ANTI-ORTHODOX STYLES AND THE CHARISMATIC
TRADITION IN CHINA AS REVEALED IN THREE POPULAR
NOVELS

by

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The three popular novels under consideration reveal that
1) Anti-orthodox political styles were a salient feature of social life in China during the period 1400-1800 A.D.
2) These styles exhibit both continuity and cohesion on the one hand, and development and change on the other.
3) It is possible to subsume all these anti-orthodox political styles under the heading "charismatic"--a charismatic tradition or ideal or counterculture.
4) The development of this charismatic tradition has continued unbroken up to the present and has contributed much to the modern Chinese revolution.

The thesis develops and tests these propositions and attempts to describe the various Chinese anti-orthodox styles mentioned.

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Nothing is further from the truth than the picture of China as a calm, unchanging, smiling land suddenly transformed into a blazing inferno by the flaming torch of twentieth-century social and nationalist revolutions; of China as an amiable giant, torn from three thousand years of somnolence amidst gracious works of art, sophisticated customs, and mystical wisdom, by the shrill call to arms of foreign emissaries and agitators. For just as false as that other legend of her immobility and impassivity is the extremely tenacious legend of the social harmony that prevailed in the old China. If even a minimum of objectivity is to be attained when speaking of tradition and revolution in China, it will be necessary first to rid ourselves of the tissue of falsehoods arising from gross ignorance and deep-seated prejudice.

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

As Professor Balazs indicates, social harmony was indeed a primary goal of the dominant political, social, and economic element of traditional China throughout the period of Confucianism -- from the second century B.C. to the beginning of the twentieth century A.D. In that long stretch of time, Confucian values and styles held center stage, both in Chinese life and in the eyes of later historians. Professor Balazs points out that the goal of social harmony was not easily attained, and suggests in forceful terms that the disorderly, sometimes violent non- or anti-Confucian side of traditional China is a proper subject for study.

This anti-Confucian or anti-orthodox aspect of China's history was not simply a matter of sporadic outbreaks of senseless violence, however\(^1\). This study attempts to identify and characterize certain specific anti-orthodox political styles which exhibit respectable degrees of saliency, cohesion and articulation, and suggests on that basis that these styles form a single overarching style or culture or ideal or tradition which may be said to have existed and functioned as a polar opposite and competitor of Confucian orthodoxy over a long period of time. Chinese history may be seen from this vantage point as a long and agonizing, but eventually successful effort to unseat Confucian styles and institutions from their position as the dominant factors in all aspects of public and private life\(^2\). Although our investigation will focus on the Ming and early Ch'ing dynasties, there seems every
reason to suggest that the history of modern China has been significantly affected by this indigenous tradition of anti-orthodoxy as well as by the more obvious non-Chinese radical styles imported from the West; and, in fact, we will suggest that the continuity between "traditional" and "modern" China in this respect is greater than is often assumed.

There is in Chinese anti-orthodoxy, it would seem, a pronounced element of continuity over time\(^3\). There is also, however, a developmental aspect which is perhaps even more striking. That is, while we feel it is possible and useful to speak of a single tradition of anti-orthodoxy, we also feel that some different aspects of that tradition (which we outline below) mark developmental stages, and the stages culminate in the successful Chinese revolution of the twentieth century. The investigation below will concentrate on delineating both factors, continuity and development.

Early in the consideration of the best way of investigating and presenting these ideas, it became clear that one especially useful source of information on anti-orthodoxy was Chinese popular literature. Virtually all other sources relating to traditional China -- memorials to the emperor, histories, encyclopedias, the classics, local gazetteers and notebooks, etc. -- are official or quasi-official in function and thus consciously advocate Confucian values and pointedly derogate or ignore heterodox values. Popular literature, by contrast, sprang from a much freer milieu, mostly in association with the folkish storytelling tradition and the middle class of the towns\(^4\). It was often regarded by Confucian censors as positively subversive in nature.
Within the rather broad field of popular literature, however, three prominent novels seemed to exhibit the consistency and development of anti-orthodoxy to a striking degree. Thus we have singled out these novels -- three of the most popular and influential works of fiction in Chinese cultural history, as it happens -- as both embodiments and expressions of the most important challenges made by the tradition of anti-orthodoxy to Confucianism. These three novels are the Shui-hu Chuan (水浒传) usually translated The Water Margin, but more imaginatively All Men are Brothers by Pearl Buck), dating from about 1450; the Chin P'ing Mei (金瓶梅), which first appeared about 1600; and the Hung Lou Meng (红楼梦 or Dream of the Red Chamber), written about 1750.

The Shui-hu is the most primitive of the three as a work of literature, but no less useful as a source of social and political information because of this. Contemporary analysts of Chinese literature have noted that the earliest long fictional works are the most episodic, appearing almost as a collection of separate stories about figures already somewhat familiar as folk heroes. The Shui-hu tales deal with warrior-heroes who become outlaws and rebels, the connecting thread between them being their gradual coalescence into a rebel band in a mountain-and swamp stronghold. The story has it that these rebels are loyal to the emperor (Hui-Tsung of the Sung, 1101-1126 A.D.), but become alienated from the Confucian bureaucracy and forced into bani-try and rebellion by the acts of corrupt and vicious ministers and officials. The basic 71-chapter version ends with the band's having completed its formation at the magic number of 108 rebel chiefs; other
longer versions tell of later adventures and the eventual destruction of the heroic band through ministerial treachery.

The plot of *Chin P'ing Mei* is taken from an episode of the *Shui-hu* involving the hero Wu Sung. In the *Shui-hu*, Wu Sung's brother is married to a scheming, sex-starved vixen named Golden Lotus (P'an Chin-lien -- the "Chin" of the title) who has an affair with an ambitious merchant names Hsi-Men Ch'ing. In the later novel, Hsi-Men Ch'ing becomes the central figure of the action, and this household of six wives (including Golden Lotus) becomes the scene of a fairly sensational tale of pornography, sentimentality and domestic intrigue, of which the most immediately noteworthy aspect is the prominence of women.

The third novel we will consider, the *Hung Lou Meng*, represents the culmination of the genre of novels of family life. It is justly famous both in China and in the West for its sensitive portrayal of a young scion of a highly placed mandarin family of the early Ch'ing dynasty. This Chia Pao-yü is a very special sort of person, one who is clearly meant to represent in his own character a challenge to the Confucian world around him. The action of the novel revolves around a special compound in the family mansion in Peking where Pao-yü and his female cousins live. Pao-yü and his cousin Black Jade fall in love, but the family matriarch decrees they shall not marry, and Black Jade dies of a broken heart. The love story seems less important, however, than the character and the role of Pao-yü, which exhibit some strong anti-orthodox characteristics which we will examine below.
We plan to use the early novel of anti-orthodoxy, the *Shui-hu*, to expound our major hypotheses concerning anti-orthodoxy and the two later novels to further elucidate and "test" these hypotheses. Although *Chin P'ing Mei* lies closer in time to the *Shui-hu* than it does to *Hung Lou Meng*, thematically it is closer to *Hung Lou Meng*, and we will treat these two later novels together. We will find that there are some remarkably similar and interesting anti-orthodox themes in all three of these novels. We will start the substantive part of this study with a chapter on the *Shui-hu*, describing what we call the sexual fraternal, and eschatological challenges to Confucian orthodoxy made by the rebel bandits. The next three chapters, on the two later novels, will not be organized into sections on the three challenges, however. One chapter will discuss the individual characters of the two later novels as they relate to the three challenges, the second will discuss the significant groupings of the characters in relation to the challenges, and the third will attempt to relate the challenges to certain forces and modes (in literary terms, plot devices) operating in the later novels. The purpose of this "cross-cutting" structure of exposition and analysis is to see if the three challenges hypothetically derived from the *Shui-hu* also arise spontaneously and conspicuously from the later novels; it is our hypothesis that they do, of course.

But to make this clearer we must discuss in more detail the methodological problems involved in a social-scientific inquiry into literature. We have said enough already to inform the reader that we are
making no attempt at conducting a fully empirical inquiry. Quantitative (content) analysis has proved useful in limited ways, but we think it obvious that to ask such a methodology to reflect the breadth and subtlety of a great Chinese novel would simply be too much. But at the same time we must provide something more reliable and systematic than mere literary analysis or "free-hand" insight. We introduce here several aspects of the study which we feel will provide the needed system and rigor without sacrificing power of insight.

First, we plan to restrict our data for consideration strictly to what can be easily and incontrovertibly seen in the novels themselves. We will make judgments about the novels and interpret the material in them, but will attempt to let the novels shape the generalizations, not vice versa. We will proceed inductively from the data in the novels. That is, we will generate several hypotheses (the three challenges) from the data in Shui-hu. Then we will attempt to see if in considering the qualities of the individual characters and the groupings similar hypotheses arise. In the concluding chapters, we will proceed to make limited generalizations from the information developed concerning the challenges. We will summarize our observations concerning the difference between the "early" Shui-hu stage, the "middle" stage of the Chin P'ing Mei, and the "late" stage of Hung Lou Meng, and relate the various themes thus identified to the historical development of anti-orthodoxy in China.

Having stated this general scheme, we should now discuss at greater length certain more specific aspects or problems of methodology and definition. First, the whole question of the relation of fictional
reality to "real" reality. It was Clifford Geertz who perhaps most forcefully suggested to political scientists and other social scientists not only that literature could be mined for social information but that there might well be methodological approaches which could put to good use the critical insights and techniques of literary critics and theorists. In this _locus classicus_ Geertz cited Kenneth Burke's observation that a poem or other symbol is a form of action, a real response to symbolic terms to a situation confronting the poet. It is this conviction that the symbol or artistic work is somehow as real as the reality of what it presents or refers to that has emboldened us to attempt to draw as much as we plan to about Chinese society from a few novels. In specific terms, our intent is to regard the novelistic universes created by the various authors as internally consistent, "real" systems which contain what we want to know. Thus we will not concern ourselves with questions of the author's intent or the "real" circumstances of the author's life as something apart from the novel he wrote until the final chapters of this study when we try to relate the novelistic countercultures to historical China. We will accept an author's views as expressed indirectly through the views of his novel's characters as valid even if in another sense we know they are historically distorted. Only in this way can we attempt to bring system and rigor to the analysis of literature.

Let us give an example to show the importance of this viewpoint. A problem of "conflicting realities" is presented in _Hung Lou Meng_. It is made clear to the reader before the main action of the story has
even begun that the protagonist Chia Pao-yu is supposed to be a supernatural figure. In the story, this serves to give Pao-yu a special quality which exempts him from the social obligations to conform to orthodox morality. A character is introduced into the beginning of the story for the sole purpose of having this special quality of Pao-yu's explained to him, and to us:

I think he (Pao-yu) probably represents one of those exceptional beings who are born under a special set of circumstances and who are not generally appreciated .......... Generally speaking, Heaven and Earth endow the generality of men with the same mediocre qualities, so that one is hardly distinguishable from another. Not so, however, in the rare instances of the Exceptionally Good and the Exceptionally Evil that flash through the pages of history.....

Today, under our divine sovereign, peace and prosperity reign, and the Perfect Norm is exemplified everywhere. There is, in fact, an overabundance of this Norm..... On the other hand, there is no place under the clear sky and bright sun for the Deviations from the Norm.....

It is under these special circumstances that the usual type I spoke of before comes into being. This represents the embodiment of a new force, the result of a union of traces of the Norm and its Deviations. Men of this type have neither enough of the one to become sages and wise men nor enough of the other to work havoc and destruction on the world. Instead, they become romantic figures if born to position and wealth, or poets and hermits if born into bookish families in modest circumstances. Even if born into poverty and lowness, they achieve distinction as actors or courtiers.

It is clear that the author here is doing several things. Most conspicuously he is identifying himself, a wealthy bohemian, with the heaven-sent Pao-yu, and we are enabled to realize form the start that the novel is an autobiographical one. That is, Ts'ao Hsueh-ch' in is describing in very direct terms an aspect of his society and claiming special merit for this aspect even though -- or perhaps because -- it refuses to conform to accepted standards of morality. This might seem
a valuable thing to extract from the novel and place prominently in one's thesis as a nugget of insight. In this study, however, we must speculate about the relations of the characters to the writer or to real life, and describe and analyze as systematically as we can the function of such a character as Pao-yu in the action of the novel. Thus from a character as Pao-yu in the action of the novel. Thus from the same passage we would conclude, without even reading further, that 1) The action of the novel will revolve around this central figure; 2) Pao-yu's exceptional qualities will determine the dénouement to the novel; 3) an important part of the novel will serve to justify the opposition to orthodoxy exemplified by Pao-yu; 4) this attempt to legitimate anti-orthodoxy will be veiled in standardized, even sycophantic praise of the establishment ("our divine sovereign..."); 5) amount the elements of the establishment are sages, wise men, and those "who work havoc and destruction on the world," while among the anti-orthodox elements are "romantic figures," poets, hermits, actors, and courtesans. No doubt the list of warranted conclusions could be extended. Our point is that there is a sufficiency of material on anti-orthodoxy available within the circumscribed universe of the novel, and that conclusions may be directly and firmly drawn within this framework without venturing (until the concluding chapters) to speculate about "real" life or the author's experience with it.

There is the real society; then there is the fictional society created by the writer. Of the relationship between these elements, Sir Philip Sidney said,
[Of all those who work with ideas] only the poet, disdaining to be tied to any ... subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow [i.e. produce] in effect, another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or quite new forms that never were in nature, as the heroes, demigods, Cyclops, Chimeras, Furies, and such like; so he goes hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the zodiac of his own wit

By restricting our initial inquiries and hypotheses to the realms delimited by the actual content of the novels, we gain not only in system, that is, but in insight, since we are seeing not "nature", but nature heightened by the perceptive imagination of the artist. In speaking of Chinese fiction, J.L. Bishop has put it this way:

The reader of fiction ... wishes not only to be diverted by "lies like truth" but to be edified by a personal vision of truth seen through the medium of lies or fictions.

It may be worth mentioning here that there would seem to be a number of ways of approaching literature within these structures. Professor Balazs has spoken of the valuable insights provided by the little fable of the Yellow Millet Dream:

The story is remarkable, because it contains the dream of happiness shared by all Chinese, and expresses it with the utmost conciseness yet without leaving out a single salient feature. It is as if the writer had striven to put all his experience into a nutshell, and in so doing, he has summarized two thousand years of history...

Perhaps he would agree with the appreciation of the insightfulness to be gained into a society through the study of its myths expressed by Claude Levi-Strauss:

I ... claim to show, not how men think in myths, but how myths operate in men's minds.
Because of their high saliency in Chinese cultural history, it may be that our novels are myths of a sort, and have the kind of reality and autonomy that Levi-Strauss somewhat mystically attributes to them. It behooves us to keep in mind the basic assumption that for our purposes the novelistic universes are real ones.\footnote{15}

As a complement to the basic guideline set above, that we will confine ourselves as nearly as possible to the material clearly visible in the novels, we should set ourselves another basic limitation consistent with our purpose: we will not attempt to explain so much as we will to describe. That is, this is a limited sort of inquiry. It attempts to avoid the most important and difficult questions of explanation of Chinese political behavior in favor of merely presenting certain correlations and the implications that flow from them. Specifically, we will use, as do Pye\footnote{16} and Solomon\footnote{17}, for example, the concepts of culture and political culture, but we will do so in a much more limited fashion than they do, attempting to answer the questions "What?" "When?" and "How?" more than "Why?"

To explain more fully the role we want the culture concept to play in this study, we must turn briefly to certain recent anthropological studies which have raised the question of how rigorously the term "culture" may be defined and how it may best be used as an ethnographic tool. C. Valentine in a theoretical work\footnote{18} and Elliot Liebow in an ethnography of poor American black men\footnote{19} have suggested that it is both accurate and insightful to limit the explanatory burden the concept of culture has to carry. Valentine first isolates the "three
aspects of the culture concept [which] make it a great idea: "its universalism -- the stipulation that all men have cultures; its focus on organization -- the coherence and structure shown by all cultures; and its "recognition of man's creativity, in that "each culture is a collective product of human effort, feeling, and thought." These aspects can represent "much of the anthropological response to our awareness of astonishing differences among mutually exotic groups of mankind, their works, and their ways.... Each set of lifeways, despite its singularity, becomes intelligible as one member of the total class of phenomena known as cultures."^{20}

In this study we will attempt to describe what might be thought of as particular Chinese subcultures which are characteristically involved in challenges to Confusian orthodoxy. But in reality there is considerable doubt whether the behavior or values described in a novel may be said to form a whole cohesive or integrated enough to be considered a true subculture. In the context of studies of lower-class behavior in contemporary America, H. Lewis has suggested that "it is probably more fruitful to think of lower class families reacting in various ways to the facts of their position and to relative isolation rather than to the imperatives of lower class culture^{21}". In some of the cases we will consider below, we will want to conclude that the social configuration under consideration should be designated a subculture, with "an integrity of its own," and in some cases not, the latter cases reflecting merely "the cultural model of the larger society" as seen from a certain perspective^{22}. 
Partly for this reason we have decided that our key organizing term should not be "culture" but "style." The latter term has certain advantages. It does not pre-judge the question of whether or not a social configuration is a full-fledged culture or subculture, but it is more specific than the term "configuration." But "style" has usefulness quite apart from the culture question. In making a study of social configurations the question must arise as to what exactly is being studied. Is it behavior? Or attitudes? Or motivations? Or ideas? Or ideologies? -- the list could be a long one. We suggest that the term "style" is a useful one because it enables us to implement a policy of "benign neglect" of this question. That is, when speaking of anti-orthodoxy, we want to speak to some extent of all the parameters mentioned above -- acts that are committed with anti-orthodox intent, ideologies which set themselves against orthodoxy, etc. Exactly which element is uppermost is not always relevant, just as the degree of cohesiveness is not always a matter of primary interest to our investigation. We prefer to assume that there is sufficient cohesiveness to enable use of a general designating word, and also sufficient overlap between the various aspects or parameters involved to enable use of an inclusive or non-specific term, and "style" would seem to be the appropriate choice. In any case, we will at several points in the study want to ask ourselves which styles deserve the name "culture" and which do not.

We will also have recourse to another ethnographic paradigm below. F. Kluckhohn suggests the importance of not assuming that a culture
under investigation is unitary or homogeneous. It may be more accurate
to distinguish between a "dominant" culture and one or more "variant"
cultures or subcultures existing in the same "ethnographic space." In
this study, we will find this conceptualization useful. We will assume
identity between the dominant culture and Confucian orthodoxy, and some
anti-orthodox styles will be considered equivalent to variant sub-cul-
tures.

Kluckhohn stresses that in some cases "variant values are .... not
only permitted, but actually required" by the dominant culture. "The
dynamic interplay of the dominant and the variant"\textsuperscript{24)} will be a promi-
inent, if often unspoken, theme of this study. We should be particularly
aware of Kluckhohn's implication that variant cultures may in some cases
serve to strengthen the dominant culture rather than harm it\textsuperscript{25)}. Some
of the anti-orthodox styles we stress in this study seem to have para-
doxically contributed to the long-term stability of the dominant cul-
ture as much as they have to any destabilizing effect. We must in this
connection also be explicit as to exactly how an anti-orthodox style
harms or threatens or challenges orthodoxy. Some anti-orthodox move-
ments or activities (such as rebellions) actually attempted to over-
throw the ruling government; other anti-orthodox styles made more sym-
-bolic challenges.

As we have just stated, we plan to assume that the dominant culture
may be most usefully defined by identifying it with the style of Con-
fucianism. Historically speaking, orthodoxy was more than the doctrines
of Confucius. The birth of the social-political system we call tradi-
tional China occurred with the unification of the "warring states" by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in the third century B.C., but the immediate replacement of Ch'in ideas and institutions by Han makes it clear that the orthodoxy of that time (which became an ideal for later generations of Confucianism) was in effect a miscegenation of a fairly odd sort between Ch'in Legalism and Han Confucianism²⁶). Later incorporation into Chinese institutions of Buddhist and Taoist elements²⁷) and the survival of somewhat jumbled pre-Confucian (or even pre-Chinese) religious elements²⁸) seem to have occurred in a way that affected all classes and all ideologies and received "feedback" from all classes and all ideologies. The new ideological disputations of the Sung and Ming which resulted in the new orthodoxy of Neo-Confucianism, and the influence of power politics on political institutions²⁹) tended to increase the eclecticism of orthodox Confucianism and all other viewpoints as well.

We should also note that a mere glance at the Tao Te Ching, the basic Taoist classic, will show that it is no less intended as a manual of governance and propriety for the elite than the Confucian Mencius or Hsun-Tzu. Similarly, the adoption of Buddhism and Taoism as established religions at various times might be said to indicate a subordination of the transcendental qualities of these religions to the goal of power and prestige and the role of orthodox ideology.

Moreover, it can be said that there are in Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and to some extent even in Legalism many elements which mitigate or even oppose the establishmentarian strains. For example, one
of the chief aspects of the political competition between groups, individuals and ideologies in any era of dynastic China was the fairly close formal identification conceded by all parties to the concepts "the will of heaven" and "the welfare of the people." The most salient expression of this was perhaps the mechanism of "the mandate of heaven,\textsuperscript{33}") which in some nebulous but effective way "operationalized" the idea that a new dynasty's legitimacy rested on Heaven's blessing as revealed through relative stability and prosperity of the world of the lao bai xing. In most eras, the chief basis for criticism of the emperor by his ministers was the Confucian tenet that the emperor's duty was to act for the good of the people; and, contrariwise, the emperor's theoretical basis for appeal above the heads of his ministers was his direct responsibility for the welfare of the whole nation.

Also, as we have implied above, the difference between "philosophical Taoism" (dao-jia道家) and the Taoist folk religion (dao-jiao道教) was an elite/popular one, which meant that there could be the Taoism of the dominant culture and also the Taoism of the counterculture.

We might note at this point also that there was one point on which all these ideologies (except perhaps Legalism at its most ruthless) agreed: the basis of a sound social and political order lay in the personal virtue of individuals rather than the excellence of social or political institutions. There is, furthermore, a widespread feeling among analysts of traditional China that, as Solomon puts it, "Both philosopher and peasant share common ideals of ....harmony.... and fear hunluan\textsuperscript{31}) (chaos). This indicates that there was some identification
of the idea of personal virtue with the idea of political stability. The relevance of these points lies simply in the insight they can give to the problem of rebellion versus revolution, or why dynastic change never brought radical social change -- until this century. If both "mandarin" and "rebel" agreed that the key factor in gaining heaven's mandate and establishing an order of justice and prosperity was the upright personal conduct of political protagonists, little incentive was provided for wide-ranging institutional reform\(^{32}\). To the extent that this reverence for personal virtue pervaded the counterculture, then, we may expect to find its opposition to orthodoxy diluted.

And there are many other facets of traditional China concerning which we may expect to find relatively little opposition between mandarin and rebel. Pye has stressed the critical importance for the shape of traditional political culture of the unanimous acceptance of the orthodox identification between strong paternalism in the family and a strong imperial domination of the polity. Anthropological studies by B. Ward\(^{33}\) have tended to give quasi-empirical support to this contention, and we may simply accept the fact that all social elements in traditional China existed in this paterfamilistic social-political mode and rarely questioned it. We might expect that this would not be a burning issue for the counterculture, but in our analysis below we will in fact find that this central Confucian tenet was directly challenged in some degree by each of our sources.

In general, then, it seems best for the limited purposes of this study to consider orthodoxy to be essentially Confucian and Confucianism to be entirely orthodox. How, then, do we define these terms of our purposes?
We have already mentioned some aspects of Confucianism above. Below we will supplement these by outlining the major challenges to orthodoxy presented in our source novels. That is, the points about Confucianism which seem to have attracted the most articulate opposition will be the salient features of Confucianism for this study.

We should still present some brief positive summary of the essence of the Confucian style in this introduction, however. Of the many useful summary descriptions already in the literature, we have chosen the following short list extracted by Arthur Wright from the Analects and titled by him "Approved [Confucian] Attitudes and Behavior Patterns:"

1. Submissiveness to authority -- parents, elders, and superiors.
2. Submissiveness to the mores and the norms (li)
3. Reverence for the past and respect for history
4. Love of traditional learning
5. Esteem for the force of example
6. Primacy of broad moral cultivation over specialized competence
7. Preference for nonviolent moral reform in state and society
8. Prudence, caution, preference for a middle course
9. Noncompetitiveness
10. Self-respect (with some permissible self-pity) in adversity
11. Courage and sense of responsibility for a great tradition
12. Exclusiveness and fastidiousness on moral and cultural grounds
13. Punctiliousness in treatment of others.
We submit that a mere glance at these characteristics is sufficient to establish the orthodox and establishmentarian nature of Confucianism. As for the styles of anti-orthodoxy, we would expect many of them to be antinomian -- that is, be consciously the opposite of the tenets of Confucian orthodoxy. As we will relate below, the major challenges visible in our sources are directed against the points numbered (1), (2), (8), and (9) above. This would imply that these aspects of Confucianism were seen as especially burdensome or arbitrary by spokesmen for various anti-orthodox traditions. These anti-orthodox traditions are also closely related in their opposition to roughly the same aspects of orthodoxy. Below we want to make clear the relations between the various anti-orthodox styles revealed in the novels and also the development of new or different styles over time.
CHAPTER 2

The Shui-hu Chuan

Ch'ao Kai said, "We good fellows of the mountain, ever since we killed Wang Lin, have always held first loyalty and propriety. We have always treated the common people with mercy and with righteousness. Whenever we go down the mountain we have never once lost our pure passion. All our brothers here on the mountain, whether newly come or here of old, have the demeanor of noblemen. But two [prisoners] have taken our fair name to go and steal fowls to eat and they have made us share their shame! Today then we will first kill these twain and we will hang their heads there by the burned inn for a sign to all men. I will myself take fighting men and horses and lay waste that village, so that our pure passion may not be lost."

--Pearl S. Buck, translator,
All Men Are Brothers, p. 846

A. Challenge and Charisma

As we have mentioned in the introduction, we feel that the novels we have chosen as our sources reveal certain common anti-orthodox styles despite their variety of subject matter and different periods of origin; but that alongside this factor of continuity there is also a factor of development, or creative change within the world of anti-orthodoxy. Most conspicuous of the common elements are the criticisms or challenges made to orthodoxy by all the novels, which, as we have said, may be defined as sexual, fraternal, and eschatological. In this chapter on the Shui-hu Chuan, we attempt to describe these three challenges in the context of this important fictional creation, presenting them as hypotheses.

But we should first say something about the links between these three challenges and the question of the kinds of articulation which
existed between anti-orthodoxy and orthodoxy. We see the challenges arising from the novels not as entirely discrete or separate ones, but as expressions of a single anti-orthodox style which throughout Chinese history opposed Confucianism and served as a moral-political alternative to it. This style, we have already said, may most usefully be labeled "charismatic". This study may be said to be an exposition of the existence, power, appeal, and characteristics of this charismatic style, ideal, and tradition -- which, in turn, reveals much about orthodoxy as well.

In borrowing the term "charisma" from the church historian Rudolph Sohm, Max Weber sought a concept that would express the antithesis of both the rational-bureaucratic mode of authority and the patriarchal mode:

Bureaucratic and patriarchal structures are antagonistic in many ways, yet they have in common a most important peculiarity: permanence. In this respect they are both institutions of daily routine. Patriarchal power is rooted in the provisioning of recurrent and normal needs of the workaday life .... The patriarch is the "natural leader" of the daily routine. And in this respect, the bureaucratic structure is only the counter-image of patriarchalism transposed into rationality....

The provisioning of all demands that go beyond those of everyday routine has had, in principle, an entirely heterogeneous, namely, a charismatic, foundation ......
This means that the "natural" leaders -- in times of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, political distress -- have been neither officeholders nor incumbents of an "occupation" in the present sense of the word, that is, men who have acquired expert knowledge and who serve for remuneration. The natural leaders in distress have been holders of specific gifts of the body and spirit; and these gifts have been believed to be supernatural, not accessible to everybody.1)
To Weber, the appeal of the specially "graced" leader was so prominent in history as to amount to a virtually permanent ideal or latent alternative to any existing social order and a potentially important social and political force. It might be possible to say, then, that in any political system the quintessence of the anti-orthodox would be likely to be the charismatic, with its emphasis on the natural, the antirational, the legitimacy of affect as opposed to intellect, the supernatural, and the transcendental moral concerns which lie beyond the conventional morality. If we examine the Chinese case through the novels we have chosen as sources, this confrontation between the orthodox and the charismatic emerges with dramatic clarity as the major axis around which political and social forces are organized. Thus, the sexual, fraternal, and eschatological challenges may be seen as three aspects of this potentially powerful moral-political force; and orthodoxy may be defined as a style very much open to challenge in these three aspects. In other words, the power of anti-orthodoxy in Chinese history lay in its attention to and incorporation of sexual, fraternal, and eschatological urges, appeals, and structures which are ignored, avoided, or deprecated by Confucianism. Conversely, one could say that the strength of Confucianism lay in its ability to "provision", to be rational in the narrow sense, to govern, even if unjustly -- and, as we will see below, these were precisely the areas of relative ineffectiveness of the charismatic tradition until recent times.

To identify anti-orthodoxy with the constant political potentiality of the charismatic leader is first to stress the continuity within the
anti-orthodox tradition. As we will show below, all our three novels may be readily be interpreted as expressions of the three major thrusts of charismatic appeal -- sexual, fraternal, and eschatological. But we will also be able to see from the analysis below that there was considerable variety of charismatic appeal in traditional China which is understandable in diachronic terms, and also that developments within anti-orthodoxy in recent decades gave to charisma-based leaders and movements a potential for true revolution, which culminated in the final overthrow of Confucian orthodoxy in the mid-twentieth century. We use the three novels in this diachronic sense to show three stages in the development of charismatic and revolutionary potential.

Thus it is appropriate to start our exposition of this hypothetical structure by describing in detail the sexual, fraternal, and eschatological challenges to orthodoxy as revealed in the Shui-hu. At the end of this chapter we will refer again to the charismatic tradition in the context of the political capacity and potential shown by the rebel bandits of the Shui-hu.

Our interest in the Shui-hu will be centered on the moral and political parameters of the chief subject group: the rebel band of "good fellows" (hao-han 憲) which gradually gathers in the swampy no man's land of Mt. Liang (Liang shanp'o). The immediately arresting feature of these good fellows is that despite their widely differing social and geographical origins they consciously share a sense of a tight, demanding moral code, and this code binds them together as men with a certain style of life and with a mission. The
literary critic C.T. Hsia has given the following description of this "hero's code":

According to this code, a hero has to be honorable, though the concept of honor is not defined in the traditional Confucian manner. Filial piety is indeed stressed in the case of several heroes, particularly Sung Chiang, Li K'uei, and Kung-sun Sheng, and loyalty to the emperor is always affirmed even though two or three violent souls are against the idea. But the code departs from Confucian teaching in its observance of the other basic human ties. It pays little attention to the conjugal relationship so long as a wife is proved faithful (any suspicion of adultery or any threat to her honor, however, would call for heroic action), and it exalts the ideal of friendship to the point of usurping the language of brotherhood. This ideal not only endorses the Confucian saying often invoked in the book, "Within the four seas all mean are brothers," but encourages the practice of knight-errantry insofar as it is preferable to execute justice by one's own hand rather than through the official channels.

Though the code [formally] endorses every Confucian virtue, it actually abolishes finer ethical distinctions by insisting that one must above all follow the dictates of friendship or \( i \) [\( \frac{1}{2} \) \( \text{至} \)].... The heroic code enjoins a certain kind of altruistic love but, in its disregard of the laws and bonds of society, in practice it encourages a gang morality which is the reverse of altruism.

Moreover, friendship is not lightly bestowed, despite the injunction that all men are brothers. The existence of an unwritten code implies that members of the heroic community are able to spot one another by unmistakable signs of behavior. A hero, if he doesn't excel in gymnastics or the use of some weapon, is usually fond of these arts, or else he is in possession of some cunning or skill or magic lore which makes him a valuable member of the community. But, since nearly all bad fellows covet these arts, the good fellows must also be distinguished by their generosity, that is, their readiness to befriend and protect all potential members of the heroic community....

Another, and perhaps even more crucial, test for a hero is that he should be above sexual temptation.... For the gymnastically minded, sexual abstinence was probably at first regarded as a health measure, but by the time the Liangshan legend was being formed, it had become a cardinal article of the code. Since not too many of the heroes are rich enough
to be open-handed and since all of them could commit murder, theft, and arson without incurring any disapprobation from their fellows, sexual abstinence becomes their only test of spiritual strength.

In most societies sexual puritanism is usually accompanied by an equally strong injunction against indulgence in food and liquor. In *The Water Margin*, however, the heroes compensate for their sexual abstinence by their gross delight in meat and wine.... To Western readers brought up on such comic classics as *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* and *Tom Jones*, which oppose sensuality to the hypocrisies of civilization, the depiction of rude humanity heartily indulging its appetite (even in the context of a sexual puritanism) should prove the most endearing trait of the Chinese novel. 2)

Our own exposition of the components of the heroes' code could be summarized as follows:

1. Sense of honor, but not defined in Confucian manner.
2. Powerful ideal and constraint of friendship.
3. This friendship ideal expressed in terms of brotherhood.
4. Code has categorical priority over all other moral claims.
5. Ideal and constraint of generosity.
7. Strong injunction to sexual abstinence.
8. Devotion to physical culture.
9. Devotion to pleasures of gourmandizing and drinking.
10. Ideal of hearty, innocent animal exuberance.
11. Explicit concern with "justice", and chivalric concern for the underdog. 3)

Hsia feels that the only way to analyze and understand this curiously defined code of honor and the behavior it permits is to introduce a distinction between "individual heroes and the band as a
whole. Whereas the individual heroes are governed by the heroic code, the band follows a gang morality which is only a caricature of that code." In the name of fraternal solidarity, fellowship of hao-han, and group survival, any crime, however depraved or brutal, is countenanced, and men who acclaim themselves the preservers of true justice are free to literally run amok under the aegis of the gang morality.

