huangfu Mi 黃甫謐 (AD 215-282), ‘Gaoshi zhuang 高士傳 (The Biographies of Noble Scholars), in Yong Rong, Ji Yun 永瑢, 纪昀 (1724-1895) (comp.), Jingyin wenyuanque quanshu 联英文澜阁全书 (Photofacsimile reprint of the Wenyuan Pavilion copy of the Siku Imperial Library) Vol. 448 (Taiwan: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), 87-113.

40 The wife of Lieyukou 列禦寇 was unhappy when her husband refused to accept the gifts from the Prime Minister Zi Yang 子陽 who was at that time in power in the state of Zheng 鄭. Lieyukou had to explain to her why he rejected the gift. He told his wife that he did not want to be involved in or associated with Zi Yang. Zi Yang was eventually killed by the people of Zheng, together with all his supporters and subordinates. Lieyukou was proven to be wise in his decision.
complain about the hard life that the pair of them led, she labored hard to support both of them. Laolaizi farmed while she went out to gather wood. When she discovered that the King of Chu had persuaded her husband to serve at Court, she told him that by serving he would be putting himself under someone’s control, something that she would never allow to happen to herself. She immediately made preparations to leave, whereupon her husband decided to join her. They went into hiding in the South, thereby successfully escaping the attention of the Court. The account ends with her merit being praised by Confucius.

The wife of Chenzhongzi was another lady who deserves our attention. The King of Chu came to invite her husband to serve as a prime minister, whereupon her husband sought her opinion. She replied that in his present situation, surrounded by music and books, he was happy. To accept an official appointment in exchange for material comfort, would result in his being burdened with the problems of the state, and leaving him vulnerable to danger, which was not at all worthwhile. Her husband took her advice and they contrived to simply vanish.

Huangfu Mi’s accounts of the wives of Liang Hong and Pang Gong are similar to those of Fan Ye. However, Huangfu Mi made no mention of Wang Ba’s wife, to whom special tribute had been paid by Fan Ye. In addition to these four samples, Shihu zhi nong and Lu Tong were also accompanied by their wives when they went into Reclusion. With the one exception of Lieyukou’s wife, all six wives fully supported their husbands’ decision, and all played a significant role in their husbands’ Reclusive lives.

It should be pointed out that out of these six reclusive couples, at least four couples (Laolaizi, Chenzhongzi, Shihu zhi nong and Lu Tong) were semi-legendary figures from pre-Han period, whose actual existence has not been conclusively proven and they may, in fact, be idealised Recluses on the part of Huangfu Mi rather than real persons. The opposite seems true for the remaining two, the wives of Liang Hong and Pang Gong, whose life stories reappeared, similar in many ways, in Fan Ye’s accounts. If we exclude those semi-legendary figures, it seems that Fan Ye’s portrayal of Recluses’ wives coincides pretty much with that of Huangfu Mi. No matter which category that they belong to, whether idealised figures or real persons, such as Liang Hong and Pang Gong, their wives are mentioned and depicted. Some of the wives, notably the legendary ones, for example, the wife of Laolaizi and Chenzhongzi, even took leading role and exerted considerable influence.

41 Lu Tong’s account in Huangfu Mi’s accounts and crazy Jie Yu’s account in Ji Kang’s accounts are the same person.
42 The accounts of the wives of these two recluses are very brief. The wives were mentioned, but no description about them was given.

Ji Kang’s collection of recluses is slimmer: his *Shengxian Gaoshi zhuang* (The Biographies of the Sages, the Goods and the Nobles) contains sixty-nine recluses.
43 Five wives (those of Shihu zhi nong, 石戶之農, crazy Jie Yu, 狂接輿, Sima Xiangru, 司馬相如, Shang Zhang, 尚長, and Gao Feng, 高鳳) are described. All are described as sharing their husbands’ reclusive life. The first two are semi-legendary, while the wife of the third, Sima Xiangru, is a familiar figure in historical and literary texts. Even though it is debatable whether Sima Xiangru can qualify as a Recluse, as he did not eschew an official career, his wife did leave her rich father, to elope with him, and went through a period of hardship with him, selling wine and waiting on customers to help support him. The accounts of the wives of Shang Zhang, 尚長, and Gao Feng are similar to those of Fan Ye. The wife of Feng Meng though mentioned by Fan Ye, is absent from the accounts of both Huangfu Mi and Ji Kang.

Disregarding these minor differences, the accounts of Ji Kang, Huangfu Mi and Fan Ye are alike: all three pay some attention to the wives. Whereas legendary Recluses are included by Huangfu Mi and Ji Kang, that was not the case for Fan Ye. As idealised figures give way to real-life persons, and fictionalised accounts are replaced by factual ones, we become more and more convinced that real wives existed who did help shape the reclusive life of their husbands.

