

“Great Mother,” the Dream Journey, and the Search for Utopia in Three Ming-Qing Novels

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ABSTRACT

The Great Mother concept existed in indigenous Chinese mythology and Taoist beliefs, and was later combined with the Buddhist bodhisattva ideal. The image of the Great Mother in China developed its own characteristics as a result of the adaptations to Chinese society and culture. This paper discusses some of these characteristics as represented in certain episodes of *Water Margin*, *Marriage As Retribution*, *Awakening the World*, and *Dream of the Red Chamber*. Although there was no solid evidence that matriarchy existed in ancient China, or that ordinary women directly exercised power in the public sphere, women were still influential and powerful in some realms of everyday life. Representations of the Great Mother in these three novels stress the maternal roles of nurturing and protection. The Great Mothers are also represented as “androgynous” and performing “paternal” roles in offering instruction, discipline, and even punishment. Besides functioning as paternal figures, they convey other knowledge about life on subjects such as love, procreation, sexual restraint, and the nourishing of life. They thus contribute to both nurture and culture. Embedded in the contexts of three novels which demonstrate ambivalence in their representation of women, the Great Mothers convey the authors’ conceptions of ideal womanhood, anxiety about their own identity and culture, and wishful thinking about a utopia generated the Great Mother.

KEY WORDS

Great Mother	Archetypal Feminine
<i>Shuihu zhuan</i> 水滸傳	<i>Xingshi yinyuan zhuan</i> 醒世姻緣傳
<i>Honglou meng</i> 紅樓夢	matriarchy
Nüwa 女媧	Androgynous
Xi Wang Mu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West)	
Jinghuan Xiangu 警幻仙姑 (Fairy Disenchantment)	
Guanyin Pusa 觀音菩薩 (Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara)	
Jiutian Xuannü 九天玄女 (The Mystic Goddess of the Ninth Heaven)	

C. G. Jung, writing in 1954, maintained that the “Great Mother” was an important symbol derived from the mother archetype. Including “widely varying types of mother-goddess,” the Great Mother “assumes attributes of wisdom as well as those of a witch” (Jung 75, 102). Erich Neumann developed this idea in his book, *The Great Mother* (1955), in which he traced the origins of the “Archetypal Feminine” and examined her significance primarily in the context of Western and Mediterranean cultures. But is this a purely Western concept, and therefore not applicable to Chinese studies? Is there any concept of the “Great Mother” in China?

The Great Mother is a recurring concept, and varieties of this concept appear in the myths of many cultures. While Jung shows archetypes to be “fixed and inherited images,” Joseph Carroll’s argument is based on current evolutionary theory:

[W]hat is inherited or innate are not specific images but genotypic characteristics. These characteristics have a certain stability, since evolutionary change is slow, but they interact with varying environments so as to result in varying phenotypic expressions. . . . Identical innate propensities or genotypic characteristics would thus be organized somewhat differently in different cultures and in different individuals (156).

The representations of the Great Mother and her characteristics can thus vary from culture to culture, from author to author, and from one historical period to another.

I will argue that it is in fact entirely legitimate to discuss the Great Mother concept in the Chinese cultural context, since the concept existed in indigenous Chinese mythology and Taoist beliefs, and was later combined with the Buddhist bodhisattva ideal. In the 1970's, three important studies appeared which viewed Chinese goddesses in the context of mythology and literature; these have subsequently influenced other scholars and critics. Edward H. Schafer (1973, 1979) provided many examples of divine women in Tang literature. The theme of encountering a goddess in early Chinese poetry and prose has been discussed by David Hawkes (1974). Pointing out the ritual journey and the "orderly enumeration of the parts of a cosmos," Hawkes noted that the poet's quest for the goddess is usually unsuccessful, though this in fact suits the poet's allegorical theme (51, 54-64). Andrew H. Plaks (1976) studied the significance of Nüwa 女媧 (a.k.a., Nü Wa, Nü Kua) as an archetype in *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng* 紅樓夢, also known as *The Story of the Stone*, c. 1760). In my unpublished M.A. thesis (Yenna Wu 1981), I analyzed four Six Dynasties *zhiguai* 志怪 tales from a structuralist perspective and applied Erich Neumann's theory to show how the tales convey a yearning for utopia and the Great Mother. Influenced by Schafer, Suzanne E. Cahill (1986, 1993) focused her study on the Queen Mother of the West (Xi Wang Mu 西王母) in Medieval China. Expanding Plaks' search for archetypes in Chinese novels, Jing Wang (1992) confirmed Nüwa as "an embodiment of the Chinese Great Mother" (46). Anne Birrell's book (1993) offers many mythological contexts for the goddesses. Wai-ye Li's book (1993) is by far the most thorough study of the dialectical theme of "disenchantment through enchantment" embodied in many goddess figures in Chinese literature. Li pointed out that although love and desire engender illusion, Chinese literary characters can often transcend illusion only through insights gained from love and desire.

In various guises, the Great Mother appears in literary works ranging from the classical tales and anecdotes of the Han dynasty to Ming-Qing novels. Among Ming-Qing novels, the figure of the Great Mother is most prominent in certain episodes of *Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳, published in the early sixteenth century), *Marriage As*

Retribution, Awakening the World (*Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳, c. 1661, hereafter *Marriage As Retribution*), and *Dream of the Red Chamber*.¹ Exhibiting strong Taoist and Buddhist influences, *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber* depict dream journeys in which the hero encounters a goddess in an otherworldly paradise. By comparison, the Great Mother in *Marriage As Retribution* combines the influences of the Three Doctrines—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism—and helps create a society represented as existing in this world but closely resembling the much-desired utopian ideal.

The image of the Great Mother in China developed its own characteristics as a result of the adaptations to Chinese society and culture. Although a full examination of how these characteristics came about and how they differ from those found in other cultures is beyond the scope of this paper, I will explore here some of these characteristics as represented in the three literary works mentioned above.

The Great Mother and the Chinese Goddesses

Greatly influenced by Taoist thought,² Jung may have found inspiration for his discussion of the Great Mother in such Taoist texts as Lao Zi's 老子 *Dao de jing* 道德經, in which symbols of water and the feminine abound.³ Joseph Needham suggests that these symbols probably “built on ancient Chinese ‘Urmutter’ creation-goddess myths” (59). While Taoism contributes much to the Chinese notion of the Great Mother, it is pertinent at this juncture to explore whether these symbols indicate that there existed a prehistoric matriarchy or that Taoist beliefs in fact elevated the status of women.

Some scholars in the West, such as Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815-1887), Neumann, and Marija A. Gimbutas (1921-1994) have long postulated the existence of a matriarchy before patriarchy came into being.⁴ Gimbutas, a feminist archaeologist, basing her research on Neolithic artifacts (including symbols of goddesses) unearthed in Europe, argued that there existed a matrilineal, peaceful, and agricultural society which was later destroyed by the invasion of the Indo-European nomads (1974). These theories, however, are not based

on hard evidence and it is doubtful that matriarchy existed in prehistoric times. The existence of goddess figures in myths and archaeological finds is hardly sufficient proof for matriarchy or even for a high status enjoyed by women in general.

In the case of China, some scholars, including Needham (108, 134), suggest that matriarchal systems existed in ancient Chinese society. Arguing against male patriarchy as the genesis of ancestral worship in China, a few scholars believe that the Chinese first worshipped symbols of female genitalia before male genitalia. They argue, further, that the worship of goddesses predated the worship of male deities, despite the subsequent emphasis on male ancestors and deities (Wang Xiaodun 124-129). The worship of stones shaped like female genitalia as a fertility symbol also existed in the cultures of a number of tribes in China (Wang Xiaodun 115-124). However, the worship of female genitalia probably coexisted with the worship of male genitalia and ancestors. Judging from etymology and surviving iconography of fertility cults, the worship of male genitalia and ancestors was also prevalent in ancient times (Wang Xiaodun, 118-123). There is no concrete evidence that the worship of female deities necessarily predated the worship of male deities. In addition, the worshipping of symbols of female and male genitalia does not necessarily mean that political matriarchy or patriarchy actually existed.

Social scientists such as Steven Goldberg have raised doubts about the myth of "prehistoric matriarchies" (54-61). Goldberg uses ethnographic data and biogenetic explanations involving hormonal factors and male dominance hierarchies to argue for the universality of patriarchy. He maintains that authority has been "overwhelmingly associated with the male and the overwhelming number of positions of leadership have been filled by men," even in societies in which queens rule (32-33). Although Goldberg has argued that patriarchy is inevitable, we have no proof that matriarchy never existed, either. While lack of historical evidence makes it difficult to argue for the "inevitability" of past social structures, it is equally difficult to argue convincingly for future structures as "inevitable."⁵

It is possible, however, to consider other value systems and social

hierarchies than those based on the direct exercise of political power. The traditional view in nineteenth-century America and Britain, for example, granted that men could directly exercise power in the public sphere, but also recognized the prominence of women in their own sphere of activities, primarily the family, morality, and religion, which gave them influence (as distinguished from power) in the public sphere. As articulated by nineteenth-century feminists, this separation of spheres elevated the realm of home and church—and thus the status of women—instead of assuming the preeminence of men's activities in the public sphere.⁶

As even Goldberg admits, male dominance does not mean men are necessarily superior or more powerful than women (25-26). Patriarchy only means that men have occupied most of the upper rungs of political authority in every society ever studied. Political authority often looms large, but when compared to crucial aspects of life—for example, the passing on of wisdom such as ordering priority in life—or providing relief for the poor and unfortunate, women come across as more likely to excel in these areas.