The advantage of this analytical bifurcation of the social morality of the bandits is that it enables us to give full weight to the moral code of anti-orthodox honor as expressed by the bandits, and also to understand why it is that ostensibly honorable men do things that seem (to the observer, at least) to contradict the code or the commitment to honorable behavior. Hsia is right on the mark when he uses the distinction between individual honor and gang morality to explain political style. The bandits do what they do in the name of honor and justice. This is a potential claim to political legitimacy, and although as Hsia says, there is no requirement for a prospective bandit to be anti-government, yet the claim of the heroes' code that it represents the highest morality has straightforward implications for the question of who should rule. Those who are not anti-government are so only by virtue of attributing to the emperor the same belief in the heroes' code that they hold themselves; since the emperor is an honorary hao-han, so to speak, there can be no question of opposing him.

But just as the crude and primitive behavior dictated by the law of gang survival tends to limit or contradict claims of personal honor, so does it tend to limit or contradict claims of political legitimacy.
It is perhaps not so much the lack of "abstract hatred" among bandit rebels that prevents them from making revolution (as opposed to rebellion), as the sheer inability emotionally or intellectually to visualize an antiorthodox social morality as anything more than a license to ride roughshod over opponents. Hsia here is guilty of a misunderstanding in regarding the gang morality as "the unleashed energy of the unconscious which every civilization must hold in check if it is to survive."

It is indeed an unleashed energy of great force, partly unconscious, and usually in the service of chaos, but its effect in Chinese history has often been, paradoxically, to virtually guarantee the continued survival of orthodoxy. Bandit rebels threaten to turn order into chaos, and sometimes succeed, but they do not offer a serious vision of an alternate social morality.

This theme of the narrowness of group consciousness regarding an alternate political morality as compared with relative clarity of individual consciousness of alternate personal values and lifestyles is one which will recur throughout this study. We will introduce a number of hypotheses regarding anti-orthodox styles, and generally find that these styles are of rather circumscribed social force. Though we calim no mission to explain the basic sources of Chinese motivations and actions, we will find the theme described above very important in coming to some understanding of anti-orthodoxy.

B. The sexual challenge

Let us return to the code of the hao-han as depicted in the Shui-hu and as noted on p. 25 above. As we have explained, Hsia's analytical perspective encourages us to ake the code seriously despite seemingly
contradictory practices of depravity. We acknowledge that the "gang morality" will in the end nullify the anti-orthodox potential of the individuals' code, but we must point out clearly how this potential is expressed.

It is our suggestion that the various provisions of the code may be subsumed under three general headings or themes: sex, the fraternity, and the alternate eschatology. Further, we maintain that in each of these areas the code makes a positive challenge to orthodoxy; that is, the code is not merely non-orthodox, but anti-orthodox. In subsequent chapters, we will show that in the two later novels, Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng, the same three themes appear with prominence equal to that in the Shui-hu and also in a stance of challenging orthodoxy. Thus we are in methodological terms extracting from the Shui-hu three hypotheses regarding the form and content of anti-orthodoxy in Chinese novels of the 17th and 18th centuries, and using material of all three source novels to develop and test these hypotheses. As have said above, this will amount to showing how and to what degree the anti-orthodox challenges of alienated individuals are undercut by the failure to develop an effective alternate social morality, and this distinction between the individual characters of the novels and the types or groups of characters will also be an important one.

Referring, then, to the code of the hao-han as summarized above, we see that it is first suggested that the code is functionally similar to Confucian orthodoxy, in that it is a complete and categorical
moral structure enjoining virtue and honor on its adherents, but that its content is different from Confucianism. The subsequent points show what the differences are; that is, they define anti-orthodoxy in terms of the chief shortcomings of orthodoxy. In the course of this exposition we will have to add certain information about orthodox values to understand how and why the heroes' code challenges them, but we must also respect this negative definition of orthodoxy put forward by anti-orthodoxy.

The tenets of the code we have numbered 6-10 in our summary are all related in some way to sex or its repressions. We may introduce our ideas on the sexual threat to orthodoxy revealed in the Shui-hu by referring to the place of women in the novel. The Shi-hu might be called a novel not about women at all, so thoroughly does the author concentrate on men's affairs and men's values. But this ignoring of women is not thorough enough to obscure the presence of an intense theme of misogyny which underlies many male values and actions and which from time to time breaks out into extreme violence. As Hsia puts it, women

.... are punished not merely for their malice and treachery; in the last analysis, they are punished for being women, for being such helpless creatures of lust....... Precisely because of their sexual puritanism, these heroes harbor a subconscious hatred of women as their worst enemy, as a teasing reminder of the unnaturalness of their heroic self-sufficiency.6)

The threat to the highly androcentric7) male heroes is not the same as the sexual threat to orthodoxy, but we may note first that women are regarded as distinctly threatening beings to some men, at
least; it is only in the later novels that women's threat to orthodoxy is made clear. The image of women in the Shui-hu reflects more clearly the conscious and unconscious outlook of the hao-han. The most striking aspect of this is the hao-han's profound fear and hatred of assertive female sexuality. As Hsia has it, it is adultery which most reliably sends the heroes into berserker rages and calls from them really startling excesses of cruelty and barbarism. The most prominent example of this probably the case of the quintessentially honest and straightforward hero Wu Sung (whose tale is also worth repeating since the Wu Sung episode is the basis for the action of Chin P'ing Mei). The female villain is the temptress and virago P'an Chin-lien, or Golden Lotus, who is unhappily married to Wu Sung's poor, ugly, and impotent elder brother Wu Ta. Sure enough, Golden Lotus secures herself a lover, the rich parvenu Hsi-Men Ch'eng, through the intervention of a procuress. In time, they manage to despatch Wu Ta. Wu Sung, returning from imperial duty, finds out what has happened. His rage is towering -- but in an even more effective device of subtlety, the author follows him through an entire chapter as, stifling his rage, Wu Sung elaborately and guilefully prepares a scenario in which the inevitable revenge may be taken in the most ritualistic and thus doubly terrifying fashion. Finally, the rage is allowed to vent itself:

Then [Wu Sung] commanded the two women [the procuress and Golden Lotus] to make their marks on the [confession] with their fingers inked and he commanded the four [terror-stricken] neighbors to set their names down also, and he bade the soldiers bring a rope and he tied the old dog's hands behind her back. Then he rolled up the paper on which all was written and he thrust it into his bosom and he bade the
soldiers bring out more wine. This wine he placed in a cup before Wu the Elder's tablet. Then he dragged the women over to it and he forced her to kneel before the tablet and he shouted to the old dog and made her kneel there too. When they had knelt his tears flowed and he sighed and said, "Elder Brother, your souls are not far from this place. Today has your younger brother avenged you, and I have wiped away my hatred as clean as snow!"

The Wu Sung commanded a soldier to light the spirit money.

Now that woman, seeing the outlook was evil for her, was about to scream, but Wu Sung seized her by the knot of her hair and he threw her down and he stood with a foot on each of her arms. He pulled open the garments on her bosom and quicker than speech he sank the dagger into her breast and twisted it. Then he pulled the dagger out and held it in his mouth and with both his hands he reached into her body and he pulled out her heart and liver and entrails and he placed them before the tablet.

Again came the sound of the dagger plunging in -- chih-chah! -- and that woman's head was cut off clean and the blood poured over the ground. The four neighbors felt their eyes go askew and they were dazed with terror and they covered their faces....

But, in fact, Wu Sung's hatred is not wiped away. He goes after Hsi-Men Ch'ing -- "and again moreover, whatever Hsi-Men Ch'ing's strength was, how could he overcome the god-like quality of Wu Sung's strength?" He too is beheaded. The dénouement does say something about orthodoxy: "the magistrate himself thought that Wu Sung was a very honorable, fearless fellow," and so has a false account of the affair written up so that Wu Sung's punishment is merely exile.

We must go beyond Hsia, however, and point out that adultery is not so much the cause of the frenzied outrage of the hao-han as the excuse. For a woman to in any way exceed the extremely strict limitations on sexual activity imposed by the dominant culture -- limitations which often denied her a sexual life entirely -- was to trigger the most ex-
plosive response from the dominant male -- a response clearly indicating fear, one would have to say.

A more direct aspect of the imputed fearsomeness of women may be seen in the prominence among the women of the novel of a number of ogresses and amazons whose prime aim it is to kill or maim men. There is Goodwife Sheng, "The Female Savage", who with her husband Chang Ch'ing ("The Gardener") manages the infamous inn on the Ridge of the Cross Roads. She poisons travelers, steals their belongings, and sells buns with human meat in them to the surrounding villagers. She has encounters with two of the chief bully-boys, Lu Chih-shen and Wu Sung. The latter overcomes her fearsome strength, but the result is that she and her husband join the bandits, their gruesome cannibalistic game continuing with Wu Sung's blessing.9) Goodwife Shen is strong, ruthless, and unfeminine enough to compete with men and threaten them in a less subtle and penetrating way than normal females, and her reward (once she has been defeated, of course) is to be made an honorary man, as member of the band.

Two other amazons are accorded similar status. "The Ten Foot Green Snake" fights several of the most skillful bandits to a standstill with her double knives, and captures one called Wang the Dwarf Tiger. Wang is the only bandit who admits to being sex-starved, and is the butt of considerable mockery because of this. Once the Ten Foot Green Snake is captured (by treachery and the efforts of the third amazon, Goodwife Ku) she and Wang are forced to marry, amid the general feeling that they will make each other miserable and that is the way things should be.
Women are thus limited to certain narrowly defined roles: wife, mother, prostitute, amazon, witch, procurer, nun, drudge. As we will see in our analysis of the "novels of women," Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng, one or two of these roles have surprising power in the male-dominant society -- particularly the mother role. But in the Shui-hu only the amazon (who has some witchlike overtones) is accorded a role which could in any way be thought of as not subordinate to men or exploited by men. A wife is clearly regarded as the merest chattel, and may be killed or tortured by any hao-han or, indeed, almost any male who acknowledges the mystique of machismo. But again, we are left with the feeling that there is a connection between the extreme exploitation and subjection of women and their potential fearsomeness in the eyes of "good fellows." There is much emphasis on the perennial triumph of brute male strength in the battle with women, which underlines again that women somehow threaten the group survival potential of the fraternal male organization and thus must be beaten down regardless of the quasi-chivalric code of the hao-han.  

We will not attempt to solve once and for all the problem of why dominant males feel so threatened by subordinate females, but some observations here would seem appropriate. In one sense, it might be said that there is nothing to be explained; that in any situation of pronounced imbalance in power relations, the power-holding element will be quite nervous about the potential ability of the powerless element to reverse the relationship. This might be considered an especially natural and clear dynamic in traditional China, since in the Taoist
observation that there is a constantly changing dynamic between yang and yin and that when one element is at its strongest, it is "over-ripe," and on the verge of decline, one may see a putative model of male-female power relations.

Some analysts have given a Freudian interpretation. V. Heyer, in her article analyzing prominent themes in Chinese short stories, has pointed out that it is generally assumed in the stories that sexual intercourse weakens a man. Like Pye, she notes that there was a common Chinese belief that a man is allotted at birth only a limited quantum of life energy, and that when this quantum is depleted, he simply dies. This belief thus gave considerable basis for the injunctions against sexual excess of both the orthodox morality and the military-gymnastic morality of the hao-han, making it a simple matter of survival for true believers. This fable may actually have helped the generation and survival of the literary (and presumably real-life) figure of the oversexed, ruthless virago, whose sexual demands on the male may well be associated with assertive attempts to gain or maintain personal control over her destiny. She is a particularly threatening figure of many men in fiction. In many short stories, she has attributed to her both supernatural powers (she is often a were-fox [vixen]) and irresistible sexual charm, and in most cases she leads some worthy male to destruction. As Heyer puts it, "The result of sexual relations with such a women .... is exhaustion or illness or even death." Heyer also quotes one fox-woman as explaining forthrightly, "The reason why our kind incurs the revulsion of mANKING [meaning males] is that we draw upon men's essence and thus harm them."
Golden Lotus is clearly such a virago in the Shui-hu, and the
weakness and death of Wu Ta which result may have been one factor
which so unnerves and threatens Wu Sung. Any expression whatever of
female sexuality would, in this interpretation, have the power of
arousing in the male the half-conscious vision of depletion and death.
For men who live by the sword and for whom death at the hands of men
is an ever-present possibility, the threat of being "sucked dry" by a
woman might be simply intolerable. Women are clearly meant to function
as a recreation for the hao-han. Hao-han may carouse with whores now
and then, and enjoy being waited on by women or engaging in banter with
women, but for women to make any demands on them whatever is out of the
question, any any woman who dares to think of her own survival or hap-
piness may rapidly be transformed in the eyes of the male into an aggres-
sive harpy and death with accordingly.

Heyer also suggests that in Chinese culture the relations between
son and mother are exceptionally strong. The enormous fear of the asser-
tive woman on the part of the male is also the imputation of enormous
power to her -- the sort of power a mother has exerted over her son. A
man grows up highly cognizant of this kind of female power -- and it is
real power, as we will show later -- and is ready to attribute the same
sort of power to a sex partner or other woman because all female roles
have for him some element of the important mother role. Furthermore, an
assertive female might seem to be threatening the male's psychic bond
with his mother. Estrangement between husband and wife within the strong
marriage institution was common in traditional China, and Heyer feels
that this is in part at least due to durability of the mother-son bond and the unwillingness of the son to feel trust and affection for the potentially threatening wife or sex partner.¹⁴)

We must also not underestimate the role of the power relationship itself in determining the attitudes of men towards women. Pye points out that

...the great chasm that has separated father and son and the lack of strong and overt affective feelings has meant that there has been a striking absence of empathy in the political culture between those with authority and those without.¹⁵)

The hao-han are in general to be distinguished from the orthodox power-holders, but in respect to women, they obviously occupy a similar position of dominance despite their conscious commitment to Robin Hood ideals of justice and chivalry. The reality of men's power over women and the impunity with which women may be subjected to their wills must have deepened the lack of empathy of which Pye speaks. Another way of saying this is "power corrupts," and we again note that the very fact of preponderant male power must have produced strong structural constraints on men's view of women. There is in this sense an equivalency between Confucian gentlemen and rebel bandits. The bandits proclaim a code of chivalry, but find that the need to maintain a power relationship limits the applicability of the code. The Confucians proclaim a doctrine of disinterested paternalism in the interests of all, but the same power factors limit their performance of disinterested deeds.
We may also point out in anticipation of the more complete manifestation of this effect in the later novels that their underdog position did not lead Chinese women to stress solidarity group efforts to ameliorate their position. In traditional China as in many societies women frequently exercised great power as individuals, chiefly through some intermediary powerful male -- the emperor, for example. In addition, certain realms of power were open to business like "women of affairs," who managed households, made investments, ran businesses, etc. There are even other novels of bandits which give women a more prominent role in leadership, the chief example being P'ing Yao Chuan (平廣俺), which in some versions describes a rebel band led by an amazon. But in no case is there any evidence of anything resembling a feminist movement or action on behalf of women as a political group. In the "women's novels" we will consider below, there is some evidence of a women's consciousness, and again an individual capacity to attain and deal with some kind of real power, but it is not power on the macrocosmic political scene and it has limited group applicability, as we will show.

The above paragraphs should serve minimally to establish that women were seen as a threat by one tradition of male society, at least. It is only in discussion of the later novels that we can show more clearly how the treat of sex and women challenged orthodoxy as distinct from the military-chivalric men's culture. We will consider also the question of the relations of homosexuals and the dominant culture, and examine further our hypothesis that matters of sex were seen as a "weak point" in orthodoxy to be challenged by the unorthodox.
The code of the hao-han does not directly challenge orthodoxy's dominance over women. On the contrary, it puts forward an ideology in which male domination is in most ways even more complete than in Confucianism, since for the hao-han women have no legitimate role at all. In the Confucian ethic, male-female relations are accorded considerable legitimacy. The husband-wife relationship is one-sided in power terms, but a respectable wife has a legitimate social status and is not powerless. As we have suggested, the mother-son relationship is also legitimated by Confucianism, and, as we will discuss below, a mother has a uniquely powerful position among women. But, judging from the Shui-hu, the conscious ideal of the hao-han is so thoroughly male-oriented that even wives are regarded as excrescent. Lip service is given the mother's role and filial piety, but bandits see themselves quite clearly as lone knights errant whose devotion (voluntary or involuntary) to the hao-han style and the bandit collective precludes establishing a family.

And in this sense the bandits are themselves challenging the Confucian norm. Sex in Confucian ideology is a matter of husband-wife relations, and its sole positive purpose\(^{17}\) is to provide legitimate male offspring who are to prolong the family's adherence to the Confucian ancestor cult. One reason bandits are dangerous is that their ideal of manly chastity clashes with the Confucian emphasis on producing descendants. Another reason is that bandits, tending as they do to slight the marital bond, are given (when the urges of the flesh overcome them) to bawdy carousing in brothels, which is liable to
disrupt the good order prized by orthodoxy and user in individual and societal lewdness and chaos.

Jerome Ch'en has pointed out in analyzing a 19th century novel that one of the most prominent characteristics ascribed by official memorialists to rebels and/or secret societies was their alleged tendency to lasciviousness and license. As Ch'en puts it, "Lewdness is the deadly enemy of Confucian society which is built on the proper relations between men and women. An attack on these is an attack on the very root of all Confucian virtues." To official commentators, this was "considered the worst of all evils," and sufficient grounds for the suppression of a secret society even in the absence of any commitment on their part to rebellion.

Pye suggests that "the central problem of the Chinese family has been the overpowering need to suppress and deny all forms of aggression;" and that "it may be useful to think of the Chinese attempts to suppress aggression as being analogous to the American culture's traditional attempts to suppress sex." We would go even farther and suggest that one need not look to American society to see attempts to suppress sex: in traditional Chinese society suppression of sex and suppression of aggression were seen as the closely related underpinnings of social morality and the status quo, and challenges to one element were regarded as challenges to the other.
C. The Fraternal Challenge

We must now turn to what we call the fraternal challenge to orthodoxy. This challenge directs itself at the Confucian emphasis on filiality as the source of organizational and hierarchical principles. It is accepted that traditional society was one heavily dominated by fathers and father images. Pye has noted the functional identity of the fater-centered, rigidly-ordered family group and the emperor-centered, rigidly ordered and ranked political system as the chief components of the dominant culture. A lapidary formulation often quoted to express this unity of family and political values was "the five relationships" -- between ruler and subject, subject and subject, father and son, husband and wife, and sibling and sibling -- which ideally were but different aspects of the same filial-hierarchical power relationship. 20)

To expand our focus somewhat, we note that F. Schurmann has distinguished three "core elements" of the traditional Chinese social system: the "ethos", i.e., what we called the orthodox value system, chiefly represented by Confucianism; the "status group" or leadership stratum, composed of the literocrats; and the "modal personality", which was the paterfamilias. The ethos reflects values and norms, the status group exerts authority, and the modal personality is the idealization of members of the status group. All elements of the trinity are interdependent and serve to define and delimit what we call the dominant polity.
Our hypothesis is that the Shui-hu reveals a corresponding structure of core elements comprising a variant polity. The ethos in this case is the hao-han code; the status group, the bandit chiefs; and the modal personality, the elder brother. This variant polity, we suggest, challenges the dominant polity by forming "a parallel machine of law and organized power", which exhibits some potential for displacing the legitimacy and effectiveness of the rule of the dominant polity. As we have pointed out, this potential is self-limited by the contradiction between the individual virtue of the hao-han and the gang morality of which Hsia speaks. But in addition, we would claim, the bandits' threat to the dominant polity is limited by the steps the government (the status group of orthodoxy) takes to minimize it -- thus acknowledging the challenge. (In the Shui-hu, in fact, the government attempts to crush the bandits are completely unsuccessful until after the self-limitations of the bandit political vision have been reached.)

We feel that much may be said about the variant polity by concentrating on the fraternal aspect we have mentioned. We will show that the "fraternity" of the bandits' leadership styles and organizational principles is in conspicuous contrast to the filiality underlying the dominant polity.

The applicable parts of the hao-han code (nos. 2, 3, 4 on P. 28) speak of both brotherhood and friendship. Etymologically,
the term 誠 (hao-han) denotes both "that which is suitable, right, proper," and "related, connected; friendships", thus felicitously linking the closer-than-friend hao-han relationship with the hao-han claim to represent righteousness.

The ritual mechanism which joins hao-han in symbolic brotherhood is, as in so many other societies, "sworn brotherhood", in which two men solemnly swear to regard each other as elder and younger brother. By this gesture the two proclaim not only their alliance against the non-fraternal world but their rejection of all other relationships and all other moral claims which may be made on them. Simply because relations between brothers are countenanced and regulated by Confucianism does not mean the brothers accept the Confucian ethic; on the contrary, it is just this larger web of orthodox morality which their oath of dedication to fraternal morality is designed to release them from. As Hsia points out, this freeing of hao-han from conventional morality is often too effective, since the individuals concerned are able to rationalize any depravity as part of a vague, transcendent morality reserved for "good guys". But there is also a positive side to this freedom. First, if the hao-han do observe the chivalric code, they may really end up doing good. Second, the fraternal relationship produces enormously strong bonds of loyalty and solidarity.

These strong bonds may become the basis or organizing principle of a large, socially prominent group; and, this is the cement on which the powerful and independent bandit
realm of Liangshanp'o is built in the Shui-hu. There is an obligation on all who consider themselves good fellows to mutually recognize and formalize their status by entering into the bonds of sworn brotherhood. We have mentioned Hsia's pointed note that many good fellows refuse to leave the government side and must be forced into becoming outlaws. But once that happens, and the oath of brotherhood has been taken, there is no tendency on anyone's part to shirk the responsibilities of loyalty to the band and rejection of all other social and personal moralities.

Indeed, it is the virtue of the brotherly bond and feeling which perhaps appeals most strongly to aspiring hao-han. In the first chapter of the novel,\textsuperscript{23} which introduces the first of the bandits-to-be, Shin Chin, we are directly told of this important appeal. Shih Chin is a young "lord" -- a village chief of military inclinations. Before the Liangshanp'o adventure itself is even thought of, he has occasion to fight and defeat a neighboring petty bandit. The bandit's sworn brothers decide to gain his freedom by "telling a pitiful tale;" that is, appeal to Shih Chin's better side. But the tale is not really pitiful. They merely say that the strength of their vow of brotherhood is so great that they wish to surrender to be with their sworn brother.

Shih Chin, hearing all this, thought awhile and he said to himself, "If there is such a brotherhood as this, and if I send or take them to the
magistrate and if I claim reward, all good fellows will laugh at me for no warrior..." From ancient times it has been said, "Gorillas know gorillas (sic), and good fellows recognize good fellows". Therefore, Shih Chin said, "If there is such brotherhood as this between you and if I send you to the magistrate I am not myself a good fellow. I will free Ch'en Ta and let him return to you. Will this not be well?"

And the relations between the bandits and Shih Chin become quite close, to the point that when trouble arises Shih-Chin joins the bandits in their lair. Brotherhood is thus both the apotheosis of the hao-han morality and an important mechanism whereby hao-han are recognized, recruited, and socialized to variant concepts of social and personal morality.

What implications does the emphasis on brotherhood have for the bandit organization, that is, the relations between members of the status group? Two propositions emerge: The fraternal organization is more egalitarian or "leveled" than the filial; but the fraternal organization is still strongly structured along elder brother-younger brother lines. There is great emphasis on the ranking of each warrior vis-a-vis all the others, and the propriety of seating and address is constantly observed -- but the propriety of address requires constant use of "elder brother" and "younger brother". Precedence is placed within the fraternal context. Authority is there, but is is not exercised in the same way paternal or vertical authority is.
The matter of precedence deserves detailed attention. Each of the bandit chiefs is given a ranking when he joins the band, previous rankings being shuffled around to account for the newcomer. A formal ranking of all occurs as early as Chapter 20, when eleven chiefs are arranged and seated in their proper order of precedence according to criteria of age, reputation, military skill, imputed virtue, generosity, and in some cases even descent.\textsuperscript{25} When all are gathered at the end,\textsuperscript{26} a major dichotomy is imposed on the 108: 36 are confirmed as great chiefs ("powerful and heavenly stars").\textsuperscript{27} Neither the individual rankings nor the great/lesser dichotomy are relations of vertical authority, however.

We must refer here to the grand ranking of all the 108 heroes which takes place under unusual and climactic circumstances in the last chapter of the seventy-chapter version. The symbolic blazoning forth of the virtue and accomplishments of each hero is the end and pinnacle of the long series of adventures which have brought them together as brothers, and, as befits the climax, this grand gathering and ranking -- and the "fraternity" of it all -- are blessed by a visitation from Heaven itself.

Now Sung Chiang thought to implore an answer from Heaven... They bowed themselves down to the ground and they besought Heaven by any means to give them some answer.

In the night of that day at the third watch they heard a sound in the sky and it was like the ripping of silk and it came from the
northwest gate of heaven. When they all looked there was as it were a great plate of gold standing there, the two ends pointed and the center wide, and this is called the Opening Of The Gate Of Heaven and it is also called The Opening Of the Eye of Heaven. The light from this place came forth in a beam and it smote the eyes of men and in that place floated fair clouds of every hue. Out of the center there came forth a flame, round at the top like a winnowing basket, and it came whirling to the foot of the altar. There it circled about the altar and it struck the earth at the full south of the altar. When they looked again The Eye Of Heaven was closed. All the Taoists came down from the altar and straightway Sung Chiang bade men fetch iron spears and hoes and open up the earth and search for the flame. When they had dug not yet three feet into that earth they saw a stone tablet, and upon its face and upon its two sides there were heavenly writings.²⁸

The heavenly writings turn out to be a listing of 36 names (on the front of the stone) and 72 (on the back), which rank all the chiefs and give them full ceremonial names as stars incarnate as men ("The Chief star among the Stars of Heaven called The Opportune Rain, Sung Chiang," etc.) After the listing is read off, Sung Chiang addresses all:

"So small and mean and despicable am one as I to be chief among the stars! We all are brothers, and we stand here united in one band. Today has Heaven shown it to us, that we ought by destiny to meet here. Today is our number fulfilled (i.e., has reached 108) and we must appoint our numbers each in his rank. Let each chieftain take his place and let none strive to be higher than his place is. Heaven's command cannot be disobeyed."²⁹
Sung Chiang thus makes explicit that the ranking is taking place in the context of a brotherhood, and the solidity of the group of brothers is stressed as thoroughly as the precedence itself.

But following this blessing and ranking the tale goes on to relate how the heroes are shortly afterward classified again according to their assignments to the various living quarters on Liangshan, and great and small are housed together. Again, a few days later, amid much ceremony, the chiefs are given their permanent assignments in keeping up the defense of the base. This time, the classification is by "military occupation specialty" (horseman, spies, foot warriors, etc.), and in each specialty are grouped both greater and lesser chiefs, with no one detachment commander or clear chain of command. By the time all these additional classifications have been made, there has been no compromise of the Heaven-blessed ranking of the 108, but it has been made abundantly clear that this ranking is not intended to imply direct or vertical subordination of each man to the next higher ranked man. Only Sung Chiang himself might be said to be in a clear position of supreme command, but, even here, great care is given to linking his name with that of Lu Chun-i as "the two generals who shall be chiefs over all the fighting men." In addition, the 36 appear very much as elder brothers to the 72, not strictly as superiors.
Finally, in a joint pledge to Heaven which ends the novel, Sung Chiang again names each hero in rank order, addressing all as brothers, then says...

... these with all their true hearts here together make a great vow. We do ponder on this, that once we were scattered far and wide, but now are we gathered together in this one hall, brethren according to the stars, and we point to Heaven and Earth as father and mother... In this day we unite our purpose, and until we die we will not be divided in it...

When Sung Chiang had thus vowed, all the host together shouted assent and they said "We would but meet again, life after life, generation, forever undivided, even as we are this day!"

On that day did they all mingle blood with wine and drink it and when they had drunk themselves to mighty drunkenness, they parted. 30

That the relations between the heroes are essentially brotherly is conspicuous in these final comments. The sense of much-prized brotherhood is appropriately linked with the sense of cosmic virtue and purpose that the heroes feel. There is precedence in their relations, because a completely "leveled" social body would fit with no aspect of Chinese social practice, but there is not vertical chain of command, limited affirmation being given to the idea of "collegial command" and the rest being left vague. Naturally, in all these expressions of the fraternal schematic are cast in terms not
simply or brotherhood, but of elder brothers and younger brothers, as the Chinese language and kinship systems also put it. Thus ranking of brothers in any context would be taken for granted.

There is a more general question here: what are orthodoxy's expectations and prescriptions for brotherly relations, and how does this bandit fraternal organization show a difference? Our hypothesis is that not only is there a difference, but that there is real antagonism between the two points of view. This is because the orthodox Confucian view of brothers in the family context attempts to see them completely in the framework of filial relations. Thus, an elder brother is supposed to be toward a younger brother as a father is to a son. Granted that kinship systems vary widely throughout the world, and have their own unimpeachable logics, it nevertheless would seem on the face of it to be trying to square the circle to have brothers behave as fathers and sons to each other. As we will see, in practice this ideological imperative was indeed moderated; but there was also a counter-model of fraternal relations in the fraternal organization.

Max Weber makes a ringing statement of what he conceives to be the antagonism between filial and fraternal elements as a result of the Confucian insistence on total filiality:
The patrimonial rule from above clashed with the sibs' strong counterbalance from below. To the present day, a considerable portion of all politically dangerous "secret societies" has consisted of sibs.\textsuperscript{31)}

Unfortunately we must take Weber's remarks at face value, because by "sib" (German sippe) Weber means the clan (宗族) as well as the brothers and sisters from which the clan springs. In pointing out the frequent antipathy between clans and mandarin rule, Weber is anticipating later sociological studies which partly validate this claim;\textsuperscript{32)} but this is not really a fraternal-filial conflict, or at least not purely so. Weber has willy-nilly expressed what seems to have been a real antipathy between filial and fraternal organizations.

As both Hsu\textsuperscript{33)} and Pye\textsuperscript{34)} have noted, in traditional China, the guiding principles of father-son relations were 1) identification of roles and personae between the two; 2) complete dominance of son by father. There seems to be an inherent contradiction here with wide implications for social life. Both Hsu and Pye discuss this contradiction and we will not expand on it here. Our point is rather that sociological and anthropological investigations into traditional Chinese society indicate that neither of these relationships existed in practice between brothers. A first brother (eldest son) had his special status as first-born, as the potential head of the extended family of his generation, and as the chief link between the ancestors and descendants of the family. A
younger brother owed allegiance to his elder brother, but was not brought up in his image. On the contrary, he was brought up with the expectation that he would occupy a quite different but also legitimate familial and societal role. While typically great emphasis would be placed by the parents (especially by the father) on building and maintaining solidarity among brothers, frequently when the brothers married, the extended family thus formed was in fact the setting (or the cause) of much fraternal disagreement. Such families were often formally or informally divided, each brother starting his own stem family, each one supporting the parents in turn, etc. The legal practice of the traditional society included a ban on primogeniture which applied to all levels of society. Thus an elder brother was given some quasi-paternal responsibilities in his brother role, but did not receive a full patrimony on the death of his father. The younger brother(s) were encouraged by orthodox doctrine to regard elder brother as a quasi-paternal figure, but legal and economic factors told them they were elder brother's equal.  

We feel that even the sketchy summary above indicates that brothers did not interact with each other as Confucian precept provided. And, perhaps more importantly for our purposes, brotherly relations were not always characterized by mutual solidarity and good feeling. That is, brothers in real situations could be neither ideally filial nor ideally fraternal. It may be that this situation brought about or encouraged the  

34)  

35)
emphasis on fictive fraternal relations which dominated some sectors of the society -- notably the military-gymnastic "corp s" which we see exemplified in the Shui-hu.

The origins of the sworn brotherhood are not so important as the realization that the very artificiality of the relation gave it certain advantages over the relations likely to exist between real brothers. Specifically, the sworn brothers could be and were in a relationship entirely apart from any father figure. There was no paternal pressure to conform to Confucian ways for the family's sake; there was not pressure on the sworn brothers to behave like father and son; and there were no pressures to behave like real brothers either. We would therefore suggest that in the sworn brother relationship we see an ideal type -- an apotheosis of fraternity fraternity which necessarily and advantageously operated outside of and in opposition to Confucian ideas of filiality. The sworn brothers' oath was an affirmation of the freedom of the fictive brothers both from the strictures of Confucian morality and from the pressures of life in the Confucian family. 35A)

The Shui-hu makes it clear that this relationship is considered a liberating and strengthening bond, the ceremonial entry into a world in which individuals could really "be themselves". The theme of individuality is an important one both in the hao-han style and in the novel as a genre. Each hero is to some extent 36) a "rugged individual", 
with his own personality, style of speech, special talents, and style of fighting. The paradox is that it is in part the strength of the farternal bond which makes this independence of spirit possible, and conversely, this bond draws some of its strength from the released but dedicated energies of the heroes as individual.