Lastly, the *Taiping Yulan* (Imperially reviewed encyclopedia of the Taiping era) compiled by Li Fang 李昉 (925–996)44 contains records of Recluses as well. The wives of three Han Recluses appear in the records: the wives of Yang Hou, 胡昭, and Hu Zhao, 胡昭, Except for the wife of Hu Zhao, Huan, who was abandoned, the other two wives are portrayed positively. In order to force Yang Hou to accept office, an official imprisoned Yang Hou’s wife. To be used as a hostage implies that she must have been dear to her husband and we can assume that she shared her husband’s reclusive life, at least before being seized as a hostage.

The representation of the wife of Zhang Feng is similar to that of Liang Hong’s wife in Fan Ye’s *Yimin liezhuan*. Equally well-endowed with material possession, the two wives

43 The text that this article studies is Ji Kang’s *Yimin liezhuan* (223-262?), ‘Shengxian Gaoshi zhuang’ (The Biographies of the Sages, the Goods and the Nobles) in Gu Tinglong’s *Shengxian Gaoshi zhuang* (1904-1998) (comp.). Xuxiu siku quanshu (925–996) contains records of Recluses as well. The wives of three Han Recluses appear in the records: the wives of Yang Hou, 胡昭, and Hu Zhao, 胡昭. Except for the wife of Hu Zhao, Huan, who was abandoned, the other two wives are portrayed positively. In order to force Yang Hou to accept office, an official imprisoned Yang Hou’s wife. To be used as a hostage implies that she must have been dear to her husband and we can assume that she shared her husband’s reclusive life, at least before being seized as a hostage.

44 The name Shang Zhang, 尚長, in Ji Kang’s account differs from the name Xiang Zhang, 向長, in Fan Ye’s accounts.
45 It is a gigantic classified book or encyclopedia, known as ‘leishu’ 謐書 from the Chinese system of classification of books. See Li Fang (925–996) (comp.), *Taiping Yulan* (Imperially reviewed encyclopedia of the Taiping Era) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998).
In short, Fan Ye’s accounts demonstrate clearly how these wives lived with their Recluse husbands in their quiet, unostentatious havens, how they coped with their day-to-day problems, and how they supported their husbands’ decision to refuse a Court post. Their values also come through when we see what they were - or were not - willing to give up. And in discovering these hidden lives, as recorded by Fan Ye, we have the added advantage of seeing their light illuminate further aspects of their husbands’ lives, too: we catch a glimpse of wife and husband working hard and harmoniously together, enjoying the spiritual world of literature and music, discussing their worries or solving their problem, and raising and educating the children. Without these remarkable women, we wonder how much substance of the reclusive lives of their husbands would be lost, and how hollow and incomplete their lives would seem.

III. CONCLUSION

Although some accounts of Recluses’ wives tend to be sketchy or contain more legend than fact, the truth of the matter remains that historian or writers (Huangfu Mi, Ji Kang, and Fan Ye) began to pay attention to the wives of Recluses. The degree of significance of the wives varies case by case. Gao Feng’s spouse, for example, was in charge of the practical aspects of family life, whereas the wife of Liang Hong and that of Wang Ba featured more prominently in their husband’s spiritual lives. In comparison, the wives of yet other Recluses such as those of Pang Gong, Dai Liang, and Zhou Dang; may have played a relatively more modest role, yet, they remained inseparable from their husbands’ reclusive lives. In every instance, therefore, the presence of the wives is undeniable. Furthermore, the two wives found in the accounts of Ban Gu are nameless, not described, or even abandoned by her Recluse husband (the wife of Mei Fu); in contrast, the wives referred to by Fan Ye can never be dismissed as unimportant. They might still be nameless, and lack detailed description, but none of them suffered the same fate as Meifu’s wife.
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Appendix

Table: Wives of Recluses Mentioned in the Four Accounts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Account</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>No Supportive</th>
<th>Not Supportive</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yimin liezhuan</strong> (逸民列傳) (The Biographies of the Yimin) in Fan Ye’s Hou hanshu (History of the Later Han)</td>
<td>Wife mentioned (nonlegendary): Zou Bang, Liang Hong, Gao Feng, Pang Gong, Dai Liang, Wang Ba</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Huangfu Mi’s Gaoshi zhuan</strong> (高士傳) (The Biographies of Noble Scholars)</td>
<td>Wife mentioned (nonlegendary): Liang Hong, Jiang Gong and his two brothers, Pang Gong</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Husband’s existence assumed (non-legendary): Feng Meng, Xiang Zhang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td><strong>Ji Kang’s Shengxian Gaoshi Gaoshi zhuan</strong> (聖賢高士傳) (The Biographies of the Sages, the Goods and the Nobles)</td>
<td>Wife mentioned (nonlegendary): Shihu zhi nong, Lu Tong, Laolaizi, Lieyukou, Chenzhongzi</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wife mentioned (legendary): Shihu zhi nong, The Madman, Jie Yuc</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Li Fang’s Taiping Yulan</strong> (太平御覽) (Imperially reviewed encyclopedia of the Taiping era)</td>
<td>Wife mentioned (nonlegendary): Yang Hou, Zhang Feng, Hu Zhao</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The wife of Hu Zhao was abandoned</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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