Turning from discussions of anthropology and historical evidence to ideology, we can find this notion of alternative hierarchies taken up by those who find feminist views implicit in Taoism. Needham's zeal for Taoism, in which he detects elements of gender equality and democracy, leads him to extol, for example, "the recognition of the importance of woman in the scheme of things, the acceptance of equality of women with men, the conviction that the attainment of health and longevity needed the cooperation of the sexes, the considered admiration for certain feminine psychological characteristics" (151). Similarly, Kristofer Schipper believes that the predominance of femininity in Taoism sets it apart from Confucianism. He claims that "the body of the Tao is a woman's body" (129). While aware that women occupied lower social stations than men and that misogyny was expressed in official morality, Schipper notes, "the parity of men and women in the Taoist organization and practice suggests in fact a certain ascendancy . . . on the part of the women" (128-129).

Taoist thought indeed incorporates a good number of qualities and

symbols traditionally perceived as feminine, and Taoist organization and practice do demonstrate gender equality to a certain extent. However, although a number of goddesses serve important functions, male deities are primarily the ones with authority who occupy leadership positions in the Taoist pantheon. While agreeing with Suzanne E. Cahill's observation that "the Queen Mother of the West was exalted in early Shang-ch'ing Taoism," Stephen R. Bokenkamp argues that the scriptures do not depict the Queen Mother as an "overseer of cosmic harmony" and that she "was not accorded a position of power" (207, 210). Though not entirely devoid of power, the Queen Mother of the West certainly played a subordinate role in the Taoist pantheon.

Furthermore, some Taoist thought can even be considered misogynistic. Citing a passage from an ancient "bedroom manual" about the Queen Mother of the West's attainment of immortality and rejuvenation through mating with young men and causing their exhaustion, Schipper points to the belief that "women can be vampires who may take away a man's essence (semen)" (147). While paying some attention to women's orgasm, texts of the Taoist sexual alchemy ultimately emphasize how the male should try to absorb his female partner's energy in order to prolong his own life (Wile 48-49). In the early literature of sexual alchemy, the female partner is called "woman" or "enemy," but in later texts she is called "crucible" or "stove" (Wile 45). Thus, she is either a "vampire," trying to seize energy from her male partner in the sexual battle, or no more than a vehicle for the longevity and rejuvenation of the male partner. The theme of women as potential sexual "vampires" appears often in Ming-Qing fiction and is elaborated in such novels as *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (*The Journey to the West*, published 1592); *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (*The Golden Lotus*, published c. 1617); *Zhaoyang qushi* 昭陽趣史 (*The Amusing History of the Zhaoyang Palace*, c. 1621); and *Lüye xianzong* 綠野仙蹤 (*The Immortals' Traces in the Green Wilderness*, c. 1762).

Yet even if matriarchy in ancient China was more myth than reality, and even if Taoism did not grant women as much "ascendancy" as we in retrospect might wish to believe, women were still influential

and powerful in some realms of everyday life. For example, the wife played a crucial role in regulating the family (*qijia* 齊家), the important, fundamental unit in the Confucian society. And according to *The Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學), only when families are regulated can states be well governed, and only when states are well governed can there be peace in the world. In addition, despite the relatively low overall status of women in Chinese society, scholars have noted the great significance accorded the role of the mother: a mother enjoys high status in Chinese politics, society, and the family; among various models of virtue, those most often praised are exemplary mothers (Li Youning 6-7). This emphasis on motherhood can be seen in Liu Xiang's 劉向 (80-9 B.C.) placement of "Exemplary Mothers" as the first section in his *Biographical Accounts of Notable Women* (*Lienü zhuan* 列女傳). According to the models in "Exemplary Mothers," maternal love should be expressed through education and discipline (Tian 24). These exemplary mothers are singled out for honor because they are crucial in their sons' moral education. Although mothers tend to be doting and self-sacrificing, the *Biographical Accounts of Notable Women* suggests that when there is a conflict between public justice and personal love, a mother should choose justice, even when it means sacrificing her own child (Tian 24-26). Instead of indulging her child, an exemplary mother supposedly helps maintain social and moral order by upholding and instilling in her children the important emphasis on public (*gong* 公) interest as opposed to private (*si* 私) desire.

A mother plays an important role in molding her child's character at a stage when her child is most malleable. In *Female Exemplars* (*Gui fan* 閩範, 1590), Lü Kun 呂坤 (1536-1618) states, "What is noteworthy in a mother is not her kindness (*ci* 慈) but her discipline (*jiao* 教)" (Lü 551). Lü Kun stresses a mother's role as disciplinarian, cultivating her children's virtue—specifically benevolence and righteousness—and suggests that the discipline should be rigorous and begun at a very early age. Lü Kun also suggests reason, pragmatism, and flexibility as guides, replacing rigid adherence to rules based on the gender hierarchy. He argues against absolute adherence to the "Thrice Obeying" (*sancong* 三從), i.e., the rules that a woman should obey her father when in her

natal home, her husband after she is married, and her son after her husband dies:

Pedants demand that a mother abide by the guideline of obeying her son, but this is erroneous. When the son is in the right, then his mother should obey him. But if the mother is in the right, then her son should obey her (*zizheng mucong, muzheng zicong* 子正母從，母正子從).⁷

Thus a woman in fact assumes much responsibility and power in the education of her children: more than her husband, she is the crucial figure who provides her children with a moral environment and develops their moral qualities. Since her children, especially her sons, might be directly involved in the government of states, she can therefore influence—if not directly exercise power within—the sociopolitical spheres of the state and the world.

The Great Mother in Chinese myths and culture shares some similar characteristics with the Mother Archetype described by Jung and Neumann. According to Jung, the Mother Archetype is often associated with “things and places standing for fertility and fruitfulness,” such as a garden; but it can also be attached to “a rock, a cave, a tree, a spring, a deep well, or to various vessels...or to vessel-shaped flowers.” Jung notes that all these symbols have both a positive and a negative meaning (81). The mother archetype may, for example, connote “the abyss, the world of the dead, anything that devours, seduces, and poisons, that is terrifying and inescapable like fate” (Jung 82). Neumann also indicates both positive and negative sides of the Archetypal Feminine, illustrating the various symbols of the Terrible Mother, such as the vulture, the snake, and the abyss—“the devouring womb of the grave and of death” (147-208, 149). Images of caves, gardens, vessels, flowers, and fruits appear frequently in Chinese fiction, including some Six Dynasties *zhiguai* tales on the encounter with fairies, Tang *chuanqi* 傳奇 tales such as Zhang Zhuo’s 張鸞 (c. 658-730) “Youxian ku” 遊仙窟 (“Journey to the Fairies’ Grotto”), *Jin Ping Mei*, the late-Ming erotic tale *Chunmeng suoyan* 春夢瑣言 (*Trivial Words of*

a Spring Dream), and *Dream of the Red Chamber*. The abyss as well as imagery of some beasts are used to symbolize the Terrible Mother.⁸ Negative meanings of the mother archetype abound in demon stories written before about 1450 (Hanan 44-49) and in *Jin Ping Mei*. A significant proverbial phrase sometimes quoted in fiction, for example, aptly summarizes both the positive and negative aspects of the Archetypal Feminine: “The gate that gives birth to me is also the gate that destroys me” (*sheng wo zhi men si wo hu* 生我之門死我戶).⁹

Erich Neumann distinguishes two types of the Archetypal Feminine. The elementary character, based on the mother-child bond, “tends to hold fast to everything that springs from it,” and is the “conservative, stable, and unchanging part of the feminine which predominates in motherhood.”(25-26). In other words, the umbilical cord is never cut. In contrast, the transformative character of the Feminine drives toward “motion” and “change.” But the two characters usually “interpenetrate” and coexist, though “one of them is almost always dominant.” (28-29). Neumann further notes that the Great Earth Mother is associated with stone, fire, and vegetation (260-261). Being the Goddess of Fate, she “exalts earthly man to a higher meaning” through “spiritual transformation.”(233-234). In *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the Great Mother appears as a goddess who controls the hero’s fate and transforms him spiritually.

Similar to Jung and Neumann, Joseph Campbell notes that the goddess can be “the womb and the tomb”: she can be the good, nourishing, and comforting mother, or she can be the dangerous mother (114). Campbell describes the bad mother as “absent, unattainable,” “forbidding, punishing,” possessive, or “desired but forbidden,” while characterizing the last type in terms of Oedipus and castration complexes (111). Whether these “complexes” are applicable to the Chinese context remains to be tested. However, it is noteworthy that in the Chinese tradition the “forbidding and punishing” mother is not necessarily bad, but can be positive and much honored as long as she punishes the child for the sake of moral education.

Many Chinese goddesses similarly demonstrate the elementary and transformative character of the Feminine and share with humans

relationships that can be positive, neutral, or negative. Anne Birrell notes, in her study of Chinese mythology, the diverse roles played by goddesses: “creation, the motion of celestial bodies, nature spirit, local tutelary spirit, mother of a god, consort of a demigod or a god, harbingers of disaster, donor of immortality, bringer of punishment, and dynastic foundation” (163). P. Steven Sangren argues that whereas women in China—especially in their role as wives—are often regarded as polluting and potentially divisive, female deities are “maternal figures” who “condense only the positive attributes of female gender while male deities have both positive and negative characteristics” (10-15, 23). Sangren is only partly correct here: female deities do in fact embody negative as well as positive attributes. But it is accurate to claim that the mother-goddesses embrace and transcend the pollution and divisiveness associated with ordinary women, as I will illustrate in my analysis of the positive and maternal roles in the literary examples below.