Connected with this proto-individualistic aspect is what might be called the "meritocratic" element of hao-han life. This factor may help explain both the ranking of the heroes and their equality. Anyone of any station could become a good fellow by shunning more pedestrian ways of life, cultivating military-gymnastic prowess and dedicating himself to the values of the code of honor. The Shui-hu reveals that there were considerable problems in the way of "career advancement" for the hao-han, however, just as there were for everyone else. Within the military bureaucracy commanders' careers were fragile. The novel indicates that it was not enough to be honest and skilled. One had to be constantly on guard against slanders or other attacks from the ambitious and unscrupulous, and one mistake might lead to dismissal or criminal prosecution. Many of the Liangshan heroes were forced into outlawry by this route.

And even within the world of military affairs there were problems. Shih Chin, for example, is restless in his village because he is "a big frog in a little pond". Glory, excitement, and fame are promised to the hao-han if he becomes
well-known, but many good fellows languish unappreciated and in straitened circumstances despite their skill and virtue. One must not only be formidable, but be known to be so.

Thus reputation and prestige are very much a part of the hero's life. But along with the competitiveness and emphasis on standing out, there are forces which breed equality among the heroes. The essential equality of the Liangshan heroes is often stressed, although we know that some are "more equal" than others. One way Liangshan heroes are able to tell if someone they meet is to be recruited or not is how he fights with one of the band. He cannot be too much stronger than the already "certified" hero, yet not much below him either. The result is often that they are perfectly evenly matched, as in this incident:

[Yang Chi] turned into the wood and he stared with fright. There he saw a great fat priest, stripped stark naked, and on his back a tattooed pattern, sitting on a root of a pine tree for the coolness. That priest, seeing Yang Chi, grasped from the root his long staff and leaped up and with a great shout, he said, "Ah, you accursed beast, from whence are you?"

Yang Chi hearing it, thought, "Surely this priest is also from Kuangsi. I am from one country with him. I will ask him a question."

Yang Chi called out, saying, "Whither do you come, holy man?"

That priest did not answer but lifted up his staff in his hands and took thought only to bring it down. Yang Chi said, "$This bald-head is without any decorum whatever!"
I will vent my anger on him." and he lifted his sword that was in his hand and came to fight with the priest.

The two there in the wood rushed backward and forward, up and down, and they struggled against each other. And they fought for forty or fifty rounds and it could not be told which was victor and which vanquished. The priest then feigned to make a mistake and purposely leaped outside the circle of battle and cried a shout."Let us rest awhile!" And the both of them stayed their hands...

That priest called out, saying, "Ha, you blue-faced fellow, what man are you?"

Yang Chi said, "I am Yang Chi of the court of the governor in the northern capital."

That priest asked, "Did you not sell a sword in the eastern capital?..."

Eventually the priest is recognized by his fame as Lu Chih-shen, and the two heroes, having established both their superior reputations and their professional equality, go off as friends. In other words, both their individuality and the fraternal bond of equality and "functional identity" are strengthened by their encounter. Many aspects of the hao-han life and code thus reinforce the solidarity of the group and emphasize its divergence from commonplace values.

Our emerging picture of this deviant culture, then, shows us a band of brothers, ranked yet equal, uniformly and supremely skilled in military arts, trying to pursue conventional careers but almost inevitably thrown into conflict with the vertically-oriented conventional society, which undervalues their talents and individualities and is afraid of their fraternal solidarity and devotion to nonconformist values.
We should here introduce an element of historical background to enable us to understand how the social context of fraternal versus filial groups developed. Organizations in a number of cultures sharing the designation "secret societies" also have shared many other characteristics: secrecy, conspiracy, initiation rites, mysteries revealed to the initiates, symbolic or actual violence, a legitimating myth, a concern for some concept of justice, an emphasis on brotherhood and relative egalitarianism, and a challenge to orthodoxy. Secret societies flourished in many periods of Chinese history. In the Shui-hu we are shown a fraternal anti-orthodox band which in a vastly oversimplified and idealized way represents the almost universal secret society tradition.

We mention this historical tradition of opposition to orthodoxy in connection with fraternality because we must also note that such societies did not often attain important levels of power and at no time until the nineteenth century did they come close to establishing a completely new social order in China. Our point is that in the long historical sweep the Confucian orthodoxy held firm, exhibiting remarkable strength in cultural competition with the fraternal challengers. Thus we may expect to find in the Shui-hu not only fraternal bonds and rebellious sentiments but much evidence of the strength of orthodoxy as well. We see in the novel not only the chief characters proclaiming their filial sentiments but the
absolute insistence of the leader of the band that they remain loyal to the emperor even in the heat of battle as mere sops to the respectable sentiments of those the author thought would read his book, or to possible censors, but I think it more likely that they simply reflect the strength of the orthodox world "subverting" the rigor and passion of the anti-orthodox sentiment.

In this connection we should note an interesting divergence between the attitude of the author-compiler of the 70-chapter version and the successor who added chapters 70 through 120. Hsia perceives what seems to be an intended irony on the part of this second author. The whole of the first 70 chapters are taken up with the gathering of the 108-man band. Only in the supplement does the band actually do anything except plunder and recruit. The emperor, the story goes, is finally persuaded to stop losing generals to the bandits and use them to clean up some problems of his own -- foreign invaders, less "noble" rebels etc. In these efforts the Liangshan band fights well but -- the author implies -- rather naively, since they are all killed off, one by one or several by several. It is only the insistence of the band on remaining loyal to the emperor, the author seems to be saying, that results in their destruction; if they had only remained completely rebellious, they might all have died of old age. 42) But the further and real irony of this is that, according to Hsia, it is the survival instinct which leads the
band to act according to gang morality, and if they had a vital, radical alternative to the status quo they might well have been proud to die for it rather than for the emperor. But the rebels, like the real secret societies, have no such answer.

We close this section by referring briefly to a different kind of "brothers" potentially a part of a counterculture -- the monks. Of the purely religious aspects of the monachal religions we will speak in the next section of this chapter; here of some salient political aspects, principally of Buddhism.

Weber points out that the first objection of the Confucians to the monachal institution was that monks were lazy parasites who depleted the tax and corvée rolls and produced nothing concrete for the state or people. \(^{43}\) Despite this, the Realpolitik of Confucian rule demanded that the vaunted meekness of Buddhism be transmitted to the masses, so that they might be docile, and so Buddhism was usually tolerated. But, Weber goes on, the more basic fear of the Confucians was revealed in the rule that every monk be publicly certified after examination before being allowed to reside in a monastery. That is, it was not the mere existence of individual monks, but the possibility that monkish groups might turn into heterodox fraternal sects with powerful mysteries, dedicated and well-organized followers, and socially conscious leaders that exercised the mandarins.
Judging from the Shui-hu, however, this was not a strong possibility. The Buddhist priesthood as pictured in the novel is little more than an innocuous collection of decaying old men, and the monasteries are shown as little more than groups of timid vegetarian crackpots. There are two major exceptions, which the author is consciously using to mock the powerlessness of the Buddhist clergy but which may in some way also express a dim realization of the potential of monastic groups. Two of the most unruly and formidable of all the bandits, Lu Chih-shen and Wu Sung, are each at one point forced to don priest's clothing as a means of escape from a tight spot. Lu, great vulgar bull that he is, must also spend considerable time in the company of what he regards as puny and querulous monks. The interesting thing is that having reluctantly adopted monkish garb and seudo-identity, neither Lu nor Wu ever relinquish them. Wu Sung even adopts "priests' knives" as his main weapon, a thing of great importance to a warrior, of course. The sight of a certified hao-han in monk's clothing is ridiculous -- almost unthinkable -- to those characters who have not met the two bully-boys, but the two never apologize, and must in some obscure way convinced of the suitability of their guises. The implications are never drawn further by the author, however.
D. Cosmic Order and Disorder

There is one other major way in which the military-gymnastic style and social morality of the hao-han make a challenge to orthodoxy. This challenge may be said to arise to some extent from the concern for justice mentioned in our summary above (p.29) as item 11, since the definition of justice is opponents. But one can identify differences not only in the concept of justice but in the different parties' concept of how the natural and supernatural worlds are constructed and may be expected to behave. Specifically, the "rebel cosmology" entertains a tolerance towards social disorder which is lacking in the orthodox cosmology and which is extremely threatening to orthodoxy.

One aspect of this is quite straightforward, and arises from the fact that the orthodox are powerholders and the rebels are not. The villains of the novel (corrupt ministers and ambitious scoundrels like Kao Ch'iu, the chief enemy of the band) are above all afraid they will lose power, and naturally look on the growing power of the rebels with the most practical kind of antipathy. But the threat of being removed from exercise of political power is only part of a larger and deeper fear, that the cosmic fabric itself is somehow inimical to human aspiration and human happiness, however defined.

R. Solomon has discussed this fear with considerable insight, and we should first cite his description of the "psychocultural" forces at work in traditional China.
The social concerns which have dominated the development of China's political institutions... center about the polarity of "unity versus conflict". Historians perceive a rhythm in Chinese political life which reflects this polarity, the so-called "dynastic cycle": the alternation of periods of ordered peace and social stability with episodes of disintegration and violent conflict. One of the philosophers of the Confucian tradition in centuries past saw this rhythm as elemental to human society: "A long time has elapsed since this world of men received its being, and there has been along its history now a period of good order, and now a period of confusion."

Ordinary Chinese see this alternation of order and confusion in the context of the conflict between the centralized authority of the emperor versus regional, clique, or clan groupings. Confucian philosophers relate this social rhythm to the moral qualities of the man who wields imperial power. Both philosopher and peasant share common ideals of peace, harmony, political unification and "The Great Togetherness" (ta-t'ung), and fear of confusion (hun-luan), social disintegration, and violence.44

Solomon here opposes two poles of cosmic impact on human history: order and chaos. But he brackets together the two social groupings he mentions, the elite and the peasants as both associated with order. We suggest that it is possible hypothetically to match the pole of cosmic chaos to a prominent social element: the military-gymnastic order so clearly represented by the rebel hao-han of the Shui-hu Chuan.

Turning from interpretation to historical fact, the intervention of the hao-han into the dynastic cycle often (but not always) came in the most direct and threatening way: some dynasties were overthrown or seriously undermined by
rebellions led by men skilled in the martial arts who started out as bandits. Although the rank and file of large-scale rebellions included many peasants uprooted from their life of cultivation, there is every indication that such rebellions were led not by peasants but by men of military skills and assorted declasse occupations (salt smuggler, monk, charlatan, etc.)⁴⁵ It seems likely that the hao-han style was the dominant moral-political element of such rebellions, and that despite the common term "peasant rebellion" peasant styles were little in evidence.

We have already said something of the political culture of such men. They scorned peasant life if they were from the countryside, idealized military glory and bravery, dedicated themselves to a life of chastity and physical fitness, proclaimed social justice, often sought official positions as military officers, or just as often lived hand to mouth as "free-lance" bullies or criminals. There seems to have been in their minds a certainty that they should and could exercise power, and that their skills and ideals made them formidable men to be reckoned with. While this was quite true, they received their share of career disappointment in seeking outlets for their ambitions.

We do not attempt here to answer the question of why such men turned to outlawry or how bandit rebellions started. We merely note that up until the time when the Shui-hu became a formally transcribed novel, at least, they were a highly
salient factor in Chinese social and political life. And if we may characterize that saliency, they seem to have had in the last analysis an almost purely disintegrative effect on the social bonds of the society around them.

This, at least, is the hypothesis the Shui-hu readily gives rise to. We should perhaps first make clear that we are not dismissing out of hand the claim of the bandits to be a truly constructive force in society -- the guardians of moral integrity and social justice who resist the degeneracy and vulgar greed of the mandarins. Hsia does reject it:

It is the old story of an underground political party which, in fighting for its survival and expansion, becomes the opposite of what it professes to be.\(^{46}\)

It is clear from Hsia's use of the term "political party" that his remarks are meant to have a contemporary meaning, presumably criticizing the Chinese Communist Party. Although we surmise that there is a valid connection between the rebel tradition and the modern Chinese revolutionaries, this is not it. Hsia is closer to the mark when he says

[The novel] is a political fable which supports the paradoxical observation that, whereas official injustice is often the condition of individual heroism, the banding together of heroes frustrates that and creates a reign of injustice and terror far more sinister than the regime of corrupt officials.\(^{47}\)

We need not assess, as Hsia does, whether the effect of
bandit depredations on society was more or less sinister than
the less spectacular but perhaps more constant exactions of
orthodox tyranny. The reason Hsia's extreme language seems
appropriate is that he has correctly perceived that the
bandit rebels lacked the demonstrated potential of the
Confucians to be both constructive and destructive -- they
could only be the latter. The Shui-hu in this scene is more
than a simple storyteller's legend or prose epic or
entertaining romance. It is a tragedy, for the same reason
that the plays of Sophocles or Aeschylus are, despite the
profound cultural discontinuities involved in the comparison.
That is, they portray a situation of ironically frustrated
attempts by men to achieve some true moral stature. Oedipus 48)
aspires to the virtue and legitimacy of kingship in a way
that would have been quite understandable to Confucius or
Lao-tze, but through the workings of his fatal (and fated) flaw
his altogether natural and praiseworthy effort is brought to
grief. The rebel bandits of the Shui-hu seek to guard and
promote social morality and human justice, but, flawed by
their passions for power or revenge or psychic relief 49) from
social restraints, they bring misery and insecurity instead.

As we have noted above and is quite obvious, the Shui-
hu is an affirmation of a religious tradition different from
and in some ways opposed to Confucianism. By the time of the
Ming (or even Sung), this religion, in some aspects much older
than Confucianism, had partly become institutionalized along
patterns prescribed by Buddhism and Taoism, but partly also it
existed as an eclectic folk religion stressing animism, a broad
pantheon of human-like, sometimes intercessory divinities, and
worship in temples as opposed to the Confucian worship of
ancestors at home. The meeting ground of Taoist and Buddhist
concepts with folkish concepts of the supernatural was
mysticism. Both Buddhism and Taoism had important though
somewhat dissimilar traditions of eremitism, meditation, trances
union with supernatural forces, magic (chiefly Taoist), secret
wisdom, initiation, and rites which were fairly compatible with
archaic or local traditions of shamanism, spirit possession,
fertility cults, etc. Confucianism, on the other hand, stressed
the virtues of moderation, order, calculation, worldly success,
propriety, statecraft -- the "managerial" virtues of those who
were or wanted to be a political, social and economic elite,
and all diametrically opposed to the transcendental-mystical
aspects of the "counter-religion". The specifically religious
side of Confucianism was expressed in the three cults of Heaven,
the state, and the ancestors.  

All these cults could be regarded as different expressions
of the same religious and social attitudes. "Heaven" is clearly
the supramundane equivalent of the religious-political institu-
tion of the Emperor, who mediated between heaven and his
subjects. Heaven was not a god, or a father, or a redeemer,
but the symbolic summation of a bureaucratic-hierarchical
political principle. Weber points out that the "supradivine, impersonal" nature of Heaven served to "sanction the validity of eternal order and its timeless existence. The impersonal power of Heaven ... revealed itself in the regimen on earth in the firm order of nature and tradition ... and in what happened to man. The welfare of the subjects documented heavenly contentment and the correct functioning of the order." The emperor, combining secular and spiritual authority, "above all had to secure good weather for the harvest and guarantee the peaceful internal order of the system."51) Confucius did not deny the relation between man and a higher cosmic order, but sought to reduce this relation to one of order and predictability, as opposed to mysticism.

Weber notes that mysticism is the frontier between Confucian religious orthodoxy and heterodox cults. Confucianism was able to see the appeal of mysticism, and made some efforts to co-opt it from time to time, but, perhaps inevitably, always ended up excluding "all ecstatic and orgiastic vestiges of the cult, and like the Roman nobility of office, rejected these as undignified." Taoism, Weber notes, "did not seek the orgiastic ecstasy...; rather, like all mystic intellectuals, [Taoists] sought apathetic ecstasy" -- a state which is functionally similar to the Buddhist nirvana. Weber notes that both Confucianists and Taoists accepted the idea of the Tao (道) or Way -- an eternal arch-symbol of all being." But for Taoists, "the supreme good was a psychic state,
a unio mystica...."52)

We clearly see in the Shui-hu the alliance of the military-gymnastic ethic and certain of these mystical forces which compete with and threaten the Confucian world-view. First, the novel is heavily populated with priests and adepts of the magical arts, who are usually shown to have great power and who usually place this power at the disposal of the rebels. Perhaps most impressive of these figures is "Lo the Most Holy," the teacher of Kung-sun Sheng, the bandits' powerful magician. Lo is unwilling to let Kung-sun Sheng leave the hermitage to help Sung Chiang out of difficulty, so Li K'uei, with his usual bloody impetuosity, steals into Lo's study at night and splits him in two with his fearsome battle axes, killing an acolyte to boot. But much to Li K'uei's surprise, the next day the Most Holy is whole and sound, and takes the occasion to suspend Li K'uei in the empty air over a cliff, chiding him:

"I have always been a priest, one who has renounced the world, nor have I ever offended you and why did you come leaping in the night and split me with your axe? If I had not completed myself in virtue, I would have been killed and moreover you did kill and acolyte of mine."
But Li K'uei replied hastily, "It was not I. You have maybe mistaken me for another!"
Then the holy man laughed and said, "Although what you split was only two gourds, yet is your heart too evil. I shall make you eat a little bitterness and suffering before you go. And he beckoned with his hand and shouted out, "Go!"
Then did an evil fierce wind blow Li K'uei up into the clouds. There two guardian gods, their heads tied in yellow kerchiefs, laid bold on Li K'uei and they went away with him...

(The odds take Li K'uei to a magistrate's court, where Li is drenched with offal to exorcise spirits and thrown in jail.) As this passage makes clear, the power of the Taoist adept is partly that of illusion. This is true also of Kung-sun Sheng, who creates illusions to befuddle and discomfit the enemies of Liangshanp'o. The nature of the magic is secret lore and "words of power", perhaps expressive of the power accruing to the literate class in many traditional societies, China, among them. When such power is used, the seeming solidity of the universe gives way to a topsy-turvy world of whirling clouds and storms and fire and inexplicable darknesses -- a graphic picture of that chaos which we claim the bandits stand for.

The greatest powers those "perfect in virtue" in the Taoist tradition can aspire to are the power of illusion and the power to throw one's enemies into confusion -- exactly as the villains of the piece do themselves. There is no other separation in moral terms between the things the bandits do and the things their supposedly evil opponents do. There are only three major purposes behind the bandits' sallies out of their hideout: 1) to steal, as robbers will; 2) to lure some renowned hero into a position where he will be forced to flee
from the government and join the bandits; and 3) revenge, often taken after the rescue of a bandit in trouble. For all the high-sounding talk of justice and "the people", the result of these offensives is usually the destruction of many people. The climax of all these efforts is simply that 108 good fellows have escaped from harm and are banded together--no more. In some cases, evil officials have been removed by bandit action, but no territory is "liberated"; no rule of justice has been placed on the land; the evil ministers in the capital still have the emperor's ear; and all that has changed is that Liangshanp'o has become more secure and that many people are dead.

In the longer 120-chapter version, this most unsatisfying ending is allowed to give way to the exploits of the band once they have gathered and been blessed. In a somewhat tortured effort to provide the bandits with some positive accomplishment it is related that at great cost to themselves they save the nation from foreign conquest and harassment by "bad" bandits, all in the name of the emperor. The final chapter of this version is a moving testimonial to the brotherly bonds between Sung Chaing, Wu Young, Li K'uei, and others, as they die betrayed. But even at the end of this expanded version, the bandits have not dealt effectively with the evil at the center of orthodox power, and it is hard to say what positive things they have done which could begin to outweigh the destruction they
themselves have caused; we are reminded that really Sung Chiang and the others have died for nothing. The bandits have on their side the "magic" of charisma, and the magic of Taoist illusion -- and all they have produced is the illusion of virtue and the reality of destruction.

It is difficult to understand the strength of the bandits' conviction of their own virtue and their blindness to the real existence of evil in themselves and in existing insi institutions unless we make clear that virtue for the hao-han was something magical religions do, the Taoist-Buddhist-animist counter-religion of the mass of the people and of the rebels makes its chief distinction not that between the good and the evil, but between the clean and the unclean. Weber feels that this emphasis on personal purity blocked the development of a sense of "a satanic force of evil against which pious Chinese, whether orthodox or heterodox, might have struggled for his salvation." C.T. Hsia aptly relates this to the Shui-hu, referring to the "pathetic defeat of the rebel band at the hands of the bad ministers because it has never properly stood up to their evil." Both the rebel leaders and the emperor "cannot cope with the objective reality of an evil force" -- an evil "beyond the solution of Confucian dedication and underworld chivalry." 55)

We must in concluding this chapter on the Shui-hu address ourselves to the question of the subcultural integrity of
the groups we have identified above. In the case of the bandit rebels, this, is easy to do, and our remarks have already made it clear that the bandit rebels are an especially close-knit group with a common, unique set of values and customs. There is great solidarity between the hao-han, both before and after they have joined the band (though in different ways) and there is a high consciousness of the corporate existence and style of the band. They not only share values, they share a mission: to fight against the unclean, especially in government, and they proclaim their willingness to die for this goal. As we have noted, in their deeds the hao-han tend to be unable to apply this goal constructively and often end up doing selfish and vicious things. We see this not as a denial that a military-gymnastic subculture exists, but as evidence that it cannot solve the problems of survival, power, and morality in a new and successful way.

The relations between the dominant culture and this variant culture are characterized in the Shui-hu as thoroughly antagonistic. There is, however, a paradoxical reinforcement of the dominant culture in terms that fit Kluckhohn's paradigm described in the introduction. In the novel, the failure of the bandits to deal with the root of the evil in the government destroys them and renders their protestations of virtue hypocritical; in history, hao-han
rebellions which succeeded in overthrowing the existing regime were unsuccessful in establishing some new form of political and social morality. In both cases, the legitimacy of Confucianism as the only conceivable political morality was strengthened by default.

We also consider that the monkish or heterodox religious groups depicted in the Shui-hu may be considered as part of a variant subculture. They too are the heirs of a long tradition of non- and anti-Confucianism, have a high degree of group consciousness and solidarity (as indeed any fraternally organized group would have to have), and live in conspicuously different ways than Confucianism enjoins. Historically, the heterodox religions seem to have at some periods posed a serious threat to orthodoxy, both by allowing people to opt out of the whole effort to keep the dominant culture going and by seeking anti-mandarin political power through the favor of the emperor. But in the Shui-hu we see them apparently in a period of desuetude; their antinomian styles pose a rather sterile symbolic threat to orthodoxy than none at all; it may siphon off political discontent, but cannot really shake the power of the status quo.

We should here mention that our major criterion for deciding whether a group is or is not a subculture is the extent we can explain the coherence of the group only in terms
of the broad set of rules or customs which determine its behavior and distinguish its behavior from other kinds. 58)

If, however, we are able to sufficiently "explain" behavior by reference to some lesser or partial standard, we need not call the group in question a culture. Valentine points out, 59) for example, that if explanation of a group's behavior may be made through reference to its economic values and practices, we may legitimately call it a class. The groups we have mentioned above are clearly not classes on this standard, but important groupings in the later novels will indeed turn out to be classes, with considerable implications for their anti-orthodox potential.

E. The Challenge of Charisma and Its Heritage

The cohesion of the military-gymnastic subculture is connected to and reflected by the three challenges, which are themselves connected. It is obvious that sexuality and fraternality must have some connection, because socializing to brother or father (sister/mother) roles must include the sexual aspect. It is in no way surprising to find the heavily father dominant Confucian also highly misogynistic, since it might be imagined that protecting paternal power also required protecting male power. It is more interesting to find that there is no diminution in the
misogyny of the brother-oriented warrior subculture -- perhaps even an increase in the intensity of fear and hatred of women. It may be suggested that since the major confrontation of power and values between the paternal culture and the fraternal is one of male against male, no other differentiation of attitude toward the female need be found. What differentiation there is we have mentioned above.

It is a matter of definition that the profound differences between these two cultures which we term as above a confrontation are reflected in their differing eschatological viewpoints, and it seems clear as well that these eschatologies are compatible with the sexual and fraternal aspects of the two cultures. Heterodoxy was not simply a matter of theological disagreement. It was based on and itself formed a base for fraternal principles of organization (e.g., both monks and warriors), and involved injunctions to chastity and purity which, it was felt, must inevitably accompany or even produce charismatic power and legitimacy. The Shui-hu shows us that the three challenges are intimately and inevitably connected and that they were indeed challenging to the power of Confucian orthodoxy.

In reading the above discussion, the reader familiar with the history of modern Chinese social movements may already have remarked the similarity between certain aspects of the bandit style as revealed by the Shui-hu and aspects of historical and
even modern political events. In fact, we claim in this study to have identified two sorts of continuities within what seems to be a fairly coherent and ongoing anti-orthodox or charismatic tradition: the continuity of the sexual, fraternal and eschatological themes in the anti-orthodoxy of traditional China, and the continuity of traditional anti-orthodoxy with modern. We should here briefly explicate the latter point, and then in the succeeding chapters explain in detail the former point, examining at the same time the prominent theme of development and change within the charismatic tradition.

To briefly point up the extent of the survival of the military-gymnastic style into the modern period we need speak only of two major figures: Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the charismatic leader of the mid-nineteenth-century Tai-ping rebellion, and Mao Tse-tung.

The early background of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan -- particularly his relations with his parents -- is not sufficiently known, but we do know that his family was poor (like almost everyone's) and determined to set Hsiu-ch'uan on the road to learning and success. The family was, however, of the Hakka ethnic group living in Kuangtung province as a despised minority, which, we assume, must not have helped Hung's chances of worldly success. In any case, he studied enough to take and fail the examinations several times. In a state of physical and psychic
collapse after the last of these failures, he came upon a missionary tract and was caught up in a new and mystical vision of himself as leader of a new millennial movement based on the formal ethos of Christianity but with the indelible outlines of Chinese cultural forces. His followers were at first generally borderline or declassé semi-educated types like himself, briefly characterized by Eberhard as "charcoal makers, local doctors, peddlers, (and some rich) farmers." The movement grew to overwhelming proportions, however, occupying at its height most of China, and counting the most disparate groups among its followers. It should not surprise us to learn that fraternal relations were the structural basis of the movement/army's organization; Hung proclaimed himself the younger brother of Jesus and derived his political legitimacy from this relationship. We might also expect from what we know of the sexual challenge to orthodoxy that the respectable misogyny of Confucianism would be rejected by the Tai-pings, and this was the case. Equal rights for women were proclaimed, but women appeared perhaps most prominently in the bandit-amazon role so prominent in the Shui-hu. That Hung based his new vision on a "counter-eschatology" growing out of religious mysticism is obvious -- and what is almost as obvious is that the specific Christian doctrines incorporated were all subordinated very forcefully to the Chinese cultural (or
counter-cultural) context. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan was the charismatic leader par excellence, the bearer of a personal strength and virtue, a prophet and miracle worker, and the self-proclaimed instrument for revealing orthodox injustice and instituting a new realm of absolute good. Thus Hung shows strongly the major elements of the military-gymnastic tradition and the heterodox religious tradition. We would also suggest, but cannot take the space to prove conclusively that there was something of the alienated bourgeois about Hung -- an element which was to prove much more important in the case of Mao Tse-tung, whose movement succeeded where Hung's failed.

Of Mao we want to say more at the end of the study. At this point we merely quote what Mao told Edgar Snow of the saliency of the "outlawed" and "wicked" books and ideas in his formative period, which shows the continued availability of anti-orthodox ideas in the early twentieth century:

My father had two years of schooling and he could read enough to keep books. My mother was wholly illiterate. Both were from peasant families. I was the family 'scholar'. I knew the Classics, but disliked them. What I enjoyed were the romances of Old China, and especially stories of rebellions. I read the Yo Fei Chuan (Chin Chung Chuan), Shui Hu Chuan, Pan Tang, San Kuo, and Hsi Yu Chi, while still very young, and despite the vigilance of my old teacher, who hated these outlawed books and called them wicked. I used to read them in school, covering them up with a Classic when the
the teacher walked past. So also did most of my schoolmates. We learned many of the stories almost by heart, and discussed and rediscussed them many times. We knew more of them than the old men of the village, who also loved them and used to exclaim over stories with us. I believe that perhaps I was much influenced by such books, read at an impressionable age.

"I finally left the primary school when I was thirteen and began to work long hours on the farm, helping the hired labourer, doing the full labour of a man during the day and at night keeping books for my father. Nevertheless, I succeeded in continuing my reading, devouring everything I could find except the Classics. This annoyed my father, who wanted me to master the Classics especially after he was defeated in a lawsuit due to an apt Classical quotation used by his adversary in the Chinese court. I used to cover up the window of my room late at night so that my father would not see the light. In this way I read a book called Words of Warning (Shen Shih Wei-yen), which I liked very much. The authors, a number of old reformist scholars, thought the weakness of China lay in her lack of Western appliances -- railways, telephones, telegraphs and steamships -- and wanted to have them introduced into the country. My father considered such books a waste of time. He wanted me to read something practical like the Classics, which could help him in winning lawsuits. "I continued to read the old

"I continued to read the old romances and tales of Chinese literature. It occurred to me one day that there was one thing peculiar about these stories, and that was the presence of peasants who tilled the land. All the characters are warriors, officials of scholars, there was never a peasant hero. I wondered about this for two years, and then analyzed the content of the stories. I found that they all glorified men of arms, rulers of the people, who did not have to work the land, because they owned and controlled and evidently made the peasants work it for them.

"My father, Mao Jen-sheng, was in his early days, and the middle age, a sceptic, but my mother devoutly worshipped Buddha. She gave her children religious instruction, and we were all saddened that our father was an unbeliever. When I was
nine years old I seriously discussed the problem of my father's lack of piety with my mother. We made many attempts then and later on to convert him, but without success. He only cursed us, and, overwhelmed by his attacks, we withdrew to devise new plans. But he would have nothing to do with the gods.

"My reading gradually began to influence me, however; I myself became more and more sceptical. My mother became concerned about me, and scolded me for my indifference to the requirements of the faith, but my father made no comment. Then one day he went out on the road to collect some money, and on his way he met a tiger. The tiger was surprised at the encounter and fled at once, but my father was even more astonished and afterwards reflected a good deal on his miraculous escape. He began to wonder if he had not offended the gods. From then on he showed more respect to Buddhism and burned incense now and then. Yet, when my own backsliding grew worse, the old man did not interfere. He only prayed to the gods when he was in difficulties.

"Words of Warning stimulated in me a desire to resume my studies. I had also become disgusted with my labour on the farm. My father naturally opposed this. We quarrelled about it, and finally I ran away from home. I went to the home of an unemployed law student, and there I studied for half a year. After that I studied more of the Classics under an old Chinese scholar, and also read many contemporary articles and a few books."63)
CHAPTER 3

Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng: Individual Characters

As we have just pointed out, we regard the rebel bandit style as portrayed in the Shui-hu as the hard core of anti-orthodoxy, at least insofar as we may perceive it through popular novels. This hard core exhibited considerable durability in unchanged form, we suggest, and thus forms a linking the anti-orthodoxy of the pre-modern period with that of the modern. Now we must pass on to description and analysis of our two later novels. They will show certain elements of continuity with the military-gymnastic tradition, elements which again seem best classified as sexual, fraternal, and eschatological. They will also, however, show new elements which, we feel safe in concluding, portray real change in the anti-orthodox tradition. The nature and direction of this change may be briefly expressed by the terms "bourgeois" and "bohemian", which we use to designate social elements which became increasingly prominent in Ming and Ch'ing China and which had a decisive effect on the course of anti-orthodoxy, introducing the potentiality for real revolution.

It is our suggestion that Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng may usefully be seen as forming a two-stage progression in the development of bourgeois and bohemian styles, and that this development of a truly revolutionary potential out of what had been a cultural "habit" of mere rebellion. The styles associated with both rebellion and revolution, with traditional anti-orthodoxy and modern anti-orthodoxy, with bandit and bohemian, go to define a permanent but changing "cultural ideal"
of charismatic political behavior and attitudes opposed to Confucian orthodoxy and eventually over-throwing it.

Although this developmental or diachronic aspect is one which we stress heavily, we cannot structure the chapters of this study on Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng entirely in chronological sequence. This is so chiefly because, although we feel it incontrovertible that Chin P'ing Mei is evidence in many ways of the author's anti-orthodoxy, it contains no rebellious or openly anti-orthodox figure. If we could simply compare the character types of the three (or two) novels to reveal a developmental progression of anti-orthodoxy, our task would be simple. But it is not until the Hung Lou Meng that we see an anti-orthodox protagonist who may be compared directly with the hao-han -- the famous Pao-yu whom we have already mentioned.

Thus we structure the treatment of the two later novels as follows: first, we consider important individual characters in both novels -- starting with Pao-yu -- in order to reexplicate in terms of the central figures of the "family" novels the sexual, fraternal, and which were introduced in terms of the Shui-hu and which join all elements of the charismatic tradition. Second, we suggest what groups these characters seem to fall into so that we may make certain generalizations about political styles on the "macro-" level. Thirdly, we attempt to show the relations between characters and groups themselves and between them and the forces of society and the cosmos as revealed in the plot devices of the novels. While much of the nature of the development of anti-orthodox styles will be apparent in this exposition, we will in the final chapter of this study explicitly consider the
question of the development of revolutionary potential within the charismatic tradition.

In this chapter we discuss the chief characters of the later two source novels. Ian Watt, in analyzing the rise of the novel in England\textsuperscript{1)}, points out that one of the characteristics of the new genre is the greater concern for individual characters as individual people, not simply as types. This seems to have occurred in China as well, with certain social implications we will discuss in later chapters. We have already seen that the characters of the Shui-hu are partially individualized, but still essentially variations on types, chiefly the hao-han type.

In Chin P'ing Mei, the next novel chronologically, and one directly utilizing story and characters derived from Shui-hu, we see a different situation. Time has brought greater emphasis on the individuality of the characters in general. There are, for one thing, far fewer main characters -- perhaps a dozen as opposed to several dozen -- and more time and effort can be spent by the author on each one. We certainly feel we know Hsi-men Ch'ing much better after a few chapters of Chin P'ing Mei, for example, than from his brief appearance as a foil to Wu Sung in Shui-hu. But much more has happened in Chin P'ing Mei than this gradual change. We find that Chin P'ing Mei is the first of our novels to give interested, detailed character portrayals of individual wo men -- a quantum jump in novel-writing technique and one which must reflect in some way a greater saliency of women and their problems in the mind of the writer and perhaps even in the society of the
period. In fact, in our discussion of individual characters of CPM below, we will speak chiefly of the female characters, because the male ones are much less interesting or complicated in the author's treatment, with the exception of Hsi-Men Ch'ing himself, whom we want to "save" until a later chapter.

A second new tendency is visible in Chin P'ing Mei: concern with giving individualized characteristics to servants and members of the lower class. The major attention in Shui-hu Chuan is to heroes and the heroic, even though many of the heroes are of fairly humble origin. The major attention in Chin P'ing Mei is still to what we might call the "upper-middle-class" figures like Hsi-men Ching's wives -- or more exactly to the characters of the women during the time they live upper-class lives, which is often only part of their careers. But we have some hastily-drawn but at least minimally individualized pictures of servants, merchants, priests, medical practitioners of various degrees, of learning, maids, harlots, etc. We need add only that in Hung Lou Meng, written almost 200 years later, these pictures of the lower class are even more carefully drawn and represent quite important contributions to the stock of characters in the novel; and the treatment of women is even more sensitive.

Obviously, for the purposes of the present study this widening out of the scope of novelistic concern to "non-heroic" character types and groups is welcome, because we may reasonably expect to find in these types of characters considerable information on anti-orthodoxy. Of the groups or classes themselves we will speak in the next chapter. Here
we should realize that along with the increased attention by authors to
the tasks of portraying individual characters went an increased attention
to certain kinds of characters.

The immediate effect of this on our delineation of characters in this
chapter is that we must select which to discuss. We have in the first
chapter already introduced the reader to Chin Pao-yu, the extremely
unconventional protagonist of Hung Lou Meng, and mentioned a number of
hypotheses of ours concerning challenges to orthodoxy represented by
Pao-yu and his functions in the novel. We will give more detail below,
and our choice of him as a central character to consider was dictated
by the spontaneity with which hypotheses arose out of his character and
function. Other characters leap to mind in this regard, but we should
attempt to devise some way of choosing the major or most interesting
characters before choosing further.

We cannot say that we will choose a character representative of
each major group discussed in the novels, because we plan to identify the
groups inductively from the characters, not vice versa. The general
criterion should be the character's function in the novel: is he/she
important in making the novel work? This is not merely to say
important in making the action of the novel go, but also in saying
whatever it is the novel has to say in all ways, plot, symbolism,
character or in terms of Hung Lou Meng, this is criterion enough to
select several more characters to be considered: Pao-Yu's female
cousins, Black Jade and Pervading Fragrance2), the Matriarch of the
Chia family, and Phoenix, the hard-nosed "businesswoman" of the family,
and Chia Cheng, Pao-Yu's stern, harassed Confucian father.

We have already made some comment on the character of Chia Pao-Yu, and we should start our detailed discussion of characters with him and the others we have chosen from Hung Lou Meng. First consider the following list of key characteristics of the novelistic figure Pao-Yu: He is bisexual -- or perhaps "ambisexual" would be a better term, designating a kind of diffuse willingness to find comradesely and sexual love among contemporaries of various roles and sexes, e.g., cousins (male and female), actors (male), or servants (female).

He is extremely sensitive to moral and social forces, reflecting these influences in bodily health and mental and emotional attitude.

He is "nature's gentleman": without artifice, sensual, temperamental--yet is refined and sensitive in dealings with others.

His motivations could be described as "inspired" or "anti-prudent" as opposed to "calculating" or "pragmatic".

He receives considerable guidance for his actions from supernatural elements, through the media of dreams and visions.

He is the incarnation of a supernatural being and thus bears a clear and important predestination and shelters under the protection of the elemental natural and supernatural forces.

He is guileless, "simple" to the point of seeming insane, but his seeming insanity is always revealed in the end as inspiration -- an apprehension of truth beyond the preception of conventional folk.

His strong sense of destiny and naturalness lead him occasionally into temper tantrums, but he usually manifests conspicuous unselfishness and even unselfconsciousness. His manner is amiable, not domineering,
but he can be sure of himself as one who has found The Way.

He is passionate, uncontrolled, impetuous; also easily thrown into
severe depression.

He is portrayed as the incarnation of beauty and the most sensitive
appreciator of beauty, and the artistic and true cultivation in the novel.

He is conspicuously uninterested in the social conventions, careers
and ambitions, and other adult institutions of the society he lives in --
in short, he sees adulthood as equivalent to conventionalization,
stultification and downright evil and refuses to grow up.

We cannot draw a hard and fast line between a character's
qualities (static) and his functions in the action of the novel (dynamic),
but we might point out some of Pao-Yu's functions separately for
purposes of discussion.

His chief function is to oppose the incursion of the
conventionalized adult world into the "Pear Fragrance Court" where he
lives in a sort of adolescent utopia with his female cousins and their
servants. This incursion takes two major threatening forms: pressure
on Pao-Yu himself to study the conventional examination subjects and
prepare himself in other ways as well to be a conventional Confucian
gentleman, and pressure on the young women of his "camp" to succumb
to the shattering conventions of Confucian marriage -- the female
incarnation of adulthood.

Secondly, in his capacity as supernatural being, he reveals to the
reader and other characters the true path of "natural" righteousness and
appropriateness. That is, his anti-conventional attitudes and aspirations
are given the ultimate blessing of heaven and become the novel's chief
standard of right and wrong. We must point out that while Pao-Yu is granted success in both conventional and anti-conventional pursuits (a clearly forced happy ending), his female relatives are mostly failures -- they are forced into death or marriage by fate despite their alliance with Pao-Yu against adult conventions.

Thus we see the pointed opposition of Pao-Yu's way of life and that of his cousins to what is portrayed as orthodox adult upper-middle-class life. Pao-Yu is the bohemian, the eternal adolescent (Peter Pan), and the standard underdog, with the addition of a strong backing from "higher powers" which enable him to be identified as the true moral model of the story and also to triumph over convention despite the tragic loss of his like-minded familiars and allies. The identification of the author with his character and his intent to present an intensely "countercultural" character is made so obvious through his portrayal of Pao-Yu's character and fate, and the portrayal is so sensitive and complete that we feel fully justified in taking Pao-Yu as a most important source of data for this study.

As we have suggested in the last chapter, the hypotheses of this study can best be put as "challenges" to aspect of conventional morality which chafe most aggravatingly on non-conventional figures.

First, the sexual challenge.

In terms of Hung Lou Meng, C.T. Hsia comments:

Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in, therefore, is not merely content to tell a story of autobiographical significance; he has the further compulsion to test that story against all the existing ideals of Chinese culture. Especially in regard to sexual and romantic love a variety of contradictory attitudes is possible. Confucian teaching values the familial aspects of
married love but deplores sexual indulgence and romantic obsession since it regards as a man's primary duty the use of his talents in the service of his country and family...

There is no doubt that Ts'ao Hsueh-h'in consciously places his hero in the romantic tradition of unconventional individualism\(^5\).

Ian Watt, in his discussion of early English novel, points out that the three most conspicuous new emphases in the novels of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding are individualism, commercialism, and romantic sensibility.\(^6\) Clearly, in the figure and role of Pao-Yu, Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in is presenting in very much the same way a challenge to what might be called the "corporatism" of orthodoxy, or the insistence that individual aspiration and happiness be subordinated to moral-social discipline in the interests of orthodox ideological goals; especially a challenge to the specific orthodox insistence that marriage and family matters be divorced from matters of individual happiness or will or personality development; and also to the orthodox insistence that grim and practical reality must be constantly on guard against the "loosening" influence of highly colored or idealized emotions and interpersonal sensitivities.\(^7\)

There are fewer implications of this sexual challenge symbolized by Pao-Yu which we merely mention here, and discuss more fully later. If, as Watt claims, the novel's characteristics mentioned above define or identify in the context of seventeenth-eighteenth century England a new bourgeois value system, can we not say the same of China? This complicated question will be considered in detail below, but we should be aware here that Pao-Yu's characteristics have the broadest social implications.
Let us bring out further challenges to orthodoxy symbolized in the character of Pao-yu, then move on to discussion of other characters to see their relationship to these central concepts.

The second challenge of Pao-yu's "lifestyle" is aimed at the "historical-filial" nature of the dominant culture. As every analyst of China has realized, traditional society was one heavily dominated by fathers and father-images. Pye has acutely noted the functional identity of the father-centered, rigidly ordered and ranked family group and the emperor-centered, rigidly ordered and ranked political system of traditional China. 8)

The "ranking" of everyone in society and family was an obsession in traditional China, and one's own position in life was always defined as being someone else's superior or subordinate. To defy the emphasis on total submission to parents or political superiors was to defy the social system itself.

We see Pao-yu's situation in Hung Lou Meng as forcefully presenting just such a case of defiance. Pao-yu and his cousins and their servants who dwell together in their private courtyard are an age cohort bound by strong "horizontal" bonds in defiance of the pressures to submit "vertically" to conventional authority. The idea of adolescents' relatively great solidarity with peer-groups and defiance of adult authority is a familiar one, of course, and particularly salient, it seems, in contemporary American culture. But in the context of filial-hierarchical orthodoxy in traditional China, this commonplace phenomena can only be seen as subversive in the extreme, and thus it is
presented in Hung Lou Meng.

Pao-yu and the women ("girls" here would not be a condescending description -- all are in their early teens) of his cohort are only partly related by bonds of sexual love, and, indeed, the sexual relationships between them are difficult for them to handle -- they are by no means simply a concupiscent group of oversexed teenagers. The bonds of friendship and common opposition to adults are much more heavily stressed than sexual ones (and a complicated counterpoint of master-servant relationships is also important). Though Pao-yu's freedom from sexual conventions is a challenge to orthodoxy, his relations of comradeship and concern for his female "sisters" and companions is even more a challenge to the destructive wantonness of many actual (versus idealized) adult sex practices, and, as we note, a challenge to adult authority.

Pao-yu enjoys the trust and friendship of all the girls around him, therefore, not because they look upon him as a lover but because, almost alone among their menfold, he sympathizes with their condition and shares their thoughts. 9)

The chief fear of the female members of the Chia family among this coterie (as opposed to the female servants) is that they will have to submit to marriage; that is, to leaving their idyllic Pear Fragrance Court, being expelled from the family, and taking up the wretched life of a novice daughter-in-law in someone else's family. The relations of love and comradeship between Pao-yu and Black Jade and Precious Virtue 10), are not only spontaneous expressions of their personalities but a response of solidarity to this marriage threat: C. T. Hsia again puts it well:
When facing a girl..., Pao-yu is filled with admiration for her embodiment of celestial beauty and understanding, and compassion for the fact that all too soon her celestial essence will be obscured in her forced conformity to a marital state and her inevitable enjoyment, if she survives, of the mean pleasures of greed, envy, and malice. Lust is rarely in his thoughts. His secret wish is not unlike that of a much-admired adolescent hero in recent American fiction: to be a catcher in the rye and rescue all lovely maidens from the brink of custom and sensuality (the comparison is made pointedly in view of Holden Caulfield's disgust with all forms of cant and falsity, his youth and extreme sensitivity, and his capacity for compassion).11)

Thus much of the best qualities in Pao-yu are portrayed as related to his function of helping his cousins delay marriage and to what might be called a "fraternal" bond between them. It is our hypothesis that this "horizontal" organizational principle is a conspicuous feature of the counter-culture and adopted in specific, often conscious defiance of the pressures of the dominant culture on anti-orthodox "actors"12) to assume their proper vertical or filial positions.

But first we should speak of the third major challenge to orthodoxy represented by Pao-yu. Much of the interest in his character lies in the "creative tension" between his character as fool and his role as the spokesman and follower of the true morality as opposed to the conventional. Perhaps this can be shown by comparing some of the assessments made
of Pao-yu by his relatives:

[Pao-yu's mother, to Black Jade as the latter arrives to live at the Yungk--ofu:]
"You will have no trouble with your sisters... But I have my misgivings about that scourge of mine. [Pao-yu;]
... You must pay no attention to him. None of his sisters dare encourage him in the least... He behaves tolerably well if left alone but, if any of the girls encourage him in the least, he becomes quite impossible and may say all sorts of wild things."
[Pao-yu's maid Pervading Fragrance] was given to chiding him for his perverse behavior and was often distressed because he would not listen to her advice.
[Purple Cuckoo, one of Black Jade's maids:]
"Lin Ku-niang (Black Jade) was crying just a while ago because she had unwittingly caused Pao-yu to fly into one of his mad tantrums."
[Pervading Fragrance again:] "Don't you know he (Apo-yu) is a simpleton and that he takes everything seriously?" [13]

The author himself puts it:

As for Pao-yu, he was so simple in nature and so completely guileless that his behavior often struck people as odd, if not mad. He treated everyone alike and never stopped to consider the nearness of kinship of one as compared with another. Often he would unwittingly offend Black Jade, sometimes in his very efforts to please her. [14]

It is clear from several passages that Pao-yu himself feels that he is gauche, and can become depressed by his clumsiness. But, on the other hand, Pao-yu's guidance by elemental forces and thus his claim to have found the Way (The Tao) are never really in doubt. The spark of life in the block of stone which has become incarnate as Pao-yu was
generated by the primal goddess Nu-kua herself, when she used magical stone to repair the Dome of Heaven -- so the first sentences of the novel tell us. The same passage introduces us to a Buddhist monk and a Taoist priest, who possess supernatural powers and transform the Stone into the small piece of jade (inscribed with the four powerful characters "Precious Jade of Spiritual Understanding" (tung ling bao yu 通靈寶玉) -- the last two characters being Pao-yu's given name) which hang around Pao-yu's neck and without which he cannot live. He is clearly the "divine fool" familiar to the Western intellectual and mythic tradition, who appears both as Sir Percival, whose innocent virtue alone leads him to achievements no other mortal could attempt, and as the court jester, who is the only man about the monarch who may speak the truth and that only through the accepted fiction that his words are insane or idiotic.

At the end of the story, Pao-yu, who has lost his jade piece and seen the shattering of the adolescent world of the Pear Fragrance Garden, is reunited with his jade and his destiny by a Buddhist monk, who reveals to him his former life as the divine stone. Pao-yu's cousin (and new wife) Precious Virtue scolds him with the words "Come to your senses!", meaning that Pao-yu should forsake all this monkish mystical talk and go back to preparing himself for the examinations. Ironically, the divine Pao-yu has come to his senses, but sees
he must "abjure the Red Dust (this world)". But, it is explained, "He kept these thoughts to himself, for he did not wish to distress Mme. Wang (his mother) and the others. If he inadvertently betrayed himself, he would disarm suspicion with insane laughter."\(^{16}\)

The figure of Pao-yu thus explicitly challenges the wisdom and effectiveness of virtually everyone else in the novel (except perhaps Black Jade). The irritation he causes various characters shows how narrow their outlook is; they see only the fool and not the element of the divine. Lifting Pao-yu's character and insights to supernatural power and status is in effect lifting his function and his cause -- to oppose the structure and morality of Confucian society -- to the level of transcendentental good of true wisdom.

We must at this point ask who it is who follows Pao-yu's lead in this cause, or what elements Pao-yu may be said to speak for in opposing Confucian orthodoxy. Clearly, his major "constituencies" are youth and women, who are portrayed as the chief victims of the Confucian career mechanism ("system recruitment") and marriage mechanism ("system maintenance").\(^{17}\) Other elements associated with Pao-yu are the bohemian world of actors (often homosexual), esthetes (as opposed to careerist scholars), Taoists and Buddhists (undifferentiated) in their more spiritual aspect, and perhaps even some servants.
Opposed to Pao-yu and the subversive things he stands for are many elements. Most conspicuous is Pao-yu's father, Chia Cheng, an official who leads a harassed life portrayed as both "proper" and hypocritical and who at one point beats Pao-yu almost to the point of death for some imagined slur on the family's respectable name.\textsuperscript{18)} Chia Cheng is, as we might expect in view of Pao-yu's subversive role, the male figure shown as the most completely in opposition to Pao-yu. But it is not only his narrowness and hypocrisy which appear conspicuous; he is also a pathetic character, trapped by his belief in convention and respectability in a life of personal frustration and ineffectiveness. His punishment of Pao-yu is portrayed not as the vicious act of an unprincipled villain, but as the despairing berserk explosion of a man who has been driven to the wall by life's harassments and society's limitations.

Pao-yu is also contrasted to his male cousin, Hsueh P'an, a wastrel-bully type on the lines of Hsi-Men Ching of the Shui-Hu and Chin P'ing Mei. But it might also be said that it is Phoenix, his older cousin's wife and the ruthless manager of the household, who provides the most complete contrast with Pao-yu next to his father, although the two seem never to clash openly. None of the characters of Hung Lou Meng are stereotypes or pastiches, and it is clearly too much to see Phoenix simply as a villain and leave it at that. She is
portrayed as both clever and ingratiating; one knows she is tough as nails but can admire her tact, competence and indispensable good sense and efficiency in managing the tangled business and personal life of the Chia family. We are not disposed at all to regard her as evil or truly ruthless until the incident rather late in the novel in which she mercilessly drives to suicide the blameless and decent concubine of her wastrel husband. There would seem to be more difference, then, between the sort of problem presented to Phoenix by this concubine Er-chieh, and the many problems she deals with in less threatened and threatening terms. It is clear that a sexual element is somehow involved here. Phoenix seems to have responded to the challenges presented to a talented female in a male-dominated society by seeking power and a way to demonstrate capability within the complex web of familial relationships. Students of East Asian cultures can see in Phoenix a prototype of a familiar and still-existing personality-type/social role: the "iron-fist-in-velvet-glove" lifestyle of many extremely feminine but extremely businesslike married female entrepreneurs or managers. We may conjecture that in general the intense, often ruthless energy put into business or large household management by such women is accompanied by and perhaps caused by sexual frustration; this seems definitely to be the case with Phoenix. Her extreme reaction to the challenge of another
woman's openly monopolizing her husband's sexual energies (of which she gets little enough anyway, it is made clear) is thus also a challenge to the prevailing morality of male domination, expressed institutionally in polygamy and concubinage. Although Pao-yu is contrasted to Phoenix in certain ways, and they do not seem ideologically similar, both in their quite different ways express extreme dissatisfaction with orthodox mores concerning sexual activity and male-female roles.

Before going on we must follow up another theme we have begun to concern ourselves with above: women as a community unto themselves. Pao-yu's female cousins can be designated both male and female, as his painstakingly drawn bisexuality signifies, and there seems to be some partial ideological consistency (not conscious solidarity, admittedly) between the viewpoints of Pao-yu and all the females we have mentioned. In the chapter on character groupings below, we will go more into this, but we introduce the concept here so that we may talk intelligibly about another very important female character in Hung Lou Meng -- "The Matriarch".

How can one even speak of a "matriarch" in a completely male-dominated society? The fact is that in Hung Lou Meng this powerful progenetrix is presented as the one female who can have her cake and eat it too" -- that is, serve as the beneficiary and upholder of the orthodox or the status
quo, but also seriously mitigate or dilute the effect of orthodox structures on powerless individuals, and do all this without much compromising her own personal happiness or values. Phoenix, it may be said, is also partly on the side of the "establishment", since she seeks and holds power for its own sake, and partly not, since she suffers so from the power of Confucian institutions -- but this severe limitation on her own ability to be happy is in strong contrast to The Matriarch.

The key to this difference and The Matriarch's comparatively viable existence is clearly seniority -- what might be thought of as a "loophole" in the tight fabric of Confucian ideology. The basis of male domination in traditional China was the emphasis on father-reverence; but the expression of this as parent-reverence (ancestor worship of both sexes, obligation to care for the old of both sexes, etc.) enabled many elderly women (especially widows) to exercise the strong parental power in their own names and only partly according to Confucian precepts. The extreme reversal of role over twenty years from miserable, powerless daughter-in-law to powerful, sometimes vengeful dowager is a commonplace of studies of the traditional Chinese kinship system. In Hung Lou Meng this is clearly brought out. Chia Cheng is the Confucian paterfamilias, as we have noted, but even he must submit to the most humble groveling and
anger-swallowing at the hands of his mother. On the occasion when he loses all control over the storm of emotion aroused in him by a subversive act of Pao-yu's and beats him to the point of death, he is somewhat slowed down by the diplomatically obsequious entreaties of his wife, but when, despite his strict orders, news of the occurrence is brought to the Matriarch, and she is brought to the scene, Chia Cheng's murderous fury is abruptly turned into abject, powerless groveling. The exact shades of emotion depicted are subtle and revealing enough to warrant quoting the passage:

Suddenly a maid announced, "Lao Tai-tai is coming!" Before this electric announcement ceased ringing in their ears, the Matriarch's voice was heard.
"Kill me first and then you can kill him!"
Chia Cheng hurried out to meet his mother. He tried to smile as he said, "Mother should not have come out on a warm day like this. If she wishes anything, she should send for her son and command him."
The Matriarch said sternly, "Are you speaking to me? Yes, I have many things to say but I have borne no obedient son to command."
Chia Cheng was hurt deeply by his mother's words. He fell on his knees and said, "Your son disciplined his son because he has the honor of the family at heart. These words of Mother's - how is a son to bear them?"
"You cannot bear just a few words from me?" The Matriarch said coldly. "Then how could you expect Pao-yu to bear your cruel beating? You say you are trying to bring honor to the family. Have you forgotten, then, how your father brought you up?" The Matriarch's eyes began to fill with tears.
Again Chia Cheng tried to smile. "Please do not grieve, Mother. It is all your son's fault. He could not control himself. He will never touch his son again."
"You need not try to spite me," the Matriarch said.
"You can beat him if you want to, since he is your son. Now you must be getting tired of us. It would be best to leave you alone." She commanded the attendants to get her sedan ready, "I want to return to Chinling immediately with your Tai-tai and Pao-yu," she said. The attendants obeyed. Then she said to Madame Wang, "Don't cry any more. While Pao-yu is young, you love him and suffer for him. But when he grows up, he will forget that you are his mother. It is better not to love him now; then you will be spared future regret."

Chia Cheng kowtowed again and said, "Mother is saying things that make a son wish he were dead."21)

The Matriarch cleverly affirms Chia Cheng's parental right to kill Pao-yu -- as she exercises her own parental right to reduce Chia Cheng to virtual extinction through shaming words. The Matriarch has found a vulnerable point in the orthodox system -- but has exploited it according to the system's own rules.

It would thus be misleading to say simply that because the Matriarch is a woman, yet has much power, and is presented as a reasonably happy and effective personality, she is a figure of both dominant culture and variant culture. This would instead seem to be a case where the dominant culture has left itself flexibility, allowing women in certain ways to exercise real power with impunity -- unlike the case of Phoenix, who finds she can exercise power, but only in the last analysis, with harmful results for herself and others. Symbolically, the Matriarch dies, full of years and surrounded by her myriad progeny, "with a smile on her face;" but Phoenix's "last days
were full of painful experiences" -- accusations, vengeful hauntings by ghosts, and the "openly contemptuous" attitude of the husband "she had in the past held under her thumb." 22) Phoenix attempts to exercise power without the proper seniority, and is condemned, it seems, both by the Confucian "camp" in the novel and by the author himself.

There is, however, an aspect of the role of the Matriarch which enables us to see that she does in fact have a connection with the women's community. Despite her power in the household, it is obvious that she has no power outside it -- that is, in the realm of politics. Within the family, she may crush Chia Cheng or indulge Pao-yu at will, but of course it is Chia Cheng who receives titles and positions and Pao-yu who is being trained to occupy a hopefully high place in the great world outside the family and outside the benevolent despotism.

The most conspicuous female character is probably Golden Lotus, the "Chin" of the title. The novel was developed, as we mentioned above, from an epidose in Shui-hu, and the five major characters introduced there are transplanted to the beginning of Chin P'ing Mei. They are Wu Sung, to become a major hero of the Liangshanp'o bandits, his elder brother Wu Ta, Wu Ta's wife Golden Lotus, who despises him and works up an affair with Hsi-Men Ch'ing through a middle-woman (wife), Old Lady Wang. In Shui-hu, Hsi Men Ch'ing and Golden Lotus, with the connivance of Old Lady Wang, murder Wu Ta, and somewhat later Wu Sung returns and kills them all in revenge: it
is this deed which eventually propels Wu Sung into committed outlawry. In Chin P'ing Mei, all five appear again, but the major part of the novel is intended as a kind of trope between the murder of Wu Ta and the return of Wu Sung. We learn that Hsi-men Ch'ing already has four wives, and is rich enough to keep them all and live a life of permanent debauchery besides. Golden Lotus becomes Wife No. 5, and it is this new status which forms the dividing line for her between the two parts of her life; frustrated poverty as Wu Ta's wife and debauched affluence as Hsi-Men Ch'ing's. To each part she brings a particularly ruthless brand of sulky power greed and sexual insatiability -- and a female charm which bends others (chiefly Hsi-Men Ch'ing) to serve these needs. Hsi-Men Ch'ing is, in terms of plot, the connecting link and enabling factor of most of the action of the novel, but he is essentially passive, the active, "wanting" forces being the women. Golden Lotus wants more than anyone else, and so is responsible for much of the action of the novel. Her role does end about three-fourths of the way through the piece, however, when Wu Sung returns and ritually carves out her heart for her murder of his brother -- but Hsi-Men has already died of sexual excess by this time.

It is made abundantly clear that Golden Lotus is motivated by two gaping, insatiable needs: for security (in the social and
economic sense) and for sex. She may certainly be regarded as a nymphomaniac if intensity of sexual desire is the measure, but the need for security is so closely intertwined with the need for sex that we cannot speak in narrowly Freudian terms alone. That is, we are directed for an explanation of her behavior not so much to her psyche as to the social conditions around her. She is presented as a certain kind of adaptation to the problems a woman has in coping with a society in which the sexual satisfaction and material security of males were the object of much effort on society's part but in which females were correspondingly deprived. She stands out from the novel so starkly and is such a strong figure because she attempts so directly and unequivocally to gain exactly those things of which society has deprived her whole sex. That she is so successful (until the final catastrophe) in doing so is what intrudes the elements of ambiguity and anti-orthodoxy. Ambiguity because her ruthlessness, while presented in fairly dispassionate terms by the author, leads her into acts clearly immoral and destructive of others and heroown best self -- but also leads to partial satisfaction of the quite natural and understandable needs for security and sex. "Success", that is, is not defined as entirely contemptible, but to some extent legitimate. We cannot avoid the feeling, even as Wu Sung takes his revenge, that here was a woman who in life was victim as well
as villain, and the justice of Wu Sung's action is also ambiguous. Golden Lotus is anti-orthodox simply in her refusal to accept the rules of society which condemn her to a narrow, poor, and frustrated life and her contempt for all morality which would stand in the way of her worldly success. The path she has chosen may be regarded as functionally similar to that of Phoenix: ruthless ambition. Like Phoenix, however, her worldly ambitions are the same as the dominant culture's only transferred to a female role. Also, as in the case of Phoenix, she meets with disaster in the end. 33)

The dualism of the life-situation in which other women characters of Chin P'ing Mei are placed is also clearly expressed in the figure of Moon Lady, Hsi-Men Ch'ing's first and senior wife. The contrasts in her life are between her "high" position as senior wife during Hsi-Men Ch'ing's life and her "low" position as widow after his death; and between her willing commitment to the life of resigned propriety which her senior position demands and her desire to be loved and treated as a "natural", individual woman. It is the figure of Moon Lady which more than any other makes us realize that despite its careful descriptions of sexual acts Chin P'ing Mei is much more than mere pornography. If we may regard Moon Lady as filling a familiar and almost stereotyped role in the dominant culture -- senior wife -- we cannot help but see that her full humanity and femaleness contradict the demands of the role as much as they affirm it. In one of her most prominent
appearances in the novel, Moon Lady while on a journey
is succored in distress by a holy Buddhist hermit, who
demands in return that in fifteen years she commit her little
son (Hsi-Men Ch'ing's only son) to the monk as his successor.
The monk makes it clear that it is by predestination that
Moon Lady has met him, and the implication is that Hsi-Men
Ch'ings sins will have to be recompensed by the dedication
of his son's life to the true path of hermetic mysticism.
After this contact with the anti-orthodox Moon Lady's life
changes drastically. As a widow (Hsi-Men has died shortly
before her journey), she no longer has the power or prestige
of the senior wife of a rich magistrate, but nonetheless seems
to find the kind of personal serenity which the character of the
hermit expresses and which is not easy for a woman to find
in Confucian marriage.

There is one female character, however, who is permitted
to find exactly that for a short time. Spring Plum, the
"Mei" of the title, also goes through ups and downs of
existence, but the first one is as the loyal subservient maid
of the spectacular Golden Lotus, and the next is as the
spoiled wife of a rich, doting, older man after Golden Lotus,
death and the last is as a debauched and distracted failure.
It seems that Spring Plum is enabled to find success in an
orthodox female incarnation partly because of sheer chance --
there is much musing about how surprising it is that fortune
has smiled on her by the other characters -- and partly as a
reward for the virtue of loyalty to Golden Lotus. Loyalty was a cardinal virtue of the Confucian ethic, and Spring Plum's example could be used to show that the proper combination of Confucian virtues may lead to happiness. But it seems equally likely that the device of "reversal of fate" so literally used in Chin P'ing Mei simply means that someone who starts off the novel in a low state must go through a high state too.

The last major female figure to be considered is Vase (the "P'ing" of the title), who is first Hsi-Men Ch'ing's neighbor wife and later his own sixth wife. She is an especially sympathetic character, free of Golden Lotus' viciousness and Moon Lady's passiveness, guided by the most understandable of sentiments, capable of making even Hsi-Men Ch'ing behave in a decent fashion — and the pathetic victim of a cruel fate. She comes closer to the Sophoclean definition of tragedy than anyone else in Chin P'ing Mei, or possibly in any of our novels, in that while she is generally high-minded and kind, she has a "fatal flaw" her sexual desires. She is not portrayed as in any sense abnormal in this respect, as is Golden Lotus, but as a normal woman seeking a normal sexual life and also as deeply in love with Hsi-Men Ch'ing, nags him during a time of great trial for him, and he succumbs (as many novelistic characters do) from sheer despair and pressure of circumstances. Vase must undergo a number of trials before
Hsi Men Ch'ing marries her, including a hurried and unsuccessful marriage with a quack doctor. The implication is clear in the novel that neither of these two first husbands can satisfy her sexually, especially by comparison with the hypersexed Hsi Min Ch'ing, and the great reversal in Vase's life comes when she achieves, as she hopes, a stable life as the wife Hsi-Men Ch'ing perhaps loves best of all. Eventually, however, fate crushes her. Golden Lotus by a subterfuge manages to kill her baby son, and Vase, haunted by her first husband's accusing shade, sinks herself into sickness and death, genuinely mourned by all (except the egregious Golden Lotus). It is made clear that justice is on the side of the first husband, and that Vase is being repaid for her sin in hastening his death, but also that she, like the other woman, is the victim of her natural desires for sexual satisfaction. The path of naturalness, goodness, and wisdom for women which she represents is also closed, the novel suggests, because of the uncompromising and hypocritical sexual tenets of the dominant ideology.
CHAPTER 4

Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng: Character Groupings

Our strategy in speaking of the groupings portrayed in the later novels will be to further explicate a test of the three major hypotheses mentioned in the chapter on the Shui-hu Chuan -- the sexual, filial/hierarchical, and eschatological challenges to orthodoxy -- by connecting them with major social groupings shown in the novels. If these groupings fit in with the hypotheses, we will have further grounds for believing the hypotheses to be saying something valid about the novelistic universes, and we will gain a more complete view of what these challenges to orthodoxy involve.

What, then, may we say are the social groupings in the novels which correspond to the sexual challenge to orthodoxy? As we have already intimated above, we feel that many women's roles in the novels are pointedly anti-orthodox. Similarly, bisexual or homosexual groups would have to be considered potentially challenging to orthodoxy. We should on logical grounds if no other also consider groups which are "anti-sexual", i.e., monks and nuns, and eunuchs, if any.\(^1\) All these categories might be said to be implied in our merely stating the sexual challenge; to say anything elucidating we must define and discuss precise sub-groups and show if and how they manifest the anti-orthodox characteristics we impute to them by definition.
First, women. In the Confucian view, women were explicitly to be denied participation in virtually all aspects of social and political life outside the realm of family and sexual affairs, and it might thus be justifiable to claim that the universe of all women in the novels comprises a major potential anti-orthodox group in social and political terms. But this by itself would not advance our effort very far. It is clear that some women in the novels are more consciously stifled by orthodoxy than others, that some acquiesce in the state of affairs, some learn to profit by it, some are unaware of and relatively unaffected by masculine supremacy practices -- in short, we must make distinctions.