Of all the Chinese goddesses, Nüwa best epitomizes the various positive qualities of the Great Mother. She is a primal goddess possessing both conservative and transformative character. Early cultural traditions often portray Nüwa as a creator of the human being. According to Ying Shao’s 應邵 (ca. A.D. 140-ca. 206) *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義, Nüwa at first kneads yellow earth to mold human beings, then, growing tired, she draws a cord through the mud and lifts it out to make humans. This results in two kinds of people: the superior people are those fashioned by Nüwa’s hands, while the commoners are the ones made from the cord (Yuan 1993, 4-5; Birrell, 33-35).¹⁰

Nüwa is reputedly the first matchmaker as well as the goddess of marriage: she invents marriage and teaches human beings to love each other and procreate so she will not need to make more human beings when they die (Yuan 1993, 5). Nüwa’s transformative power is also noted in the ancient philosophical text *Huainan Zi* 淮南子 (comp. ca. 139 B.C.), which mentions her making “seventy transformations,” and in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing* 山海經), which refers to “ten spirits whose name is ‘The Bowels of Nüwa’” (Birrell, 164). According to the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, Nüwa is a divine

woman who creates myriad creatures (*hua wanwu zhe* 化萬物者). Thus in early myths, she is the creator not only of human beings, but also of spirits and of creatures.

Nüwa figures as a savior who comes to the rescue during a disaster, hoping to preserve the beings whom she has created or who have emerged from her. According to *Huainan Zi*, when the four poles supporting heaven collapse, Nüwa smelts five-color stones to repair the sky and collects the ashes of reeds to dam up the flood waters. She also brings peace to the world: after her intervention, beasts “no longer have rapacious hearts,” and people live in harmony with nature. Nüwa eventually ascends to the Ninth Heaven, and “has audience with God inside the holy gates” (Birrell, 71-72). Birrell notes that in this text Nüwa is “transposed from the status of an independent primeval deity to that of a lesser goddess under the power of a supreme god. . . in the Taoist pantheon” (71). Still, this legend associates Nüwa with images of fire (“smelting,” “ashes”), stone, and vegetation (reeds), symbols of transformation and fertility. It demonstrates her transformative skill in making peace among various creatures as well as her engineering ability in repairing heaven and stopping the flood.

Together with her male counterpart Fuxi 伏羲, Nüwa appears half-human, half-divine in the Han funerary stone bas-relief, Wu Liang Shrine 武梁祠, Shandong (A.D. 151). This iconography metaphorically reveals Nüwa and Fuxi to be the oldest ancestors of humans: Nüwa and Fuxi have human heads and upper torsos, while their serpentine lower parts are intertwined. In addition, in this bas-relief Nüwa carries a pair of compasses and Fuxi a carpenter’s square—tools that symbolize their roles in the construction of culture.

Nüwa and Fuxi are further “demoted” from divine status to two innocent and shamefaced human beings who commit incest in the Tang work *Duyi zhi* 獨異志 (A Record of Extraordinary and Strange Things). This work relates that Nüwa and her brother Fuxi were the first human beings. Though feeling shame about incest, they eventually get married after receiving a sign from the gods.¹¹

The complex roles Nüwa plays—in procreation and matrimony as well as engineering and construction—bespeak her androgynous nature.

The combination of yin and yang within a single entity can best be seen in the familiar symbol of the Great Ultimate (*taiji* 太極), or the “Primal Beginning,” in Richard Wilhelm’s terms (*The I Ching*, lv, 298), in which yin (the dark) and yang (the light), divided by an S-shaped line, embrace each other in a circle. According to traditional Chinese beliefs, the Great Ultimate is the beginning and the end of the cosmos, while the interaction and alternation of yin and yang are essential for change, production, and reproduction. Indeed, each individual can be said to contain both yin and yang, though yang is dominant in males, and yin in females. For females, yang gradually weakens after the onset of menses (Wile 193). Despite later Confucians’ denigrating yin and even associating it with evil (Guisso 58-60), yin is as necessary to the unity of cosmos as yang.

Possibly influenced by the accounts of Hermaphrodites in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Campbell 153) and Plato’s *Symposium* (542-546),¹² or even by the Chinese concept of yin and yang,¹³ Jung also observes that “sex is determined by a majority of male or female genes,” but “the minority of genes belonging to the other sex does not simply disappear.” Thus a man has in him “a feminine side, an unconscious feminine figure,” or the “anima,” while its counterpart in a woman is the “animus.” (284). Neumann similarly conceived of the Archetypal Feminine as containing not only the “predominant female elements” but also “the positive and negative male determinants” (21). Following *The I Ching*, Campbell observed that the symbol of the Great Ultimate (152, n.87) indicates “the breaking of the one into the two and then the many,” while comparing it to the androgynous, unified world created by God in the Biblical version of the creation myth (153).

Aptly referring to opposing concepts (such as the yin-yang dualism) as a “complementary bipolarity,” Plaks explains, “Whereas the hypothetical poles of each pair of concepts never achieve any union vis-à-vis one another, they are united—in the sense of ‘joined’ rather than ‘fused’—as integral parts of one total ground of being” (Plaks 49). Symbolized by the image of the Great Ultimate and by the intertwining of Fuxi and Nüwa’s serpentine tails in the bas-relief iconography, yin and yang are mutually enveloping and inclusive rather than

diametrically opposed binaries.

The figures of the Great Mother discussed here are “androgynous” like Nüwa, not so much in a biological or physiological sense, but in terms of their mental capacities and functions. Their maternal role includes both “feminine” functions (such as nurture and mercy) and somewhat “masculine” functions (such as discipline). Interestingly, Campbell notes the “male-female god” in China: “the androgynous character of the Bodhisattva: masculine Avalokiteshvara, feminine Kwan Yin” (152). When examining iconographic representations of the Queen Mother of the West, Cahill also notes a linkage to animals associated with both yang and yin, which suggests her “androgyny, completeness, and independence” (Cahill 1993, 27). It is well-known that Guanyin 觀音 (Avalokitesvara), originally a male Buddhist deity, became a goddess in China around the tenth century. The sexual transformation Guanyin underwent might be related to the indigenous Taoist emphasis on the Great Mother. While such a transformation highlights Guanyin’s “feminine” function in nurture and compassion, Guanyin becomes androgynous to a certain degree because of being recast in the role of a mother who also assumes disciplinary responsibilities.

In the three novels under discussion here, the positive, maternal concept of the Great Mother is embodied in several figures: for example, Nüwa; the two Taoist goddesses, i.e., Queen Mother of the West and the Mystic Goddess of the Ninth Heaven (Jiutian Xuannü 九天玄女); and such Buddhist goddesses as Guanyin (Guanyin Pusa 觀音菩薩, Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, or the Goddess of Mercy).¹⁴ The Great Mother contains, embraces, and harmonizes yin and yang. She is completely self-sufficient and does not appear to have any desires. Even when she arouses sexual desire in the hero, at the same time she inspires fear which she uses as an instructional aid. Detached from sex and procreation, she plays the role of a mother-educator, rather than merely the role of the fertile, child-bearing mother.

In both *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the Great Mother appears in dream-visions to Song Jiang 宋江 and Jia Baoyu 賈寶玉. In part triggered by the heroes’ subconscious sexual desires, the

dreams serve an important function in the process of initiation and maturation. The Great Mother (in the form of a goddess) instructs the heroes in a number of things, including the Tao of sex, or rather, sexual restraint. As in the literary theme of the quest of the goddess, the dream journey constitutes an essential ritual component in the encounter with the goddesses. The dream-vision reflects the dreamers' search for truth and utopia, a search that expresses yearning for a world of peace and harmony, and especially, for a return to the womb and to a primordial state of bliss.

Water Margin: The Mystic Goddess of the Ninth Heaven and the Queen Mother of the West

The Great Mother in general manifests herself to the hero in need. The Mystic Goddess of the Ninth Heaven (hereafter, the "Mystic Goddess"), the figure of the Great Mother in *Water Margin*, appears to the protagonist Song Jiang first when Song is chased by soldiers (chapter 42), and later when he is worried about losing a battle (chapter 88). The Mystic Goddess exhibits maternal qualities in protecting and caring for Song. She is a divine savior who comes swiftly to Song's rescue, providing him with protection and shelter. Offering him food and drink to nourish his body, she also gives him books for secret Taoist military strategies as well as immediate instructions for conquering the foreign troops.¹⁵

The modern scholar Sun Shuyu 孫述宇 has made significant contributions to the study of *Water Margin* by searching for its connections with the socio-political context of its historical setting—the last reign of the Northern Song (1119-1125). For example, Sun correctly points out the importance of the name of Song Jiang (literally, "Song River"), which can refer to "the rivers and mountains of the Song" or "the Song dynasty and state"; the similarity between Song Jiang and Yue Fei 岳飛, a patriotic Song general fighting against the Jurchens and wrongfully killed by a wicked minister; and the novel's main theme of loyalty and righteousness in its historical context (47-140).

However, this approach also leads to many dubious speculations. Based on the Mystic Goddess's command that Song Jiang be loyal to his country, Sun Shuyu suggests that the imaginary creation of the Mystic Goddess might be based on Emperor Gaozong's 高宗 biological mother, Empress Dowager Wei 韋太后, a historical figure who reputedly was concerned about the fate of the Song. Sun believes that the Mystic Goddess is chosen in this case because in ancient legends she helps the Yellow Emperor 黃帝, the ancestor of the Han people, to fight against Chiyou 蚩尤—the barbarians (267-272). While the connection between the Mystic Goddess and the war against “barbarians” is useful, the conjecture that the Mystic Goddess represents Empress Dowager Wei is suspect, and fails to account for the rich fictional dimension of the Mystic Goddess. As we will see below, the Mystic Goddess's symbolic significance far surpasses that accorded to her through a particular connection with a historical figure.

Song Jiang's first dream encounter with the Mystic Goddess lends itself well to a combined psychoanalytic and mythopoetical interpretation. It is partially prompted by the experiences Song remembers and stores in his mind, specifically, his sexual frustration and his sense of insecurity in his relationship with women. Song's mother died while he was a child, which, according to Freudian theory, may have been construed by Song as desertion and betrayal. Freud also argues that children often feel guilt and anger when orphaned. In addition, Song is alarmed by the betrayals of his concubine Yan Poxi 閻婆惜 (chapter 20) and the wife of Commandant Liu 劉 (chapters 32-33). Mythopoetically, this dream recalls the legend of the Yellow Emperor in ancient texts. Just as the Mystic Goddess helped the Yellow Emperor defeat the rebel leader Chiyou, here she transmits divine books on military tactics to Song Jiang and assists him in winning the wars against rebels and foreign invaders. The Mystic Goddess that Song encounters thus helps to heal him psychologically and bring order and security to his life.

In the Taoist pantheon, the Mystic Goddess is the disciple of the Queen Mother of the West. Following the Queen Mother's command, she transmits Taoist secrets to the Yellow Emperor (Min 64). In *Water*

Margin, she replaces the Queen Mother, becoming a powerful, androgynous goddess. According to Cahill, in Han art, the Queen Mother is paired with a divine mate and juxtaposed with symbols of yang and yin (Cahill 1993, 30). She ranks first among the female divinities in the chart made by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536) (Cahill 1993, 33). By medieval times, she no longer plays the role of primal mother goddess, but rather is depicted as “a great teacher . . . explaining techniques leading to immortality, and who may grant dynastic legitimacy or the right to rule.” At this point the two main themes about her are eternal life and communication between the divine and human realms (Cahill 1993, 9). In *Water Margin*, the Mystic Goddess has taken over the roles of the Queen Mother: she teaches the hero and grants him the right to be a leader, mediates between him and the divine realm, and gives him intimations of immortality.

While evoking the visit paid by the Queen Mother of the West to Emperor Wu of the Han as described in “Han Wudi gushi” 漢武帝故事 (“Tales of Emperor Wu of the Han”) and “Han Wudi neizhuan” 漢武帝內傳 (“The Private Life of Emperor Wu of the Han”), Song Jiang’s meeting with the Mystic Goddess provides much richer material for interpretations (Yenna Wu 1996, 61). This episode reveals the “androgynous” quality of the goddess we mentioned, showing her person as well as her space and environment to be a mixture of yin and yang. Similar to the Queen Mother in earlier tales, the Mystic Goddess is depicted as both beautiful and majestic. More than the earlier tales, the *Water Margin* episode not only depicts the Mystic Goddess’s feminine charms but also emphasizes her “masculine” aspects. In addition to wearing a crown and regal apparel, she has a “dignified divine appearance” (*zhengda xianrong* 正大仙容) and “awe-inspiring image” (*weiyao xingxiang* 威嚴形象) which are “beyond depiction” (42.525). While mixed with feminine imagery (which we will discuss later), the description of the palace and the process of Song’s audience reinforce the stately and “masculine” atmosphere associated with the goddess. The palace is described as a majestic, masculine building for the emperors (*dizhu* 帝主)—who are ordinarily males. In his audience with the goddess, Song Jiang goes through an elaborate courtly ritual,

and his prostrations and fear intensify the awe-inspiring aura emanating from the forbidding goddess.

The depiction of Song Jiang's simultaneous fear of and fascination for the Mystic Goddess in part parallels what Schipper calls "psychological ambivalence" in the Chinese male response to female sexuality (147). Potentially equipped with both positive and negative qualities, the Mystic Goddess is further represented in this episode as an "empress," a figure of authority who has the power to put to death an ordinary male such as Song Jiang. However, in terms of narrative strategy, the ambivalences in the Mystic Goddess and in Song Jiang's attitude in fact serve to create suspense, which will later be cleared up when she reveals herself as a guide and instructor, not as the despotic, authoritarian figure Song Jiang may have imagined her to be. Song Jiang's anxiety will be further lightened when she invites him to eat and drink.

The *Water Margin* episode suggests that the Mystic Goddess, who borrows some of the Queen Mother's attributes and functions, serves as a teacher and an intermediary between divine and human worlds. The Mystic Goddess grants Song Jiang the legitimacy to rule as the leader of the band and gives him a taste of immortality. Transmitting to Song Jiang the art of war, she also teaches him to be loyal to the emperor, defend his country, bring peace to the people, expel evil thoughts, and pursue righteousness. Addressing him as "Star Lord," the Mystic Goddess informs Song that he was banished to Earth as a punishment and must work hard to accomplish his mission—carrying out the Way for Heaven—in order to atone for his sin and return to Heaven. She also has Song Jiang partake of the divine wine and the divine jujubes. Both items are reputedly delicious and medicinal,¹⁶ and have the effect of lengthening life. As their names indicate, both items are available only in the divine realm, and the divine jujubes were "mentioned in Han dynasty mirror inscriptions as food of transcendents" (Cahill 1993, 56). A Taoist legend also tells about how a Taoist obtains immortality through eating a divine jujube given to him by Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, one of the eight Taoist Immortals.¹⁷ By inviting Song Jiang to taste divine food, the Mystic Goddess symbolically confers immortality upon him.

What the Mystic Goddess teaches is not only the art of war but also self-knowledge, purification of the heart, mastery over life, and compassion. It is through this dream that Song Jiang becomes aware of his divine origin and grows mature and determined enough to take up a leadership role. This dream also implicitly tests and reinforces his sexual restraint. Significantly, the Mystic Goddess (Xuannü 玄女), together with the Queen Mother, is one of the several legendary divine women reputed to have instructed the Yellow Emperor in the way of sex.¹⁸ It is perhaps not fortuitous that the Mystic Goddess of war is also the goddess of sex, given the fact that the Taoist art of sex is described in military terms. In the sex handbooks, the Yellow Emperor is instructed to “battle” with numerous women and to “control the boudoir” (Levy and Ishihara 29), to keep his cool while exciting his woman partner, and to absorb her energy while conserving his semen and vitality, thereby achieving longevity and good health.

Suggestions of a potential erotic encounter are rich in Song Jiang’s dream, and many images in it are associated with the feminine. Compared with the rather masculine depictions of the Song emperor’s palace and the Taoist temple in chapter 1, the palace in this episode is “feminized.” We see an all-male scene in the palace of the Song emperor: civil and military officials, soldiers, guards, swords, and weapons. In contrast, the palace in Song Jiang’s dream is dominated by the feminine: a goddess attended upon by feminine fairies and surrounded by such images as “fragrant whiff” (*xiangfeng* 香風), “yellow gauze” (*huangsha* 黃紗), and “purple patterned silk” (*ziqu* 紫綺). The all-female scene is depicted as pure, refined, and elegant, while Song Jiang, the only male presence, appears uncouth and lowly. The spring season, along with the flowers, grass, green willows, and peach blossoms, create a potentially erotic atmosphere. The recurrent motifs of Song’s entering the gate, walking into the woods, crossing the bridge, climbing up the stairs, and entering the palace hall, are rich in sexual overtones. Such images as the stone cave into which the water flows, the couch, the golden bottle, the jade cup, and the jujubes, can be seen as sexually symbolic objects.¹⁹ As Jung and Neumann have both noted, vessel, cave, container, and certain fruits are usually symbols of the feminine body (Neumann 39, 43, 45, 137). The detailed description

feminine body (Neumann 39, 43, 45, 137). The detailed description of the Mystic Goddess's beauty and of the gorgeous objects and magnificent display in the palace, builds up the atmosphere of fantasy and romance. The erotic symbols create a sexually tempting atmosphere, while the emphasis on the alluring charm of the Mystic Goddess indirectly implies the stirring of Song Jiang's desire. It is primarily through Song Jiang's perception that the Mystic Goddess's charm is described. Amidst such an enticing atmosphere and after drinking three cups of wine, Song Jiang feels "slightly giddy with carnal delight" (*chunse weixun* 春色微醺, *chun* also suggests "being amorous or having lewd thoughts").

The erotic atmosphere provides the necessary backdrop for an education in sexual restraint, self-control, and self-preservation. It is only after Song Jiang begs not to drink any more, for fear of behaving improperly, that the Goddess presents him with three divine books. This process thus reinforces Song's understanding that propriety has precedence over sexual pleasure, while teaching him that sexual restraint is required for obtaining rewards much greater than sexual pleasure. Moreover, this dream implicitly reenacts the Taoist longevity technique of "returning the semen to nourish the brain" (*huanjing bunao* 還精補腦), in which an adept refrains from ejaculation supposedly in order to allow the semen to revert to the brain, thereby converting semen into the life force (Levy and Ishihara 110-114; Min 545). While emission of semen appears pleasurable, it leaves the body tired; only if one "moves" but does not "emit," and only if one stresses "quietude," will one obtain plentiful life-energy and pleasure (Levy and Ishihara 111). To circulate the semen (or breath and blood) throughout the various passages and organs is a strategy developed in religious Taoism to prevent exhaustion, conserve the life force, and obtain continuous rejuvenation (Chang 1973; Thompson 1979, 104). By first arousing Song Jiang's desire and then encouraging him to restrain it and channel it into political and military outlets, the Mystic Goddess is teaching him how to preserve life, be compassionate, and eventually obtain both physical and spiritual immortality through restraint and enlightenment.