We are given some idea of the sorts of things that might be expected to appear in the "women's novels" (Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng) in a recent pioneering study of "women's culture" in contemporary Taiwan by American anthropologist Margery Wolf. Wolf suggests that there is a prominent "women's community" in the society she observes, and that because of the various masculinist ("androcentric" is her word) limitations on women's attitudes and activities they are socialized to a unique, restricted set of values which help them to "cope". Wolf speaks of certain ways that women interact with each other and form certain cliques within the village society which have parameters and functions of various kinds. She also stresses, however, that there are many ways
in which individual women in various roles are fragmented and
alienated from other women because of the necessities of
survival in the male-dominant society.

The degree to which this latter factor predominates in Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng is striking. In looking for
a "women's community" we may consider a number of groupings --
wives, daughters, servants, clerics, courtesans, etc. -- but
when we try to see whether and how these groupings provide the
women in them with any real solidarity or common defense
against masculinist pressures, we find they do not. We may
make this clear by referring to some of the female characters
and roles we have discussed in the previous chapter.

We have pointed out, first of all, that in the lives of
caracters like Golden Lotus and Vase enormous social pressure
is arraigned against their very survival, and that the linked
drives for sexual and "social-security" satisfaction and
individual freedom of action are the principal motivations
for these and other female characters of Chin P'ing Mei. But
there are few occasions when these common drives and goals
produce a community of interest between such characters; on the
contrary, the bulk of the novel is taken up by the intense and
elaborate maneuverings of Hsi-Men Ch'ing's wives against each
other to either gain more sex, security and independence or
to keep from losing what they have. As we have noted, Vase is
a particularly sympathetic character, and the fact that her
suicide is virtually engineered by the ruthless Golden Lotus expresses well the conflict of interests between the wives. Golden Lotus's chosen path to power, satisfaction, and security is through monopolization of Hsi-Men Ch'ing's sexual energies, and this (in her view) puts her in a struggle to the death with any serious rival. One of the few ways women can act on the masculinist world depicted in Chin P'ing Mei is by using sex as a weapon, and this destroys whatever possibility there might be of women's solidarity or an effective women's community.

But it is also important to point out that the real target of the weapon of sex is not other women, but men. That is, the use of sex by women to make themselves powerful in traditional Chinese society may or may not put them in competition with other women, but it definitely implies a loss of power on the part of men. This is not as obvious a point as it may seem. The implication is that even legitimate sex, between man and wife, may threaten the orthodoxy of male supremacy as much as the "lewdness" of rebels (mentioned in chapter 2). Not only may the wife "twist the man around her finger", in the English phrase, thus resulting in a loss of the man's ability to work his own will, but the man may be seriously weakened or even killed by the untoward exertion involved in the strenuous sexual activity demanded by a Golden Lotus. This is, of course, exactly what happens to Hsi-Men
Ch'ing, as the story of his demise makes clear:

With faltering step, leaning heavily on his servant's shoulders, Hsi Men allowed them to lead him to Gold Lotus' pavilion. She was waiting for him, and had not retired for the night. She helped him to undress and put him to bed. He was so overcome by drink and weariness that he could not even cover himself without help. He fell asleep immediately, and presently the sound of his snores filled the room like the rumble of distant thunder.

Gold Lotus lay down beside him. Instead of allowing him to rest, she began, impelled by her insatiable lust, to caress him as usual. But he lay like a man dead. Then she lost patience: she shook him until he woke.

"Where have you put Father Fan's pills?" she asked.

"Oh, do let me sleep! I'm tired; I don't want to do anything more tonight," he grumbled. "But if you really must know, the pills are in my sleeve pocket, in the gold box with the openwork lid."

She rose at once and went through his sleeve pockets. Yes, there was the gold box with the openwork heart in the center of the lid. There were just four pills in the box. She took one out and washed it down with a beaker of mulled wine. Then she filled a second beaker for him, and since she considered that in view of his exhausted condition a single pill might not be sufficiently effective she dropped all the three remaining pills into the beaker.

Now she held the beaker to his mouth, and he, drowsy and intoxicated as he was, swallowed the contents unthinkingly without opening his eyes. Hardly so much time had elapsed as one needs to sip a bowl of hot tea when to her great satisfaction the triple dose began to work threefold efficiency. But only for a time; and then she wondered whey he lay there so motionless and breathless. He had fainted. It was long before he recovered consciousness.

"Ko ko, how do you feel now?" she asked anxiously.

"I feel so strangely dizzy," he said, faintly.
She did not tell him that she had disregarded Father Fan's warning and had given him three pills instead of one.

Valued reader, even lechery has its limits, and the store of virility is not inexhaustible. When the oil gives out the lamp expires, and when no marrow is left in the spine the man dies.

Young woman, how thy body allures!
Yet that soft body conceals
A deadly invisible sword.

But it threatens none with a bloody death;
No: when his loins are drained of life
The libertine meets his pitiful end.

No sooner had Hsi Men got out of bed next morning to dress himself than a dizziness once more overcame him and he collapsed unconscious. It was only because Gold Lotus and Spring Plum sprang forward that he did not strike his forehead against the edge of the bed. When he came to himself again he crept across to an armchair and sank upon the cushioned seat, helpless as an old man. For a long time while he sat there, his head resting wearily against the back of the chair. Gold Lotus tried to persuade him and herself that his weakness was due to an empty stomach, and she sent Autumn Aster to the kitchen for a strengthening soup. Of course, the maid gossiped in the kitchen, and from the kitchen the news had soon reached the women's apartments, that Hsi Men has been overcome by a fit of dizziness that morning, and had fallen unconscious. Moon Lady, in great distress, hurried off to the pavilion of the Fifth. There she found him still sitting limp and apathetic in the armchair.3)

Pye has noted that an important tacit attitude of the dominant culture was that the energy available to any man in his lifetime was finite and subject to total exhaustion (=death) if not husbanded soberly:
Wisdom in life involved knowing the precise pace at which one could properly expand one's exhaustible supply of energy... For children to dissipate their strength and risk exhausting their bodies was seen as dangerously unfilial and a possible threat to family continuity. 4)

Hsi-Men Ch'ing is a pastiche of the virtuous Confucian male: he is much concerned with forms of propriety, as a thorough parvenu must be, but his respect for forms is much overshadowed by his weakness, petulance, dissipation, and selfishness. But though he makes a shabby Confucian, he is a model male chauvinist and in this sense a perfect, not a flawed, symbol of orthodoxy. That he meets his end by having the life (=semen) sucked out of him by a virago is clearly an excellent example of the threat posed to male-dominant orthodoxy by sexual excess, whether in or out of wedlock. We should also appreciate the subtlety and truth of the diffusion of responsibility for Hsi-Men Ch'ing's death. Although it is Golden Lotus whose frantic demands have exhausted Hsi-Men Ch'ing most critically, it is only against the background of the demands of all his wives, mistresses, and whores and his fatuous insistence on "proving himself" with all of them as often as possible that Golden Lotus's attacks can debilitate him and lead to his end. The potential threat to orthodoxy defined as the dominant male, from all women is clear.

There is another sort of threat that the specific
articulation of the Confucian ethic in traditional Chinese society enables women, the dominated, to pose to men, the dominant. It is certainly made clear to women very early in their socialization (especially after marriage) that one of the few ways they may expect to survive and have influence is by becoming the mother of a son (or, better, sons). We need not repeat the well-known Confucian insistence that sons are needed to insure the transmission of the dominant cultural values to another generation. It was the "vertical" or generational aspects of male dominance, expressed through the institution of filial piety and transmission of family and individual worth by the sons that we may imagine made orthodoxy so strong not only in the short run but in the long run—dozens of generations. Weber points out, we may merely note, that (putting it in religious terms) the strength of Confucianism lay in its association both with the state and with the ancestor cult.

But there was an unavoidable flaw in this mechanism of extended male dominance. Filial piety was supposed to (and did) function to benefit and apotheosize not only the father, but the mother as well. Thus even in the holy sanctum of male-comitant orthodoxy, so to speak, women as mothers of sons were granted very considerable power. In the maneuvering for advantage among Hsi-Men Ch'ing's wives, for example, the trump card any wife could produce was a son. It is Vase's bearing of
son, and her subsequent rise to a position of eminence among the wives, that leads to Golden Lotus's scheming to get rid of Vase, and this is accomplished in the most cruel and horrifying way possible by arranging for the "accidental" killing of the baby son and the concomitant breaking of Vase's will to live (an important murder device in the novels, as we will discuss in the next chapter). Thus again we see that positions of potential power for women in Confucian society can be lost through dissension within the women's "camp".

To understand the threat to males and orthodoxy the mother of a son may represent it is only necessary to refer back to the scene from Hung Lou Meng described in the previous chapter: the Matriarch shaming her son into self-degradation at the very instant he is using the formidable power granted to him by society to beat Pao-yu to death. The "Achilles heel", it might be said, of the powerful Confucian paterfamilias is his own mother, whom he must obey and respect absolutely by the same rule from which he draws his own power.

If we may put this into the anthropological term used by Wolf, we may speak of the commitment of married women to the 'uterine family', i.e., the family defined by a mother and her own children. Wolf notes from real life that this definition of family is "the group that has most meaning for (a woman) and with which she will have most lasting ties." She might
as easily have been describing the situation depicted in the "family" novels. We should stress, as the novels do, that the separation of a girl from the family she grew up in upon her marriage is an exceptionally traumatic shock. She has lost her family, and must not only fit into her husband's family but must seek -- often desperately -- for a new definition of family. It is only by having children that the wife/mother can re-define herself as part of any family of her own and only by bearing a son that she can gain real acceptance into her husband's family through which and only through which important survival needs can come. Later, as matriarch, she can indulge her self-supporting affections for her own children and grandchildren while remaining an object of veneration as a parent. The importance to the mother of the uterine family is bound to have wide social consequences, because the mother so closely tied to her children, will have an especially important role to play in their education and socialization, and what she instills in the children will only partly coincide with orthodoxy. In Hung Lou Meng this unorthodoxy seems mainly to take the form of indulgence. In speaking of Pao-yu's education, all the adults agree that he must learn the classics and prepare himself for the examinations, but the women involved -- chiefly Pao-yu's mother, the Matriarch and Phoenix-- when to left to their own resources make a great
show of throwing up their hands and letting the incorrigible misfit Pao-yu do and learn pretty much as he like. The Matriarch especially uses her power to suspend the pressures of Confucian training in favor of what she clearly conceives as a "natural", unstructured life—and learning-pattern for Pao-yu, and the implications is clear that it is this indulgence and looseness in training that enables Pao-yu to continue as a "holy fool" and thus threaten his father's ideas of propriety so thoroughly. Orthodoxy demands strict, positive socialization to orthodox norms. Mere lack of application on the part of the young may allow a subversively relaxed personality to form—and the danger is that women may allow this to happen.

There is another point here. The transmission of orthodox values to the young and other aspects of the maintenance of orthodox people. The family novels show that in the absence of males from many household activities, considerable freedom of action is left to females by default. Whether one regards females as merely insufficiently convinced of the virtue of Confucian values or actually opposed to them, what decisions are made by the women in the absence of males may on the evidence of the novel be expected to be less orthodox, less designed to support orthodox tenets such as male supremacy or filial piety, than if they had been made by male adults consciously
seeking propriety. This is not to say that women consciously seek to subvert orthodoxy, of course. The utterances of the women of the novels are in no way actively subversive. Moon Lady, Hsi-Men Ch'ing's first wife, often speaks of the necessity for all the wives to submit entirely to the desires of "the master", and one looks in vain in Chin P'ing Mei for the "angry young woman" who will consciously and articulately express an anti-orthodox or feminist point of view. Nonetheless, the women in Chin P'ing Mei do things that undermine Hsi-Men Ch'ing's authority: they conspire to hide embarrassing or indiscreet things from him; they individually or together trick him into indulging them; they shame him by appealing to a morality of humaneness beyond Confucian propriety. Hsi-Men Ch'ing is revealed as a fool and reprobate most clearly in his dealings with his wives and other women, since their often unarticulate value systems are often imbued by the author with more legitimacy or ultimate virtue than his vulgar ambition and hedonism. This, in fact, is how the women of the novel are made more sympathetic, more interesting, more valuable than the men; their women's values are portrayed as more truly moral than those of male orthodoxy, and thus are clearly designed by the author to "resonate" more effectively with the truly moral reader. Naturally, there are women and women; Golden Lotus's ruthlessness and greed are in no sense approved of by the
author. What is common to all the women, however, and is
definitely praised by the author, is their naturalness, their
freedom from the narrow and sterile restrictions of orthodoxy.
This naturalness is seen as a vulnerability in women, both in
that men may take advantage of them (as in the case of the
more sympathetic women such as Vase or Moon Lady) and in that
women, if they lack the support of the strong moral code of
Confucius, may allow social pressures to turn them into greedy,
ambitious people (like Golden Lotus). But the vulnerability
of women only seems to add to their moral worth; they are
clearly underdogs and the novel is interested in such people
and presents them sympathetically.

To return to our original point: the above factors explain
why we can find few significant groups or classes of women
which exemplify a variant or "counter"culture. There are
women's special values, there is a women's community, and there
are social and kinship structures dominated by women, but
although all of these can be said to compete in some sense with
the culture of male dominance, most of them do so in a way which
minimizes women's consciousness and women's solidarity in
support of a concept of group interest.

This may be emphasized by noting the women's groups which
are depicted in the novels and their place in the society
depicted by the novels. The most "promising" grouping from
the point of view of potential opposition to orthodoxy might be imagined to be the age cohort of Pao-yu's cousins and their servants who defy Confucian socialization and adulthood through marriage. But this is not really the case. The only characters who are at all conscious of the "campaign" to resist growing up are Pao-yu and Black Jade. The other girls are members of the Pear Garden "community" but the solidarity they feel is one of love and companionship between relative and/or personal servants and is not consciously directed against any person or idea. When Black Jade is dead and Pao-yu on the way to resuming his supernatural incarnation, the other girls are parcelled off to their various fates with little resistance, and in some cases find some sort of happiness in conventional adult roles. Even Black Jade is motivated so entirely by her love for Pao-yu that despite her great sensitivity she scarcely realizes the impossible position she and he are in; when Pao-yu is finally denied her, she simply dies, expressing the impossibility of remaining alive while not growing up.

One may also suggest the class of courtesans and prostitutes, members of which appear prominently in Chin P'ing Mei. Again, although prostitutes have fewer perquisites than wives or concubines, and are often miserable because of the strain and insecurity of their lives, there is no way in which they could be seen as banded together in an interest group or as working to
change "the system". Either the prostitute simply envies the status of wife and would like to attain it or is at least outwardly contemptuous of the tame life of respectable women and determined to get what pleasure she can out of her status "beyond the pale". Her alternate life-style is so obviously and completely one of service to the dominant male that she may be regarded as an integral part of the system even though her lewdness also threatens it in the sense we have noted above.

Buddhist and Taoist nuns (and monks), although embodiments of variant cultural values and in a sense of the dominant culture and exist by it sufferance. The celibate priesthoods of both sexes and both traditions (Buddhist and Taoist) functioned in traditional Chinese society as a way in which individuals whom we might assume were deviant from the dominant culture could "opt out", forsaking political, social, and family success and also the harassments and moral compromises that accompany success. There were ways in which the reclusive religious populations threatened the dominant culture, as we will discuss later, but this had nothing to do with the female qualities of nuns.

We might mention a possible grouping of women which could include sorceresses, medical charlatans, and even midwives. They appear fairly frequently in the novels, and they are shown as playing their alleged connections with the occult or the
basic mysteries of life (birth and death) to the hilt to gain power or money for themselves. But again, they do not act in concert or possess even a "guild" consciousness. As potential opponents of the dominant culture, they are all bluster and no fight.

A final group to consider might be the procurers and go-betweens, a prominent occupational group among non-elite women. They are presented as tough, clever and glib and often crucial in the action of plots. The prominent procuress Lao Wang in *Hung Lou Meng* and *Shui-Lu Chuan* is considered important enough to warrant Wu Sung's terrible revenge for bringing Golden Lotus and Hsi-Men Ch'ing together. But again these women, individually influential within a certain social sphere, and perhaps even somewhat conscious of the demands of the traditional role of go-between, share no solidarity or conscious purpose in impinging on the society as a whole, and have no power as a group.

Thus while we can speak of the variant culture of women depicted in the novels, the articulation of the various roles of women with women's culture and the dominant culture is such that women's social-political consciousness is minimized and potential solidarity unrealized.

We turn now to the challenge presented to orthodoxy by the variant culture of bisexuality and homosexuality. The most general characterization we can make is that a model of this
culture as depicted in the novels is to a fair degree coterminous with the dominant culture. If we may suppose a serious barrier between women's and men's culture signaled by the biological difference between male and female, male and homosexual culture have not such barrier. Kluckhohn's words, quoted above, that the dominant culture somehow needs the variant culture, seems to apply here with particular force. It is clear from episodes in *Chin P'ing Mei* and *Hung Lou Meng* that a bisexual/homosexual community exists, generally described as "actors" or "female impersonators", but it also clear that this community exists to cater to the homosexual urges of wealthy men who are clearly part of orthodoxy. This is a sort of patron-client relationship, since the livelihood of actors depends a great deal on their good relations with rich patrons, but the homosexual aspect is often presented as divorced from the financial or class aspect. Pao-yu, for example, is shown in several homosexual relationships and the aspect stressed is the beauty of the two youths and the sincere passion which exists between them. In other cases, male prostitution is more clearly emphasized, with a rich man paying for a night of dalliance with a boy just as he would for a night with a female prostitute.

Thus we see in this social sector a striking ambivalence. Homosexuality is clearly part and parcel of orthodoxy in one
sense, serving its needs and being supported in a discreet but obviously widespread way by the elite. There is still some element of threat to orthodoxy, however. First of all, we may imagine that unless homosexuality retained some element of wickedness or danger for respectable men, it would lose some of its appeal. Secondly, the characterization of homosexuality as wicked and degenerate by characters in the novels or by the author is of such intensity as to bespeak a real sense of threat. It is exactly in these terms that Pao-yu's priggish father speaks as he thrashes Pao-yu almost to death; the real blow to Chia Cheng in Pao-yu's homosexual liaison with a young actor is the "loss of Honor" he envisages the family will suffer if the affair becomes known. 13) Homosexuality may be widespread in the novels, and taken calmly by some characters most representative of orthodox virtue. The terrible threat of "lechery" must surely have been felt as concerned with homosexual as well as heterosexual license.

There is nothing very strange about this ambivalence in the relationship between orthodoxy and anti-orthodoxy. It is cliche' in Western history that "bourgeois" and "bohemian" are simply obverse and reverse of the same coin. 14) In Chinese terms, Max Weber has pointed out the relevance here of de Groot's observation that orthodox religions often artificially (and artfully) attempt to encompass many antithetical trends
(particularly mystical or populist ones) in order to "defuse" their competition. Weber would presumably countenance a comparison between the medieval Catholic church and its calculated tolerance of monkish sexuality (homo- and hetero-) Franciscan pietism, etc. and the Confucian eclecticism of Ming and Ch'ing times, which as Hucker points out enabled many powerful transcendental tenets to accrue to the originally ethical bureaucratic core of Confucianism. In the novels there is no depiction of the religious element, but the ethical situation appears to be analogous: many men who incarnate the Confucian sense of propriety and honor are very capable of passion and it may take homosexual forms. The very fact that homosexuality is "beyond the pale" makes it challenging (in every sense) and brings it within the sphere of activities of orthodox gentlemen.

What of the actors themselves, or the population presented as the "hard core" of the homosexual community (the gentlemen being presented somewhat disingenuously as mere dilettantes of homosexuality)? In Hung Lou Meng they are treated with remarkable favor. One of the young actors with whom Pao-yu has a liaison (Chi-kuan) appears again at the end of the book as an exceptionally considerate and understanding husband to Pervading Fragrance, who is married off after Pao-yu's translation. We should also note that the author takes great
pains to show that not all actors or even all female impersonators are homosexual. One character, a young buck named Liu Hsiang-lien is a friend of Pao-yu's and the victim of a homosexual advance by Hsueh P'an, Pao-yu's cousin. He is described thus:

Hsiang-lien was of good family but was erratic and unconventional, doing what he pleased and caring little what others said about him. His parents died when he was still a child. He was fond of acting, playing with sword and spear, gambling, and similar pastimes that gay (sic) youths indulged in. As he was extremely handsome and agreeable, those who did not know him took him to be of the usual actor type with an actor's morals. He resented the attentions of Hsueh P'an and was about to leave, but Lai-Shang-jung told him that Pao-yu had asked him to wait for him. "Be patient a while yet", Lai Shang-jung said. "I will send for Pao-Er-yeh now."

Pao-yu had known Liu Hsiang-lien for some time. They were both friends of Chin Chung. On this occasion, Pao-yu wanted to ask Liu Hsiang-lien to look after Chin Chung's tomb and tomake regular offering there, as he was not always free to go himself. When Pao-yu asked why he was leaving the banquet so soon, Liu Hsiang-lien said that Hsueh Pan was annoying him. He also spoke of a long journey. He did not know just where he was going but would let Pao-yu know later if Pao-yu would not betray his whereabouts to others.

He bade Pao-yu good-by and walked toward the gate. There he saw Hsueh Pan asking excitedly who had dared to let that "little Liu person" go. Sparks of fire flew from Liu Hsiang-lien's eyes when he heard Hsueh Pan's insulting words. He would have killed him on the spot if it had not been for the fact that they were both guests at Lai Shang-jung's house. Hsueh Pan was obviously overjoyed to see him. He took his
hand and said, "Where are you going, my own brother?"

Liu Hsiang-lien tried to evade him, saying, "I won't be gone long but I must go and attend to something."

"Don't go", Hsueh Pan urged. "Stay a while longer to show that you like your brother Hsueh, who would do anything for you."

Liu Hsiang-lien burned with rage and hatred. 17)

Liu leads Hsueh P'an on but finally administers a severe beating to him, and, as the chapter heading puts it, "the honor of the profession is vindicated". Later Liu is seen again as an especially passionate but also especially honorable man -- perhaps the closest Hung Lou Meng comes to presenting a real Shui-hu type hero -- who loses his fiancée to a ruthless plot of Phoenix's and chooses the only course open to a man of real honor -- to cut off his hair and follow a Taoist mystic into the unknown. Liu's character brings together in the most pointed way the worlds of bohemianism, of honor and heroism, and of truth-beyond-Confucianism, clearly indicating the author's ascription of high value to these realms as opposed to an orthodoxy he conceives as limited and inadequate.

We must not neglect to reiterate the significance of the sexual challenge posed to orthodoxy by Pao-yu. The sexual freedom Pao-yu represents (a "natural" freedom to give one's passions the widest possible scope) seriously challenges the restraint and propriety of orthodoxy. In group terms, Pao-yu is even more than Liu Hsiang-lien the representative of
bohemianism. Pao-yu is not entirely of the bohemian world
but to his father it is his displaying the values of that
world that is most salient and most infuriating, and it is
Pao-yu's very connections with the realms of art, poetry,
mysticism, naturalness, youth, peer group innocence and
sexual freedom, that make him such a countercultural paradigm.
Other bohemians and deviantōs (such as Pao-yu's father's
cousin Chia Ching, a Taoist alchemist) possess fewer of these
qualities, and are correspondingly less imbued with power to
upset orthodox characters or systems.

We should ask ourselves the same questions concerning
the world of bisexuals and homosexuals that we asked
concerning the women's community: how self-conscious is it
and with what solidarity can it act? The novels indicate
that homosexuals are aware of themselves as a community, one
which is outside the pale. Some actors are portrayed as ruffian,
hard-up, proud, daring, rowdy -- the very adjectives that might
apply to mountebanks or declasse performers of almost any
pre-modern time and country -- people definitely and
consciously playing a role, in any case. This has not
necessary implication for homosexuals, however.

Two pretty young men in Hung Lou Meng who are allowed
into the Yung ku ofu to attend the Chia family school are so
effeminate that they are called Adorable Perfume and Lovely
Jade. They are the favorite of Hsueh P' an, Pao-yu's thoroughly dissipated cousin, who, we are informed, "succeeded in corrupting not a few boys (in the school) with his many and lavish presents". (It is also noted that "Many other students also had their eyes on these two youths alone.") At the same time, Pao-yu and a younger male cousin, Chin Chung, are very much taken with each other. In what the author describes as this sort of atmosphere, the intimacy between Pao-yu and Chin Chung (became) the object of evil gossip and base suspicion. Later when it became evident that they too, had come under the spell of Lovely Jade and Adorable Perfume and that the latter were far from indifferent to their well-guarded advances, the more jealous of their other admirers began to resort to less and less subtle ways of embarrassing the four friends.  

and some comical episodes follow based on the contretemps between the obvious homosexual relations of the boys and the expected disapproval of elders if they found out.

But the elders are not spotless either. Chia Chen, an older cousin of Pao-yu's, is also, and presumably justifiably, the victim of more "evil rumors" about his sexual tastes. It is clear that the grouping of casually bisexual gentlemen is as important on the homosexual scene as that of actors or more spectacular deviants in conscious dissipation or fall victim to passions they cannot resist -- but at the same time maintain the polite fiction (as fiercely maintained even in
real life in China today) that homosexuality is unthinkable and does not exist.

We must here pose the same question concerning the groupings in Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng as we did concerning the major groups in the Shui-hu: do they form integrated, cohesive subcultures?

As we mentioned at the end of the Shui-hu chapter, the way of life of the rebel bandits seems to demand the term "subculture" because of its integrity, force, solidarity, and selfconsciousness. Because as a hao-han was not based on any economic factor, it seems inappropriate for us to refer to the military-gymnastic style as a class. But in the two later novels it would seem accurate and useful to empty this term to refer to at least two groupings not salient in the Shui-hu: the merchant or bourgeois class and its companion stratum the bohemians or alienated bourgeois.

In speaking of Pao-yu above we have referred to him as the representative of a character type or social style called "bohemian". In a similar way, we must now look again at the character of Hsi-Men Ch'ing as representative of a grouping which we feel is not just middle-class, but positively bourgeois. In the procedure of this study, we have concentrated on pointing out themes, characters, and groups which are potentially or actually anti-orthodox, and thus we have made no mention of a
grouping which would seem to have little potential for anti-orthodoxy at all -- the prosperous merchants. But we must consider them at this point for two chief reasons. First, our treatment of Hsi-Men Ch'ing in the chapter above on individual characters is not sufficiently pointed or detailed to explain why the novel was written the way it was, which we must assume, reveals something about society. Hsi-Men Ch'ing as an individual is almost a non-person: things revolve around him, but his own qualities are negative, unpleasant, and uninteresting in the way that only the conventionally degenerate businessman can be. But as the representative of a class, he may be seen in an entirely different light. He is no longer a kind of void, around which a number of interesting women characters revolve, because his very negative qualities may be seen as important attributes meant to symbolize a class much more salient in Chinese society of 1600 A.D. (as we will show in more detail later) than in 1300 or 1400. He is the fictional embodiment of the Chinese nouveau riche, and the political saliency of this class in later China (as we will discuss below) and in the modernized West (as everyone knows) gives Hsi-men Ch'ing considerable symbolic importance, especially for anti-orthodoxy.

Second, it is impossible to understand the symbolic political significance of the bohemian social phenomenon
represented by Pao-yu unless we understand its relation to the bourgeois class to which the bohemians represent a reaction. The comparison between Hsi-Men Ch'ing and Pao-yu as representatives of groupings thus belongs in this chapter, we feel. In Chapter 6 we will add to the discussion of these groups a diachronic element, asking the question how rebel bandits, bourgeois, and bohemians exhibit different quanta of revolutionary potential and how this potential relates to the anti-orthodoxy of traditional and modern China.

Ian Watt, in his study of the English novel cited above, points out that Defoe's famous character Robinson Crusoe "Has been very appropriately used by many economic theorists as their illustration of homo economicus" -- the new, calculating individual of the nascent age of commerce and capitalism. We will use some of Watt's observations on Crusoe to pursue a comparison between Hsi-Men Ch'ing and Chia Pao-yu as to the applicability and significance of the terms "bourgeois" and "bohemian".

Watt suggests a number of ways in which Crusoe conforms to the commercial spirit of the age of Defoe. "All Defoe's heroes pursue money", he notes, "and they pursue it very methodologically according to the profit and loss book-keeping which Max Weber considered to be the distinctive technical feature of modern capitalism". Then Watt goes on,
Book-keeping is but one aspect of a central theme in the modern social order. Our civilization as a whole is built on individual contractual relations as opposed to the unwritten, traditional, and collective relations of previous societies; and the idea of contract played an important part in the theoretical development of political individualism...

But the primacy of the economic motive, and an innate reverence for book-keeping and the law of contract are by no means the only matters in which Robinson Crusoe is a symbol of the processes associated with the rise of economic individualism. The hypostasis of the economic motive logically entails a devaluation of other modes of thought, feeling, and action... and (a weakening of) the competing claims of non-economic individual achievement and enjoyment, ranging from spiritual salvation to the pleasures of recreation...

Crusoe's "original sin" is really the dynamic tendency of capitalism itself, who aim is never merely to maintain the status quo, but to transform it incessantly... Improving on the lot one was born to is a vital feature of the individualist pattern of life. It may be regarded as the economic and social embodiment of the "uneasiness" which Locke had made the centre of his system of motivation...

The primacy of individual economic advantage has tended to diminish the imoratnace of personal as well as group relations, and especially of those based on sex...(and) romantic love.

The same devaluation of non-economic factors can be seen in Crusoe's other personal relations. He treats them all in terms of their commodity value... A functional silence, broken only by an occasional "No, Friday" or an abject "Yes, Master," is the golden music of Crusoe's \textit{île joyeuse}...

Sitting still was (for both Crusoe and Defoe) "the unhappiest part of life...;" leisure pursuits are almost as bad...In his blindness to esthetic experience Crusoe is Defoe's peer...His deepest satisfactions come from surveying his stock of goods.

Economic individualism explains much of Crusoe's character; economic specialization and its associated
ideology help to account for the appeal of his adventures; but it is Puritan individualism which controls his spiritual being...

Every good Puritan conducted a continual scrutiny of his inner man for evidence of his own place in the divine plot of election and reprobation... The importance of this subjective and individualist spiritual pattern to Defoe's work and to the rise of the novel is very evident...Defoe's presentation of Robinson Crusoe as the "universal representative" is intimately connected with the egalitarian trend of Puritanism...

The relative impotence of religion in Defoe's novels, then, suggests not insincerity but the profound secularisation of his outlook, a secularisation which was a marked feature of his age.

Finally, in commenting on Robinson Crusoe's greatness as literature, Watt asserts

Robinson Crusoe falls most naturally into place, not with other novels but with the great myths of Western Civilization, with Faust, Don Juan, and Don Quixote. All these have as their basic plots, their enduring images, a single-minded pursuit by the protagonist of one of the characteristic desires of Western man. Each of their heroes combines a arete and a hubris, an exceptional prowess and a vitiating excess, in spheres of action that are particularly important in our culture...Crusoe has an exceptional prowess: he can man manage quite on his own. And he has an excess: his inordinate egocentricity condemns him to isolation wherever he is.  

We might claim a similar mythic quality for Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng in the Chinese tradition. If Hsi Men Ch'ing is part Don Juan and part Robinson Crusoe (or perhaps George Babbitt), Pao-yu might be seen as an amalgam of Lord Byron, Romeo Montague, Peter Pan, and Bob Dylan! The power of
myth in a case such as this is not so much the power of popularity with later generations, but wide acceptance of the character as strikingly representative of some important cultural theme, as Watt notes.

That Hsi-men Ch'ing conforms to the "business" aspect of the Crusoe prototype/stereotype is clear. He manifests very clearly the "uneasiness" of the self-made man, both as to his future success and as to his present social position. He has three major preoccupations: sex, business and advancement, and frittering away his time with frivolous companions. Naturally, the sex aspect is completely at odds with the Crusoe type, and the time-wasting is connected with this aspect. What the author is clearly trying to point out, however, is that his compulsive dissipation -- and indeed Hsi-Men Ch'ing on his way to roister seems a driven, apathetic figure rather than a rebellaisian one -- is actually time and energy taken away from his business, and thus not in his interest even if his crass ambitions are accepted. It might be said, though, that the author is in the end ambiguous as to whether he regards his anti-hero's crassness as more reprehensible than his sexual connection -- sucked dry by insatiable female demand--- he could be said to be slightly more sympathetic in his capacity as lecher than as parvenu. But the author also seems to tell us that Hsi-Men Ch'ing is victimizing himself by his ambition as well.
Hsi-Men Ch'ing's entrepreneurial ventures are not treated in loving detail by the author. They serve simply to identify Hsi Men Ch'ing for us as a self-made man of commerce, to give him money so that he may do the other things his fictional role requires, and to extend the action of the novel somewhat outside the immediate household. The world of commerce that we see through the doings of Hsi-Men Ch'ing is not portrayed sympathetically. It exists chiefly in order that one may cheat or injure another. One episode recounts how one of Hsi-Men Ch'ings' servants goes on a business trip to act as his agent, and through clever dealing manages to fleece his master of some money but in the end is caught and punished. The matter is related very circumstantially, almost as if the writer had some first-hand familiarity with such slippery practices, and the impression seems to be deliberately given that this sort of thing was all too typical of the Hsi-Men Ch'ings of the world and their fellows.22) The author does not fail to make the final point that although Hsi-Men Ch'ing succeeds in his ambitions, he fails to achieve status as a decent human being, as judged by the Buddhist monk whose intervention saves him from his just deserts -- a bad reincarnation.