A similar process of instruction and reinforcement of restraint through sexual arousal is seen in Song Jiang's second dream (chapter 88). Because of its familiarity, the atmosphere is a degree more erotic than that of the first dream. Two female fairies lead Song to a chamber and tell him to wait there, explaining that the Mystic Goddess is changing her clothes. There are fewer formalities in the announcing of Song's arrival and in the goddess's summoning him. When Song approaches the pearl curtain, he hears the tinkling of the goddess's jade pendant (88.1077-1078). It is significant that the tinkling sound is described from Song's perspective. Often used as a love token, the jade pendant has a sexual connotation when it is removed from the girdle (Frankel 219). Although this particular gesture is not depicted in this scene, the tinkling sound suggests the presence of a woman disrobing, thereby stirring up the hearer's erotic imagination. This dream, while partially prompted by Song's sexual frustration, also assuages some of his unfulfilled amorous desires. Furthermore, while explicitly praising him and encouraging him to continue in working for the country and eventually redeeming himself, the Mystic Goddess again makes demands on Song Jiang, implicitly urging him to exercise self-control and honor propriety despite sexual arousal.

It is interesting to note that while *Water Margin* is notorious for its negative portrayal of women, its author(s) elect to depict the Mystic Goddess as superior and beneficial to men. The author(s), who seem to mistrust, fear, and hate women (Sun 17-18), cease to be "misogynistic" when portraying a woman in the somewhat androgynous role of mother-educator. Conceived positively as the Great Mother, the Mystic Goddess accomplishes tasks which her male counterpart is incapable of achieving. This positive view of the Mystic Goddess and the Feminine is reinforced through Song's reactions. Song Jiang's unwillingness to come out of hiding when he hears male voices (42.523-524) suggests that, in his fearful flight from men, he finds women more approachable and more likely to offer him protection. At the earlier and more vulnerable stage of his life, he may be more amenable to receiving advice from a deity that is female rather than male. Moreover, the knowledge the Mystic Goddess imparts to Song Jiang differs from that

offered by a male deity. The Black Dragon God (Wulongshen 烏龍神), for example, appears to Song Jiang in a dream at a later stage, saves him, and gives him useful information (117.1366-1367, 1369). But he does not offer Song Jiang the rich knowledge about life and compassion that the Mystic Goddess does. In addition, the manner in which the Mystic Goddess instructs Song is relatively “feminine.” She hardly uses law (*fa* 法) and punishment. Despite her being awe-inspiring and giving Song rational commands, she treats him courteously (*li* 禮), appeals to his reason (*li* 理), moves Song with emotion (*qing* 情) by offering him things that delight his senses, and guides him to the realization of his origin and duty. Teaching him cultural refinement and courtesy by her own example, she also imparts much wisdom using indirect and suggestive methods.

Thus, in the male-dominated world of *Water Margin* and its outlaw hideout, it is the Mystic Goddess that inspires and transforms Song Jiang. Song Jiang would have been a mere rebel and would not have excelled as a leader if he had not benefited from the wise advice of the Mystic Goddess. This representation of the Great Mother demonstrates that the bond between the son and the mother could be mightier than that between the son and the father. It also ties in with the underlying ideal in the section of “Exemplary Mothers” in the *Biographical Accounts of Notable Women*: Behind every successful man is the wise mother who played a key role in educating him.

Dream of the Red Chamber: Nüwa and Fairy Disenchantment

The Great Mother in *Dream of the Red Chamber* is represented by both Nüwa and Fairy Disenchantment (Jinghuan Xiangu 警幻仙姑). The author Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (Cao Zhan 曹霑) borrows the legend of Nüwa’s smelting five-color stones to repair the sky to provide the origin for the unused and frustrated stone—Jia Baoyu who is a metaphor of the author himself. The stone symbolism connected with Nüwa provides the major allegorical underpinning of the novel, highlighting the themes of love and lust as well as the structural pattern informed by the yin-yang and five-phases philosophies. However, it is not Nüwa but

rather Fairy Disenchantment that plays the role of the Great Mother. Similar to the Mystic Goddess in Song Jiang's dream, Fairy Disenchantment is represented as a mature and wise goddess. Her name, Jinghuan Xiangu (literally, "Immortal Aunt Who Cautions About Illusion"), suggests her seniority to the other fairies in the Land of Illusion (Taixu Huanjing 太虛幻境). Also senior to Baoyu, she plays the roles of a protector, instructor, and savior.

Though it seems unlikely at first, Song Jiang and Jia Baoyu do share some similarities. Baoyu's encounter with Fairy Disenchantment and his first visit to the Land of Illusion in a dream (chapter 5) parallels and contrasts with Song Jiang's first meeting with the Mystic Goddess. Both dreams initiates the hero into life as well as the immortal realm. Baoyu also has to pass through several gateways before entering a world of peace that symbolizes the womb. Baoyu experiences both fascination and fear and receives instructions from Fairy Disenchantment. In a manner reminiscent of the poet's unsuccessful quest for the goddess in earlier Chinese literature, both Song Jiang and Baoyu are enchanted by the goddesses and the divine world, but are unable to remain with them. Both heroes wake up with some enlightenment from the dream journey.

The androgynous quality we noted in the depiction of the Mystic Goddess reappears in Fairy Disenchantment and her environment. Described as a beautiful goddess who is pure and calm, Fairy Disenchantment also assumes the role of Baoyu's male ancestors in reprimanding him. Resembling the Mystic Goddess, Fairy Disenchantment ostensibly teaches Baoyu to fulfill Confucian duty. While attracted by Fairy Disenchantment and her companions, Baoyu is frightened when she calls him "lustful" and when the other fairies reject him, calling him a "dirty creature" (*zhuowu* 濁物). Baoyu thus experiences psychological ambivalence toward her and the other fairy maidens.

The environment has both feminine and masculine overtones. Similar to Song Jiang, Baoyu is initially impressed by the palace's imposing appearance. The first part of the palace Baoyu comes across is awesome, and is divided into different department offices like a law-

enforcement agency. The office Baoyu enters to inspect has cupboards labeled in an orderly fashion, and inside the cupboards are hidden ledgers, or the life-registers, of various groups of people. While allowed a glimpse of some of the secret life-registers, Baoyu does not know that the fates of the girls he cares about most in his household are contained within these books, nor does he understand the enigmatic verses and rebuses that predict the girls' grim future. This scene recalls chapter 3 of *The Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji*) in which Monkey King goes to the palace in the underworld through a dream-visitation, reads the life-registers, and erases his as well as all the monkeys' names from the registers (Wu Cheng'en 3.36-38). The palace in Baoyu's dream appears imposing and "masculine," with its department offices, its extreme orderliness, and its authority. Resembling a courtroom of justice in this life or in the underworld, it is the all-powerful place that controls life and death. Yet the imposing and authoritarian atmosphere soon gives way to a feminine—even erotic—atmosphere.

The erotic atmosphere in this dream, which is even more overt and comprehensive than that in Song Jiang's dream, serves important purposes. It is springtime, and Baoyu enters a garden-like paradise with lush vegetation, blossoms, and streams. Baoyu enjoys various sensory pleasures. He is also delighted to be introduced to various fairies and to find "rouged-stained pieces of cotton-wool lying on the window-sill" in their room (5.60; Hawkes trans., I.138). Yet the feminized, amorous setting should by no means be taken as Fairy Disenchantment's siding with Baoyu's "inner drives." Rather, it is intended as the Fairy's instructional aid to enlighten Baoyu.

In addition, Fairy Disenchantment's intention to admonish and warn is clear in her making Baoyu enter the "Department of the Ill-fated Fair," read the registers of the girls whose lives end sadly, and read the manuscript of her song suite, "The Dream of the Red Chamber." The Ford of Delusion (*mijin* 迷津), which Fairy Disenchantment tries to keep Baoyu from falling in, can be seen as the negative aspect of the mother archetype in the Jungian sense. The dream thus reflects and expresses Baoyu's psychological ambivalence about women and love.

Serving as the matchmaker—a role also played by Nüwa—Fairy Disenchantment matches Baoyu with one of her younger sisters named Jianmei 兼美, introducing him and leading him up to her. Fairy Disenchantment also gives Baoyu secret instructions in lovemaking (5.65), thereby playing the role of a sexual initiator and mimicking, though on a much smaller scale, the Mystic Goddess teaching the Yellow Emperor. Such motifs as sexual education and the arrangement of marriage highlight Fairy Disenchantment's maternal role, since in traditional Chinese society it was ordinarily the mother who was responsible in instructing her children about sex and helping them in marriage.

The encounter with the goddess here differs somewhat from that described by Joseph Campbell. According to Campbell, the hero's meeting with the goddess is the "ultimate adventure" after all the barriers are overcome; it is often represented as "a mystical marriage" of the hero with the "Queen Goddess of the World" (109). However, in *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the hero's meeting with the goddess signals the beginning of the adventure and occurs at an early stage of his life. And from this meeting, the hero receives instructions for overcoming the barriers which he will encounter later. In addition, the "Queen Goddess" in the context of these two novels is maternal and sacrosanct. It would be profane for the hero to marry the goddess. In the case of Baoyu, he can only "marry" an inferior substitute of Fairy Disenchantment, namely, Jianmei. Yet, just as Campbell describes, the meeting with the goddess can be "the final test of the talent of the hero to win the boon of love (charity: *amor fati*), which is life itself enjoyed as the encasement of eternity" (118). In his dream encounter, Baoyu obtains lessons of love, which extend from personal, temporary enjoyment to wide-ranging, eternal compassion.

Baoyu's dream world emphasizes emotion (*qing*) more and contains many more images of the feminine than Song Jiang's. Fairy Disenchantment's instruction on love and emotion far outweighs the instruction on duty and reason (*li*) she claims to give. Moreover, while resorting to a "masculine" environment for instruction at first, she ends up using primarily a "feminine" environment and manner. Baoyu's lack

of interest in the “department offices” suggests that it is difficult to instruct him through more “masculine” methods such as law and punishment. It is when he feels impure and inferior (in the presence of fairies whom he likes and respects) that he is humble enough to accept instruction; it is when he feels happy and his senses are gratified that he is more receptive to advice. In addition, Fairy Disenchantment adopts an indirect manner in teaching him, using rebuses and allegories, poems and lyrics. Instead of giving him orders, she moves him with feelings and emotion, guides him to awareness, and succeeds at least in imparting to him the wisdom of love and compassion.

Dream of the Red Chamber is famous for the many beautiful and talented girls created by the author and his praise and sympathy for them—as well as his denigration of men. It has been suggested that Cao Xueqin uses these talented but ill-fated girls as female personae to convey his own male anxiety (Huang 83-88). In other words, these girls represent the author, who projects himself through these female roles to express what he sees as the limits imposed by fate on him as on his fictional characters. Cao Xueqin must have suffered frustration, feeling that he was born at an inopportune time and his talents went unrecognized, and the ill-fated girls reflect his frustrated talents.

However, the invention of the beautiful and talented Fairy Disenchantment who transcends human emotion and fate signals the author’s different intent. On the one hand, Fairy Disenchantment epitomizes the finest qualities found in women, which are lacking in men, yet she transcends the inferior social status and ill fate often suffered by real women. She represents an attainable ideal for a powerless woman, and by extension, a powerless and frustrated scholar. She may help suggest that real women might not be “powerless,” but have alternative power, or power in a different realm or expressed in a different way, much as writers might have tremendous influence, which differs from actual political power. On the other hand, Fairy Disenchantment (as well as the Mystic Goddess) also serves as a fantasy figure to a certain extent. As a persona of the author, the wise, powerful, and immortal goddess expresses the author’s wish-fulfillment. In addition, Fairy Disenchantment’s appreciation of Baoyu’s “lust of

mind," for example, signals that she is a fantasy figure who recognizes the author's talents. The author may express the desire to have his unusual qualities appreciated by an enlightened and perceptive lord in a manner similar to a child's fantasy of enhanced esteem achieved through the approving mother. Furthermore, in constructing a dreamland which is pure, transcendental, and paradisiacal, the author also expresses a yearning to escape from the treacherous real world. When *Fairy Disenchantment* is seen as a fantasy functioning in all of these ego-enhancing ways, she becomes ultimately a substitute for real power. Such a fantasy, while momentarily gratifying, works to keep the traditional power structure intact by placating women and frustrated scholars. Because of this element of fantasy in the dreams we discussed, *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber* thus contrast with *Marriage As Retribution*, a novel clearly designed to influence and persuade.

***Marriage As Retribution, Awakening the World:
Madam Chao, Guanyin, and the Eternal Venerable Mother***

Xi Zhou Sheng 西周生, the author of *Marriage As Retribution*, has a somewhat different agenda in his creation of the Great Mother. This novel is famous for its caricature of shrewish wives and intimidated husbands. Xi Zhou Sheng is obviously concerned with the maintenance of order and the continuation of Confucian culture, and his satiric portraits of unruly wives express his anxiety about a culture gone awry and the failure of the male elite to keep control. He thus creates a Great Mother who crystalizes his ideal of womanhood and is capable of aiding (and even replacing) male literati in order to regulate society and keep culture from falling apart. The authors of *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber* invent the Great Mother to rescue, instruct, or redeem the exceptional hero, but Xi Zhou Sheng conceives of a populist mother goddess who succors many common people. While the dream episodes in *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber* focus on the hero's encounter with the otherworldly goddesses and his receiving instructions from them, *Marriage As Retribution* depicts a

this-worldly heroine who becomes a goddess after her death. Though much of the novel is about a mundane world that is far from paradisiacal, it also presents a paradise—the town of Mingshui 明水 during the first one hundred years of the Ming dynasty. The loss of paradise results from human evil and an excess of human desire, yet the author implies that paradise can be rebuilt through human effort. The master builder of a possible paradise is Madam Chao 晁夫人, who is reminiscent of the mother goddesses we have mentioned. Madam Chao has been discussed by Daria Berg as the Great Mother in a cultural-historical context (1996). Here I would like to examine her in the context of the mythical and religious framework of the Great Mother.

Without referring directly to Nüwa, the novel nevertheless retains some vestiges of the Nüwa myth. For example, the narrator's comment on people's being "no more than a little bit of dirty bone and common flesh" (27.391) recalls Nüwa's fashioning human beings out of earth and mud. True Lord Xu's (Xu Zhenjun 許真君, a Taoist deity) kneading mud pills with dirt and his own spittle to make magic pills is faintly reminiscent of Nüwa's kneading yellow earth to mould human beings. Furthermore, the deluge depicted in chapter 29 resembles the one associated with Nüwa. In the myth, the beasts and people become peaceful after Nüwa repairs the sky and dams up the flood; in *Marriage As Retribution* the deluge serves to wipe out bad elements, preserving primarily virtuous people. However, it is the Jade Emperor, the top-ranking deity of the Taoist pantheon, who wills the deluge as a way to punish and warn the wicked people, and it is True Lord Xu, not Nüwa as in the myth, who plays the role of a prophet and a divine savior of the virtuous people. This accords with what Schafer, as well as Birrell, note as the diminution of Nüwa in the postclassical period (Schafer 1973, 29; Birrell, 71). Schafer suggests that this is "partly due to the contempt of some eminent and educated men for animalian gods, and partly due to the increasing domination of masculinity in the elite social doctrine" (Schafer 1973, 29). Birrell agrees with this argument (164).

I would suggest, in addition, that Nüwa's apparent diminution of godly status might have resulted from the gradual ascendancy of other goddess figures such as the Queen Mother of the West and the Mystic

Goddess of the Ninth Heaven in literature from the Han dynasty on, and especially Guanyin and the Eternal Venerable Mother (Wusheng Laomu 無生老母, literally, “the old mother without birth”)—both essential goddesses in folk Buddhist religion in Ming culture and literature. Nüwa’s role as savior was probably replaced by Guanyin in the tenth century; Nüwa’s role in procreation must have been replaced well before the sixteenth century by the White-robed Guanyin (Baiyi Guanyin 白衣觀音, also known as Songzi Guanyin 送子觀音, “Child-giving Guanyin), who is worshipped especially for her power to help parents conceive, and who is probably derived from a deity of the “World of Womb Treasury Mandala” (Yü 97-98). The modern scholar Yu Songqing 喻松青 notes the shift from worshipping Maitreya, a male deity, to worshipping the Eternal Venerable Mother in mid-Ming, and Daniel L. Overmyer also finds that the theme of the Eternal Venerable Mother’s creation of the world became important in the *baojuan* 寶卷 (“precious scrolls”) beginning in the mid-sixteenth century (Yu Songqing 29-33; Overmyer 353; Yenna Wu 1988, 368, n. 20). While Nüwa still occasionally played a role as a mythical figure in such novels as *The Investiture of the Gods* (*Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義) and *Dream of the Red Chamber*, her role as the creator of the world had been replaced by the Eternal Venerable Mother. In *Marriage As Retribution*, Nüwa’s roles are taken over by True Lord Xu and the Guanyin-like Madam Chao.

The representation of the Great Mother in this novel, just as in *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*, emphasizes her conservative and transformative functions: she plays the roles of nurturer and teacher, a helper of those in need as well as an instructor in wisdom. The Great Mother figure in this novel, Madam Chao, is both fashioned after and sometimes referred to as the compassionate “Guanyin Pusa.” She is represented as “androgynous,” in that the author emphasizes her role as a mother who does not have sexual desires—the exact opposite of the lustful, shrewish, insubordinate, and selfish women characters satirized in the novel. She exhibits maternal affection, extending her love for her family to her clan, community, and society. In the end, she is apotheosized.

Yet despite her innate goodness, she is not depicted in the beginning as a flawless and superior person. She begins as an ordinary, illiterate woman, having been brought up in a rustic family (16.235) and married to a humble, low-ranking scholar. The process of her becoming the Great Mother clearly reflects the Confucian (especially Mencian) belief in inherent human goodness and in a person's potential to become a sage, as well as the popular Buddhist belief that all people, fallible as they are, have the potential to become buddhas. The novel thus reflects the thought of such philosophers as Chen Xianzhang 陳獻章 (1482-1500), Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1528), and Wang Gen 王艮 (1483-1541), who believe that a human's "heavenly nature" is "manifested in people's ordinary desires and wants," and the sage is just like the ordinary person (de Bary, 168).

Madam Chao undergoes the transformation from an incompetent mother to a truly remarkable one. She errs, together with her husband, in doting on their only son, Chao Yuan 晁源, who grows up into a profligate and scoundrel. She fails to discipline Chao Yuan strictly because she is blinded by maternal love at first and, when she finally wishes to discipline him, she is often restrained by her husband. In addition, her husband sets a negative example for Chao Yuan. At this stage, Madam Chao is exactly the type of indulgent mother that Lü Kun disapproved of. Lü Kun blamed women for doting on their children, failing to be strict, and "fostering their children's evil," warning that once their children have grown up, it will be too late to discipline them (567, 628). After Chao Yuan becomes completely independent, Madam Chao can no longer control him. In some cases, she is still acting out of love: although displeased by Chao Yuan's taking an actress-prostitute as a concubine, she tolerates it out of love for him. In most cases, she can only reproach Chao Yuan when he commits wicked deeds, but her warnings go unheeded. Watching Chao Yuan committing one act of impropriety after another, yet unable to restrain him, she becomes more and more impotent and helpless. Shocked and hurt to hear that Chao Yuan has driven away the two actors—their family's former benefactors—she can only attempt suicide as a protest. As she later confesses to her "second" son, Chao Liang 晁梁, she had not been able

to live a day of ease and comfort when Chao Yuan was alive, because she had to worry constantly about his misconduct and its possible bad consequences (90.1286).