It is obvious that Hsi-Men Ch'ing is supposed to embody the failings of a new mercantile age, but it should not be forgotten that he is also a representative of the Confucian world. He is thus symbolically "the worst of both worlds."
On the one hand, he mocks Confucian dignity and virtue with his crassness and vicious emptiness; on the other hand he exhibits as "businessman" no trait which could be called a constructive alternative to Confucian orthodoxy. The author judges him by both standards, as Confucian and as something potentially better than Confucian, and finds him wanting on both scores. It might be said in terms of the progress of the novel and of history that Hsi-Men Ch'ing is a Janus figure, looking back to the Confucian past, but also clearly foreshadowing a certain kind of future. The era the novel speaks most clearly of is that of the author, when, we may gather, the "old virtues" had lost much of their legitimacy, but the new values seemed to hold little prospect of virtue at all. Behind past and future seems to be, however, a certain confidence on the part of the author that there are human standards which will survive Confucianism and capitalism too. Perhaps the most significant difference between Hsi-Men Ch'ing and Robinson Crusoe is that the author of Hsi-Men Ch'ing saw him as a plague to be borne, while Defoe had the most perfect confidence that Robin Crusoe was the best of men. Perhaps this distinction also says something about why a capitalism came to dominate the West but never emerged full-blown in China until after Western influence had made its mark.

Certain aspects of the bourgeois social milieu and style
grew and prospered in Ming and Ch'ing China, however. The figure of Pao-yu and the social environment of the Chia family are obviously different in important respects from their counterparts in Chin P'ing Mei, reflecting individual differences between the two authors, and differences of class. But also we can feel sure, social changes as well. WE have spoken of certain prominent anti-orthodox themes clearly visible in the nature and the function of the character, Pao-yu. We should now look at Pao-yu as representative of a class or group and in contrast to Hsi-Men Ch'ing.

We have said enough in previous chapters to give a fairly complete picture of Pao-yu's nature and role. The author has plainly told us that he is a new and exceptional kind of person who is meant to bring to a troubled and degenerate age a refreshing, romantic breath of naturalness, beauty, and love. There is something of the messiah or prophet about Pao-yu, despite his flaws and lack of success. His voice is not self-righteous or stentorian, and his message is undeveloped and unclear, but he is clearly meant to have a certain social meaning, not just be a figure of entertainment.

The clearest way to express this function of social criticism or didacticism is to see Pao-yu as the representative of a sector of the middle class which has become alienated from its commercial origins and seeks to find some new realm of truth and social being. Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in is clearly putting
forth his hopes for an eventual "bohemian solution" to the
dual problems apparently facing him: the loss of legitimacy of
the Confucian social morality and the failure of the new bourgeois
class to develop a new legitimacy.

It is important to note that Pao-yu is a failure in this
quest for a new style, or social morality, or legitimacy. Both
Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng present this quest in highly
moralistic terms, asking the unanswerable question how the
success of Hsi-Men Ch'ing and the failure of Pao-yu can be
explained. In other words, how can one understand or grant
legitimacy to a social and cosmic order which enables the
egregious Hsi Men Ch'ing to succeed and the holy and attractive
Pao-yu to fail? Although this question is unanswerable, and
fictional situation which deals with the largest and most
important issues must make some attempt to answer it or take
some stand on it. Chin P'ing Mei resorts to the dual devices
of "intergenerational fmorality", i.e., "visiting the sins of
the fathers on the sons," and salvation by unpredictable grace,
as we will point out in the next chapter. Pao-yu, on the other
hand, simply capitulates to the pressures of orthodoxy in formal
ways (by marrying Precious Virtue and succeeding in the
examinations) and saves his soul by returning to his true
heterodox supernatural form -- an option real mortals do not
often have available to them. The "causes" of youth and
solidarity with oppressed females simply evaporate in the last
pages of Hung Lou Meng as the author tidies up the plot threads in a few pages.

But there does seem to be a way in which Hung Lou Meng may be said to represent a development or advance in moral-political development over Chin P'ing Mei. While Pao-yu cannot solve the ultimate questions, his very existence as a figure opposing both the old Confucian orthodoxy and the nascent commercial orthodoxy represents an articulate invocation of the moral-political potential of the alienated bourgeois. We suggest that it is appropriate to see this new social role as similar to its counterpart in the West, and that the great influence of the alienated bourgeois on the development of modern Western political styles and systems has a counterpart in China.
CHAPTER 5

Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng: Modes and Forces

As in previous chapters, we will start from the important character, Pao-yu. It is clear that Pao-yu is meant to be a representative of a Buddhist-Taoist tradition which is opposed in important ways to Confucian orthodoxy. Pao-yu is an incarnation of a "Stone of Spiritual Understanding" with supernatural powers created by the goddess Nu-kua (a folk deity). The stone's desire to live in "the Red Dust" is stimulated and made possible by the "Buddhist of Infinite Space and the Taoist of Boundless Time", who "exercises the infinite power of the Law and transform the stone into a piece of pure translucent jade" inscribed with the characters tung ling dao yu (通灵宝玉), Precious Jade of Spiritual Understanding), which in turn animates the human form called Chia Pao-yu. Pao-yu's uncommon qualities (see Chapter 1 and 2 above) are counterposed to Confucian orthodoxy, and he remains for the rest of the novel the (largely unconscious) protagonist of Buddhist-Taoist ideas which form the top stratum of the widespread and eclectic congeries of religions and philosophical beliefs and practices which could be called the alternate religion, or alternate Weltanschauung, and which function as an eschatological challenge to Confucian orthodoxy.

What Pao-yu is against -- the orthodox religion,
Weltanschauung, and style -- is perhaps more obvious in the novel than what he represents in a positive sense. This may be expressive of the difference in organization and articulation between Confucianism on the one hand and the alternate style on the other, the latter being less systematic, less hierarchic, more syncretic, containing contradictory views and ideas, with much regional and class differentiation, and with less intellectual and literary activity behind it.

Of the orthodox religion we may expect to find the elements summarized by Max Weber: The cult of Heaven (无上), the cult of the state, and the ancestor cult. What Pao-yu opposes most clearly is the latter two, by resisting until the last minute the pressure to take the examinations and by identifying himself with his age cohort in defiance of the Confucian edict to carry on the ancestral line. But we would contend that in an important way the opposition of Pao-yu to the Confucian concept of Heaven is the most revelatory of the nature of anti-orthodoxy.

In the universe which Pao-yu represents, there is no supreme impersonal being, but rather a congeries of lesser divinities cast very much in the human mold. Their concern is not the bureaucratic one of order and continuity ("provisioning", as Weber puts it) but the safekeeping of the magical secrets of cosmic power and knowledge. The
Goddess of Disillusionment, for example, who appears to Pao-yu in a dream, describes herself as follows: "I inhabit the Realm of Parting Sorrow in the Ocean of Regrets. I am in charge of the plaints of unhappy maidens and sad lovers, their debts of love, and their unfulfilled dreams." She offers to have performed for Pao-yu "a series of twelve songs which I call 'Dream of the Red Chamber.'" This highly romantic concern with dreams, fate, love, sorrow, and the way the power is typical of the Buddhist-Taoist style as it is presented in Hung Lou Meng---what we might call a bohemian or "vulgar esthetic" view of the cosmos.

Another related aspect of this vulgar-esthetic Buddhist-Taoist world view is the emphasis on mysticism. The glib references in Hung Lou Meng of charismatic monks and adepts to "the secrets of heaven" have no real profundity, but are merely meant to signify that the mystical approach brings results in terms of power. There is a good deal of quasi-mystical doubletalk; for example, this couplet.

When the unreal is taken for the real, then the real becomes unreal;
Where non-existence is taken for existence, then existence becomes non-existence.5)

The author is not a philosopher, but an esthete who seems to feel that it is esthetically and morally impossible for the universe to be as orthodoxy envisions it. His
alternative is a personal interpretation of the many-stranded mélange of Buddhism, Taoism, and folk and local cults which presented a kind of religious smorgasbord to those outside the elite tradition.

We must not confine our attention to Pao-yu, but we should here simply show the means by which he is connected in the course of the novel with supernatural or cosmic elements. First of all is the reduction of his human life to the status of a mere incarnation, a "familiarization" of human joys and sorrows for the Stone, a supernatural being. The ideas of reincarnation and the migration of souls, of Buddhist origin, had become by the 18th century a completely familiar way of thinking and speaking for Chinese of all stations and persuasions. The question here is not whether they believed in this process as an article of faith, but whether it became an accepted mode of expression easily comprehensible to all—and Hung Lou Meng and Chin P'ing Mei indicate this strongly. Moreover, in both novels the action is spread over a number of incarnations, indicating how these works confront the all-important moral problem: how can the injunction to do right be reconciled with the awful fact that wrong-doers prosper? By using a device that might be called "intergenerational justice" authors of novels were able to use the general familiarity with the idea of transmigration to "visit the sins of the fathers on the sons," so to speak. The most
conspicuous example occurs in Chin P'ing Mei. The author's contempt for degenerate, shallow, ambitious Hsi-Men Ch'ing is clear, but Hsi-Men Ch'ing is allowed to attain the magistracy, win the favor of the chief minister, grow rich, and so on. The catch does come, however -- a generation later, when Hsi-Men Ch'ing's son is driven by fate to become a Buddhist anchorite, thus atoning for the sins of his father.

This "intergenerational justice" strictly speaking is not a matter of reincarnation. Hsi-Men Ch'ing's own soul is not reincarnated in his son, but the "moral accounts" of his "case" are extended past his lifetime to encompass another generation -- a convenient device for showing the imperfection of the world, as any properly alienated author will want to do, but at the same time showing the inevitability of justice in the long run, as any properly didactic author will want to do. We might use the term "transmigrational justice" to refer to the fate of an individual soul as it enters incarnation after incarnation, the Buddhist idea being that there is a straightforward correlation between the Karma of any one incarnation and the elevation and dignity of the next 6) incarnation. This device is seldom used in our novels, somewhat surprisingly. The most prominent instance is that of Black Jade, who speculates of her own sickness that she is expiating a "debt of love in a former life." In Chin P'ing Mei the last chapter shows the most prominent dead
characters reincarnated happily through the spiritual power of a monk, as a lesson urging Moon Lady to piety. It may be that authors felt, with some reason, that intergenerational justice was a more believable and effective artistic device than transmigrational justice.

Another important device connecting Pao-yu (and other characters in all the novels) with cosmic truth is dreams -- as the very title *Dream of the Red Chamber* might indicate. In his visit to the apartments of Chin-shih (mentioned above) Pao-yu is first put in touch with the impressive heritage of prominent women in history:

In the center of the table was a mirror once used by Empress Wu Tse T'ien. At one side there was a golden plate on which the nimble Chao Fei-yen had danced, and on the plate there was a quince that An Lu-shan had playfully thrown at the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei. The carved bed once held the Princess Shou Yang, and the pearl curtains were made for the Princess T'ung Chang. "I like your room!" Pao-yu exclaimed with delight. "It is fit for the immortals...", Chin-shih said...8)

Then he dreams of a fairy land of immortals called "Great Void Illusion Land", and in the palace of the Goddess of Disillusionment (inscribed "Sea of Passion and Heaven of Love") he finds truth, fate, and the future of mortals carefully catalogued in -- naturally -- file cabinets! The fates of several of his female cousins and servants are revealed to him (or, more precisely, to the reader, since the untutored Pao-yu does not grasp the allusions in the dissiers).
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There are rare exceptions, of which you are one. Indeed, I admire you because you are the most licentiousness of men... Your licentiousness... is of a more subtle kind... excessive and insatiable... but,... mak[ing] you a most welcome companion in the maidens' chambers. But what makes you desirable in the maidens' chambers makes you appear strange and unnatural in the eyes of the world. 9)

Pao-yu's bohemian, loving nature and fraternal function thus are sanctioned by this supernatutal experience. Of a similar nature are visitations to him by monks and nuns. Since there is a clear identity of Pao-yu and the jade pendant (the Stone), when the jade disappears toward the end of the novel, Pao-yu falls physically and spiritually ill, and is about to be given up for dead until a monk comes to visit and restore the jade:

When Precious Virtue and Pervading Fragrance questioned him, they received more than ordinarily incoherent answers, accompanied by inane and disconcerting grins. They thought
Pao-yu might be having another of the spells to which they had grown accustomed and that he would recover in a few days, as he had recovered on previous occasions. But Pao-yu grew steadily worse, until one day the doctor who had been treating him refused to prescribe.

As all hope was given up, and Chia Lien, enjoined by Chia Cheng, was about to prepare his afterlife things, a Buddhist monk suddenly appeared and said that for ten thousand tael he would restore the jade and save Pao-yu. Before they recovered from the surprise of this announcement, which was, as the reader will recall, reminiscent of another monk who appeared at a critical moment in Pao-yu's life, the monk invaded the inner apartments and went directly to Pao-yu's room. He approached Pao-yu and whispered in his ear that he had come to restore the jade to him. At these words, Pao-yu opened his eyes and took the jade from the monk. He looked at it appreciatively and then said, "We have been separated for a long time."

The monk was ushered into the outer guest hall where he insisted on his ten thousand taels and said that he would take the jade away if the silver was not forthcoming immediately. His clamorous demands reached the hearing of Pao-yu, who had regained full possession of himself in the meantime, and he came out, after overcoming the objections of Madame Wang and others, to speak to the monk. They seemed to be uncommonly congenial and chatted and laughed together like old friends. Their conversation, however, was unintelligible to those who heard them, though the words, "The Green Meadows Peak" and "The Land of the Great Void" could be made out. Finally, the monk went away without demanding his ten thousand taels.

When Madame Wang asked Pao-yu if he had inquired about the monk's residence, Pao-yu answered, "The place where he lives is far if you think it is near."

The significance of these enigmatic words did not escape Precious Virtue. She said to him, "Come to your seses! Lao-yeh and Tai-tai have only you and expect you to bring honor to them."
"I, too, am speaking of honors," Pao-yu answered. "Have you not heard the saying that when one son abjures the Red Dust, seven generations of his ancestors are elevated to Paradise?" 10)

Again, Pao-yu is designated a specially favored being, and his contempt for worldly success is given the approval of the "accredited representatives" of the alternate religion -- in a context of intergenerational justice.

A similar intervention by a different sort of figure also stresses Pao-yu's anti-orthodox nature and function. Just after the loss of his jade, he hears about and eventually meets his orthodox mirror-image, a boy who is identical to him except in name -- Chen (or "real") Pao-yu as opposed to his own Chia ("false") Pao-yu -- and attitude toward orthodoxy. Chen Pao-yu turns out to be a Confucian prig:

Pao-yu found that the reports of the resemblance were not exaggerated. Had they worn the same clothes, they would have taken one for the other's reflection in a mirror. Pao-yu was delighted. Here, he thought, was someone like himself, one who could understand him, with whom he could talk, on whose sympathy he could count. His disappointment was profound. For though in looks Chen Pao-yu was exactly like him, in ideas and conversation they were as unlike as water and fire. Chen Pao-yu's aspirations and sense of values were, it appeared, those of a youth destined to be the envy of all parents and to be held up as a shining example for all other youths. When Pao-yu ventured to confide to him some of his own thoughts, Chen Pao-yu gave him no encouragement but counseled him, instead, to give his thoughts to the Examinations, the only road whereby one could fulfill one's duty to one's parents, one's ancestors, and one's prince.

Pao-yu returned to his own apartment in utter
weariness and despondency. 11)

We should also mention the close connection in Hung Lou Meng and Chin P'ing Mei between the body and the spirit, particularly in terms of illness and death. In a number of cases, characters in both novels sicken physically after they have been subjected to psychic shock. This unity of mind and matter and the sensitivity of the unified body-mind personality to the emotional currents of the cosmos seems to owe much more to Taoist conceptions of the universe than Confucian. Confucianism took account of the yin-yang duality, but the stress in Taoism on the "ordering of one's life in harmony with the cosmological movements of the yin and the yang" is more complete and conspicuous. The Taoist stress on magic -- a way of expressing oneness with and thus control over natural forces -- finds expression here in a kind of reverse sense: the loss of magical unity with the cosmos (one of Weber's uses of the term charisma) results in sickness, and if not reversed, in death.

In both novels this idea is presented in moral and non-moral terms; that is, in some cases (e.g. Phoenix) it is clear that the evil deeds a person does may force him out of harmony with cosmic forces, and some untoward event may precipitate decline and death. But in other cases, mere misfortune is enough to start this process off. In general, the process can be reversed only by supernatural intervention as in the case in
which the monk returns Pao-yu's jade to him.

The question of death should also be discussed in terms of the whole panoply of characters. Ordinarily, novelistic death may be straightforwardly regarded as the final judgement on a character; or, conversely, the final way in which a character may be used to make a comment on the relation between the individual and the universe. The device of intergenerational justice noted above makes this less clear in Chinese novels, since death may not be the final judgement, but the manner and cause of deaths are still important factors. We present below (pp. 152-54) a compilation of the "death roll" of prominent characters in Hung Lou Meng and Chin P'ing Mei. 13)

We must be careful in drawing broad conclusions from the high incidence of unhappy deaths. There is ample reason for the author to stress such melodramatic events simply in order to capture his readers' sympathies and attention. Nor may we within our self-imposed limitations inquire whether the author's depiction of misery, despair, and death is reflective of the actual life of the time. But it still is legitimate to relate the events and styles of life and death revealed in the novels to Chinese ideas about cosmic questions as they existed in the broad historical-cultural context.

We have already noted the significance of Hsi-Men Ch'ing's death by exhaustion. Of the other characters in Chin P'ing Mei
whose end is made explicit by the author, there is a high incidence of suicide, murder, and "sickening to death". A peaceful death from old age is almost unknown. In **Hung Lou Meng** the situation is about the same, with the exception that there are fewer deaths by violence. In both cases, it is women who sicken and die, the only exception being Pao-yu, who as we have seen combines attributes of both male and female. In **Hung Lou Meng** the only conspicuous happy end for a major character is the Matriarch's, and we may suggest that it is perhaps her Janus-like position as the pinnacle of Confucian elder-and parent-worship and as a female sympathetic to anti-Confucian desires which is blessed by the happy end the author designs for her. In this double role she is like Pao-yu, of course, and it is his end, returning to an unnamed but secure place in the Buddhist-Taoist cosmos, which is meant to be the happiest of all. In **Chin P'ing Mei**, it is Moon Lady who has the best of both worlds as senior wife. She, like the Matriarch of **Hung Lou Meng**, dies an "easy and beautiful death" at an advanced age.

As we have said, not all the unhappy ends are meant to be judgements on the characters involved. Most of them fall into the category of clearly designed punishments for misdeeds (as in the case of Hsi-Men Ch'ing, for example) or the opposite category of conspicuously unwarranted blows of heavy fate (Black Jade, Wu Ta, San-chieh, Vase, etc.) There are also
### Fate Of Characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>End or Fate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hsi-Men Ch'ing</td>
<td>Dies drained of semen and life energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Sung</td>
<td>Becomes outlaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Lotus</td>
<td>Vengefully killed by Wu Sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Lady Wang</td>
<td>Vengefully killed by Wu Sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Ta</td>
<td>Murdered by Golden Lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snowblossom</td>
<td>Elopes with Lai Wang prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunflower</td>
<td>Returns to aunt's brothel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hua Tse-hsu</td>
<td>Has breakdown and dies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>Sickens and dies after murder of son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Bamboo Hill</td>
<td>Beaten up by HMC bullies and flees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon Lady</td>
<td>Dies &quot;easy and beautiful death&quot; at 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotus Petal</td>
<td>Hangs herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lai Wang</td>
<td>Exiled through plot of HMC and GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Chen</td>
<td>Murdered by jealous lover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsi-Men Ch'ing's son</td>
<td>Becomes monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sixth Wang</td>
<td>Suicide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jade Fountain</td>
<td>Marries for love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Plum</td>
<td>Dies of venereal disease</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chin P'ing Mei

(continued)

Han Tao-kuo  Dies of old age
Darling  Enters convent
Tai A  Becomes adopted posthumous son of HMC
Hsi-Men Ch'ing's daughter  Suicide

Hung Lou Meng

Chia Ching  Accidentally drinks poisonous elixir
Matriarch  Dies happily of old age
Faith  Suicide
Liu Lao-Lao  Hale and hearty
Chia Chen  Disgraced and exiled, then pardoned
Compassion Spring  Becomes Taoist priestess
Phoenix  Sickens and dies
Er-chieh  Murdered by Phoenix
San-chieh  Suicide for love
Welcome Spring  Married off, withers and dies
Quest Spring  Married off to frontier official
Cardinal Spring  Dies as imperial concubine
Precious Virtue  Married to Pao-yu
Lotus  Dies in childbirth
Hung Lou Meng
(continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Fate/Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hsueh P'an</td>
<td>Disgraced and exiled, then pardoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassia</td>
<td>Poisons self in effort to poison Lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Jade</td>
<td>Dies of broken heart, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin-shih</td>
<td>Sickens and dies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-kuan</td>
<td>Marries Pervading Fragrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin-chung</td>
<td>Sickens and dies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pao-yu</td>
<td>Translated to higher sphere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Marries Chia Lien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chia Sheh</td>
<td>Disgraced and exiled, then pardoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exquisite Jade</td>
<td>Abducted by bandits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple Cuckoo</td>
<td>Goes with Compassion Spring to convent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pervading Fragrance</td>
<td>Marries Chi-kuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River Mist</td>
<td>Married off to kind, sickly husband</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cases of "positive suicide", that is, suicide to uphold one's integrity or commitment to a moral code. San-chiêh's suicide is portrayed as a brave and honorable gesture by a strong person. But the suicide of Faith, the Matriarch's maid, while praised by the Chia family, is made a partly expedient matter by the explicit statement that "She thought of the past and meditated upon her uncertain future and decided to follow her mistress to the grave." "Negative suicides" of people in despair occur fairly frequently. There are characters who die or suffer less as a result of the logic of their own qualities as for some bold purpose of the author in making his plot go. The important character, Chin-shih in Hung Lou Meng, for example, is barely introduced before she is "killed off". There are hints that the death is in retribution for adultery with her father-in-law, Chia Chen, but the reader is left with the impression that she is simply of more use to the author as a memory and a ghost than as a living character. The same may be said of Hua Tse-hsu in Chin P'ing Mei (see below).

But if, as we have said, most deaths may be read as having a certain moral significance, we may try to explicate the morality involved. Just deaths or unhappy ends seem to occur for the following reasons: exhaustion, dissipation, irresponsibility, viciousness and adultery. These are "crimes against God and man" on which there would be considerable
agreement, we would surmise, between representatives of orthodoxy and anti-orthodoxy -- with the exception of "irresponsibility". This term must be defined to answer the question "irresponsibility toward whom?" or "toward what code of ethics?" and this is not easy to do. Hsi-Men Ch'ing, for example, is irresponsible according to some of the highest tenets of Confucian morality -- he is a venal judge, greedy, completely unconcerned with the welfare of society at large and a tyrannical and splenetic *paterfamilias* -- but he is perhaps no more so than the average worldly Confucian success story. The author's disapproval of (one might say contempt for) his protagonist is clear, but is he condemning Hsi-Men Ch'ing for falling short of an ideal he (the author) has some sympathy for, or is his point that there is no possibility of there being a better Confucian than Hsi-Men Ch'ing? If there were in Ch'in P'ing Mei a positive representative of the Confucian male ideal, the author's opinion would be clear, but there is not. Officials higher than Hsi-Men Ch'ing are portrayed as having an impressive manner but being just as weak, corrupt, and contemptible as Hsi-Men Ch'ing. In the absence of any indication that the author supports Confucian ideals, we must conclude that he condemns its ideals as well as its practice by imperfect men.

What of the *unjust* deaths? The injustice comes because the victims are characters who embody virtue, and yet are
brought low. How is virtue defined, then? Vase is an interesting case, because she is not entirely without sin, and yet is portrayed as a sympathetic character who does not deserve her cruel fate. She is originally married to Hsi-Men Ch'ing's neighbor, Hua Tse-hsu, but she contrives a craving for Hsi-Men Ch'ing (another case of the alleged helpless enslavement of women to sex). Hua conveniently gets into trouble, and is reduced to a worrisome poverty, but escapes punishment by the efforts of his wife and Hsi-Men Ch'ing. But at this time of vulnerability and depression for Hua, his wife, Vase, feeling her power, scolds and harasses him unmercifully. The "constant worry" and "a severe cold on the chest" and lack of a doctor's care, quickly kill him (at the age of 24). Later, when Vase is Hsi-Men Ch'ing's sixth wife, Hua returns to haunt her and accuse her of causing his death, and it becomes apparent that although her responsibility for Hua's death is not clear, she will be given no "pardon" by the author. Vase herself is the direct victim of Golden Lotus, who manipulates the death of her son, which throws Vase into familiar fatal decline -- a decline exacerbated by the hauntings of Hua. So Vase is only partly an innocent victim, but enough so that we may see those aspects of her character and role which are blameless.

First, as we have just mentioned, she is seen as a helpless victim of what to the author are natural female
sexual urges, which are strong and may not be denied. The author's attitude here is not to blame women for this, but to assert nonetheless that this trait will bring them to disaster. We have spoken in Chapter 3 of the close connection for many women in the novels between the sex drive and the survival drive. We might raise the question of whether or not this is something forced on them by orthodoxy or society as it is. In Chin P'ing Mei it would seem that this is the particular pathos of women's situation which the author is trying to get at. He seems to oppose the exploitation of women's alleged penchant for sex by the society, and exploitation which turns women into prostitutes, or powerless wives and concubines, or schemers and viragos, or simply does not allow them to live. Apart from her sex "problem", Vase is a kind, intelligent, harmless, loving person in the author's depiction, and definitely the victim of the truly vicious hell-cat Golden Lotus. We readers are led to feel that Vase should not be made to dies, and that it is the society as a whole which has killed her along with her own guilt and Golden Lotus' viciousness.

We should in concluding this chapter return to the theme of disorder (luan) we introduced above in terms of the Shui-hu. It was a poet who coined the lapidary phrase 16] "Things fall apart...," and the two novelists who wrote Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng were similarly much aware of
the destructive aspect of things. The perception of the authors is partly general pessimism at the difficulty of finding a way to cope effectively with cosmic forces, and partly a protest against the social and political forces of orthodoxy which so severely limit human aspirations.

In Chin P'ing Mei the destructive forces of the universe seem especially powerful. We have already commented above that Hsi-Men Ch'ing has an almost purely destructive role to play. Clearly, this is an unfavorable comment on the claims of Confucianism that it brings order and social harmony and thus that its hegemony is legitimate. It is also a disgusted and probably accurate comment on the social phenomenon of the nouveau riche element which began to come into social prominence in the Ming; we will have more to say about the social implications of this new class in the next chapter.

But it is important to note that the women of the novel often fill destructive roles and do destructive things too. The best example, of course, is Golden Lotus, whose fanatical urge to destroy all that stands in her way is striking. As we have stressed above, the virage type, so salient in Chinese literature and society, cannot be dismissed as a mere sport or freak. The sympathy for Golden Lotus which the author mixes with his disapproval allows the reader to see that Golden Lotus as well as being a horrifying character is a
helpless, compulsive one who is trying to survive. She unconsciously maintains a belligerent attitude toward both fate and the dictates of orthodox society, using the most extreme sorts of efforts to maintain her freedom of action and make her life bearable — an almost "liberal" insistence on free will and individualism. We know, for example, that her murder of Wu Ta is a bad thing, and in the end she pays for this deed with her life. But we also know, if we have the least empathy with the character of Golden Lotus, that life for a high-spirited, strongwilled, highly sexed woman with Wu Ta would clearly be intolerable; Wu Ta is a nice chap but he is also ugly, melancholy, weak, poverty-stricken, impotent, and a compulsive victim. In the process of Golden Lotus' trying to improve her situation, Wu Ta is destroyed. Later, Hsi-Men Ch'ing is destroyed, Vase and her child are destroyed, and the relations between almost all the members of the household are destroyed by this single-minded determination on Golden Lotus' part to manage her own fate rather than leave it to the strictures of respectability or to the Confucian order of things.

She also has more passive counterparts in the novel. Moon Lady is presented as the picture of a decent woman trying her best to follow the Confucian rules, as we have noted, but it is her connection with non-Confucian elements which in many cases marks an important turning point in the novel. It is
she, for example, who has the encounter with the monk who, at the end of the novel, returns to act as the agent of heavenly salvation for most of the dead characters and to take Moon Lady's son as atonement for Hsi-Men Ch'ing's wasted life. This monk is clearly an important symbolic figure as well as a form of deus ex machina. He stands for salvation, but only within the anti-Confucian cosmic order. He intercedes with the Buddhist-Taoist cosmic powers who arrange the reincarnations of living things and secures for the characters of the novel a series of good rebirths. It is only through appeal to the mercy of the "counter-cosmos" that the characters can find bearable fates after the misery and futility of the lives they and Confucian orthodoxy have managed to ruin. There is a nice irony in the monk's association with the family through Moon Lady, its most respectable and orthodox member. In Moon Lady's adventures and the monk's interventions, then, we see the clash between the Confucian concept of the orderly universe and the Buddhist-Taoist concept of the disorderly or unpredictable universe, where the concept of salvation through grace is as important as it is in the Christian tradition.

The element of the unforeseen is conspicuous in the career of Spring Plum, who for most of the novel is Golden Lotus' faithful maid, but surprisingly becomes the powerful wife of a high official after Golden Lotus' death. There are no doubt sufficient purely esthetic grounds for
powerful wife of a high official after Golden Lotus' death. There are no doubt sufficient purely esthetic grounds for having her fate take this turn, but we may also see Spring Plum's success as an example of the inability of the Confucian order to establish the kind of rigidity and predictability it valued so highly. Spring Plum's expectation on the death of Golden Lotus is that she, like the vast majority of servants in such situations will fall on evil days, since orthodoxy makes little provision for the care of powerless women. But she is lucky, and luck again acts as a kind of salvation agent, rescuing Spring Plum from the harshness and rigidity of the dominant culture. In the end, however, Spring Plum embarks on a career of greed and sexual promiscuity, and luck deserts her, leaving her to a miserable end. The author sees fate or luck in all these cases as both opposed to orthodox ways and far stronger and more basic as a force than Confucian ways. The strength of this unpredictable factor of fortune is thus placed in the service of disorder, which constantly threatens to overwhelm the petty world of social predictability which Confucianism has carved out.

We should note here that the question of luan or disorder which we raised earlier is connected to the idea of a definition of morality beyond Confucianism. In both Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng the destructive forces have the
uppermost hand. To some extent the destruction and unhappiness we see the character suffer is seen as the result or function of a capricious, possibly even malign cosmic order, before which all human effort of whatever political or social persuasion is unavailing. But the aspect of capriciousness is also seen by the two authors as a part of Confucian orthodoxy; it is orthodoxy which is shown as destroying many of the characters, especially women. Thus, we have the paradox that anti-orthodoxy stands for disorder in opposing the orthodox order, but criticizes orthodoxy for disordering the lives of people who want to use a different set of values.

Once again we see the conviction of anti-orthodoxy that there is a decency or morality not only opposed to Confucianism but somehow beyond it or prior to it, and thus able to claim a higher legitimacy. Often we see characters who act as if they know (consciously or unconsciously) that to behave humanely they must not behave in a Confucian way, and in most of these cases they suffer, partly because of the dictates of orthodoxy and partly because of the dictates of fate. The female cousins and servants who live together with Pao-yu are a good example. They are all good people, it is made clear, not troublemakers or hussies or viragos. They do not feel themselves anti-Confucian, and they do not (in a sense) ask much out of life -- just a little leeway to live the life
that most people would agree is decent and pleasant. Their plight is defined by the novel as being inexorably doomed to Confucian marriage, which is presented as arbitrary, unnatural, and destructive, and thus immoral according to these less arbitrary moral criteria. Fate's contribution is to make it all but impossible for them to escape the power of immoral orthodoxy.

There are some interesting similarities about the characters who are shown as escaping this dual destructiveness. Particularly striking is the similarity of the styles and moral attitudes shown by the Matriarch of Hung Lou Meng and Hsi-Men Ch'ing's senior wife Moon Lady. Both women are shown as very decent, straightforward, good people, who are fully committed to "maintaining the proprieties" but also seem to have a special, unconscious facility for understanding and doing the humane thing; that is, the thing demanded by the morality beyond Confucian morality. As we commented above, the Confucian order would be said to have allowed for a certain latitude of behavior and style on the part of respectable mothers. Under the shield of this impunity, the Matriarch indulges Pao-yu and Moon Lady opposes some of Hsi-Men Ch'ing's and Golden Lotus' more outrageous atrocities. What is remarkable is that the impunity is effective not only against orthodoxy, but also against fate itself. Further reference to the tables above (pp. 152-54 ) will show that
the Matriarch and Moon Lady are virtually the only characters in their respective novels to die happily at an advanced age and with the respect of society as well. But if we may thus distinguish between the restrictions of orthodoxy and the restrictions of fate on a character's course, then the question is posed whether fate has mired on these two women because of their efforts to maintain respectability or because despite their commitments to orthodoxy they have retained a touch for natural humaneness?