But even during the first stage of her life (before she is 60 years old) when she is constrained by circumstances and bound by a venal husband and a wicked son, she already exhibits positive maternal attributes. She expresses sympathy and support for her daughter-in-law, Madame Ji 計氏, who is mistreated by Chao Yuan and his concubine. She takes good care of a servant girl, Chunying 春鶯, as if Chunying were her own daughter. When her husband takes Chunying as a concubine, she is not jealous. She respects and provides well for her husband's tutor and secretary, a learned and upright man whose worth is not recognized by her husband or her son. In general, she is kind to people with whom she comes into contact.

In addition, she attempts to teach compassion to her husband and son whenever possible. When her husband serves as Prefect of the North Tongzhou 北通州, she advises him to lighten the people's tax burden as well as their punishments, though her advice goes unheeded (21.307). She urges her son Chao Yuan to be "sincere and kind" (*zhonghou* 忠厚) and not to mistreat the two actors (15.219-220). Upon discovering that Chao Yuan has robbed the two actors of their belongings, Madam Chao uses her savings to refund all the money they have lost. When she eventually retrieves their money and belongings and returns them, instead of taking back her money, she asks the two actors—who have by now become monks—to use her money to do good works on behalf of the Chaos. The money is used to buy grain, which later keeps many people in Tongzhou from starving to death during natural calamities. She thus plays the role of a "compensatory official." While her husband fleeces commoners in Tongzhou during his term, she attempts to perform "post-term" good deeds for the people in order to heal the wound inflicted by her husband. However, limited by the financial resources available to her, she can merely make modest and symbolic attempts in recompense for the transgressions committed by her husband and son.

Only after the deaths of her husband and son, when she is free,

independent, and affluent, can she fully compensate for their misconduct and even extend her maternal care to more people. From this point on, she is a good example of how a woman with no official position can become a powerful leader through her virtue and charity even in a patriarchal society. To correct the misdeeds of Mr. Chao and Chao Yuan, she repays their former benefactors and returns to its original owners land seized by Chao Yuan through usury. She looks after the pregnant Chunying and loves and educates well Chunying's baby boy, Chao Liang, who is Madam Chao's legal son. Her lack of jealousy toward her husband's concubine thus ensures the continuation of the Chao family line. Now that she has total control of her family's finances for the first time, Madam Chao can afford to be as generous as she wishes. Although two wicked senior clansmen lead the Chao clansmen in trying to rob and dispossess her, Madam Chao returns evil with good, treats them kindly, and shares her land and property with them. Her efforts to "conserve" her family and clan also include caring for orphans and widows, the sickly and the old, and her employees and their relatives.

During the second stage of her life (between the age of 60 to the ripe old age of 104), it is her empathy with the people of her native town, Wucheng, including even those unrelated to her, that highlights her role as the Great Mother. Immediately after the flood, when people are starving to death (chapter 32), Madam Chao feels compassion ("commiserating heart" or *buren* [*zhi xin*] 不忍之心) for them and comes swiftly to their aid—a motif that recalls the legend of Nüwa's stopping the flood and saving people. She first protects the many renters of her country estate, ensuring that they are provided for (32.464-465). Next, she donates the grain she has stored over the years, setting up a food distribution program and having rice gruel cooked to feed the poor. Her compassion, juxtaposed in sharp contrast with the local gentrymen's apathy, also serves to transform some of these gentrymen into merciful and willing workers who join her relief efforts. Madam Chao helps the poor survive man-made as well as natural emergencies. In another famine (chapter 90), the result of various natural disasters, the poor people are not only starving but are further

tortured by the magistrate for not being able to pay the amounts required for tribute grain. Madam Chao, with the help of her son Chao Liang, volunteers to use the grain she has saved up over the years to pay the required amount of tribute.

The novel's depiction of Madam Chao as the Great Mother reflects a confluence and dialogue of the Three Doctrines. Presented primarily in the line of the "exemplary mothers" described in such Confucian educational books as *Biographical Accounts of Notable Women*, Madam Chao also represents a Confucian appropriation of the Taoist and later, Buddhist, creations of the Great Mother: as the result of her mercy and charity, Madam Chao is transformed into a goddess in the Taoist pantheon. On the evening of her 104th birthday, Madam Chao dreams of a divine messenger delivering the decree from the Heavenly Emperor, appointing her to be the Goddess of Mount Yi (*Yishan shanzhu* 嶧山山主 or *Yishan shanshen* 嶧山山神, 90.1285, 1287). On the appointed day, she cleanses herself, sits on her own bed at home, passes away peacefully, and ascends to Heaven to assume her post. The author, Xi Zhou Sheng, describes her apotheosis as that of a Taoist or a Buddhist attaining immortality, borrowing such religious terms as "being transformed while sitting [in a correct posture]" (*zuohua* 坐化) and "ascending [Heaven] to become an immortal" (*shengxian* 昇仙, 90.1288).²⁰

Madam Chao's apotheosis also reflects the belief in transcendence through perfection of training found in the texts describing women's Taoist practices. As a result of the synthesis of the Three Doctrines, these texts not only teach such Buddhist and Taoist virtues as compassion and nonviolence, but also overlap somewhat with educational manuals for women in teaching the female adepts to cultivate Confucian virtues: for example, be filial, gentle, and chaste; avoid jealousy; dress simply; and do not mistreat servants.²¹ The main method underlying the women's meditation and yoga exercises in these texts is "to harmonize the mind and rest in stillness."²² Although Madam Chao is not portrayed as practicing these Taoist exercises, she has accomplished most of the virtues set forth therein and has harmonized her mind in the latter part of her life. The depiction of her dream as well

as her apotheosis (90.1285-1286, 1288) resembles in some ways the description of transcendence of the world in one of the Taoist texts:

When one's merit is profound and the moment of destiny arrives, the true master appears with final salvation and brings you into the presence of the Lord on High. One next visits all the heavens and finally the 'jade pool,' where after an audience with the 'Golden Mother,' one receives appointment as an immortal" (Wile 218).

Although there is no mention in the novel regarding who appoints Madam Chao, it is most likely the Heavenly Emperor (Jade Emperor), rather than the "Golden Mother" as in the Taoist text.

Yet Xi Zhou Sheng's portrayal of Madam Chao also distinguishes her from other Taoist immortals or Buddhist goddesses. Unlike the Taoist or Buddhist masters who become immortals through their esoteric techniques of self-cultivation, Madam Chao merely leads an ordinary and down-to-earth, though virtuous, life. In Taoism and Buddhism, an adept needs to leave the family, live in seclusion from society, or become a vagrant mendicant, in order to seek truth, cultivate spirituality, and attain immortality. Since Madam Chao's story relates how an ordinary woman becomes a goddess, it offers a good comparison with the familiar legend of Miaoshan 妙善, an other name for Guanyin. Several versions of the story up to 1500 tell that the young princess Miaoshan incurs her father's wrath because of her resistance to marriage. She later leaves her family, severs emotional ties, and dwells in seclusion. However, she displays extreme filial piety in giving her arms and eyes to her father in order to cure him of a disease, and eventually is apotheosized (Dudbridge 22-42). Both Guanyin and Mazu 媽祖 (a Taoist sea-goddess sharing many similarities with Guanyin and popular along the Southeast coast of China) also refuse to marry, thereby avoiding the pollution resulting from sex and procreation and preserving their purity (Sangren 11-13). These two goddesses' refusal to marry, however, is problematic in a Confucian context because it means neglect of the paramount filial duty to continue the family line.

In contrast, Madam Chao does not leave home or perform any extreme act of filial piety, nor does she shun marriage and childbirth. In fact, she accomplishes all her Confucian duties as a wife, mother, grandmother, and clan-leader before she leaves this world to assume the position of a goddess. This representation clearly indicates the author's Confucianization of the Taoist and Buddhist religions: there is no need for an individual to sever all family ties or perform extreme acts of filial piety in order to attain enlightenment;²³ and a woman can become a goddess even though she has married and given birth. Thus, keeping family ties and accomplishing Confucian duties are shown to be compatible with, and even conducive to, attaining enlightenment and immortality, rather than being entirely antagonistic to it. In Xi Zhou Sheng's almost hagiographical account of a Confucian saint, Madam Chao replaces Guanyin and Mazu and becomes a new model of ideal womanhood.

As Goddess, Madam Chao serves as a mediator between humans and Heaven, and exercises more power in conserving and transforming people. Responding to the commoners' prayers during a severe drought in Wucheng, she intercedes with Heaven for them so that "timely rain" (*shiyu* 時雨) falls, preventing a famine. The mention of "timely rain" implicitly connects her with the hero Song Jiang in *Water Margin*, who is known as "Timely Rain" (Jishiyu 及時雨) because he is chivalric and generous to people in need (18.206).

She becomes a celestial bureaucrat and obtains imperial honor as an official—a position she was not allowed to hold as a woman. When many worshippers are taking the pilgrimage to the top of Mount Yi to pray at her temple, she awes them by her divine manifestation, in the form of a magnificent and imperial parade with many officials and generals escorting her palanquin. As a local deity, Madam Chao assumes responsibilities in government. She is efficacious in administering justice and giving blessings to virtuous people. She thus obtains power to accomplish what she was not able to while alive, and to further redeem her husband's misconduct in administration.

Both during the second stage of her life and her term as goddess, Madam Chao has become more of a disciplinarian, insisting on justice

and impartiality. When she is distributing a big portion of her property equally among clan members, an avaricious senior member asks her for an additional house. She refuses to succumb to his requests, arguing for fairness (22.325). When a clan member dies and two wicked members try to seize the deceased's property, Madam Chao rebukes and disciplines them (53.766).

Empowered as a goddess, Madam Chao is even more capable of warning, disciplining, and transforming people than when she was a mortal. A benign mother to many and addressed fondly by the commoners as the "Holy Mother of Mount Yi" (*Yishan shengmu* 嶧山聖母, 93.1328-1331), she can nevertheless be the somewhat "terrible" mother on occasions. She punishes evildoers, though often in a lenient and indirect manner. When the pilgrims are taking the ferry to cross a river after visiting her temple, she surprises them again by immobilizing a barber who is taking advantage of the crowding to cut off people's clothes and steal their money. When the thief eventually recovers consciousness, the ferryman suggests turning him over to the authorities. However, the pilgrims recall Madam Chao's usual compassion (*buren*) and decide to emulate her example, thereby releasing the thief with a warning (93.1330-1331). During the drought, the magistrate of Wucheng engages a corrupt and debauched Taoist priest who claims to be able to make it rain. The priest is repeatedly punished by Madam Chao. While cavorting on the altar during a ritual service, he falls and is injured. Taking credit for the rainfall (which has in fact been caused by Madam Chao), he demands payment from the local people. Madam Chao later has a burglar steal the priest's ill-gotten wealth. Madam Chao then speaks through a young acolyte she has possessed to the magistrate, exposing the priest's sacrilege and crime and urging the magistrate to expel him immediately (93.1333).

P. Steven Sangren points out the maternal aspects of the Eternal Mother, Guanyin, and Mazu, calling them "unifying symbols" important in three dimensions—"inclusivity, mediation, and alliance" (15). According to Sangren, these goddesses are all-merciful and "undiscriminating," and they resemble "mothers who do their best to ameliorate fraternal competition in an effort to preserve family unity."

Sangren contrasts the “nonterritorial” cults of the female deities with the “territorial” cults of male deities who are celestial bureaucrats reigning over “territorially defined ritual communities” and having “bounded parishes” (5-10), and concludes that these goddesses’ cults “encourage notions of solidarity that cut across particularistic ties to kin groups and local communities,” and transcend class and gender (15-16).

Of the three goddesses I have examined, Madam Chao comes closest to embodying this description. She indeed attempts to unify people through her cult, transcending class and gender, and helps to build solidarity within the entire local community. She serves as an essential mediator, interceding on behalf of the victims of her wicked husband and son, for commoners exploited by officials, and finally for mortals threatened by the gods. While the coalition between the Eternal Mother and her “children,” or worshippers, sometimes served to overthrow patriarchal authority (Sangren 22), Madam Chao’s alliance with her “children” does not threaten to subvert the existing hierarchy.

The representation of Madam Chao also differs from Sangren’s conclusion about female deities in several aspects. In the eyes of a Confucian-minded author, Madam Chao is not as “undiscriminating” as Guanyin. While alive, she offers help according to the priorities of kinship and affiliation: she takes care of her family first, then her clan, next her tenants, and finally the local community. Appointed to be the Goddess of Mount Yi, she serves as a celestial bureaucrat like a male deity. Her cult is territorial to an extent. As a local deity, she primarily protects people in her own “territory,” though she also takes over the administration of another district from time to time (93.1329).

Conclusion

Placed in a larger context, the highly influential women portrayed in Chinese literature are not merely the disruptive, subversive characters who overturn the normal hierarchy; they also include the maternal type who dispenses much wisdom and discipline along with compassion and nurturing. Representations of the Great Mother in these three novels stress this maternal role. Even in the male-dominated

realm of political authority, as in *Water Margin*, it is a wise goddess who instructs Song Jiang on restraining his sexual desire and rechanneling his desires into worthwhile political and military projects. Thus, despite their lower roles in an essentially patriarchal society, women, particularly mothers, could obtain power.

In both *Water Margin* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*, goddesses appear to the heroes in dreams and provide intimations and visions of the divine realm. They exhort and inspire the male heroes “to a higher meaning” through “spiritual transformation.” By arousing their desire through ostensible images of sensual pleasure, the goddesses impart wisdom and warn the heroes about worldly illusions. In comparison, *Marriage As Retribution* depicts the transformation of an ordinary woman who attains sainthood through constant self-cultivation and moral work and then sets out to transform others morally. While blessing the good people and conserving their well-being, Madam Chao punishes, expels, or transforms the evildoers in order to maintain social justice and harmony.

To various degrees, the three Great Mothers are “androgynous” and overlap with father figures. They perform “paternal” roles in offering instruction, discipline, and even punishment. As goddesses and celestial bureaucrats, they possess political authority and power inaccessible to real, ordinary women. Besides functioning as paternal figures, they convey other knowledge about life on subjects such as love, procreation, sexual restraint, and the nourishing of life. They thus supplement instruction ordinarily provided by paternal figures. Embedded in the contexts of three novels which demonstrate ambivalence in their representation of women, the Great Mothers convey the authors’ conceptions of ideal womanhood, anxiety about their own identity and culture, and wishful thinking about a utopia generated by the Great Mother.

The Great Mothers embody the authors’ (and the readers’) wish for a utopia, though the authors appear aware of the fact that utopia is impossible to actually attain. *Water Margin* and especially *Dream of the Red Chamber* express the wish to transcend worldly entanglements (*chushi* 出世). In both novels true utopia exists only in the realm of the

divine, while the replica of utopia on earth inevitably falls into ruin. *Marriage As Retribution*, by contrast, conveys the desire to “go into the world” (*rushi* 入世) despite its deification of Madam Chao. It depicts the possibility of a this-worldly near-paradise created by the Great Mother. It is a call to action, going beyond mere fantasy. In all three novels, the Great Mothers contribute to both nurture and culture. They play an important role in continuing cultural traditions. Mediating between human and divine realms, they are instrumental in the maintenance of social and cosmic order. Far from being mere symbols of fertility or only vehicles through which the family line is passed down from generation to generation, women characters in the Great Mother tradition serve key functions. They spread enlightenment and promote both discipline and compassion throughout the culture as a whole.

NOTES

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¹ Page references are to *Shuihu quanzhuan*, *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan*, and Cao Zhan and Gao E, *Honglou meng*.

² C. G. Jung quotes from Lao Zi's *Dao de jing* and Chinese treatise on alchemy in his “A Study in the Process of Individuation,” for example. See C. G. Jung 290, 293.

³ See, for example, Joseph Needham 57-61, for a discussion of the water symbol and the feminine symbol in Taoism.

⁴ See Bachofen 1967, Neumann 1955 (especially his discussion of matriarchy in America, 179-208), and Marija A. Gimbutas 1974. See also Goldberg 55-56 for scholarship on the debate over the existence of matriarchy.

⁵ For example, changes in types of work and in individual habits of nursing and caring for babies have created major changes in social and political structures. Future changes in pregnancy and childbearing

may also bring about different social structures.

⁶ See the discussions in Catharine Esther Beecher (originally published in 1869) and Glenda Riley.

⁷ See Lü Kun's comments on the stories of exemplary mothers in his *Gui fan*, 564-640. The quote is from p. 618.

⁸ For example, the tiger is used as a metaphor for the femme fatale Pan Jinlian in *Jin Ping Mei*.

⁹ This phrase is quoted in the Chungzhen (1628-1644) edition of *Jin Ping Mei*, for example. See *Xinke xiuxiang piping Jin Ping Mei*, 1.2. The first number refers to the number of the chapter, and the second number after the period refers to the page number.

¹⁰ Yuan Ke regards the last detail as "feudalistic dregs" added only after a class society had come into being (Yuan Ke 1988, 113).

¹¹ See the text from *Duyi zhi* cited in Yuan Ke 1988, 241-242; and the translation of the text in Birrell, 34-35.

¹² The account in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is cited in Campbell 153.

¹³ Jung was familiar with Richard Wilhelm's German translation (1923) of the *Yi jing* 易經, and wrote a foreword for Cary F. Baynes' English translation of the German version. See Jung's foreword in *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, xxi-xxxix.

¹⁴ Neumann notes Guanyin as one of the figures of the Great Mother (332).

¹⁵ See also Wu 1996 for a discussion of Song Jiang's dreams.

¹⁶ According to the information on p. 389 of Min Zhiting, et al., eds., *Daojiao da cidian*, "divine wine" (*xianren jiu* 仙人酒), a medicinal wine, is in fact [human] milk, while "divine jujube" (*xianren zao* 仙人棗) is a delicious, medicinal fruit.

¹⁷ Seidel 498. Seidel translates the name for "a divine jujube" into "a magic date."

¹⁸ The Mystic Goddess was called "Woman Profound" in Levy xvii, 10, 27, 43-49. See also Cahill 1993, 44, where the Goddess is called "the Mysterious Woman"; and Wile, 14, 24.

¹⁹ See, for example, the discussion of buildings, stairs, and landscape in dreams as sexual symbols in Freud, 250-252.

²⁰ See, for example, the discussion of a Taoist attaining immortal-

ity in Seidel, 503. Note that the term *zuohua* is also commonly used in a Buddhist context.

²¹ See the list of virtues in the *Queen Mother of the West's Ten precepts on the True Path of Women's Practice* in Wile 193.

²² See the *Queen Mother of the West's Ten precepts on the True Path of Women's Practice* in Wile 201.

²³ This view is also expressed by Chao Liang's wife in 93.1321-1322. When Chao Liang, having accomplished his Confucian duties, wishes to leave home to become a monk, his wife dissuades him from this, urging him instead to stay home and build a small hut in which he can cultivate himself, so that he can keep on tending his parents' graves.

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