Of course, we need not expect either fiction or real life to give an unambiguous answer to a question such as this. We feel that the latter alternative is the more likely in these two novels, however. Moon Lady's function, for example, is one that involves her repeatedly with anti-orthodox elements, and although she often preaches the Confucian "line", she ends up as the character who introduces important anti-orthodox ideas into the action of the story. It is she, for example, who has the encounter with the monk who tells her (and the reader) much anti-orthodox moral wisdom, and returns at the end of the novel to act as the agent of heavenly (i.e., supra-Confucian) salvation for many characters. The monk proclaims that there is a morality above morality, and is able to prove his power and righteousness by his acts of salvation. Even Moon Lady feels he has proved his point that the claim of Confucianism to ultimate moral legitimacy
is untenable. The monk thus disturbs Confucian ideas of order and predictability — as any evidence of grace must — but implies that there is another order, the ultimate cosmic order, which may act against the social order to uphold humaneness. The author may here be trying somehow to get across to readers that in rejecting the arbitrariness, even immorality of Confucian orthodoxy, they would not inevitably be casting themselves into hopeless and endless cosmic hun-luan.

Hung Lou Meng similarly, though perhaps less ingeniously shows that heterodox concepts of humaneness still stand as a kind of "hyper-order" even when narrow Confucian concepts of order are rejected. Pao-yu's re-assumption of his Buddhist-Taoist incarnation as the supernatural Stone is in one sense merely a pat and unsatisfactory failure to solve moral-political problems, but in another sense it shows the assumption of the author that there is an order beyond Confucian order and worldly disorder, and one with a better claim to legitimacy.

It seems appropriate to refer to this order as "charismatic". Weber says:

The sharp contrast between charisma and any "patriarchal" structure that rests upon the ordered base of the "household" lies in this rejection of rational economic conduct... "pure" charismam is contrary to all patriarchal domination...

In order to do justice to their mission, the holders of charisman, the master as well as
his disciples and followers, must stand outside the ties of this world, outside of routine occupations, as well as outside the routine obligations of family life... The priest and the knight of an order have to live in celibacy, and numerous holders of a prophetic or artistic charisma are actually single... Modern charismatic movements of artistic origin represent "indipendents without gainful employment"... Normally such persons are the best qualified to follow a charismatic leader. 19)

Weber here has (unknowingly) summed up many of the themes we have introduced in this chapter and this study as a whole. The charismatic style is of archaic, natural origin and also draws on supernatural power. It is anti-rational, opposes the filial-patriarchal and bureaucratic styles, and is associated with heightened emotion and even with violence. The legitimacy of heroes and bohemians as competitors with orthodoxy rests on their successful manifestation of these characteristics and the accrual of power. Our feeling that both the rebel bandits of the Sui-hu and the inspired bohemian Pao-yu belong in some important sense to the same anti-orthodox tradition here finds support in Weber's exegesis of the charismatic style and legitimacy. It is thus on the basis of this common heritage that we may compare the two as to their revolutionary potential and relate them diachronically.
CHAPTER 6

Revolutionary Potential

We have above used the material of our three source novels to define and explicate anti-orthodox styles, showing that they are varied but have certain things in common -- specifically, their major criticisms of or challenges to orthodoxy. Thus we feel justified in speaking of a single anti-orthodox "super-style" or tradition -- the charismatic style -- as well as of the separate styles of rebel bandits, bohemians, monks, etc. Our task now is to make comparisons within the anti-orthodox tradition, again referring to the source novels, and attempt to show explicitly how the various styles are related to each other diachronically or developmentally. With this established, we will suggest how this development of anti-orthodoxy over time may be seen as extending in some ways into the modern era and to the culmination of anti-orthodoxy in the successful Chinese revolution of the twentieth century.

We should here re-emphasize that this study is a descriptive one, not an explanatory one. We cannot say, for example, that the Communists won in 1949 because they more fully understood and took advantage of traditional anti-orthodox techniques and styles, although this may be true. As Barrington Moore puts it:
To explain behavior in terms of cultural values is to engage in circular reasoning...
To take values as the starting point of sociological explanation makes it very
difficult to understand the obvious fact that values change in response to circumstances.

We realize that the view of social circumstances we can take or have taken is a limited one, drawn as it is from only three novels and seen only from the anti-orthodox perspective. Thus we cannot provide a broad or firm enough base for explanatory generalizations. But if we attempt to describe certain salient aspects of the modern styles of anti-orthodoxy from what is generally known and agreed upon by scholars of modern China, we are struck by certain similarities with the styles of earlier days. That is, we seem to see reflected in the attitudes or actions or ideologies of such modern movements as the Tai-ping rebellion or the Chinese Communist Party elements of the rebel bandit tradition, or of bohemianism, etc. We also get the impression that there is a seemingly unbroken development of anti-orthodoxy from a prototypical stage (represented by the Shui-hu), through two intermediate stages (represented by Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng) to a modern stage in which anti-orthodoxy attains the stature of a true revolution. In this study we must not attempt to go much beyond what is in the novels, because they form our data base, but we feel we must at least point out these suggestive correspondences and similarities between styles and stages as briefly outlined above.
We also find it striking that there seem to emerge from the data when considered diachronically certain correspondences between the development of class-based political styles in China and in the West. Specifically, we will suggest that the term 'bourgeois' is applicable to a certain class in both pre-Europe and pre-modern China, notwithstanding all the obvious cultural dissimilarities. From the imputation of bourgeois style to Chinese politics we can derive a more illuminating description of the connections between the traditional and modern periods.

The chief variable we wish to isolate in examining our data diachronically is what we call "revolutionary potential". In doing this we are in effect reinforcing our perception that there is a continuity of anti-orthodox political style between the traditional and modern periods, culminating in the successful establishment of an anti-Confucian regime in 1949. Thus the process of increasing revolutionary potential over the years is a matter of major interest. In examining revolutionary potential as revealed in the three novels -- that is, as we suggest, the early and intermediate stages of the development of revolutionary potential -- we plan to compare the fictional actors according to eight parameters. These parameters have not been chosen in completely arbitrary fashion, but we do not claim that they comprise a complete or absolute definition of revolutionary potential.
The eight parameters are ones which seem to arise naturally out of the content of the novels themselves, and are useful only in terms of the comparative exercise we are about to undertake. We will below describe the revolutionary potential shown in the novels by brief narrative exposition, with a tabular summary of the major actors' "scores" placed at the end of the study.

The first parameter we call "the rhetoric of protest". We want here to identify what it is that anti-orthodox actors say is wrong about orthodoxy. Second, we will assess what sort of and how much political legitimacy (if any) is imputed to orthodoxy by anti-orthodox actors. Third, we will estimate the appreciation of the fact and cause of individualism by various anti-orthodox actors. Fourth, we will estimate the degree of solidarity exhibited by anti-orthodox groups. Fifth, we will consider the intensity of heterodox religious influence on the actors. Sixth, we will measure the degree of political consciousness these actors evidence. Seventh, we will crudely assess the amount of economic deprivation and the strength of economic pressures on the anti-orthodox actors. Finally, we will attempt to estimate the strength of sexual pressures on the actors.

The rhetoric of protest is clearly much more salient in the Shui-hu than in the later novels. As we have shown above in discussing the code of the military-gymnastic order, the
reble bandits level a strong and articulate protest against what they define as injustice, and direct this protest at the mandarins, not the emperor. We have described the fraternal and religious threats to orthodoxy made by the bandits. We have also pointed out that due to the "gang morality effect" discerned by Hsia, these protests or demands are essentially negative, involving much destructiveness but only limited capacity for the reconstruction of society along non-Confucian lines. Thus, we might put it that the bandits demand "freedom from" various strictures of the Confucian order without much emphasis on the "freedom to" build something better.

Thus the bandits fit into a common category of rather primitive opponents of orthodoxy which Tilly terms "reactionary", both in the literal sense that they are reacting against some salient feature of the power elite and in the connotative sense that they are backward-looking. (The term "redresser", used for example by the British machine-wrecker Ned Ludd, might be a more precise term)

The bandits of the Shui-hu have complete confidence in their ideas of justice and honor, which they believe to predate Confucian ideas and thus be more legitimate. They do not call for a new order, but simply for return to an old, pre-Confucian social morality. In the later novels, however,
there is confusion rather than confidence over social morality. Pao-yu, who clearly treads the Way, is regarded as half-mad by his family, and even within the age of cohort of him and his cousins there is little open cirticism of orthodoxy. It is more the functions and fates of the characters that express anti-orthodoxy than their words, and all of the characters are relatively apolitical. Because of this, the ratings in the tables of the various actors of the two later novels are somewhat lower than those for the Shui-hu actors.

Let us be more explicit about the demands of the rebel bandits. The first "freedom from" that they demand is freedom from the pressures of Confucian family morality. Again, we concur with the many analysts who see Confucian family morality as functionally identified with political morality. And the second "freedom from" that the rebels bandits demand is a political freedom; i.e., freedom from the political control of civil officials -- a freedom we may imagine was devoutly sought also by non-rebel military officials. The Confucian official is functionally identical for the hao-han with the Confucian faster, and both roles are decisively rejected for a life of celibacy and military boldness.

Other groups in the Shui-hu are much less salient than the rebel bandits themselves, of course. Monks too seek freedom from Confucian family and political obligations, but
are portrayed as lacking the boldness and ambition of the hao-han. The women's roles (or lack of them) have been described above.

Chin P'ing Mei is in some ways a stronger novel of protest than Hung Lou Meng. It possesses no prime anti-orthodox character like Pao-yu but it is clear that the lives and fates of the various women involved are meant to serve as a kind of protest against their unenviable situation. As we have noted, the intensity of the women's lives results from the close connection between sexual and survival needs. There is also the disapproving figure of the monk who saves Moon Lady and takes Hsi-Men Ch'ing's son, and is also shwon as reclaiming lost souls from inferior incarnations. His protest seems to be against both depravity and orthodoxy.

The second parameter is the degree to which various actors in the early and late novels attribute legitimacy to the orthodox world and its ways. The Shui-hu bandits, for example, attribute very little legitimacy to the civiliam mandarinate (the quintessential Confucians), but concede legitimacy to the emperor, who is seen as at least potentially non-Confucian. Legitimacy is a touchstone of what an actor thinks is right, not simply what he acquiesces in. In terms of the feelings of the women of Chin P'ing Mei, this is a difficult question to decide: they certainly acquiesce in the
recognition of Hsi-Men Ch'ing as absolute master of his household, but with varying intensity all of them try to gain power over him nonetheless. In the case of Pao-yu, we should distinguish three stages in the development of the character and the plot: his original opposition to living the adult Confucian life, his decision late in the novel to submit to marriage with Pervading Fragrance and study hard for the examinations, and his final re- assumption of his Buddhist-Taoist incarnation. In addition, Pao-yu is quite awed by court figures and humbled by solemn Confucian rituals such as funerals and weddings. It is clear, nonetheless, that far from granting legitimacy to the established order, he represents an attempted quasi-radical alternative to it as the divinely inspired figure who in the end rejects all dealings with worldly power or crass ambition. His female cousins, as we have said, are far less "progressive" in this sense, and they are simply less interested in that sort of thing.

In speaking of "individualism", we are assessing an actor's commitment to the cause of individual integrity; that is, the ability and need of the actors to decide for themselves the major questions of their lives, as opposed to merely accepting the social or political roles handed out to them ascriptively by orthodoxy. The rebel bandits who somewhat contradictory tendencies in this regard. Their commitment
to the heroic lifestyle, necessarily a communal one in which the bank is the supreme element, is constantly at war with their need to express individual idiosyncrasies and release individual tensions. The women of the Chin P'ing Mei (and Hung Lou Meng as well) are in most cases much less concerned with such tensions. It appears as if their experience with social structuring is primarily of something imposed on them from outside (the man's world) and their freedom to seek their own ways or fulfill their own personal ambitions is thus granted a greater legitimacy. Moon Lady might be considered an exception, since she willingly accepts the Confucian ethic and the responsibility of being senior wife, but it is clearly a great burden on her own individuality—which is what the monk attempts to reach when he speaks to her.

In Hung Lou Meng we see of course the height of individualism in the bohemian figure Pao-yu. The allegations of eccentricity or madness, innocence, crudeness, talent, and genius, special destiny, intelligence, attractiveness, etc. made variously by the characters and the author accurately express the extreme individualism indulged in by bohemians. Their claim is that cultivating their artistic and alienated instincts and insights is justified because they transmit the truth and beauty they thus discover to the world at large. There must be some sort of connection between
this feeling and political libertarianism, we feel.

It seems clear that some concept of group solidarity (our fourth parameter) must accompany a high anti-orthodox political consciousness, however. Only if one identifies with a group can one's idiosyncratic views be expected to have political force or legitimacy. In the case of the rebel bandits, group consciousness and solidarity is particularly high, of course, and it is explicitly directed against orthodoxy. Such feelings may be imagined to form a sort of base on which anti-orthodox sentiment may be built over the centuries. Indeed, although warriors form a distinct subculture, the declassé elements from which many of them are drawn remained the prime source of adherents for secret societies and rebellions throughout Chinese history; but, as we will discuss below, new social forms of these elements did bring new revolutionary potential in the modern period. These groups may be seen in embryo (as far as group solidarity goes) in the later novels. There is clearly a women's consciousness of a sort, but it is not political (as we have noted) and does not lead to much feeling of feminist solidarity. There is solidarity between Pao-yu and his cousins, but in the end it dissolves as the group itself is dissolved, and each member goes his or her own way. The real solidarity intended in Hung Lou Meng seems to be between Pao-yu
and other bohemians, but there is no other bohemian of Pao-yu's stature in the novel, and we must imagine the author as more interested in the identification of Pao-yu with himself than with other characters.

Almost all the major actors we have identified as potentially anti-orthodox in the novels exhibit a high degree of influence by and connection with the heterodox religious tradition. And certain seeming exceptions, such as Moon Lady, are connected by plot twists with heterodoxy even though they are good Confucians. Women could never be perfect Confucians, of course, since they were not men, and so all the women exhibit a certain latent susceptibility to heterodox influence.

By the sixth parameter, "political consciousness", we mean the saliency of politics in the lives and thoughts of actors, not necessarily their familiarity with some anti-orthodox doctrine. As it turns out, only the rebel bandits are explicitly political or act on the grand political scene. For the characters of the other novels, politics is usually something far removed from their lives, and we must extrapolate our ideas on their politics from their general styles of thinking, feeling, and doing. Since we conceive of both orthodoxy and anti-orthodoxy as extensive and fairly coherent social-cultural-economic-political systems, this does not pose much of a problem. What the low political
consciousness of the anti-orthodox actors for Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng shows, we surmise, is that the new kind of anti-orthodoxy described (i.e., bourgeois-bohemian) was in the period 1550-1750 not worked out or seen in political terms; this came, we suggest, in the period 1750-1950.

There is little superficial uniformity between the actors in terms of their economic status (except for monks). Some rebel bandits in the Shui-hu are well off, others very poor. In Chin P'ing Mei, most major characters go from rich to poor or vice versa within the course of the novel. Hung Lou Meng is the story of a wealthy family. The underlying reality seems to be, however, that even for the comparatively wealthy, poverty is always merely a misstep away; even the rich Chia family stares ruin in the face when their senior family members are impeached for corruption, and there is a similar incident in Chin P'ing Mei. Certainly, the threat of imminent non-survival has been salient to every Chinese until the present time, and the effect on political styles may be great even though it is not clearly revealed in the novels.

The last parameter, sexual pressure, merely recalls the high saliency of this factor in all the novels. We have discussed sexual questions in detail above, and here we merely reiterate that sex drives are extremely strong sources
of motivation and that the charismatic "pole" of political styles clearly offers some sort of alternative(s) to orthodox sexual styles.

If we use the comments above and the tables in the appendix to identify the most conspicuously anti-orthodox elements, we find that the Liangshan rebels and Pao-yu stand out, as we would expect.

What is so striking about these two most conspicuous anti-orthodox styles as we have described them above is their dissimilarity within the general category of charismatic styles. If we regard the military-gymnastic styles as the salient expression of anti-orthodoxy in the early to mid-Ming period, we cannot help but note that the anti-orthodoxy of the mid-Ch'ing period, say 200 years later is, judging from the novels, a matter of entirely different ideas, social classes, personal and group styles and political moralities, Surely, some of this change in novelistic preoccupation must reflect real-life change in the saliency of various traditions of social values.

Specifically, we would suggest that the period 1450-1750 was characterized, judging by the novels, by the new prominence of a social and economic class which, like the bandits, was neither peasant nor mandarin in composition, but which, unlike the bandits, deserved the label "middle-class" or "bourgeois". Exactly what "bourgeois" means and whether or not the Chinese
nouveaux riches of the Ming and Ch'ing periods deserve the appellation are complicated questions. There had always been merchants in China, of course, and some of them had prospered. But, briefly, the stability of early Ming rule seems to have been accompanied by the rise of a class of people who were wealthy, educated, ambitious for advancement, yet not from the old gentry. Pr usek describes some elements of this class as "commerçants et artisans..., la bureaucratie inférieure..., la figure romantique del 'étudiant, ou même du bachelier dont les aventures amoureus ses; une multitude de déclassés et des déséreités, ..." and his general term for them is "bourgeois de la capitale;" that is, members of the urban society which grew up around the various capitals of the Sung, Yuan, and Ming, particularly Kaifeng, Yangchou, Nanking, and Peking.

Wolfram Eberhard makes the following observations on the applicability of the term "bourgeois":

At a certain point of development in Europe we see that the big city families of businessmen, the "patricians", developed a type of culture of their own, a culture which differed in many ways from the court culture of the nobility, although in many of its details it was an imitation of the culture of that nobility; a culture which we call "bourgeois" culture. The development of this sub-culture was the result of the success of the businessmen; it grew rapidly in strength, and its members became the middle class of the West.
In Japan, we know that in cities like Osaka and Edo, a culture existed which was carried by the businessmen and merchants and which differed from the Confucian culture of the court and nobility...Officially, the nobility looked down on this bourgeois culture, though secretly, they liked it.

Did something of the sort exist in China? To our knowledge, this subject has not been studied in sufficient detail. Yet, in our opinion the answer should be "yes". We contend that there was a specific style of culture in China, from perhaps the middle of the 15th century on, which flourished in the trade and industry centers of Central China and which was carried and promoted by wealthy merchants.7)

Eberhard goes on to describe some of the artifacts of this sub-culture: valuable manuscripts, old paintings, expensive rare seals, academies funded by subscription, bookstores and publishing, and so on-- a picture of a cultivated haute bourgeoisie. He notes for example, that a certain Mr. Pao, a salt merchant of Yangchou, "introduced modern customs into Yang-chou society: in his house men and women ate together and not separated as usual". Eberhard's remark about the cultivated circles that produced and read the Chin P'ing Mei is much to the point; "China's most famous romantic novel, Chin P'ing Mei, has a merchant as the hero and defends the 'middle class' against the corrupt officials."8) It is, of course this element of anti-orthodoxy, already noted in the later novels, that is relevant here. In this connection, we would suggest the simple paradigm that for
every bourgeois class or culture, there is an accompanying counter-class or counterculture, which we have come to know in the West as "bohemian". Bohemians are by most economic and social standards middle-class, but their uniqueness comes from their conscious alienation from the commercial values at the heart of middle-class life. They seek values and lifestyles which will preserve for them and others the positive aspects of bourgeois life -- freedom from ascriptive career pressures, leisure, cultivation, etc. -- but minimize what is seen as the crassness and cruelty that spring from commercialism.

We have already noted that the bohemians are a salient class in Hung Lou Meng and that a bohemian alienation pervades Chin P'ing Mei, but that there is no such phenomenon in the Shui-hu. History and literature would both seem to indicate that in certain ways the emergence of the new middle class and its accompanying bohemian element meant the emergence of new anti-orthodox styles. We feel that these bohemian styles represent a new revolutionary potential as well.

The revolutionary potential of the Shui-hu is high in some respects, low in others, as we have suggested at various places above. On the one hand, they represent a strong, ancient tradition of adherence to values intensely at odds which Confucian values and a military capacity which, when fully mobilized, can threaten the existence of a reigning government. On the other hand, they are incapable of transcending the
contradiction between "right" and "might" or transforming their archaic code of honor into a workable or progressive alternative system of political morality. If we consider the hao-han as essentially a social archaism, then the Confucian order may be seen, in theory at least, as a progressive step, bringing social order and a rational bureaucracy out of feudalism and militarism. Confucius himself might be considered a radical anti-feudalist, but his own archaism (the ideal of the Golden Age of the Shang) limited the vision and thus the commitment to justice which his followers could make.

We may regard the new prominence of the middle class and its accompanying bohemian "counter-class" in the Ming as having considerable potential for solving this problem of archaism or the backward-looking ideal. We need only turn to the striking figure of Chia Pao-yu in Hung Lou Meng to see the comparatively imaginative terms in which the author conceives of social possibilities. For the purposes of this study we may take Pao-yu as the quintessential bohemian and assess his symbolic contribution to political sophistication as if it represented the political consciousness of the whole stratum.

We must first stress that Pao-yu and the bohemians are not entirely a new group. They are, as we have shown, very much the heirs of certain Taoist-Buddhist religious traditions, many of which had been connected with military-gymnastic value
system as well. The first question then is whether or not Pao-yu's Taoism is any different from the politically sterile magical mysticism of bandit Kung-sun Sheng. Clearly Pao-yu incarnates the old Taoist virtues of the natural, the passive, the contemplative, the esthetic, the mystical, and to this degree there is a political nihilism about Pao-yu which is undeniable; we have expressed this in our tables below by marking Pao-yu as "low" in political consciousness. But if this is so of Pao-yu, what makes the alienated intellectual of the Ch'ing different from his earlier counterparts?

Let us first put the question in terms of the development of literature and literary characters. We cite Prusek's view:

All over the world literature seems to have followed the same path, from gods to heroes, rulers, warriors and aristocrats, before it reached the ordinary man... In all societies this moment seems to have come when literature found its home in the cities and became both the voice and the mirror of urban society... At this point the question "what is your origin and what is your class" loses its importance even if not completely, and clearer and clearer the question can be heard, "What sort of person are you?"... In contrast to the literature of the preceding era we can call this new (i.e., Ming) literature bourgeois.12

There is, in other words, a way in which the highly individualized characters of the bourgeois novels reflect a concern in the real world for individual aspirations and the capacity of society to allow the measure of social and
political freedom necessary for individual development -- in political terms a sort of pro-liberal idea. As we have seen, the characters in the Shui-hu are not drawn carelessly, but in the end they amount to a broad series of stereotype Taoist mystic by virtue of his unique personality and ideas; the author stresses not just that he is an individual but a very special gifted, and "destined" individual.

Ian Watt, in his study of the rise of the novelistic genre in seventeenth century England, presents a similar point of view concerning individualism and connects this trait with the burgeoning proto-capitalism of that era. In a formulation which might easily be also applied to Chin P'ing Mei and Hung Lou Meng, Watt stresses that the English novel was new in its concentration on the particular, the individual, the original -- as opposed to previous literary genres. Characters were fully individualistic, and reflected the concern felt by writers and readers of novels with the need to shape their own lives.

The novel's serious concern with the daily lives of ordinary peoples seems to depend upon two important general conditions; the society must value every individual highly enough to consider him the proper subject of its serious literature; and there must be enough variety of belief and action among ordinary people for a detailed account of them to be of interest to other ordinary people, the readers of novels. It is probable that neither of these conditions for the existence
of the novel obtained very widely until fairly recently, because they both depend on the rise of interdependent factors denoted by the term 'individualism'.

Even the word is recent, dating only from the middle of the nineteenth century. In all ages, no doubt, and in all societies, some people have been 'individualists' in the sense that they were egocentric, unique or conspicuously independent of current opinions and habits; but the concept of individualism involves much more than this. It posits a whole society mainly governed by the idea of every individual's intrinsic independence both from other individuals and from that multifarious allegiance to past modes of thought and action denoted by the word 'tradition' -- a force that is always social, not individual. The existence of such a society, in turn, obviously depends on a special type of economic and political organization and on an appropriate ideology; more specifically, on an economic and political organization which allows its members a very wide range of choices in tradition of the past, but on the autonomy of the individual, irrespective of his particular social status or personal capacity. It is generally agreed that modern society is uniquely individualist in these respects, and that of the many historical causes for its emergence two are of supreme importance -- the rise of modern industrial capitalism and the spread of Protestantism, especially in its Calvinist or Puritan forms.\(^{14}\)

What appears most pervasively in literary terms as a concern for individualism, as Watt describes, may most usefully, we would contend with Prusek, Eberhard, and others, be described as a bourgeois class in terms of the dynamics of society. There would be no reason to apply this term if we did not feel it expressed some underlying social reality of course. What is it we seek to convey by
suggesting that strong currents in the China of recent centuries are bourgeois?

We are suggesting that the source novels reveal that the anti-orthodoxy of the period 1500-1750 had important connections with and implications for the anti-orthodoxy of the modern period. These connections are of two kinds. First, there is a developmental progress within the anti-orthodox tradition. As a "primitive" stage we have the military-gymnastic style of the Shui-hu; as succeeding stages the appearance of the bourgeois in Chin P'ing Mei and of the bohemian or alienated bourgeois in Hung Lou Meng. The implication is that the various rebels, anti-Confucians, and revolutionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should be seen as the culmination of this series of stages.

Second, there is the connection of continuity. That is, despite innovation leading to development within the charismatic tradition, as we have just noted, there is also a preservation of important aspects of sub-traditions. We may thus expect to see in modern revolutionaries, for example, some survivals of the military-gymnastic style.

To be able to describe important anti-orthodox elements as bourgeois or alienated bourgeois will thus have considerable value in illuminating these connections between past and present, since the bourgeois has long been recognized in
Western history as a critical element in modernization and the term would have considerable descriptive power.

The applicability of the phenomenon of the bourgeois class to Chinese history must be primarily an economic one, it would seem, simply because the concept of class is essentially an economic one. We thus will briefly sketch below some suggestions as to how the development of the bourgeois class may have had an extremely important effect on the development of the revolutionary potential of the Chinese anti-orthodox tradition or style. We stress the "may" (and the "brief") because it is not our task in this paper to produce a valid explanation of how the Chinese revolution came about; all we want to do is demonstrate the effectiveness of our means of describing the anti-orthodox phenomenon in China. We mention below an economic theory of history as an introduction to further discussion of the possible connections between "traditional" and "modern" anti-orthodoxy.

In his *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, cited above, Barrington Moore attempts to explain the development of a key form of modern politics, the Anglo-American liberal tradition, by reference to certain primarily economic events and trends occurring in Great Britain in the critical transition period 1500-1800 A.D. He associates the unique development of liberal democracy in the Anglo-Saxon world with such factors as
the commercialization of the economy, the destruction of the peasantry, the enclosure of the common land, and the full acceptance of the new economic dispensation by the old aristocracy and gentry, in contradistinction to the cases of France, Germany, Japan, China, and perhaps India.

Moore's discussion of economic and political change in China is put chiefly in terms of the changing role of the peasantry and their changing relationship with the land and the land-owning elite in the last few centuries. He regards the climactic stage of the Chinese revolution as the establishment of power by the Chinese Communist Party on the basis of mobilization of peasants. Moore, E. Wolf, and others suggest that a decline in the Chinese peasant's economic situation in the nineteenth century was a critical contribution to the social decay which enabled revolution to succeed in the twentieth century, although this has attracted dedicated efforts by other scholars to prove that this was not the case. But Moore also notes that:

Massive poverty and exploitation in and by themselves are not enough to provide a revolutionary situation. There must also be felt injustice built into the victims or some reason for the victims to feel that old demands are no longer justifiable. The decay of the upper classes in China provided this indispensable ingredient. The gentry had lost their raison d'être and turned into landlord-usurers pure and simple. The end of their legitimacy and the Confucian system that had supported it.
But Moore goes on in the same paragraph to indicate that the peasants had probably never accepted the legitimacy of Confucianism in the first place, citing Weber (as we have) to the effect that the Taoist magical religion was the religion of the masses and implying, as we have, that heterodoxy had its own legitimacy. Moore then remarks on the important role introducing new elites of Communist activists into the villages played in mobilizing peasant orthodoxy. "To say that a revolutionary situation existed", Moore puts it, "does not mean that the conflagration was about to ignite of its own accord".

As we have already said above, in this study we have no source of information on peasant political styles or their saliency. However, Moore's final point reinforces our feeling that the salient or critical styles of the modern Chinese revolution have probably been bourgeois styles, not peasant styles. The rise of the bourgeois, visible in the thematic progression of symbolic styles from the Shui-hu through Chin P'ing Mei to Hung Lou Meng, meant the eventual destruction of Confucian society, both through the increased saliency and power of bourgeois styles and through the struggle of the alienated bourgeois to moderate or transcend the limitations of the bourgeois styles as well as to destroy Confucian styles.

Perhaps the most spirited exposition of this view of the historical function of the bourgeois was expressed in 1848 by
historical function of the bourgeois was expressed in 1848 by Marx and Engels:

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part. The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, had put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors", and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment". It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimental sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation.\textsuperscript{20}

Marx and Engels were themselves among the most fecund and significant pioneers of the alienated bourgeois style and movement which accompanied the rise to power in the West of the conventional bourgeois and which produced socialism and communism. It may be the contribution of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung that they were able to effectively graft this alienated bourgeois style onto mass movements and militantly seize from the "old elites" of Russia and China their power and legitimacy.

We should, however, supplement this classic statement. Mancur Olson points out,

When the focus is on the fact that rapid economic growth means rapid economic change, and that economic change entails social dislocation, it becomes clear that both the gainers and the losers from economic growth
can be destabilizing forces. Both will be imperfectly adjusted to the existing order... First, economic growth increases the number of nouveaux riches, who may use their economic power to change the social and political order in their interest; and second, ... economic growth may paradoxically also create surprisingly large number of "nouveaux pauvres", who will be much more resentful of their poverty than those who have known nothing else...

There will be an (almost Marxian) "contradiction" between this new distribution of economic power and the old distribution of social prestige and political power. Certain individuals are left in places in the economic order that are incompatible with their positions in the old social and political hierarchy. This means not only that these people are in socially ambiguous situations that may leave them "alienated" from society; it means also that they have the resources with which they can ultimately change the social and political order in their own interest. 21)

From the point of view of this study we might say that the new power and saliency of bourgeois styles and the accompanying alienated bourgeois styles in the Ming and Ch'ing periods represented a new potentiality for anti-orthodoxy. That this is so is demonstrated by the very appearance of "subversive" novels of bourgeois and bohemians, and their obvious saliency on the Chinese cultural scene.

What we suggest in this study is that there has been in China a clear pattern of development in anti-orthodox political styles from the "traditional" period -- the period of relatively complete domination of the political scene by Confucianism and
the relative sterility of anti-orthodoxy — through the period of turmoil and power shifts occasioned by the rise of new bourgeois elites and new styles of alienation, to a period in which anti-orthodoxy was sufficiently invigorated and orthodoxy sufficiently decayed so that the overthrow of Confucianism could finally be encompassed. There are several aspects of this hypothetical pattern we must stress in bringing this study to a close.

First, this hypothetical pattern implies and demands a somewhat different periodization of Chinese history and somewhat different definitions of periods than are usually given. It was not merely coincidence that it was at the time that Hung Lou Meng, the great novel of the bohemian, was first circulating that the last Confucian dynasty was at its peak — and thus ripe for decline. Unlike most historians, Eberhard feels that it was at this time that a continuity of historical events began which led directly to the present:

The period of Ch'ien-lung (1736-1796) is not only that of the greatest expansion of the Chinese empire, but also that of the greatest prosperity under the Manchu regime. But there began at the same time to be signs of internal decline. If we are to fix a particular year for this, perhaps it should be the year 1774, in the province of Shantung. In 1775 there came another popular rising, in Honan — that of the "Society of the White Lotus".... These risings had been produced, as always, by excessive oppression of the people by the government or the governing class...
rising was suppressed only by a very big military operation, and not until 1802. There had been very heavy fighting between 1793 and 1802 -- just when in Europe, in the French Revolution, another oppressed population won its freedom.\footnote{22}

We would contend that as the French Revolution may, even must be seen as the beginning in Europe of the modern political era -- the era from which we seem only now to be emerging -- the continuity of anti-orthodox success in China may be dated from this period. Thus in this sense Hung Lou Meng is not a "traditional" novel different in important ways from "modern" novels, but is a symbol that the modern period has begun -- the period of the higher revolutionary potential of the new bourgeois and alienated bourgeois political styles. Until the appearance in literature of the reaction of the bohemains against bourgeois styles as well as against Confucianism, we may speak of subcultures such as the monks or the rebel bandits, as depicted in the Shui-hu. We may point out that the author of the Chin P'ing Mei was opposed to the Crusoe-like crassness of his hero had some primitive awareness of the human and social potential of women, but there is not character in the novel which directly represents these attitudes. But with the appearance of the fictional bohemian in all his force in the figure of Pao-yu in Hung Lou Meng, we see for the first time the symbolic embodiment of the bourgeois who deplores the bourgeois, a potentially progressive figure who
was increasingly embodied in real form over succeeding decades, and who increasingly successfully claimed to be the bearer of a new charisma.

Thus the tendency of many Western scholars to begin their consideration of the modern or contemporary era in China with the nineteenth-century incursions of the Western powers and the subsequent unfolding of Chinese history in the light of Western influence and the world political scene would seem to contradict what we see as the developmental pattern of anti-orthodoxy as revealed in our three source novels. We feel that the strong implication of the novels and of the social-developmental pattern we see them as revealing is that Chinese anti-orthodoxy was not rendered irrelevant or obsolete by the introduction of Western ideas and Western power, but on the contrary was at that time beginning a "take-off" which was important in carrying twentieth-century anti-orthodoxy to the culminating point of true revolution. In defining a modern period based on the saliency of bourgeois and alienated bourgeois styles, we are suggesting that Chinese history is perhaps most usefully defined in terms of indigenous forces and events, despite the obvious and great impact of the West.

Even though the saliency of the bourgeois and bohemian elements on the political scene in China in the nineteenth century was far less than that of their counterparts in Europe
and America, the similarity of political styles and to some degree political events is noticeable. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in China, leading reformists, anti-Confucian intellectuals, rebel leaders, modernizers, activists and ideologues of many stripes have stressed the virtues prominently suggested by the mythic figure Pao-yu: naturalness (versus Confucian propriety), equality (versus Confucian vertical stratification), a commitment to a concept of and search for humaneness and justice beyond Confucian ideas of order and control, female emancipation, individual liberty, and other moral-political virtues which seem so liberal to the Western mind. We think it likely on the strength of the evidence of the novels that the famous radical-liberal virtues "liberty, equality, fraternity", visible in modern China as in many other places, developed as much from indigenous styles as from Western. We cannot demonstrate this on the evidence available in the data base of this study, however, and so leave the question for further studies.

We suggest with somewhat more certainty that the element of continuity in the anti-orthodox tradition (as opposed to the developmental element) is clearly visible in modern revolutionary styles. Again, we cannot analyze the modern situation in depth in this monograph, but we can refer to what can easily be seen as a modern correlate and product of
the anti-orthodox styles we have mentioned above: the Maoist style.

One may, of course, characterize the Maoist style in any number of ways, and we must be careful that we do not see in Mao simply what we want to see. We could rely on one or more of the useful studies of Mao's individual impact on the Chinese revolution: Ch'en, Schram, Schwartz, and Solomon are analysts whose works spring to mind. But to attempt to definitively derive or discern "the real Mao" from these studies is more than we need to do. We want simply to be able to identify in the generally accepted ideas of Mao's style certain elements which have a clear resonance with the major themes of anti-orthodoxy as we have seen them in our source novels. We feel that we may easily and legitimately discern in the Maoist style analogues or descendants of the sexual, fraternal, and eschatological challenges to orthodoxy visible in the novels.

The sexual challenge Mao has made to orthodoxy over the years seems to us more similar to the challenge made by the rebel bandits of the Shui-hu than to that of the bohemians. Being a professional revolutionary in the twentieth century has involved, as Mao was quicker to see than most, a commitment to military life and values as well as to political action per se. With this military life went a military concept of
dedication to an ethos, one which had a certain self-contained tradition, and involved the same kind of "vow of chastity" and renunciation of family life as did that of the Liangshanh'o rebels.

Pye has noted that Mao's difficulty in fitting into his own family as a child was transmitted to adulthood as his difficulty in dealing with his peers organizationally. But in another sense Mao has found in the organizational life of conspiratorial circles, the Party, the Army, the Yenan utopia, and the Chungnanhai a fairly complete surrogate for family life -- a "band" to belong to, so to speak. We say this knowing Mao has had wives and children and that his current wife is an important political figure. But it seems clear simply from examining the imperatives of the kind of life Mao has led from about 1920 on -- sometimes underground, sometimes garrison life (guerrilla style), always with round-the-clock administrative and moral responsibility for some aspect of revolutionary or Party affairs -- that he has not lived the kind of relatively solid, bourgeois family life that, say, Marx or Lenin lived. We know from the early history of Chiang Ch'ing that it was fairly easy for her and Mao to form a permanent liaison in Yenan, in which she might (we assume) attend to the sexual needs of the rebel leader, but that the Party leadership as a whole was concerned, perhaps
even a little shocked, when Mao later proposed to marry Chiang Ch'ing -- that is, divert his energies to "family-building" rather than "party-building".

But, somewhat paradoxically, within the context of an anti-Confucian organization and ethos, the sexual challenge to orthodoxy also may take the form of the emancipation of women. This was not evident in the world of the Liangshan'yō bandit rebels, because one of the limitations of their code was its fear of women and consequent repression of them, more like Confucianism than unlike it. But many secret societies in traditional China made a special point of their feminism, granting equality to women within the organization in many ways, "on paper", at least. It may be that the societies envisioned a breed of military, man-like amazons as the proper female role; or there may have been a simple divergence between fiction and fact. In any case, the Communist Party has always accepted women and championed the cause of women's rights, but has insisted in practice that women were acceptable in the Party because they were real revolutionaries -- perhaps the modern correlate of amazons.

Mao's own personal and leadership style does not seem conspicuously tied up with a vision of women's rights or equality, but the fraternal aspect of the organizational ethos (which incorporates women) is of prime concern to Mao. One way
of defining Mao's success would be to say that he is supremely a creature of the organization -- but also supremely a "lone wolf". Creating the proper and effective corporate identity and function of the Party has always called forth Mao's best efforts, but he has been able to achieve success in controlling and building the Party only by virtue of distancing himself from it to a degree, or, as Schwartz has put it, by retaining political legitimacy for himself as well as assuring it for the Party. The fraternal nature of the CCP (as of virtually any serious anti-orthodox or conspiratorial group anywhere) has always been readily apparent. In the Shui-hu, one rebel addresses another as "elder brother" or "younger brother"; in the CCP, as "comrade" -- no doubt indicating a greater egalitarianism as befits its modernity. But at the same time we should note that there is structure, even vertical, bureaucratic structure in the Party also, and it is the tension between these vertical and horizontal organizational tendencies which has produced much of the internal political struggles the Party has gone through. The "fraternity" of the CCP is, however, not to be seen only as a rebel band. One might describe Party leaders, at least of the older generation, as alienated bourgeois intellectuals, and Mao particularly, as the most romantic and history-minded of them, recalling the bohemian cohort-leader Pao-yu.
"Struggle" is a key component of the Maoist style in any formulation of it, and antithetically opposed to the ideas of harmony and order that characterized Confucian orthodoxy. Mao has himself countenanced or encouraged periods of order, (especially since 1949, of course), but has so vehemently espoused the "cause" of struggle and similar ideas of the virtue of division and tension ("one divides into two", the theory of contradictions, etc.) that it may be considered one of his most permanent and salient characteristics. Here we may refer to the willingness of the bandit rebels to create chaos (which Mao has himself characteristically expressed in the phrase "there is no construction without destruction"). and to the heterodox and bohemian espousal of less structured political dispensations.

Finally, we point out that for Mao, as for the Liangshanp'o rebels and for Pao-yu, the ultimate questions of politics and society are moral ones, and ones to be dealt with at least partly through the transcendant morality of charismatic leadership. We might speculate that the tremendous emphasis Mao has placed on developing and legitimizing an explicit new structure of social and political morality in contemporary China may owe something both to his awareness of the limitations of bandit morality and the potentialities of the moral imagination of the alienated bourgeois. In any case, his challenge
both to Confucianism and to "crass" bourgeois morality has
been even more completely than those of the military-gymnastic
tradition or the early bohemians, a challenge to a whole world
concept, and a search for what Mao simplistically but correctly
calls a "philosophy". What is unusual and interesting (and
difficult) about this effort of Mao's is that no leader of
Chinese government since Ch'in Shih Huang Ti of the third
century B.C. has had such an opportunity to try to turn the
charisma of his person and of a movement into a functioning,
institutionalized government. There is not only the weight of
the Western radical tradition behind the present government's
efforts to change and govern China, but the enormous weight of
an indigenous anti-orthodox tradition.
APPENDIX

Tabular Summaries of Factors Relating to Revolutionary Potential

(As referred to in Chapter 6)
Table 1: PROTESTS AGAINST CONFUCIAN ORTHODOXY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Protest</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHC: bandits</td>
<td>a) freedom from Confucian family</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) freedom from Confucian political authority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monks</td>
<td>a) same as above</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) same as above</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM: women</td>
<td>for sexual satisfaction, survival</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monk</td>
<td>against depravity and orthodoxy</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLM: young women</td>
<td>freedom from Confucian marriage</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pao-yu</td>
<td>a) freedom from Confucian career</td>
<td>mid\textsuperscript{5)}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) freedom from arranged marriage</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) freedom from filial authority</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) freedom from orthodox sex role</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) freedom from Confucian education</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f) freedom to choose associates</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g) freedom to develop as an individual</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: LEGITIMACY IMPUTED TO ORTHODOXY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Orthodox element</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHC: bandits</td>
<td>Emperor</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>civil officials</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>order</td>
<td>lo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confucian family</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monks</td>
<td>order</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other Confucian elements</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM: women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLM: Pao-yu</td>
<td>court</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>officialdom</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confucian family</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young women</td>
<td>court</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confucian family</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
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### TABLE 3: INDIVIDUALSIM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHC: bandits</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM: women</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLM: Pao-yu</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other bohemians</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
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### TABLE 4: SOLIDARITY

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Intensity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHC: bandits</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM: women</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLM: Pao-yu &amp; cousins</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women as a whole</td>
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### TABLE 5: STRENGTH OF HETERODOX RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHC: bandits</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monks</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM: women</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLM: Pao-yu</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>mid-hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other bohemians</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
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### TABLE 6: POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHC: bandits</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monks</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM: women</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLM: Pao-yu</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
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<td>other bohemians</td>
<td>lo</td>
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### TABLE 7: ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION

<table>
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<th>Intensity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHC: bandits</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monks</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM:</td>
<td>(Careers of women are characterized by progress from poor to rich or rich to poor.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLM: Pao-yu</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other bohemians</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
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### TABLE 8: SEXUAL PRESSURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHC: bandits</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monks</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBM: all</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLM: Pao-yu</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young women</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
Footnotes

Chapter 1

1. Charles Tilly is one analyst who sees collective violence as more than an undirected, explosive reaction resulting from "the anxieties men experience when established institutions fall apart." Tilly goes on, "Far from being mere side effects of urbanization, industrialization, and other large structural changes, violent protests seem to grow most directly from the struggle for established places in the struggle for power." Tilley implies that such protests are surprisingly articulate, well-organized, and insightful in their critique of the failings of the authorities. See C. Tilly, "Collective Violence in European Perspective," in H.D. Graham and T.R. Gurr, eds., Violence in America: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, New York (New York Times/Bantam), 1970.

2. This is not necessarily to say that the fall of the Ch'ing or of Chiang Kai-shek was entirely due to the virtues and skills of their opponents, but simply to impute to the history of the modern period a perennial pressure "vector" from anti-orthodoxy. For more discussion of this point, see Chapter 6 below.

3. We do not want to enter into discussions of the actual connections between historical artifacts of anti-orthodoxy (novels, tracts, etc.) and the formative experiences of modern revolutionary leaders. We can and want to point out clear similarities between some older anti-orthodox attitudes and modes of action and some
3. (con t.)

newer ones; there is a presumptive connection in consciousness.

4. The best treatment I have found in Western languages of the origins of Chinese popular literature is Jaroslav Průšek's essays, collected chiefly in his Chinese History and Literature, Dordrecht, (D. Reidel) 1970. Průšek stresses that novel did not spring out of the oral story-telling radition, but grew up alongside it, thus contradicting J.L. Bishop's assertion to the contrary in "The Colloquial Short Story in China," (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XIV, Cambridge, 1956). E. Balazs' essays in the work cited in our initial quotation have also proved especially useful background. As for the value of studying literature for purposes of social analysis, Prusek states simply, "With some exaggeration I would formulate my thesis as follows: as literature is, so is history; the same perception of reality is in the background of both and determines their form." "History and Epics in China and in the West," in Průšek, ibid.

5. We have used the following editions of the Shui-hu (or SHC, as we will refer to it in footnotes): Chinese: Shui-hu, Peking (Ren-min Wen-xue Chu-ban She), 1972., 2 vols. containing 71 chapters; Shui-hu Chuan, Hefei, (Hefei Da-xue Han-zhi Tu-shu-guan), n.d. (1930s?), one vol. containing 124 chapters. English: Pearl S. Buck, translator, All Men Are Brothers, New York (John Day), 1937, one vol. of 80 chapters. R.G. Irwin, in The Evolution of a Chinese Novel (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies X, Cambridge 1953) gives a useful outline of the 120-chapter version.


8. The analysis of the works according to individual, group, and modes or forces seems to correspond quite closely to Marion Levy's categories of sociological analysis: role differentiation, solidarity structures, and allocation and integration, respectively. We have not adopted Levy's terminology in this study, however, fearing that it would obscure rather than clarify the points we wish to make. We have tried to approach the study in the same spirit of rigor, however. See M. Levy, **The Structure of Society**, Princeton (Princeton University Press), 1952.

9. C. Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," in *D. Apter*, ed., *Ideology and Discontent*, Glencoe, Illinois, (Free Press of Glencoe), 1966. Geertz is searching, he says, for "a new symbolic framework in terms of which to formulate, think about, and react to political problems." Burke's phrase is, "...A poem is an act, the
9. (con't)

the symbolic act of the poet who made it -- an act of such a
nature that, in surviving as a structure or object, it enables
us as readers to re-enact it." K. Burke, "Symbolic Action in a
Poem by Keats," in S.E. Hyman, ed. The Critical Performance,
New York (Vintage), 1956.

10. HLM (English), pp. 22-23.

195. I have modernized the "quainte olde" spelling retained by
Smith and Parks.

12. J.L. Bishop, "Some Limitations of Chinese Fiction," in Bishop,
ed. Studies in Chinese Literature, Harvard-Yenching Institute

13. The Yellow Millet Dream is a dream of success as an official and
progenitor of successful sons. Balazs recounts it in detail in
the same article, "Tradition and Revolution in China" in Chinese
Civilization and Bureaucracy, New Haven (Yale University Press),
1964, pp. 150-151.

1971, p. 44. Perhaps even closer to myths are folk or popular
dramas, because form as well as content is set by cultural fiat
and thus revealing. J.L. Peacock, in "Society as Narrative," in
American Ethnological Society, Forms of Symbolic Action, New York,
1969, has suggested the value of a "dramatistic" investigation of


21. Quotations from Liebow, ibid.


23. F. Kluckhohn, ibid., p. 352.


31. I am indebted to Prof. Lucian Pye for suggesting this point; personal communication, September 1972.

32. (cont)

London, 1963. Her investigation focused on the boat people (tanka) of Hong Kong.


Chapter 2


3. Cf. Wright's summary of the Confucian code in Chapter 1. The Shui-hu itself gives a capsule summary of the military-gymnastic virtues in its first chapter (the second in the Chinese version we use, which counts what Buck calls the introduction as Chapter 1): compassion (ren 仁), righteousness (yi 义), wisdom (zhi 智), trustworthiness and honor (xin xing 信行), loyalty (zhung 忠), and excellence (liang 良). These designations are too vague for our analytical purposes, however.

4. Ibid., p. 107. We might here mention the opposite view of Barrington Moore that "....The costs of moderation have been at least as atrocious as those of revolution, perhaps a great deal
4. (cont.)

more so." We will refer more substantively to Moore's work
Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Boston (Beacon
Press 1966) in Chapter 6 below. The above quotation may be found
on p. 505.

5. Hsia, ibid., p. 105.

6. The term is from Margery Wolf, Women and the Family in Rural
Taiwan, Palo Alto (Stanford University Press, 1972). This
interesting work will be mentioned more substantively later on
in this study.

7. SHC (English), Chapter 25 (p. 462).

8. For an episode of cannibalism performed by the terrible Li K'uei,
see SHC (English), Chapter 40, pp. 726; also cited in Hsia, op.
cit., p. 103.

9. We must not give the impression that the hao-han are never chival-
rous. Occasionally the spirit moves them to be so. Lu Chih-shen,
the formidable "Tattoed Priest," is forced to become an outlaw
because he succors a young girl and her old father, killing their
tormentor (Chapter 3 ff.); on another occasion he succors a women
about to be raped and kills her attacker (Chapter 20).

10. We use this term to refer to both Confucian and hao-han male types;
the treat to Confucian males will be discussed in the chapters
below on CPM and HLM.

in Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux, eds., The Study of Culture at
Distance, Chicago (University of Chicago Press), 1953.


14. Cf. Pye's observations on "the pure bliss of dependency" felt in childhood, ibid., p. 104 ff.; and Solomon's ideas on dependency and nurturance, op cit., Chapters II and III, which discuss in detail what we have put very simply here.

15. Pye, ibid., p.


17. As opposed to negative purposes such as preventing disorderly sexual relations, etc.


23. I.e., the "first" chapter of Buck's English version -- the second chapter of the Chinese.

24. SHC (English), pp. 40-41. We should note here that Shih Chin is shown as rejecting not so much the elevated orthodox style of the
24. (con t)
bureaucracy by being a hao-han as the more prosaic style of the
peasants with whom he lives as village chief. The peasant style
was and is no doubt of great importance in Chinese politics, but
is almost invisible in the novels. Furthermore, it is beginning
to be realized that the so-called "peasant rebellions" so common
in Chinese history really took little of their style from peasants,
the chief element being hao-han. This opinion is cautiously
voiced by J.W. Dardess in "The Late Ming Rebellions: Peasants
and problems of Interpretation," Journal of Interdisciplinary
History, II, 2 (July, 1970). See also J.B. Parsons, Peasant
Rebellions in the Late Ming, Tucson (University of Arizona Press),
1970.

25. Notably the cases of Ch'ai Chin, descendant of an imperial line
and treated with great respect despite his lack of warrior skills;
Lu Chun-i, rich and lordly, and Kuan Sheng, supposedly a des-
cendant of the great fighter Kuan Yu of the San-kuo stories.

26. The end of the 70-chapter version, that is, which is generally
considered the core group of tales.

27. The connections between the numerallogical symbolism and the
astronomical symbolism used in the novel might warrant detailed
investigation.


29. Ibid., p. 1272. I have changed Buck's translation slightly.

30. Ibid., p. 1279.


33. Hsü, *ibid.*, Chapter 4; Pye, *op. cit.*, passim.

34. For information on this, see among other works Lin Yüeh-hwa, *The Golden Wing*, Seattle (Institute of Pacific Relations), 1944. Wolf, *op. cit.*, discusses the situation from the woman's point of view.

35. Pye, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6, points out that brother-brother relations were liable to be tense in traditional China, and that older brother-younger sister relations were liable to be the only intra-family relationship with relaxed or pleasant affect.

35A. Jean Chesneaux, in his *Secret Societies in China*, (University of Michigan Press, 1971) quotes an initiation ceremony into the Triad society recorded in Singapore in 1824 which indicates that the initiate is expected to declare his father and mother symbolically dead before he can enter the brotherhood (p. 13).

36. There is clearly an intent to differentiate each major figure from the others. Each has a special nickname or battle name, fights with special weapons, wears special clothes, comes from a
36. (cont)

certain place, has individual physical characteristics, etc. Compared to the much more highly developed individuality of the characters of the later novels, the characters of SHC are merely variations on a single stereotype. In a sense, this has to be so, since the hao-han is a type himself, and individual hao-hans tend to have much in common. But compared to allegorical or mythic character types, the SHC heroes are more individualized; the term "semi-individualized" might be appropriate. (In the text we are assuming the reality of the fictional character).

37. There has been much discussion among historians about how much social mobility existed in traditional Chinese society. Ho Ping-ti's study *Class and Status in Traditional China*, (University of Chicago Press, 1962) is one which attempts bravely but not too successfully to draw hard, fine lines about classes and say something firm about social mobility. Advancement through the official military career channel is poorly covered in all the studies which have come to my attention, however.

38. This is, of course, the memorable phrase coined by George Orwell in *Animal Farm*.


41. (con t)
   pp. 174-204.
42. Hsia, op. cit.
44. Solomon, op. cit., pp. 2-3
45. See Parsons, op. cit.
46. Hsia, op. cit., p. 96.
47. Ibid.
48. Cf. Solomon's observations on Oedipus and Chinese equivalents,
   op. cit., p. 29 ff.
49. The sense of relief we mean is that expressed by the berserker
   Li K'uei in protesting against a friend's effort to stop him
   from killing an enemy: "If I do not kill this old ass, the old
   lord Ch'ao, then how will I rid myself of my rage?” SHC (English),
   p. 774.
50. Weber, op. cit. remains an excellent source on traditional Chinese
   religion. It is he who identified the three cults mentioned, p. 280.
51. Ibid., p. 284
52. Ibid., p. 285
54. See "Words" Chapter in the forthcoming book by R.H. Solomon and
   T.W. Huey, Breaking the China. New York (Anchor, 1974?).
55. Hsia, op. cit., p. 112.
56. The Ming dynasty, for example, was founded by Chu Yüan-chang, a hao-han who, like Wu Sung and Lu Chih-shen, wore the robes of a monk for a time. He made a number of institutional changes in the government, but the resulting political structure was no less Confucian than before. See the Hucker article referred to the footnote 33 of the introductory chapter.

57. The T'ang seems to have seen the height of the challenge of the heterodox religions to Confucianism and also of the conflict between the Buddhist and Taoist heterodoxies. For a first-hand account of religious-political scene, see E. Reischauer, *En-nin's Travels in T'ang China*, New York (Ronald Press), 1955.

58. The chief "sub-criteria" are group consciousness and sense of group solidarity.


62. Hung might be regarded in terms of the Shui-hu characters as a combination of the leader Sung Chiang and the religious magician Kung-sun Shen.

Chapter 3

1. Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel, Berkeley (University of California Press), 1957. We will quote Watt on this theme in a later chapter.

2. We use the names of characters as translated in the English versions we use. But for the sake of avoiding confusion between different translations of the titles, we use the Chinese titles of the three novels throughout.

3. Note the absence of peasants in the list of characters, an absence which will be complete in this study. There is one fairly prominent peasant character in HLM, a country cousin of the rich Chia family called Liu Lao-lao ("Old Layd Liu"), whose hearty rudeness is used to point up the rather effete qualities of the more sophisticated townspeople. Almost no other peasants appear in CPM or HLM, and peasant styles of doing or feeling are thus not investigable. As we have mentioned, we do not feel that this inhibits our investigation of anti-orthodox styles unduly, but a separate study of peasant styles in traditional China would seem called for.

4. The participation of the cousins in the "campaign" to save them from marriage is less conscious and less pointed in a group sense than Pao-yü's. One has the impression that they cannot really believe such a campaign will work -- they are half-resigned to their fate and continue to regard Pao-yü as something of a lovable crackpot. Black Jade's desire is entirely for Pao-yü himself, and she is so unequivocal that she dies when she cannot have him. See
4. (cont)

below, chapter 4 and Appendix for summaries of the girls' group 
consciousness and solidarity feelings.


6. Watt, op. cit., passim. The word "romantic may be taken in the 
sense of "love", "strange or moving tale," and/or "sympathetic 
imaginativeness" (all suggested by the Oxford Concise Dictionary).

7. For more on this fear of anarchy (as it appears in political life), 
see below, Chapters 5 and 6.

8. Pye, op. cit., p. 40 and passim, and Chapter 1 above.


10. Hsia translates this name "Precious Clasp," which would seem to be 
nearer the basic meaning of the words 寶釵 "bao chai".

11. Ibid., p. 267.

12. We will use the term "actor" as a generic term referring to 
individuals and/or groups with political (usually anti-orthodox) 
relevance. We thus avoid repetition of the awkward phrase "indiv-
duals and/or groups."

13. HLM, passim.

14. HLM (English), p. 101


17. Citing the terms used in the political development theory or G. 
Almond and G.B. Powell, in Comparative Politics: A Developmental
17. (con t)

Approach, Boston (Little, Brown), 1966.

18. See below, p. 18 of this chapter.

19. I can find no scholarly exegesis of this personality type, but personal acquaintance with some embodiments of it has left me convinced it is a prominent one in both China and Viet Nam. Mme. Ngô Đình Nhu would seem to be a prominent example.

20. See Especially Wolf, op. cit.


22. Ibid., p. 319

23. Ibid., p. 319. (Note that the fates of Phoenix and the nun are resolved on the same page -- an indication of the haste with which the author is throwing together an ending.)

24. For more on bohemians, see below, Chapters 4 and 6. We use the term "bohemian" to refer to alienated artistic types, but make no functional distinction between this term and "alienated bourgeois," which has less of the artistic connotation. (The locus classicus of "bohemian" is Henri Murger's Scenes de la Vie de Bohème (1845).


27. Ibid., p. 214.

28. The bourgeois character of CPM is important, and its implications for anti-orthodoxy will be spelled out in Chapter 6.

30. SHC and CPM are set at the end of the Sung dynasty. The question arises with all our novels as to which era they may be considered to reflect: the era depicted or the era in which the writer lived. We do not make a diachronic analysis so exact that this question has to be answered within narrow limits. We feel that there are a number of levels of symbolic reality in the novels. There are levels with primary reference to and validity for the era of the action; others likewise for the author's period; others representative of traditional China; others of China as a whole; still others representative of elements common to all countries and all eras. Unless obviously different or otherwise stated, we usually regard the era of the author as the one the novel is most representative of.

31. We have more to say about Hsi-Men Ch'ing in Chapter 4 below, which treats him as a representative of a rising bourgeois class.

32. Pye (op. cit., p. 115), implies that the highly structured nature of role relations in orthodoxy actually served to relieve par-
32. (cont)  

participating individuals of the burdens of coping independently with social challenges. We suggest that a prominent implication of the novels is the opposite; that it was the orthodox social-political structure itself that demanded the most coping on the part of the individual.

33. This conspicuous failure of the ruthless and capable viragos in both novels may also indicate a certain unease on the part of the authors about possible usurpation of men's roles by women, despite the considerable degree of sympathy shown with the viragos.

Chapter 4

1. As it happens, there are no characters in CPM or HLM who are identified or function as eunuchs.


3. CPM (English), pp. 616-7.


5. Hsi-Men Ch'ing has a kind of anti-Confucian nature or function as well. See the end of this chapter.


8. Wolf (ibid., p. 37) puts it,

...because we have heretofore focused on men when examining the Chinese family .. we have missed not only some of the system's subtleties but also its near-fatal weakness. With a male focus we see the Chinese family as a line of
8. (con't)

descent, bulging to encompass all the members of a man's household and spreading otu through his descendants. With a female focus, however, we see the Chinese family not as a continuous line stretching between the vague horizons of past and future, but as a contemporary [i.e. synchronic] group that comes into existence out of one woman's need and his held together insofar as she has the strength to do so, or, for that matter, the need to do so.....The uterine family has no ideology, no formal structure, and no public existence....The descent lines of men are born and nourished in the uterine families of women, and it is here that a male ideology that excludes women makes its accommodations with reality.

9. We agree with Wolf that the uterine family and the women's community have no ideology, but the absence of Confucian ideology is ipso facto a kind of passive subversion.

10. Richard Wilson in his study Learning to Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan, Cambridge (MIT Press), 1970 notes that this morality beyond (and against) Confucian morality was sometimes articulated in various ways. He quotes the proverb Da yi mie chin (大義滅親), or "True righteousness transcends [lit. 'destroys'] family relationships."

11. The device of death through spiritual sickening is discussed in Chapter 5 below.

12. Chapter 1, pp. 16-17.

13. It should be noted that it is not solely Pao-yü's imputed homosexuality which enrages his father. He understands (mistakenly) that Pao-yü's liaison has led to the death of a women, and fears
13. (cont)
the scandal or possible official intervention which could follow, which in turn would reveal the dishonorable homosexuality, etc.

14. See Chapter 6 below for substantive discussion of courgeois and bohemian.


17. HLM (English), p. 73.

18. That is, at the end of the novel he capitulates to family pressures and studies hard for the examinations, finishing in spectacular seventh place. But this divagation form his previous course of vague heterodox holiness is quickly rectified by his rejection of the world just when it seems rosiest to resume his incarnation as the Stone.

19. HLM (English), p. 73.


21. On his deathbed Hsi-Men Ch'ing spends much time and energy giving detailed orders to his son-in-law concerning the disposition of his business affairs after his death. It may be argued that if there was ever a time to discuss such things, this would be it, but a reading of the passage still gives a Crusoeian impression of pettiness and preoccupation with commercial greed. The passage is too long and dull to quote; see CPM (English), p. 624. ff.
22. The Chia family of the capital is quite wealthy and established. They are among the hereditary Chinese "bannerman" to the Manchu emperor, and the paterfamilias is a graduate and high official. In these respects the Chia family is clearly a fictional version of Ts'ai Hsüeh-ch'in's own family. His ancestor Ts'ai Yin was a merchant who became an advisor to and favorite of the emperor. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966). See Jonathan Spence, Ts'ai Yin and the K'ang Hsi Emperor, Hsi-Men Ch'ing, on the other hand, is *nouveau riche*. Despite the Chia family's *ancien riche* status, they appear in the novel as partly mandarin aristocrats (although not nearly so grand as the Manchu nobility) but partly also as petty men of affairs. Through Pao-yü's eyes we are shown that they are simultaneously crass and degenerate.

23. We refer here to Pao-yü's inability to change the social or family situation around him or successfully resist the pressures applied to him and his cousins to conform to orthodoxy -- except by "cheating," that is, resuming his supernatural form. In fairness to Ts'ai Hsüeh-ch'in, we should note that the ending of HLM has a better chance of being apocryphal than any other part. See Hsia, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

Chapter 5

1. To discuss the cosmology and hagiography of Chinese heterodoxy in detail would be difficult from the sources we have chosen, because
1. (cont)

they are not particularly rich in references to deities; Hsi Yu Chi would be a much better source. NM-kua was a primordial creation-goddess, according to the folk tradition of the Ming or Ch'ing period, but Eberhard suggests they many creation gods popular in later times were actually among the latest "productions" of folk religious tradition. See W. Eberhard, The Local Cultures of South and East Asia, op. cit., passim.


4. HLM (English), Chapter 4.

5. Ibid., p. 7

6. As a basic source of Buddhist doctrine we will cite only one of many possible references: A Buddhist Bible, Dwight Goddard, ed., Boston (Beacon Press), 1970.

7. HLM (English), p. 298.

8. Ibid., p. 40

9. Ibid., pp. 45-6


11. Ibid., p. 322.

13. We have listed in these tables only prominent characters who are assigned some specific end or fate, leaving out minor characters and those whose ends are not specified.

14. See further discussion of this point at the end of this chapter.

15. HLM (English), p. 318.

16. W.B. Yeats, "The Second Coming".

17. See our reference above, Chapter 4, footnote 10.

18. Especially Chapter 4, footnote 8.


**Chapter 6**


3. Ignoring for the moment the paradoxical destructiveness of the bourgeois Hsi-Men Ch'ing.

4. With the exception of Moon Lady. See Chapter 5 above.

5. See Chapter 5 above.


8. We do not agree with Eberhard that the author is defending the middle class against the corrupt officials, because we feel Hsi-Men Ch'ing is despised by the author partly because of his fawning acceptance of orthodoxy. The author is defending morality of humaneness beyond Confucianism and commercialism, but there is no novelistic character expressing this (in our sources) until Pao-yü. Our point in citing Eberhard here is to note his perception that the middle class is the primary subject matter of CPM.

9. The concept of alienation has varied considerably from use to use. For Marxists, "Alienation is an historically created phenomenon. Its origin and continuing basis in civilized society arises from the alienation of labor which characterizes all systems of private property from slavery to capitalism." (E. Mandel and G. Novack, The Marxist Theory of Alienation, New York (Pathfinder Press pamphlet), 1970, p. 4. For existentialists, "alienation is built into the very nature of man as an enigmatic castaway on this planet." (Ibid.) E. Fromm, among others, considers psychic alienation in social context in his various works. In this study we mean 1) a stratum of the bourgeois class, relatively affluent and well-educated, who reject the commercially structured worldview of other bourgeois (essentially a Marxist definition, but concentrating on the bourgeois rather than the proletariat); 2) bohemians, or artistically inclined bourgeois and certain lower-class elements such as actors. In some contexts it would be
9. (cont) necessary to make a clear class distinction between literate bo-
hemians such as the authors of CPM and HLM and lower-class actors,
etc., but for this study this is not necessary. We usually use the term "stratum" to refer to alienated bourgeoiscollectively, following the Marxist usage, which recognizes the existence of such a collective but denies it the status of a class. For an excellent view of pre-bourgeois alienation (note the kind we con.
der), see E. Balazs, "Nihilistic Revolt or Mystical Escap-
ism", in Balazs, op. cit., pp. 226-55. We claim that the alter-
natives of Balazs' title were the only ones open to the alienated until the rise of the bourgeoisie made true revolution possible.

10. From the evidence of our three novels, the alienation follows the emergence of the bourgeoisie by some little temporal dis-
tance (i.e. the 150 years between Hsi-Men Ch'ing and Pao-yü), but the general case may be different.

11. This would seem to be to some extent the commonphenomenon of dist-
torting and minimizing the charisma of the prophet by institutional-
izing his words. But with the possible exception of the brief statement on the "Great Unity" (da tung) in the Li Chi, Confucian utopias are indeed in the past.


13. Note the passage describing Pao-yü cited in Chapter 1 above.


15. Eric Wolf, Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century, New York (Harper
15. (con t)
   and Row), 1969.


17. For example, Ramon Myers's work.


23. In our three sources, that is.


32. Mao did not invent either the concept or the formulation. Cf. Tsou
Jung, writing in his 1903 tract *The Revolutionary Army*, "If you want thoroughgoing construction, you must first have destruction."
(J. Lust, tr., The Hague (Mouton), 1968, p.99).
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Articles


